



## STUDENT READER

# Dave Raymond's Christendom





# Dave Raymond's Christendom

**Student Reader**  
*Assignments & Exams*

PERMISSION TO PRINT PROFESSIONALLY FOR SINGLE FAMILY USE



Copyright © Compass Classroom, LLC.

Selections obtained from the public domain except where indicated.

Printed in the United States of America

First Printing, 2023 v1

Compass Classroom, LLC  
605 West Iris Drive  
Nashville, Tennessee 37204

[CompassClassroom.com](http://CompassClassroom.com)

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LESSON 1

### *Orientation*

LECTURE 1.1	Introduction & How to Take Notes.....	9
LECTURE 1.2	The Meaning of Life .....	9
LECTURE 1.3	Why School? .....	9
LECTURE 1.4	Why History? .....	10
LECTURE 1.5	Portfolio and Family Tree Project .....	11

## LESSON 2

### *Eternity in Operation: The Roman Principate and the New Testament Church*

LECTURE 2.1	Tiberius & Pentecost .....	13
LECTURE 2.2	Caligula and the Early Church.....	13
LECTURE 2.3	Claudius, James & Paul .....	13
LECTURE 2.4	The Missions of Paul.....	13
LECTURE 2.5	Nero and the 12 Apostles.....	14

## LESSON 3

### *Imperium sine Fine: The Successions of Rome, Judea, and the Apostolic Church*

LECTURE 3.1	Vespasian, Titus and the Destruction of Jerusalem .....	15
LECTURE 3.2	Epicurean Rome .....	16
LECTURE 3.3	Roman Persecution and the Apostolic Fathers.....	18
LECTURE 3.4	The New Testament Canon .....	22
LECTURE 3.5	Early Christian Worship and Art .....	24

## LESSON 4

### *The World That Died in the Night: Christianity, the Church Fathers, and the Transformation of Culture*

LECTURE 4.1	The Spread of Christianity .....	25
LECTURE 4.2	The Effects of Christianity on Culture .....	28
LECTURE 4.3	The Sanctity of Life, Marcus Aurelius and Justin Martyr.....	29
LECTURE 4.4	Persecutions, the Gnostics and Irenaeus of Lyon .....	34
LECTURE 4.5	The Five Patriarchates, Origen & Tertullian .....	40



## LESSON 5

### *A Creed and Still a Gospel: Constantine, Nicea, and Athanasius*

LECTURE 5.1	Diocletian, the Tetrarchy and the Great Persecution .....	41
LECTURE 5.2	Constantine I.....	41
LECTURE 5.3	Constantine II .....	43
LECTURE 5.4	The Council of Nicea.....	44
LECTURE 5.5	Anthony of the Desert & Athanasius .....	45

## LESSON 6

### *Centripetal & Centrifugal Forces: The Barbarians, the Church, and the Fall of Rome*

LECTURE 6.1	Constantine's Sons & Julian the Apostate .....	47
LECTURE 6.2	Basil of Caesarea & Theodosius .....	48
LECTURE 6.3	The Council of Constantinople, Post-Nicene Fathers and the Barbarians.....	49
LECTURE 6.4	Jerome, the Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon .....	51
LECTURE 6.5	Attila the Hun, Leo the Great and the End of the Roman Empire .....	52

## LESSON 7

### *Only the Lover Sings: Augustine of Hippo*

LECTURE 7.1	Ambrose & Chant .....	53
LECTURE 7.2	Augustine's Early Life & Conversion .....	54
LECTURE 7.3	Augustine's Ministry .....	55
LECTURE 7.4	Augustine's Writings I .....	56
LECTURE 7.5	Augustine's Writings II.....	58

## LESSON 8

### *The Long Defeat: Byzantium*

LECTURE 8.1	Introduction to Byzantium .....	61
LECTURE 8.2	Justinian & Theodora I.....	62
LECTURE 8.3	Justinian & Theodora II.....	65
LECTURE 8.4	Byzantine Religion, Art and Education .....	66
LECTURE 8.5	Cyril, Methodius and the Mission to the East.....	67

## LESSON 9

### *There is No God but Allah: Islam*

LECTURE 9.1	Introduction to Islam and the Life of Mohammed I .....	69
LECTURE 9.2	Life of Mohammed II and the Five Pillars.....	70
LECTURE 9.3	Jihad and Mohammed's Successors .....	72
LECTURE 9.4	The Abbasid Caliphate and Islamic Art .....	73
LECTURE 9.5	Islamic Science .....	74

## LESSON 10

### *How the Celts Saved Civilization: Christianity in Ireland and Britain*

LECTURE 10.1	The Celts and Roman Britain .....	75
LECTURE 10.2	Christianity in Britannia and Caledonia, the Roman Flight and King Arthur .....	76
LECTURE 10.3	Ireland and Patrick.....	77
LECTURE 10.4	Columba, Brendan and Augustine of Canterbury .....	79
LECTURE 10.5	Aidan, the Council of Whitby and the Venerable Bede .....	80

## LESSON 11

### *The Holy Roman Empire: Benedict & Monasticism, Gregory the Great & Worship, Charlemagne & Education*

LECTURE 11.1	Benedict & Monasticism .....	81
LECTURE 11.2	Gregory the Great & Worship .....	82
LECTURE 11.3	The Germans, Clovis, the Merovinginians and Boniface .....	82
LECTURE 11.4	Pepin the Short & Charlemagne.....	84
LECTURE 11.5	Carolingian Education, Alcuin and the Trivium.....	86

## LESSON 12

### *The Ballad of the White Horse: The Norse and Alfred the Great*

LECTURE 12.1	The Ancient Norse and Their Myths .....	89
LECTURE 12.2	Norse Mythology, Religion, and Culture .....	91
LECTURE 12.3	Norse Raids and Conquests .....	92
LECTURE 12.4	Alfred the Great.....	93
LECTURE 12.5	The Norse and Christianity.....	95

## LESSON 13

### *Medieval Covenants: Feudalism and the Norman Conquest*

LECTURE 13.1	Feudal Terms and Covenants .....	97
LECTURE 13.2	Feudalism's Development and the Life of the Peasant.....	98
LECTURE 13.3	The Saxons, Canute and Edward the Confessor .....	99
LECTURE 13.4	William of Normandy, Harold Godwinson and the Battle of Hastings .....	104
LECTURE 13.5	William the Conqueror .....	107

## LESSON 14

### *Deus Vult: The First Crusade*

LECTURE 14.1	Chivalry and Introduction to the Crusades .....	109
LECTURE 14.2	The Contexts for the First Crusade .....	110
LECTURE 14.3	The Call to Crusade and the First Departures .....	113
LECTURE 14.4	The Journey of the Crusaders to Constantinople, Asia Minor and Antioch .....	115
LECTURE 14.5	The Conquest of Antioch and Jerusalem.....	117

## LESSON 15

### *Outremer: Crusader Kingdoms and Later Crusades*

LECTURE 15.1	Outremer, the Military Orders and Zengi.....	119
LECTURE 15.2	The Second Crusade, Nur ed-Din and Saladin.....	121
LECTURE 15.3	The Fall of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade.....	122
LECTURE 15.4	The Fourth Crusade.....	123
LECTURE 15.5	The Later Crusades .....	125

## LESSON 16

### *The Music of the Spheres: Medieval Art, Towns, Cathedrals and Monks*

LECTURE 16.1	The Medieval Worldview .....	127
LECTURE 16.2	Medieval Art.....	127
LECTURE 16.3	Medieval Towns, Guilds and Cathedrals I.....	128
LECTURE 16.4	Cathedrals II.....	129
LECTURE 16.5	Bernard of Clairvaux, Dominic and Francis of Assisi .....	129

## LESSON 17

### *Wonder & Delight: Medieval Education, the Scholastics and Dante*

LECTURE 17.1	The Quadrivium .....	131
LECTURE 17.2	Medieval Books, Universities and Science .....	132
LECTURE 17.3	Scholasticism: Anselm & Abelard .....	134
LECTURE 17.4	Scholasticism: Peter Lombard & Thomas Aquinas .....	136
LECTURE 17.5	Dante .....	140

## LESSON 18

### *Just Rule and a Braveheart: Plantagenets, Common Law, and the Scots*

LECTURE 18.1	Just War Theory, Henry II and Common Law .....	143
LECTURE 18.2	Richard the Lionheart & John Lackland .....	145
LECTURE 18.3	Henry III & Edward Longshanks .....	152
LECTURE 18.4	Scotland, Longshanks and William Wallace .....	153
LECTURE 18.5	Robert the Bruce and Scottish Independence.....	156



## LESSON 19

### *The Fracturing of Christendom I: Invasions, Wars and Plagues*

LECTURE 19.1	The Mongol Invasions .....	157
LECTURE 19.2	Tamerlane and the 100 Years War I.....	158
LECTURE 19.3	The Black Death, the Albigensian Crusade and the Avignon Papacy .....	160
LECTURE 19.4	The 100 Years War II, the Peasants' Revolt and Richard II .....	161
LECTURE 19.5	William Langland & Geoffrey Chaucer .....	163

## LESSON 20

### *The Fracturing of Christendom II: The End of the Middle Ages*

LECTURE 20.1	The 100 Years War III and Henry V.....	165
LECTURE 20.2	The 100 Years War IV and Joan of Arc.....	165
LECTURE 20.3	Byzantium, the Ottoman Turks and the Fall of Constantinople .....	166
LECTURE 20.4	The War of the Roses .....	168
LECTURE 20.5	Gutenberg, Caxton and Malory .....	170

## LESSON 21

### *Man the Measure I: The Renaissance*

LECTURE 21.1	Renaissance Worldview and Morality.....	171
LECTURE 21.2	Petrarch, Giotto, Cosimo de Medici and Ghiberti .....	172
LECTURE 21.3	Brunelleschi, Donatello and Fra Angelico .....	172
LECTURE 21.4	Lorenzo de Medici and Botticelli .....	178
LECTURE 21.5	Leonardo da Vinci .....	180

## LESSON 22

### *Man the Measure II: The Renaissance*

LECTURE 22.1	Ariosto and Machiavelli .....	181
LECTURE 22.2	Rodrigo and Cesare Borgia .....	182
LECTURE 22.3	Julius II, Saint Peter's Basilica and Leo X.....	184
LECTURE 22.4	Raphael de Santi .....	184
LECTURE 22.5	Michelangelo di Buonarroti .....	184

## LESSON 23

### *The Morning Stars of the Reformation: Wycliffe to Erasmus*

LECTURE 23.1	John Wycliffe.....	185
LECTURE 23.2	Jan Hus .....	189
LECTURE 23.3	Savonarola .....	189
LECTURE 23.4	The Mystics and the Brethren of the Common Life .....	190
LECTURE 23.5	Erasmus.....	192

## LESSON 24

### *Justification by Faith: The Great Reformation*

LECTURE 24.1	Martin Luther I .....	193
LECTURE 24.2	Martin Luther II.....	195
LECTURE 24.3	Martin Luther III & Albrecht Dürer.....	197
LECTURE 24.4	Ulrich Zwingli & Martin Bucer.....	197
LECTURE 24.5	John Calvin .....	198

## LESSON 25

### *Towards a Proper End: Reformations and Counter-Reformations*

LECTURE 25.1	Henry VIII .....	201
LECTURE 25.2	The English Reformation, Edward VI and Mary I.....	202
LECTURE 25.3	The Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits and the Huguenots.....	204
LECTURE 25.4	Scotland, John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots .....	206
LECTURE 25.5	Elizabeth I and Shakespeare .....	208

## LESSON 26

### *Lex Rex: The English Civil War and the Scots*

LECTURE 26.1	James I & Divine Right .....	213
LECTURE 26.2	The Puritans, Charles I, the Scots and the National Covenant .....	214
LECTURE 26.3	Parliament, Civil War, the Westminster Assembly and Regicide .....	218
LECTURE 26.4	Cromwell, the Protectorate and Milton .....	220
LECTURE 26.5	Charles II, James II and the Glorious Revolution.....	224

# LESSON 1

## *Orientation*

### LECTURE 1.1

#### Introduction & How to Take Notes

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read through the “Table of Contents” to learn what topics we will be covering this semester. What topics interest you? What topics are unfamiliar to you?

### LECTURE 1.2

#### The Meaning of Life

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following quote by Alexis de Tocqueville. Why do religious nations, especially Christian nations, leave such lasting results or a legacy for generations to come?

.....

Quotation by Alexis de Tocqueville,  
as quoted by Richard Weaver

.....

“In ages of faith, the final end of life is placed beyond life. The men of those ages, therefore, naturally and almost involuntarily accustom themselves to fix their gaze for many years on some immovable object toward which they are constantly tending; and they learn by insensible degrees to repress a multitude of petty passing desires in order to be the better able

to content that great and lasting desire which possesses them...This explains why religious nations have often achieved such lasting results; for whilst they were thinking only of the other world, they had found out the great secret of success in this.”

### LECTURE 1.3

#### Why School?

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following quotations about education. How do these quotes show the purpose and value of learning?

.....

#### Quotations on learning

.....

“There is such a thing in the world as a love of learning...the very best things in the world do not pay—for the simple reason that they are priceless.”

*Arthur Quiller-Couch*

“Crafty men condemn studies, simple men admire them, wise men use them.”

*Francis Bacon*

“The object of education is to teach us to love what is beautiful.”

*Socrates*



"[Education] is about how we become more human (and therefore more free, in the truest sense of the word)."

*Stratford Caldecott*

"Our greatest inheritance, the very foundation of our civilization, is a marvel to behold and consider. If I tried to describe its rich legacy with utmost brevity, I should use the Latin word *humanitas*. It represents in the widest sense, the accumulated harvest of the ages, the fine flower of a long discipline of Christian thought...Indeed, this sort of educational philosophy and methodology is that which steadfastly affirms that every student, every family, every community, and every nation needs to be grounded in the good things, the great things, the true things in order to do the right things."

*John Buchan*

"I would maintain that thanks are the highest form of thought, and that gratitude is happiness doubled by wonder."

*G.K. Chesterton*

## LECTURE 1.4 Why History?

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following quotations. How do these quotes demonstrate the purpose and value of studying history?

### Quotations on the study of history

"If we consider the Christian faith from the point of view of time we should say that the scandal of the Christian faith is to believe that these few years, which, for secular history, have no more, and no less, significance than other periods, are the center and norm of the totality of time. But the New Testament claims no less than this: 'When all things began, the Word already was, but the Word became flesh, he came to dwell among us and we saw his glory, such glory as befits the Father's only Son, full of grace and truth.'"

*Oscar Cullman*

"The Christian faith does not have to contort itself to embrace the hard facts of history. It admits that the tragedy of history cannot be avoided, but claims that there is power that redeems tragedy."

*John Briggs*

"Not to know what took place before you were born is to remain forever a child."

*Cicero*

"That men do not learn very much from the lessons of history is the most important of all the lessons of history."

*Aldous Huxley*

"Even now in sordid particulars the eternal design may appear."

*T.S. Eliot*

## LECTURE 1.5

### Portfolio and Family Tree Project

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #1

#### EXAM #1

1. What is the purpose of life? Give a detailed answer.
2. For what primary reasons do we undergo a formal education through school?
3. List and define at least four reasons for the study of history.





## LESSON 2

# *Eternity in Operation: The Roman Principate and the New Testament Church*

### LECTURE 2.1

#### Tiberius & Pentecost

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Acts 1-2. How does Peter's sermon show the fulfillment of Old Testament Prophecy?

*N.B. When passages of scripture are not included in this Student Reader for length, students should use their own Bibles.*

### LECTURE 2.3

#### Claudius, James & Paul

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Acts 8:1-8, 9:1-31, and 15:1-41. How does Paul encounter Jesus? How does the leadership of Paul and James direct the first church council at Jerusalem?

### LECTURE 2.2

#### Caligula and the Early Church

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Acts 6-7. How does Stephen confront the people's misunderstanding of the temple? What vision does he receive at the end of his life?

### LECTURE 2.4

#### The Missions of Paul

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the entirety of Paul's letter to the Philippians. How does Paul encourage the church in Philippi to live as Christ, to be humble and thankful, to be citizens of heaven, and to trust in God's provision?

## LECTURE 2.5

### Nero and the 12 Apostles

#### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #2

#### EXAM #2

1. How is theology the measurement of “eternity in operation,” according to Charles Williams? Which *historical events* were the disciples primarily concerned with giving testimony to?
2. Name one fact about the reign of *either* Emperor Tiberius *or* Emperor Caligula.
3. What does the name *Pentecost* mean?
4. How is Pentecost the beginning of the church? What did Christians receive at Pentecost?
5. Describe three or more characteristics of the early church, according to Acts.
6. Who was Stephen? Why was he martyred?
7. Name one fact about the reign of *either* Emperor Claudius *or* Emperor Nero.
8. Who was James the Just? Why was he called “Old Camel Knees?”
9. How was Paul prepared to address Jewish, Greek, and Roman cultures?
10. What was decided by the Council of Jerusalem?
11. What kinds of trials did Paul face on his missions?
12. Choose one of the twelve Apostles. Define the meaning of his name and describe his missionary work.

## LESSON 3

# Imperium sine Fine: *The Successions of Rome, Judea, and the Apostolic Church*

### LECTURE 3.1

#### Vespasian, Titus and the Destruction of Jerusalem

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following account of the Romans' sack of Jerusalem. How does Josephus show the destruction of Jerusalem and human misery? How does Titus attribute the Roman victory to God?

.....  
*The Wars of the Jews*, Book VI,  
chs. 8-9, by Flavius Josephus,  
translated by William Whiston  
.....

#### CHAPTER 8

So the Romans being now become masters of the wars, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last was, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook, without mercy, and set fire to the houses wither the Jews were fled, and burnt every

soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching anything. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night, and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpheus [Elul] upon Jerusalem; a city that had been liable to so many miseries during the siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of its overthrow.

#### CHAPTER 9

Now, when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants, in their mad conduct, had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of



their several stones. and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers!" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends; he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freed men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends; which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theaters, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men,

there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand, as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which, at the very first, occasioned so great a traitness among them that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly.

## LECTURE 3.2

### Epicurean Rome

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpt from *Satire 1* by Juvenal. How does Juvenal credit the idol of wealth as Rome's fall into vice?

.....

Excerpt from *Satire 1* by Juvenal,  
translated by G. G. Ramsay

.....

From the day when the rain-clouds lifted up the waters, and Deucalion climbed that mountain in his ship to seek an oracle—that day when stones grew soft and warm with life, and Pyrrha showed maidens in nature's garb to men—all the doings of mankind, their vows, their fears, their angers and their pleasures, their joys and goings to and fro, shall form the motley subject of my page. For when was Vice

more rampant? When did the maw of Avarice gape wider? When was gambling so reckless? Men come not now with purses to the hazard of the gaming table, but with a treasure-chest beside them. What battles will you there see waged with a cashier for an armor-bearer! Is it a simple form of madness to lose a hundred thousand sesterces, and not have a shirt to give to a shivering slave? Which of our grandfathers built such numbers of villas, or dined by himself off seven courses? Look now at the meager dole set down upon the threshold for a toga-clad mob to scramble for! Yet the patron first peers into your face, fearing that you may be claiming under someone else's name: once recognised, you will get your share. He then bids the crier call up the Trojan-blooded nobles—for they too besiege the door as well as we: "The Praetor first," says he, "and after him the Tribune." "But I was here first," says a freedman who stops the way; "why should I be afraid, or hesitate to keep my place? Though born on the Euphrates—a fact which the little windows in my ears would testify though I myself denied it—yet I am the owner of five shops which bring me in four hundred thousand sesterces. What better thing does the Broad Purple bestow if a Corvinus herds sheep for daily wage in the Laurentian country, while I possess more property than either a Pallas or a Licinus?" So let the Tribunes await their turn; let money carry the day; let the sacred office give way to one who came but yesterday with whitened feet into our city. For no deity is held in such reverence amongst us as Wealth; though as yet, O baneful money, thou hast no temple of thine own; not yet have we reared altars to Money in like manner as we worship Peace and Honor, Victory and Virtue, or that Concord that clatters when we salute her nest.

If then the great officers of state reckon up at the end of the year how much the dole brings in, how much it adds to their income, what shall we dependants do who, out of the self same dole, have to find ourselves in coats and shoes, in bread and smoke at home? A mob of litters comes in quest of the hun-

dred farthings; here is a husband going the round, followed by a sickly or pregnant wife; another, by a clever and well-known trick, claims for a wife that is not there, pointing, in her stead, to a closed and empty chair: "My Galla's in there," says he; "let us off quick, will you not?" "Galla, put out your head!" "Don't disturb her, she's asleep!"

The day itself is marked out by a fine round of business. First comes the dole; then the courts, and Apollo learned in the law, and those triumphal statues among which some Egyptian Arabarch or other has dared to set up his titles; against whose statue more than one kind of nuisance may be committed! Wearied and hopeless, the old clients leave the door, though the last hope that a man relinquishes is that of a dinner; the poor wretches must buy their cabbage and their fuel. Meanwhile their lordly patron will be devouring the choicest products of wood and sea, lying alone upon an empty couch; yes, at a single meal from their many fine large and antique tables they devour whole fortunes. Ere long no parasites will be left! Who can bear to see luxury so mean? What a huge gullet to have a whole boar—an animal created for conviviality—served up to it! But you will soon pay for it, my friend, when you take off your clothes, and with distended stomach carry your peacock into the bath undigested! Hence a sudden death, and an intestate old age; the new and merry tale runs the round of every dinner-table, and the corpse is carried forth to burial amid the cheers of enraged friends!

To these ways of ours Posterity will have nothing to add; our grandchildren will do the same things, any desire the same things, that we do. All vice is at its acme...

## LECTURE 3.3

### Roman Persecution and the Apostolic Fathers

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. What practical advice does Polycarp give? How does he regularly reference the scriptures?

#### ..... Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians .....

#### GREETING

Polycarp, and the presbyters with him, to the Church of God sojourning at Philippi: Mercy to you, and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, our Savior, be multiplied.

#### CHAPTER 1. PRAISE OF THE PHILIPPIANS

I have greatly rejoiced with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, because you have followed the example of true love [as displayed by God], and have accompanied, as became you, those who were bound in chains, the fitting ornaments of saints, and which are indeed the diadems of the true elect of God and our Lord; and because the strong root of your faith, spoken of in days Philippians 1:5 long gone by, endures even until now, and brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sins suffered even unto death, [but] whom God raised from the dead, having loosed the bands of the grave. In whom, though now you see Him not, you believe, and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; [1 Peter 1:8] into which joy many desire to enter, knowing that by grace you are saved, not of works, [Ephesians 2:8-9] but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

#### CHAPTER 2. AN EXHORTATION TO VIRTUE

Wherefore, girding up your loins, [1 Peter 1:13; Ephesians 6:14] serve the Lord in fear and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude, and believed in Him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory, [1 Peter 1:21] and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things [1 Peter 3:22; Philippians 2:10] in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead. [Acts 17:31] His blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him. But He who raised Him up from the dead will raise us up also, if we do His will, and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, [1 Peter 3:9] or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, but being mindful of what the Lord said in His teaching: Judge not, that you be not judged; [Matthew 7:1] forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be merciful, that you may obtain mercy; [Luke 6:36] with what measure you measure, it shall be measured to you again; [Matthew 7:2] and once more, Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God. [Luke 6:38]

#### CHAPTER 3. EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONAL UNWORTHINESS

These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not because I take anything upon myself, but because you have invited me to do so. For neither I, nor any other such one, can come up to the wisdom [2 Peter 3:15] of the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and steadfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you, he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of build-

ing you up in that faith which has been given you, and which, being followed by hope, and preceded by love towards God, and Christ, and our neighbor, is the mother of us all. [Galatians 4:26] For if any one be inwardly possessed of these graces, he has fulfilled the command of righteousness, since he that has love is far from all sin.

#### CHAPTER 4. VARIOUS EXHORTATIONS

But the love of money is the root of all evils. [1 Timothy 6:10] Knowing, therefore, that as we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out, [1 Timothy 6:7] let us arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness; [Ephesians 6:11] and let us teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord. Next, [teach] your wives [to walk] in the faith given to them, and in love and purity tenderly loving their own husbands in all truth, and loving all [others] equally in all chastity; and to train up their children in the knowledge and fear of God. Teach the widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying continually [1 Thessalonians 5:17] for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking, false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that they are the altar of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor any one of the secret things of the heart.

#### CHAPTER 5. THE DUTIES OF DEACONS, YOUTHS, AND VIRGINS

Knowing, then, that God is not mocked, [Galatians 6:7] we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory. In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ, and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued, [1 Timothy 3:8] or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the ser-

vant [Matthew 20:28] of all. If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live worthily of Him, we shall also reign together with Him, [2 Timothy 2:12] provided only we believe. In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since every lust wars against the spirit; [1 Peter 2:11] and neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God, [1 Corinthians 6:9-10] nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming. Wherefore, it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

#### CHAPTER 6. THE DUTIES OF PRESBYTERS AND OTHERS

And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, but always providing for that which is becoming in the sight of God and man; [Romans 12:17]; [2 Corinthians 8:31] abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unjust judgment; keeping far off from all covetousness, not quickly crediting [an evil report] against any one, not severe in judgment, as knowing that we are all under a debt of sin. If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive; [Matthew 6:12-14] for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and we must all appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself. [Romans 14:10-12]; [2 Corinthians 5:10] Let us then serve Him in fear, and with all reverence, even as He Himself has commanded us, and as the apostles who preached the Gospel unto us, and the prophets

who proclaimed beforehand the coming of the Lord [have alike taught us]. Let us be zealous in the pursuit of that which is good, keeping ourselves from causes of offense, from false brethren, and from those who in hypocrisy bear the name of the Lord, and draw away vain men into error.

#### **CHAPTER 7. AVOID THE DOCETISTS, AND PERSEVERE IN FASTING AND PRAYER**

For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist; [1 John 4:3] and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross, is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from Jude 3 the beginning; watching unto prayer, [1 Peter 4:7] and persevering in fasting; beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God not to lead us into temptation, [Matthew 6:13]; [Matthew 26:41] as the Lord has said: The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak. [Matthew 26:41]; [Mark 14:38]

#### **CHAPTER 8. PERSEVERE IN HOPE AND PATIENCE**

Let us then continually persevere in our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, who bore our sins in His own body on the tree, [1 Peter 2:24] who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, [1 Peter 2:22] but endured all things for us, that we might live in Him. [1 John 4:9] Let us then be imitators of His patience; and if we suffer [Acts 5:41]; [1 Peter 4:16] for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He has set us this example [1 Peter 2:21] in Himself, and we have believed that such is the case.

#### **CHAPTER 9. PATIENCE INCULCATED**

I exhort you all, therefore, to yield obedience to the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as you have seen [set] before your eyes, not only in the case of the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles. [This do] in the assurance that all these have not run [Philippians 2:16]; [Galatians 2:2] in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are [now] in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but Him who died for us, and for our sakes was raised again by God from the dead.

#### **CHAPTER 10. EXHORTATION TO THE PRACTICE OF VIRTUE**

Stand fast, therefore, in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and unchangeable in the faith, loving the brotherhood, [1 Peter 2:17] and being attached to one another, joined together in the truth, exhibiting the meekness of the Lord in your intercourse with one another, and despising no one. When you can do good, defer it not, because alms delivers from death. [Tobit 4:10 (Apocrypha)], [Tobit 12:9] Be all of you subject one to another [1 Peter 5:5] having your conduct blameless among the Gentiles, [1 Peter 2:12] that you may both receive praise for your good works, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you. But woe to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed! [Isaiah 52:5] Teach, therefore, sobriety to all, and manifest it also in your own conduct.

#### **CHAPTER 11. EXPRESSION OF GRIEF ON ACCOUNT OF VALENS**

I am greatly grieved for Valens, who was once a presbyter among you, because he so little understands the place that was given him [in the Church]. I exhort you, therefore, that you abstain from covetousness, and that you be chaste and truthful.



Abstain from every form of evil. [1 Thessalonians 5:22] For if a man cannot govern himself in such matters, how shall he enjoin them on others? If a man does not keep himself from covetousness, he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the heathen. But who of us are ignorant of the judgment of the Lord? Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world? [1 Corinthians 6:2] as Paul teaches. But I have neither seen nor heard of any such thing among you, in the midst of whom the blessed Paul labored, and who are commended in the beginning of his Epistle. For he boasts of you in all those Churches which alone then knew the Lord; but we [of Smyrna] had not yet known Him. I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for Valens and his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be then moderate in regard to this matter, and do not count such as enemies, [2 Thessalonians 3:15] but call them back as suffering and straying members, that you may save your whole body. For by so acting you shall edify yourselves. [1 Corinthians 12:26]

#### CHAPTER 12. EXHORTATION TO VARIOUS GRACES

For I trust that you are well versed in the Sacred Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; but to me this privilege is not yet granted. It is declared then in these Scriptures, Be angry, and sin not, and, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. [Ephesians 4:26] Happy is he who remembers this, which I believe to be the case with you. But may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ Himself, who is the Son of God, and our everlasting High Priest, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forbearance, and purity; and may He bestow on you a lot and portion among His saints, and on us with you, and on all that are under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in His Father, who raised Him from the dead. [Galatians 1:1] Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, [1 Timothy

2:2] and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you, [Matthew 5:44] and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that you may be perfect in Him.

#### CHAPTER 13. CONCERNING THE TRANSMISSION OF EPISTLES

Both you and Ignatius wrote to me, that if any one went [from this] into Syria, he should carry your letter with him; which request I will attend to if I find a fitting opportunity, either personally, or through some other acting for me, that your desire may be fulfilled. The Epistles of Ignatius written by him to us, and all the rest [of his Epistles] which we have by us, we have sent to you, as you requested. They are subjoined to this Epistle, and by them you may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and all things that tend to edification in our Lord. Any more certain information you may have obtained respecting both Ignatius himself, and those that were with him, have the goodness to make known to us.

#### CHAPTER 14. CONCLUSION

These things I have written to you by Crescens, whom up to the present time I have recommended unto you, and do now recommend. For he has acted blamelessly among us, and I believe also among you. Moreover, you will hold his sister in esteem when she comes to you. Be safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all. Amen.

## LECTURE 3.4

### The New Testament Canon

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read I Corinthians 2:13, II Corinthians 13:3, I Thessalonians 2:13, II Peter 3:15-16, II Timothy 3:16-17, and Articles 3-6 from *The Belgic Confession*. How do the scriptures attest to their own authority? What reasons does *The Belgic Confession* give for trusting the authority of the scriptures?

#### *The Belgic Confession*, Articles 3-6

#### ARTICLE 3: THE WRITTEN WORD OF GOD

We confess that this Word of God was not sent nor delivered by the will of men, but that holy men of God spoke, being moved by the Holy Spirit, as Peter says.

Afterwards our God—because of the special care he has for us and our salvation—commanded his servants, the prophets and apostles, to commit this revealed Word to writing. He himself wrote with his own finger the two tables of the law.

Therefore we call such writings holy and divine Scriptures. (2 Pet. 1:21)

#### ARTICLE 4: THE CANONICAL BOOKS

We include in the Holy Scripture the two volumes of the Old and New Testaments. They are canonical books with which there can be no quarrel at all.

In the church of God the list is as follows: In the Old Testament, the five books of Moses— Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth; the two books of

Samuel, and two of Kings; the two books of Chronicles, called Paralipomenon; the first book of Ezra; Nehemiah, Esther, Job; the Psalms of David; the three books of Solomon— Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song; the four major prophets— Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; and then the other twelve minor prophets— Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

In the New Testament, the four gospels— Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles; the fourteen letters of Paul— to the Romans; the two letters to the Corinthians; to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians; the two letters to the Thessalonians; the two letters to Timothy; to Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews; the seven letters of the other apostles— one of James; two of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; and the Revelation of the apostle John.

#### ARTICLE 5: THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE

We receive all these books and these only as holy and canonical, for the regulating, founding, and establishing of our faith.

And we believe without a doubt all things contained in them— not so much because the church receives and approves them as such but above all because the Holy Spirit testifies in our hearts that they are from God, and also because they prove themselves to be from God.

For even the blind themselves are able to see that the things predicted in them do happen.

#### ARTICLE 6: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

We distinguish between these holy books and the apocryphal ones, which are the third and fourth books of Esdras; the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Jesus Sirach, Baruch; what was added to the Story of Esther; the Song of the Three Children in

the Furnace; the Story of Susannah; the Story of Bell and the Dragon; the Prayer of Manasseh; and the two books of Maccabees.

The church may certainly read these books and learn from them as far as they agree with the canonical books. But they do not have such power and virtue that one could confirm from their testimony any point of faith or of the Christian religion. Much less can they detract from the authority of the other holy books.

## LECTURE 3.5

### Early Christian Worship and Art

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #3

#### EXAM #3

1. How did the Romans view their empire and emperors?
2. Why were Christians opposed to viewing Caesar as a god?
3. What occurred at Pompeii in A.D. 79? What did this event preserve?
4. Who were the Zealots? Why did they rebel against Rome?
5. Describe the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. What religious institution ended for the Jews?
6. Why does Will Durant call this season of history “Epicurean Rome?”
7. Why did Christians get in trouble with the Roman government? Of what were they accused?
8. Briefly describe the life and work of one of the following Apostolic Fathers: Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, or Papias of Hierapolis.
9. How is the New Testament authoritative based upon its own witness, its authors, its use by the early church, and archaeological findings?
10. When and where did early Christians worship?
11. What kinds of symbols, creatures, Biblical stories or myths did early Christians paint in their places of worship?
12. What was the Eucharist or Agape Feast? Why is it so important in the life of the church, past and present?

## LESSON 4

# *The World That Died in the Night: Christianity, the Church Fathers, and the Transformation of Culture*

### LECTURE 4.1

#### The Spread of Christianity

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from the *Didache*. How does the *Didache* present the way of life and the way of death? How does the *Didache* emphasize the importance of regular, congregational worship?

.....  
*Didache*, chs. 1-2, 5, 7-10, 14 & 16  
.....

#### CHAPTER 1. THE TWO WAYS; THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

There are two ways, one of life and one of death; but a great difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, you shall love God who made you; second, your neighbor as yourself; and all things whatsoever you would should not occur to you, do not also do to another. And of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless those who curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you. For what reward is there, if you love those who love you? Do not also the Gentiles do the same? But love those who hate you, and you shall not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts. If someone gives you a blow upon your right cheek, turn to him the other also, and you shall be perfect.

If someone impresses you for one mile, go with him two. If someone takes away your cloak, give him also your coat. If someone takes from you what is yours, ask it not back, for indeed you are not able. Give to every one that asks you, and ask it not back; for the Father wills that to all should be given of our own blessings (free gifts). Happy is he that gives according to the commandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receives; for if one having need receives, he is guiltless; but he that receives not having need, shall pay the penalty, why he received and for what, and, coming into straits (confinement), he shall be examined concerning the things which he has done, and he shall not escape thence until he pay back the last farthing. [Matthew 5:26] But also now concerning this, it has been said, Let your alms sweat in your hands, until you know to whom you should give.

#### CHAPTER 2. THE SECOND COMMANDMENT: GROSS SIN FORBIDDEN

And the second commandment of the Teaching; You shall not commit murder, you shall not commit adultery, [Exodus 20:13-14] you shall not commit pederasty, you shall not commit fornication, you shall not steal, [Exodus 20:15] you shall not practice magic, you shall not practice witchcraft, you shall not murder a child by abortion nor kill that which is begotten. You shall not covet the things of your neighbor, [Exodus 20:17] you shall not forswear yourself, [Matthew 5:34] you shall not bear false witness, [Exodus 20:16] you shall not

speaking evil, you shall bear no grudge. You shall not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for to be double-tongued is a snare of death. Your speech shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed. You shall not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor evil disposed, nor haughty. You shall not take evil counsel against your neighbor. You shall not hate any man; but some you shall reprove, and concerning some you shall pray, and some you shall love more than your own life.

### CHAPTER 5. THE WAY OF DEATH

And the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving a lie, not knowing a reward for righteousness, not cleaving to good nor to righteous judgment, watching not for that which is good, but for that which is evil; from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, pursuing requital, not pitying a poor man, not labouring for the afflicted, not knowing Him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the handiwork of God, turning away from him that is in want, afflicting him that is distressed, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, utter sinners. Be delivered, children, from all these.

### CHAPTER 7. CONCERNING BAPTISM

And concerning baptism, baptize this way: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, [Matthew 28:19] in living water. But if you have not living water, baptize into other water; and if you can not in cold, in warm. But if you have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before

the baptism let the baptizer fast, and the baptized, and whatever others can; but you shall order the baptized to fast one or two days before.

### CHAPTER 8. CONCERNING FASTING AND PRAYER (THE LORD'S PRAYER)

But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; [Matthew 6:16] for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week; but fast on the fourth day and the Preparation (Friday). Neither pray as the hypocrites; but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us today our daily (needful) bread, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one (or, evil); for Yours is the power and the glory forever. Thrice in the day thus pray.

### CHAPTER 9. THE THANKSGIVING (EUCHARIST)

Now concerning the Thanksgiving (Eucharist), thus give thanks. First, concerning the cup: We thank you, our Father, for the holy vine of David Your servant, which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank You, our Father, for the life and knowledge which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let Your Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Your kingdom; for Yours is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat or drink of your Thanksgiving (Eucharist), but they who have been baptized into the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord has said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs. [Matthew 7:6]



## CHAPTER 10. PRAYER AFTER COMMUNION

But after you are filled, thus give thanks: We thank You, holy Father, for Your holy name which You caused to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. You, Master almighty, created all things for Your name's sake; You gave food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to You; but to us You freely gave spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Your Servant. Before all things we thank You that You are mighty; to You be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, Your Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Your love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for Your kingdom which You have prepared for it; for Yours is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God (Son) of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But permit the prophets to make Thanksgiving as much as they desire.

## CHAPTER 14. CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE LORD'S DAY

But every Lord's day gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one that is at variance with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, says the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.

## CHAPTER 16. WATCHFULNESS; THE COMING OF THE LORD

Watch for your life's sake. Let not your lamps be quenched, nor your loins unloosed; but be ready, for you know not the hour in which our Lord comes. [Matthew 24:42] But often shall you come together, seeking the things which are befitting to your souls: for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if you be not made perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; [Matthew 24:11-12] for when lawlessness increases, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another, [Matthew 24:10] and then shall appear the world-deceiver as the Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning. Then shall the creation of men come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, the sign of an outspreading in heaven; then the sign of the sound of the trumpet; and the third, the resurrection of the dead; yet not of all, but as it is said: The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

## LECTURE 4.2

## The Effects of Christianity on Culture

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection by W.E.H. Lecky. How does Lecky show the difference between Christianity and paganism? How did Christianity change ancient culture?

.....

Excerpt from *A History of European Morals*, ch. 4, by W.E.H. Lecky

.....

But it was the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity that its moral influence was not indirect, casual, remote, or spasmodic. Unlike all Pagan religions, it made moral teaching a main function of its clergy, moral discipline the leading object of its services, moral dispositions the necessary condition of the due performance of its rites. By the pulpit, by its ceremonies, by all the agencies of power it possessed, it labored systematically and perseveringly for the regeneration of mankind. Under its influence, doctrines concerning the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, and the duties of man, which the noblest intellects of antiquity could barely grasp, have become the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and of the alley.

The first aspect in which Christianity presented itself to the world was as a declaration of the fraternity of men in Christ. Considered as immortal beings, destined for the extremes of happiness or of misery, and united to one another by a special community of redemption, the first and most manifest duty of a Christian man was to look upon his fellow men as sacred beings, and from this notion grew up the eminently Christian idea of the sanctity of all human life. I have already endeavored to show—and

the fact is of such capital importance in meeting the common objections to the reality of natural moral perceptions, that I venture, at the risk of tediousness, to recur to it—that nature does not tell man that it is wrong to slay without provocation his fellow men. Not to dwell upon those early stages of barbarism in which the higher faculties of human nature are still undeveloped, and almost in the condition of embryo, it is an historical fact beyond all dispute, that refined, and even moral societies have existed, in which the slaughter of men of some particular class or nation has been regarded with no more compunction than the slaughter of animals in the chase. The early Greeks, in their dealings with the barbarians the Romans, in their dealings with gladiators, and in some periods of their history, with slaves; the Spaniards, in their dealings with Indians; nearly all colonists removed from European supervision, in their dealings with an inferior race an immense proportion of the nations of antiquity, in their dealings with new-born infants, display this complete and absolute callousness, and we may discover traces of it even in our own islands and within the last three hundred years. And difficult as it may be to realize it in our day, when the atrocity of all wanton slaughter of men has become an essential part of our moral feelings, it is nevertheless an incontestable fact that this callousness has been continually shown by good men, by men who in all other respects would be regarded in any age conspicuous for their humanity. In the days of the Tudors, the best Englishmen delighted in what we should now deem the most barbarous sports, and it is absolutely certain that in antiquity men of genuine humanity—tender relations, loving friends, charitable neighbours—men in whose eyes the murder of a fellow-citizen would have appeared as atrocious as in our own, attended, instituted, and applauded gladiatorial games, or counselled without a scruple the exposition of infants. But it is, as I conceive, a complete confusion of thought to imagine, as is so commonly done, that any accumulation of facts of this nature throws

the smallest doubt upon the reality of innate moral perceptions. All that the intuitive moralist asserts is that we know by nature that there is a distinction between humanity and cruelty; that the first belongs to the higher or better part of our nature, and that it is our duty to cultivate it. The standard of the age, which is itself determined by the general condition of society, constitutes the natural line of duty for he who falls below it contributes to depress it. Now, there is no fact more absolutely certain than that nations and ages which have differed most widely as to the standard have been perfectly unanimous as to the excellence of humanity. Plato, who recommended infanticide; Cato, who sold his aged slaves; Pliny, who applauded the games of the arena the old generals, who made their prisoners slaves or gladiators, as well as the modern generals, who refuse to impose upon them any degrading labour the old legislators, who filled their codes with sentences of torture, mutilation, and hideous forms of death, as well as the modern legislators, who are continually seeking to abridge the punishment of the most guilty; the old disciplinarian, who governed by force, as well as the modern instructor, who governs by sympathy; the Spanish girl, whose dark eye glows with rapture as she watches the frantic bull, while the fire streams from the explosive dart that quivers in its neck as well as the reformers We sometimes meet, who are scandalized by all field sports, or by the sacrifice of animal life for food or who will eat only the larger animals, in order to reduce the sacrifice of life to minimum or who are continually inventing new methods of quickening animal death—all these persons, widely as they differ in their acts and in their judgments of what things should be called ‘brutal,’ and of what things should be called ‘fantastic,’ agree in believing humanity to be better than cruelty, and in attaching a definite condemnation to acts that fall below the standard of their country and their time. Now, it was one of the most important services of Christianity, that besides quickening greatly our benevolent affections it definitely and dogmatically as-

serted the sinfulness of all destruction of human life as a matter of amusement, or of simple convenience, and thereby formed a new standard higher than any which then existed in the world.

### LECTURE 4.3

## The Sanctity of Life, Marcus Aurelius and Justin Martyr

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Chapters 1-13 from the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr. What are his arguments for Christianity and against persecution?

.....  
*First Apology*, Chapters 1-13,  
 by Justin Martyr  
 .....

### CHAPTER 1. ADDRESS

To the Emperor Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, and to his son Verissimus the Philosopher, and to Lucius the Philosopher, the natural son of Cæsar, and the adopted son of Pius, a lover of learning, and to the sacred Senate, with the whole People of the Romans, I, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, present this address and petition on behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and wantonly abused, myself being one of them.

### CHAPTER 2. JUSTICE DEMANDED

Reason directs those who are truly pious and philosophical to honor and love only what is true, declining to follow traditional opinions, if these be worthless. For not only does sound reason direct us to refuse the guidance of those who did or taught anything wrong, but it is incumbent on the lover

of truth, by all means, and if death be threatened, even before his own life, to choose to do and say what is right. Do you, then, since you are called pious and philosophers, guardians of justice and lovers of learning, give good heed, and hearken to my address; and if you are indeed such, it will be manifested. For we have come, not to flatter you by this writing, nor please you by our address, but to beg that you pass judgment, after an accurate and searching investigation, not flattered by prejudice or by a desire of pleasing superstitious men, nor induced by irrational impulse or evil rumors which have long been prevalent, to give a decision which will prove to be against yourselves. For as for us, we reckon that no evil can be done us, unless we be convicted as evil-doers or be proved to be wicked men; and you, you can kill, but not hurt us.

### CHAPTER 3. CLAIM OF JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION

But lest any one think that this is an unreasonable and reckless utterance, we demand that the charges against the Christians be investigated, and that, if these be substantiated, they be punished as they deserve; [or rather, indeed, we ourselves will punish them.] But if no one can convict us of anything, true reason forbids you, for the sake of a wicked rumor, to wrong blameless men, and indeed rather yourselves, who think fit to direct affairs, not by judgment, but by passion. And every sober-minded person will declare this to be the only fair and equitable adjustment, namely, that the subjects render an unexceptional account of their own life and doctrine; and that, on the other hand, the rulers should give their decision in obedience, not to violence and tyranny, but to piety and philosophy. For thus would both rulers and ruled reap benefit. For even one of the ancients somewhere said, Unless both rulers and ruled philosophize, it is impossible to make states blessed. It is our task, therefore, to afford to all an opportunity of inspecting our life and teachings, lest, on account of those who are accus-

tomed to be ignorant of our affairs, we should incur the penalty due to them for mental blindness; and it is your business, when you hear us, to be found, as reason demands, good judges. For if, when you have learned the truth, you do not what is just, you will be before God without excuse.

### CHAPTER 4. CHRISTIANS UNJUSTLY CONDEMNED FOR THEIR MERE NAME

By the mere application of a name, nothing is decided, either good or evil, apart from the actions implied in the name; and indeed, so far at least as one may judge from the name we are accused of, we are most excellent people. But as we do not think it just to beg to be acquitted on account of the name, if we be convicted as evil-doers, so, on the other hand, if we be found to have committed no offense, either in the matter of thus naming ourselves, or of our conduct as citizens, it is your part very earnestly to guard against incurring just punishment, by unjustly punishing those who are not convicted. For from a name neither praise nor punishment could reasonably spring, unless something excellent or base in action be proved. And those among yourselves who are accused you do not punish before they are convicted; but in our case you receive the name as proof against us, and this although, so far as the name goes, you ought rather to punish our accusers. For we are accused of being Christians, and to hate what is excellent is unjust. Again, if any of the accused deny the name, and say that he is not a Christian, you acquit him, as having no evidence against him as a wrong-doer; but if any one acknowledge that he is a Christian, you punish him on account of this acknowledgment. Justice requires that you inquire into the life both of him who confesses and of him who denies, that by his deeds it may be apparent what kind of man each is. For as some who have been taught by the Master, Christ, not to deny Him, give encouragement to others when they are put to the question, so in all probability do those who lead wicked lives give occasion to those who, with-

out consideration, take upon them to accuse all the Christians of impiety and wickedness. And this also is not right. For of philosophy, too, some assume the name and the garb who do nothing worthy of their profession; and you are well aware, that those of the ancients whose opinions and teachings were quite diverse, are yet all called by the one name of philosophers. And of these some taught atheism; and the poets who have flourished among you raise a laugh out of the uncleanness of Jupiter with his own children. And those who now adopt such instruction are not restrained by you; but, on the contrary, you bestow prizes and honors upon those who euphoni-ously insult the gods.

#### **CHAPTER 5. CHRISTIANS CHARGED WITH ATHEISM**

Why, then, should this be? In our case, who pledge ourselves to do no wickedness, nor to hold these atheistic opinions, you do not examine the charges made against us; but, yielding to unreasoning passion, and to the instigation of evil demons, you punish us without consideration or judgment. For the truth shall be spoken; since of old these evil demons, effecting apparitions of themselves, both defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed such fearful sights to men, that those who did not use their reason in judging of the actions that were done, were struck with terror; and being carried away by fear, and not knowing that these were demons, they called them gods, and gave to each the name which each of the demons chose for himself. And when Socrates endeavored, by true reason and examination, to bring these things to light, and deliver men from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death, as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that he was introducing new divinities; and in our case they display a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks did reason (*Logos*) prevail to condemn these things through Socrates, but also among the Barbarians were they

condemned by Reason (or the Word, the *Logos*) Himself, who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; and in obedience to Him, we not only deny that they who did such things as these are gods, but assert that they are wicked and impious demons, whose actions will not bear comparison with those even of men desirous of virtue.

#### **CHAPTER 6. CHARGE OF ATHEISM REFUTED**

Hence are we called atheists. And we confess that we are atheists, so far as gods of this sort are concerned, but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is free from all impurity. But both Him, and the Son (who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to Him), and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and truth, and declaring without grudging to every one who wishes to learn, as we have been taught.

#### **CHAPTER 7. EACH CHRISTIAN MUST BE TRIED BY HIS OWN LIFE**

But someone will say, Some have ere now been arrested and convicted as evil-doers. For you condemn many, many a time, after inquiring into the life of each of the accused severally, but not on account of those of whom we have been speaking. And this we acknowledge, that as among the Greeks those who teach such theories as please themselves are all called by the one name Philosopher, though their doctrines be diverse, so also among the Barbarians this name on which accusations are accumulated is the common property of those who are and those who seem wise. For all are called Christians. Wherefore we demand that the deeds of all those who are accused to you be judged, in order that each one who is convicted may be punished as an evil-doer, and not as a Christian; and if it is clear



that any one is blameless, that he may be acquitted, since by the mere fact of his being a Christian he does no wrong. For we will not require that you punish our accusers; they being sufficiently punished by their present wickedness and ignorance of what is right.

### **CHAPTER 8. CHRISTIANS CONFESS THEIR FAITH IN GOD**

And reckon that it is for your sakes we have been saying these things; for it is in our power, when we are examined, to deny that we are Christians; but we would not live by telling a lie. For, impelled by the desire of the eternal and pure life, we seek the abode that is with God, the Father and Creator of all, and hasten to confess our faith, persuaded and convinced as we are that they who have proved to God by their works that they followed Him, and loved to abide with Him where there is no sin to cause disturbance, can obtain these things. This, then, to speak shortly, is what we expect and have learned from Christ, and teach. And Plato, in like manner, used to say that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them; and we say that the same thing will be done, but at the hand of Christ, and upon the wicked in the same bodies united again to their spirits which are now to undergo everlasting punishment; and not only, as Plato said, for a period of a thousand years. And if any one say that this is incredible or impossible, this error of ours is one which concerns ourselves only, and no other person, so long as you cannot convict us of doing any harm.

### **CHAPTER 9. FOLLY OF IDOL WORSHIP**

And neither do we honor with many sacrifices and garlands of flowers such deities as men have formed and set in shrines and called gods; since we see that these are soulless and dead, and have not the form of God (for we do not consider that God has such a form as some say that they imitate to

His honor), but have the names and forms of those wicked demons which have appeared. For why need we tell you who already know, into what forms the craftsmen, [Isaiah 44:9-20; Jeremiah 10:3]. carving and cutting, casting and hammering, fashion the materials? And often out of vessels of dishonor, by merely changing the form, and making an image of the requisite shape, they make what they call a god; which we consider not only senseless, but to be even insulting to God, who, having ineffable glory and form, thus gets His name attached to things that are corruptible, and require constant service. And that the artificers of these are both intemperate, and, not to enter into particulars, are practiced in every vice, you very well know; even their own girls who work along with them they corrupt. What infatuation! That dissolute men should be said to fashion and make gods for your worship, and that you should appoint such men the guardians of the temples where they are enshrined; not recognising that it is unlawful even to think or say that men are the guardians of gods.

### **CHAPTER 10. HOW GOD IS TO BE SERVED**

But we have received by tradition that God does not need the material offerings which men can give, seeing, indeed, that He Himself is the provider of all things. And we have been taught, and are convinced, and do believe, that He accepts those only who imitate the excellences which reside in Him, temperance, and justice, and philanthropy, and as many virtues as are peculiar to a God who is called by no proper name. And we have been taught that He in the beginning did of His goodness, for man's sake, create all things out of unformed matter; and if men by their works show themselves worthy of this His design, they are deemed worthy, and so we have received—of reigning in company with Him, being delivered from corruption and suffering. For as in the beginning He created us when we were not, so do we consider that, in like manner, those who

choose what is pleasing to Him are, on account of their choice, deemed worthy of incorruption and of fellowship with Him. For the coming into being at first was not in our own power; and in order that we may follow those things which please Him, choosing them by means of the rational faculties He has Himself endowed us with, He both persuades us and leads us to faith. And we think it for the advantage of all men that they are not restrained from learning these things, but are even urged thereto. For the restraint which human laws could not effect, the Word, inasmuch as He is divine, would have effected, had not the wicked demons, taking as their ally the lust of wickedness which is in every man, and which draws variously to all manner of vice, scattered many false and profane accusations, none of which attach to us.

### **CHAPTER 11. WHAT KINGDOM CHRISTIANS LOOK FOR**

And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you suppose, without making any inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God, as appears also from the confession of their faith made by those who are charged with being Christians, though they know that death is the punishment awarded to him who so confesses. For if we looked for a human kingdom, we should also deny our Christ, that we might not be slain; and we should strive to escape detection, that we might obtain what we expect. But since our thoughts are not fixed on the present, we are not concerned when men cut us off; since also death is a debt which must at all events be paid.

### **CHAPTER 12. CHRISTIANS LIVE AS UNDER GOD'S EYE**

And more than all other men are we your helpers and allies in promoting peace, seeing that we hold this view, that it is alike impossible for the wicked, the covetous, the conspirator, and for the

virtuous, to escape the notice of God, and that each man goes to everlasting punishment or salvation according to the value of his actions. For if all men knew this, no one would choose wickedness even for a little, knowing that he goes to the everlasting punishment of fire; but would by all means restrain himself, and adorn himself with virtue, that he might obtain the good gifts of God, and escape the punishments. For those who, on account of the laws and punishments you impose, endeavor to escape detection when they offend (and they offend, too, under the impression that it is quite possible to escape your detection, since you are but men), those persons, if they learned and were convinced that nothing, whether actually done or only intended, can escape the knowledge of God, would by all means live decently on account of the penalties threatened, as even you yourselves will admit. But you seem to fear lest all men become righteous, and you no longer have any to punish. Such would be the concern of public executioners, but not of good princes. But, as we before said, we are persuaded that these things are prompted by evil spirits, who demand sacrifices and service even from those who live unreasonably; but as for you, we presume that you who aim at [a reputation for] piety and philosophy will do nothing unreasonable. But if you also, like the foolish, prefer custom to truth, do what you have power to do. But just so much power have rulers who esteem opinion more than truth, as robbers have in a desert. And that you will not succeed is declared by the Word, than whom, after God who begot Him, we know there is no ruler more kingly and just. For as all shrink from succeeding to the poverty or sufferings or obscurity of their fathers, so whatever the Word forbids us to choose, the sensible man will not choose. That all these things should come to pass, I say, our Teacher foretold, He who is both Son and Apostle of God the Father of all and the Ruler, Jesus Christ; from whom also we have the name of Christians. Whence we become more assured of all the things He taught us, since



whatever He beforehand foretold should come to pass, is seen in fact coming to pass; and this is the work of God, to tell of a thing before it happens, and as it was foretold so to show it happening. It were possible to pause here and add no more, reckoning that we demand what is just and true; but because we are well aware that it is not easy suddenly to change a mind possessed by ignorance, we intend to add a few things, for the sake of persuading those who love the truth, knowing that it is not impossible to put ignorance to flight by presenting the truth.

### CHAPTER 13. CHRISTIANS SERVE GOD RATIONALLY

What sober-minded man, then, will not acknowledge that we are not atheists, worshipping as we do the Maker of this universe, and declaring, as we have been taught, that He has no need of streams of blood and libations and incense; whom we praise to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things wherewith we are supplied, as we have been taught that the only honor that is worthy of Him is not to consume by fire what He has brought into being for our sustenance, but to use it for ourselves and those who need, and with gratitude to Him to offer thanks by invocations and hymns for our creation, and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons; and to present before Him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in Him. Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who also was born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea, in the times of Tiberius Caesar; and that we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third, we will prove. For they proclaim our madness to consist in this, that we give to a crucified man a place second to the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of all;

for they do not discern the mystery that is herein, to which, as we make it plain to you, we pray you to give heed.

### LECTURE 4.4

## Persecutions, the Gnostics and Irenaeus of Lyon

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the prison diary of Perpetua, a young woman martyred in Carthage. How does Perpetua show faithfulness in the face of martyrdom?

.....

Excerpt from *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, compiled and translated by Herbert Musurillo

.....

A number of young catechumens were arrested, Revocatus and his fellow slave Felicitas, Saturninus and Secundulus, and with them Vibia Perpetua, a newly married woman of good family and upbringing. Her mother and father were still alive and one of her two brothers was a catechumen like herself. She was about twenty-two years old and had an infant son at the breast. (Now from this point on the entire account of her ordeal is her own, according to her own ideas and in the way that she herself wrote it down.)

While we were still under arrest (she said) my father out of love for me was trying to persuade me and shake my resolution. 'Father,' said I, 'do you see this vase here, for example, or waterpot or whatever?'

'Yes, I do', said he.

And I told him: 'Could it be called by any other name than what it is?'

And he said: 'No.'

'Well, so too I cannot be called anything other than what I am, a Christian.'

At this my father was so angered by the word 'Christian' that he moved towards me as though he would pluck my eyes out. But he left it at that and departed, vanquished along with his diabolical arguments.

For a few days afterwards I gave thanks to the Lord that I was separated from my father, and I was comforted by his absence. During these few days I was baptized, and I was inspired by the Spirit not to ask for any other favor after the water but simply the perseverance of the flesh. A few days later we were lodged in the prison; and I was terrified, as I had never before been in such a dark hole. What a difficult time it was! With the crowd the heat was stifling; then there was the extortion of the soldiers; and to crown all, I was tortured with worry for my baby there.

Then Tertius and Pomponius, those blessed deacons who tried to take care of us, bribed the soldiers to allow us to go to a better part of the prison to refresh ourselves for a few hours. Everyone then left that dungeon and shifted for himself. I nursed my baby, who was faint from hunger. In my anxiety I spoke to my mother about the child, I tried to comfort my brother, and I gave the child in their charge. I was in pain because I saw them suffering out of pity for me. These were the trials I had to endure for many days. Then I got permission for my baby to stay with me in prison. At once I recovered my health, relieved as I was of my worry and anxiety over the child. My prison had suddenly become a palace, so that I wanted to be there rather than anywhere else.

Then my brother said to me: 'Dear sister, you are greatly privileged; surely you might ask for a vision to discover whether you are to be condemned or freed.'

Faithfully I promised that I would, for I knew that I could speak with the Lord, whose great blessings I had come to experience. And so I said: 'I shall tell you tomorrow.' Then I made my request and this was the vision I had.

I saw a ladder of tremendous height made of bronze, reaching all the way to the heavens, but it was so narrow that only one person could climb up at a time. To the sides of the ladder were attached all sorts of metal weapons: there were swords, spears, hooks, daggers, and spikes; so that if anyone tried to climb up carelessly or without paying attention, he would be mangled and his flesh would adhere to the weapons.

At the foot of the ladder lay a dragon of enormous size, and it would attack those who tried to climb up and try to terrify them from doing so. And Saturus was the first to go up, he who was later to give himself up of his own accord. He had been the builder of our strength, although he was not present when we were arrested. And he arrived at the top of the staircase and he looked back and said to me: 'Perpetua, I am waiting for you. But take care; do not let the dragon bite you.'

'He will not harm me,' I said, 'in the name of Christ Jesus.'

Slowly, as though he were afraid of me, the dragon stuck his head out from underneath the ladder. Then, using it as my first step, I trod on his head and went up.

Then I saw an immense garden, and in it a gray-haired man sat in shepherd's garb; tall he was, and milking sheep. And standing around him were many thousands of people clad in white garments. He raised his head, looked at me, and said: 'I am glad you have come, my child.'

He called me over to him and gave me, as it were, a mouthful of the milk he was drawing; and I took it into my cupped hands and consumed it. And all those who stood around said: 'Amen!' At the sound of this word I came to, with the taste of something sweet still in my mouth. I at once told this to my brother, and we realized that we would have to suffer, and that from now on we would no longer have any hope in this life.

A few days later there was a rumor that we were going to be given a hearing. My father also arrived

from the city, worn with worry, and he came to see me with the idea of persuading me.

'Daughter,' he said, 'have pity on my gray head—have pity on me your father, if I deserve to be called your father, if I have favored you above all your brothers, if I have raised you to reach this prime of your life. Do not abandon me to be the reproach of men. Think of your brothers, think of your mother and your aunt, think of your child, who will not be able to live once you are gone. Give up your pride! You will destroy all of us! None of us will ever be able to speak freely again if anything happens to you.'

This was the way my father spoke out of love for me, kissing my hands and throwing himself down before me. With tears in his eyes he no longer addressed me as his daughter but as a woman. I was sorry for my father's sake, because he alone of all my kin would be unhappy to see me suffer.

I tried to comfort him saying: 'It will all happen in the prisoner's dock as God wills; for you may be sure that we are not left to ourselves but are all in his power.'

And he left me in great sorrow.

One day while we were eating breakfast we were suddenly hurried off for a hearing. We arrived at the forum, and straight away the story went about the neighborhood near the forum and a huge crowd gathered. We walked up to the prisoner's dock. All the others when questioned admitted their guilt. Then, when it came my turn, my father appeared with my son, dragged me from the step, and said: 'Perform the sacrifice—have pity on your baby!'

Hilarianus the governor, who had received his judicial powers as the successor of the late proconsul Minucius Timinianus, said to me: 'Have pity on your father's gray head; have pity on your infant son. Offer the sacrifice for the welfare of the emperors.'

'I will not', I retorted.

'Are you a Christian?' said Hilarianus.

And I said: 'Yes, I am.'

When my father persisted in trying to dissuade

me, Hilarianus ordered him to be thrown to the ground and beaten with a rod. I felt sorry for father, just as if I myself had been beaten. I felt sorry for his pathetic old age.

Then Hilarianus passed sentence on all of us: we were condemned to the beasts, and we returned to prison in high spirits. But my baby had got used to being nursed at the breast and to staying with me in prison. So I sent the deacon Pomponius straight away to my father to ask for the baby. But father refused to give him over. But as God willed, the baby had no further desire for the breast, nor did I suffer any inflammation; and so I was relieved of any anxiety for my child and of any discomfort in my breasts ...

Some days later, an adjutant named Pudens, who was in charge of the prison, began to show us great honor, realizing that we possessed some great power within us. And he began to allow many visitors to see us for our mutual comfort.

Now the day of the contest was approaching, and my father came to see me overwhelmed with sorrow. He started tearing the hairs from his beard and threw them on the ground; he then threw himself on the ground and began to curse his old age and to say such words as would move all creation. I felt sorry for his unhappy old age.

The day before we were to fight with the beasts I saw the following vision. Pomponius the deacon came to the prison gates and began to knock violently. I went out and opened the gate for him. He was dressed in an unbelted white tunic, wearing elaborate sandals. And he said to me: 'Perpetua, come; we are waiting for you.'

Then he took my hand and we began to walk through rough and broken country. At last we came to the amphitheater out of breath, and he led me into the center of the arena.

Then he told me: 'Do not be afraid. I am here, struggling with you.' Then he left.

I looked at the enormous crowd who watched in astonishment. I was surprised that no beasts were

let loose on me; for I knew that I was condemned to die by the beasts. Then out came an Egyptian against me, of vicious appearance, together with his seconds, to fight with me. There also came up to me some handsome young men to be my seconds and assistants.

My clothes were stripped off, and suddenly I was a man. My seconds began to rub me down with oil (as they are wont to do before a contest). Then I saw the Egyptian on the other side rolling in the dust. Next there came forth a man of marvelous stature, such that he rose above the top of the amphitheater. He was clad in a beltless purple tunic with two stripes (one on either side) running down the middle of his chest. He wore sandals that were wondrously made of gold and silver, and he carried a wand like an athletic trainer and a green branch on which there were golden apples.

And he asked for silence and said: 'If this Egyptian defeats her he will slay her with the sword. But if she defeats him, she will receive this branch.' Then he withdrew.

We drew close to one another and began to let our fists fly. My opponent tried to get hold of my feet, but I kept striking him in the face with the heels of my feet. Then I was raised up into the air and I began to pummel him without as it were touching the ground. Then when I noticed there was a lull, I put my two hands together linking the fingers of one hand with those of the other and thus I got hold of his head. He fell flat on his face and I stepped on his head.

The crowd began to shout and my assistants started to sing psalms. Then I walked up to the trainer and took the branch. He kissed me and said to me: 'Peace be with you, my daughter!' I began to walk in triumph towards the Gate of Life. Then I awoke. I realized that it was not with wild animals that I would fight but with the Devil, but I knew that I would win the victory. So much for what I did up until the eve of the contest. About what happened at the contest itself, let him write of it who

will.

Such were the remarkable visions of these martyrs, Saturus and Perpetua, written by themselves. As for Secundulus, God called him from this world earlier than the others while he was still in prison, by a special grace that he might not have to face the animals. Yet his flesh, if not his spirit, knew the sword.

As for Felicitas, she too enjoyed the Lord's favor in this wise. She had been pregnant when she was arrested, and was now in her eighth month. As the day of the spectacle drew near she was very distressed that her martyrdom would be postponed because of her pregnancy; for it is against the law for women with child to be executed. Thus she might have to shed her holy, innocent blood afterwards along with others who were common criminals. Her comrades in martyrdom were also saddened; for they were afraid that they would have to leave behind so fine a companion to travel alone on the same road to hope. And so, two days before the contest, they poured forth a prayer to the Lord in one torrent of common grief. And immediately after their prayer the birth pains came upon her. She suffered a good deal in her labor because of the natural difficulty of an eight months' delivery.

Hence one of the assistants of the prison guards said to her: 'You suffer so much now—what will you do when you are tossed to the beasts? Little did you think of them when you refused to sacrifice.'

'What I am suffering now', she replied, 'I suffer by myself. But then another will be inside me who will suffer for me, just as I shall be suffering for him.'

And she gave birth to a girl; and one of the sisters brought her up as her own daughter.

Therefore, since the Holy Spirit has permitted the story of this contest to be written down and by so permitting has willed it, we shall carry out the command or, indeed, the commission of the most saintly Perpetua, however unworthy I might be to add anything to this glorious story. At the same time I shall add one example of her perseverance and nobility of soul.

The military tribune had treated them with extraordinary severity because on the information of certain very foolish people he became afraid that they would be spirited out of the prison by magical spells.

Perpetua spoke to him directly. 'Why can you not even allow us to refresh ourselves properly? For we are the most distinguished of the condemned prisoners, seeing that we belong to the emperor; we are to fight on his very birthday. Would it not be to your credit if we were brought forth on the day in a healthier condition?'

The officer became disturbed and grew red. So it was that he gave the order that they were to be more humanely treated; and he allowed her brothers and other persons to visit, so that the prisoners could dine in their company. By this time the adjutant who was head of the gaol was himself a Christian.

On the day before, when they had their last meal, which is called the free banquet, they celebrated not a banquet but rather a love feast. They spoke to the mob with the same steadfastness, warned them of God's judgment, stressing the joy they would have in their suffering, and ridiculing the curiosity of those that came to see them. Saturus said: 'Will not tomorrow be enough for you? Why are you so eager to see something that you dislike? Our friends today will be our enemies on the morrow. But take careful note of what we look like so that you will recognize us on the day.' Thus everyone would depart from the prison in amazement, and many of them began to believe.

The day of their victory dawned, and they marched from the prison to the amphitheater joyfully as though they were going to heaven, with calm faces, trembling, if at all, with joy rather than fear. Perpetua went along with shining countenance and calm step, as the beloved of God, as a wife of Christ, putting down everyone's stare by her own intense gaze. With them also was Felicitas, glad that she had safely given birth so that now she could fight the beasts, going from one blood bath to another, from the midwife to the gladiator, ready to wash after

childbirth in a second baptism.

They were then led up to the gates and the men were forced to put on the robes of priests of Saturn, the women the dress of the priestesses of Ceres. But the noble Perpetua strenuously resisted this to the end.

'We came to this of our own free will, that our freedom should not be violated. We agreed to pledge our lives provided that we would do no such thing. You agreed with us to do this.'

Even injustice recognized justice. The military tribune agreed. They were to be brought into the arena just as they were. Perpetua then began to sing a psalm: she was already treading on the head of the Egyptian. Revocatus, Saturninus, and Saturus began to warn the on looking mob. Then when they came within sight of Hilarianus, they suggested by their motions and gestures: 'You have condemned us, but God will condemn you' was what they were saying.

At this the crowds became enraged and demanded that they be scourged before a line of gladiators. And they rejoiced at this that they had obtained a share in the Lord's sufferings.

But he who said, Ask and you shall receive, answered their prayer by giving each one the death he had asked for. For whenever they would discuss among themselves their desire for martyrdom, Saturninus indeed insisted that he wanted to be exposed to all the different beasts, that his crown might be all the more glorious. And so at the outset of the contest he and Revocatus were matched with a leopard, and then while in the stocks they were attacked by a bear. As for Saturus, he dreaded nothing more than a bear, and he counted on being killed by one bite of a leopard. Then he was matched with a wild boar; but the gladiator who had tied him to the animal was gored by the boar and died a few days after the contest, whereas Saturus was only dragged along. Then when he was bound in the stocks awaiting the bear, the animal refused to come out of the cages, so that Saturus was called back once more unhurt.

For the young women, however, the Devil had prepared a mad heifer. This was an unusual animal,



but it was chosen that their sex might be matched with that of the beast. So they were stripped naked, placed in nets and thus brought out into the arena. Even the crowd was horrified when they saw that one was a delicate young girl and the other was a woman fresh from childbirth. And so they were brought back again and dressed in unbelted tunics.

First the heifer tossed Perpetua and she fell on her back. Then sitting up she pulled down the tunic that was ripped along the side so that it covered her thighs, thinking more of her modesty than of her pain. Next she asked for a pin to fasten her untidy hair: for it was not right that a martyr should die with her hair in disorder, lest she might seem to be mourning in her hour of triumph.

Then she got up. And seeing that Felicitas had been crushed to the ground, she went over to her, gave her hand, and lifted her up. Then the two stood side by side. But the cruelty of the mob was by now appeased, and so they were called back through the Gate of Life.

There Perpetua was held up by a man named Rusticus who was at the time a catechumen and kept close to her. She awoke from a kind of sleep (so absorbed had she been in ecstasy in the Spirit) and she began to look about her. Then to the amazement of all she said: 'When are we going to be thrown to that heifer or whatever it is?'

When told that this had already happened, she refused to believe it until she noticed the marks of her rough experience on her person and her dress. Then she called for her brother and spoke to him together with the catechumens and said: 'You must all stand fast in the faith and love one another, and do not be weakened by what we have gone through.'

At another gate Saturus was earnestly addressing the soldier Pudens. 'It is exactly', he said, 'as I foretold and predicted. So far not one animal has touched me. So now you may believe me with all your heart: I am going in there and I shall be finished off with one bite of the leopard.' And immediately as the contest was coming to a close a leopard was

let loose, and after one bite Saturus was so drenched with blood that as he came away the mob roared in witness to his second baptism: 'Well washed! Well washed!' For well washed indeed was one who had been bathed in this manner.

Then he said to the soldier Pudens: 'Good-bye. Remember me, and remember the faith. These things should not disturb you but rather strengthen you.'

And with this he asked Pudens for a ring from his finger, and dipping it into his wound he gave it back to him again as a pledge and as a record of his bloodshed.

Shortly after he was thrown unconscious with the rest in the usual spot to have his throat cut. But the mob asked that their bodies be brought out into the open that their eyes might be the guilty witnesses of the sword that pierced their flesh. And so the martyrs got up and went to the spot of their own accord as the people wanted them to, and kissing one another they sealed their martyrdom with the ritual kiss of peace. The others took the sword in silence and without moving, especially Saturus, who being the first to climb the stairway was the first to die. For once again he was waiting for Perpetua, however, had yet to taste more pain. She screamed as she was struck on the bone; then she took the trembling hand of the young gladiator and guided it to her throat. It was as though so great a woman, feared as she was by the unclean spirit, could not be dispatched unless she herself were willing.

Ah, most valiant and blessed martyrs! Truly are you called and chosen for the glory of Christ Jesus our Lord! And any man who exalts, honors, and worships his glory should read for the consolation of the Church these new deeds of heroism which are no less significant than the tales of old. For these new manifestations of virtue will bear witness to one and the same Spirit who still operates, and to God the Father almighty, to his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom is splendor and immeasurable power for all the ages. Amen.

## LECTURE 4.5

### The Five Patriarchates, Origen & Tertullian

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #4

#### EXAM #4

1. Why did Christianity spread so rapidly and thoroughly in the known world? What was attractive about it?
2. List at least five regions where Christianity existed by the end of the second century A.D.
3. How did Christianity promote freedom of religion, or how did it promote obedience to and limitation of government?
4. How did Christianity promote charity?
5. How did Christianity change slavery?
6. How did Christianity change the role of women and the view of marriage?
7. How did Christianity promote the sanctity of life?
8. What was the worldview of Marcus Aurelius? How was it empty or hollow, compared to Christianity?
9. How did Justin Martyr defend the faith?
10. Who were the Gnostics? What did they teach?
11. Briefly describe the life and work of *either* Irenaeus of Lyon, Origen of Alexandria, *or* Tertullian of Carthage.
12. List the five patriarchates.



## LESSON 5

# *A Creed and Still a Gospel: Constantine, Nicea, and Athanasius*

### LECTURE 5.1

#### Diocletian, the Tetrarchy and the Great Persecution

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from “The Martyrs of Palestine.” How did Diocletian and Maximin attempt to destroy Christianity and promote paganism?

.....

Excerpt from “The Martyrs of Palestine,” part of *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius

.....

It was enacted by their majesties Diocletian and Maximian that the meetings of Christians should be abolished. Imperial edicts were published everywhere ordering that the churches be razed to the ground, that the Scriptures be destroyed by fire, that those holding office be deposed and they of the household be deprived of freedom, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity. This was the first edict against us. But not long after other decrees were issued, which enjoined that the rulers of the churches in every place be first imprisoned, and thereafter every means be used to compel them to sacrifice.

Therefore a host of letters from Maximin was issued everywhere throughout every province. The

governors, and also the military commander, by edicts, letters and public ordinances pressed the magistrates, generals and notaries to implement the imperial decree which ordered that the idols’ ruins be rebuilt with all speed; that all without exception—men, women, slaves and children, even infants in arms—should sacrifice and offer oblations.

Maximin ... ordered temples to be erected in every city, and the sacred groves to be speedily restored, which had fallen into ruin through lapse of time. He set idol-priests in every place and city, and over them he appointed in each province a high priest, one of the officials who had specially distinguished himself in all kinds of service, giving him a body of troops and a personal guard.

### LECTURE 5.2

#### Constantine I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read *The Edict of Toleration* by Galerius and *The Edict of Milan*. What did these edicts allow? How did they change the Roman Empire?

.....

*The Edict of Toleration* by Galerius

.....

Among other arrangements which we are always accustomed to make for the prosperity and welfare of the republic, we had desired formerly to

bring all things into harmony with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to provide that even the Christians who had left the religion of their fathers should come back to reason; since, indeed, the Christians themselves, for some reason, had followed such a caprice and had fallen into such a folly that they would not obey the institutes of antiquity, which perchance their own ancestors had first established; but at their own will and pleasure, they would thus make laws unto themselves which they should observe and would collect various peoples in diverse places in congregations. Finally when our law had been promulgated to the effect that they should conform to the institutes of antiquity, many were subdued by the fear of danger, many even suffered death. And yet since most of them persevered in their determination, and we saw that they neither paid the reverence and awe due to the gods nor worshiped the God of the Christians, in view of our most mild clemency and the constant habit by which we are accustomed to grant indulgence to all, we thought that we ought to grant our most prompt indulgence also to these, so that they may again be Christians and may hold their conventicles, provided they do nothing contrary to good order. But we shall tell the magistrates in another letter what they ought to do. Wherefore, for this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God for our safety, for that of the republic, and for their own, that the republic may continue uninjured on every side, and that they may be able to live securely in their homes.

This edict is published at Nicomedia on the day before the Kalends of May, in our eighth consulship and the second of Maximinus.

.....

*The Edict of Milan*  
by Constantine & Licinius

.....

When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I Licinius Augustus unfortunately met near Mediolanum [Milan], and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought, among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us and all who are placed under our rule. And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision we thought to arrange that no one whatsoever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion, of that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the Supreme Deity, to whose worship we freely yield our hearts) may show in all things His usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians and now any one of these who wishes to observe Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without molestation. We thought it fit to commend these things most fully to your care that you may know that we have given to those Christians free and unrestricted opportunity of religious worship. When you see that this has been granted to them by us, your Worship will know that we have also conceded to other religions the right of open and free observance of their worship for the sake of the peace of our times, that each one may have the free opportunity to worship as he pleases; this regulation is made we that we may not seem to detract from any dignity or any religion.

Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially we esteemed it best to order that if it happens anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception. Those, moreover, who have obtained the same by gift, are likewise to return them at once to the Christians. Besides, both those who have purchased and those who have secured them by gift, are to appeal to the vicar if they seek any recompense from our bounty, that they may be cared for through our clemency. All this property ought to be delivered at once to the community of the Christians through your intercession, and without delay. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians, that is to say to the corporations and their conventicles: providing, of course, that the above arrangements be followed so that those who return the same without payment, as we have said, may hope for an indemnity from our bounty. In all these circumstances you ought to tender your most efficacious intervention to the community of the Christians, that our command may be carried into effect as quickly as possible, whereby, moreover, through our clemency, public order may be secured. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us, which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state. Moreover, in order that the statement of this decree of our good will may come to the notice of all, this rescript, published

by your decree, shall be announced everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all, so that the decree of this, our benevolence, cannot be concealed.

### LECTURE 5.3 Constantine II

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical account. How was Constantinople like Rome, but also uniquely different?

.....

Excerpt from *Readings in Ancient History: Illustrative Extracts from the Sources* by William Stearns Davis

.....

The Emperor [Constantine] always intent on the advancement of religion erected splendid Christian temples to God in every place—especially in great cities such as Nicomedia in Bithynia, Antioch on the Orontes, and Byzantium. He greatly improved this latter city, and made it equal to Rome in power and influence; for when he had settled his empire as he was minded, and had freed himself from foreign foes, he resolved on founding a city which should be called by his own name, and should equal in fame even Rome. With this intent he went to the plain at the foot of Troy on the Hellespont...and here he laid out the plan of a large and beautiful city, and built gates on a high spot of ground, whence they are still visible from the sea to sailors. But when he had proceeded thus far, God appeared to him by night and bade him seek another site for his city.

Led by the divine hand, he came to Byzantium in Thrace, beyond Chalcedon in Bithynia, and here he desired to build his city, and render it worthy of the name of Constantine. In obedience to the command of God, he therefore enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls; likewise he built splendid dwelling houses;

and being aware that the former population was not enough for so great a city, he peopled it with men of rank and their families, whom he summoned from Rome and from other countries. He imposed special taxes to cover the expenses of building and adorning the city, and of supplying the inhabitants with food. He erected all the needed edifices for a great capital—a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes and other beautiful adornments. He named it Constantinople and New Rome—and established it as the Roman capital for all the inhabitants of the North, the South, the East, and the shores of the Mediterranean, from the cities on the Danube and from Epidamnus and the Ionian Gulf to Cyrene and Libya.

He created another Senate which he endowed with the same honors and privileges as that of Rome, and he strove to render the city of his name equal in every way to Rome in Italy; nor were his wishes in vain, for by the favor of God, it became the most populous and wealthy of cities. As this city became the capital of the Empire during the period of religious prosperity, it was not polluted by altars, Grecian temples, nor pagan sacrifices. Constantine also honored this new city of Christ by adorning it with many and splendid houses of prayer, in which the Deity vouchsafed to bless the efforts of the Emperor by giving sensible manifestations of his presence.

## LECTURE 5.4

### The Council of Nicea

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Nicene Creed.  
How is Jesus' nature defined? Who is he, according to the Nicene Creed?

.....  
Nicene Creed, excerpt from *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ed. H. Percival  
.....

The Synod at Nice set forth this Creed.

The Ecthesis of the Synod at Nice.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father. By whom all things were made, both which be in heaven and in earth. Who for us men and for our salvation came down [from heaven] and was incarnate and was made man. He suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven. And he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost. And whosoever shall say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that before he was begotten he was not, or that he was made of things that were not, or that he is of a different substance or essence [from the Father] or that he is a creature, or subject to change or conversion—all that so say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them.

## LECTURE 5.5

### Anthony of the Desert & Athanasius

#### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #5

#### EXAM #5

1. How did the Christian's belief in eternal life affect the way he lived and died in this temporary life?
2. How did Diocletian reorganize the Roman Empire? Why did he do this?
3. What did Diocletian require of all his subjects regarding the worship of the pagan gods?
4. How was Diocletian's persecution the most thorough attack on Christianity to date?
5. What did Constantine see and dream prior to the Battle of the Milvian Bridge? How did this change him?
6. What did *The Edict of Toleration* in 311 and *The Edict of Milan* in 313 allow?
7. How did Constantine's Christianity affect Rome's symbols, basilicas and laws?
8. How was Constantinople designed to be a uniquely Christian city?
9. When was Constantine baptized? Why was it so late?
10. Who was Arius? What heresy did he promote?
11. How did the Council of Nicea answer the heresy of Arius? What did it decide regarding the divinity of Jesus?
12. How was Athanasius a champion of orthodoxy throughout his entire life?





## LESSON 6

# *Centripetal & Centrifugal Forces: The Barbarians, the Church, and the Fall of Rome*

### LECTURE 6.1

#### Constantine's Sons & Julian the Apostate

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Julian the Apostate's Letter to Arsacius. How did Julian the Apostate attempt to make paganism a competitor to Christianity?

.....

From *A Few Notes on Julian and  
a Translation of His Public Letters*,  
translated by Edward J. Chinnock

.....

The religion of the Greeks does not yet prosper as I would wish, on account of those who profess it. But the gifts of the gods are great and splendid, better than any prayer or any hope... Indeed, a little while ago no one would have dared even to pray for such a change, and so complete a one in so short a space of time [i.e., the arrival of Julian himself, a reforming traditionalist, on the throne]. Why then do we think that this is sufficient and do not observe how the kindness of Christians to strangers, their care for the burial of their dead, and the sobriety of their lifestyle has done the most to advance their cause?

Each of these things, I think, ought really to be practiced by us. It is not sufficient for you alone to practice them, but so must all the priests in Galatia

[modern Turkey] without exception. Either make these men good by shaming them, persuade them to become so or fire them... Secondly, exhort the priests neither to approach a theater nor to drink in a tavern, nor to profess any base or infamous trade. Honor those who obey and expel those who disobey.

Erect many hostels, one in each city, in order that strangers may enjoy my kindness, not only those of our own faith but also of others whosoever is in want of money. I have just been devising a plan by which you will be able to get supplies. For I have ordered that every year throughout all Galatia 30,000 modii of grain and 60,000 pints of wine shall be provided. The fifth part of these I order to be expended on the poor who serve the priests, and the rest must be distributed from me to strangers and beggars. For it is disgraceful when no Jew is a beggar and the impious Galileans [the name given by Julian to Christians] support our poor in addition to their own; everyone is able to see that our coreligionists are in want of aid from us. Teach also those who profess the Greek religion to contribute to such services, and the villages of the Greek religion to offer the first-fruits to the gods. Accustom those of the Greek religion to such benevolence, teaching them that this has been our work from ancient times. Homer, at any rate, made Eumaeus say: "O Stranger, it is not lawful for me, even if one poorer than you should come, to dishonor a stranger. For all strangers and beggars are from Zeus. The gift is small, but it is precious." Do not therefore let others outdo us in good deeds while we ourselves are disgraced by

laziness; rather, let us not quite abandon our piety toward the gods...

While proper behavior in accordance with the laws of the city will obviously be the concern of the governors of the cities, you for your part [as a priest] must take care to encourage people not to violate the laws of the gods since they are holy... Above all you must exercise philanthropy. From it result many other goods, and indeed that which is the greatest blessing of all, the goodwill of the gods...

We ought to share our goods with all men, but most of all with the respectable, the helpless, and the poor, so that they have at least the essentials of life. I claim, even though it may seem paradoxical, that it is a holy deed to share our clothes and food with the wicked: we give, not to their moral character but to their human character. Therefore I believe that even prisoners deserve the same kind of care. This type of kindness will not interfere with the process of justice, for among the many imprisoned and awaiting trial some will be found guilty, some innocent. It would be cruel indeed if out of consideration for the innocent we should not allow some pity for the guilty, or on account of the guilty we should behave without mercy and humanity to those who have done no wrong... How can the man who, while worshipping Zeus the God of Companions, sees his neighbors in need and does not give them a dime—how can he think he is worshipping Zeus properly?

## LECTURE 6.2

### Basil of Caesarea & Theodosius

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpts from the Theodosian Code and St. Basil. How did Theodosius change the legal status of Christianity in the Roman Empire? How did this change the Christian view of freedom of religion? How does Basil compare prayer to eating? How does he show the importance of prayer?

.....

Excerpt from “Theodosian Code  
XVI.1.2” in *Documents of the  
Christian Church*, edited by Henry  
Bettenson

.....

It is our desire that all the various nations which are subject to our clemency and moderation, should continue to the profession of that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it has been preserved by faithful tradition and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the apostolic teaching and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe in the one deity of the father, Son and Holy Spirit, in equal majesty and in a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this law to assume the title Catholic Christians; but as for the others, since in our judgment they are foolish madmen, we decree that the shall be branded with the ignominious name of heretics, and shall not presume to give their conventicles the name of churches. They will suffer in the first place the chastisement of divine condemnation and the second the punishment of our authority, in accordance with the will of heaven shall decide to inflict.

.....

Excerpt from “An Ascetical  
Discourse and Exhortation on the  
Renunciation of the World and  
Spiritual Perfection” by St. Basil

.....

Whenever you are summoned to prayer, let your voice respond and remain at an exercise of rule until the prayers are finished, regarding failure in this respect as a great loss. When you take food to nourish your body, you can scarcely be induced to leave the table before you have fully satisfied your need and, except for an urgent reason, you will not readily do so. How much more eagerly ought you to linger over spiritual nourishment and strengthen your soul with prayer; for the soul is as far superior to the body as heaven is above the earth and heavenly things above those of earth.

The soul is an image of heaven because the Lord dwells within it, but the flesh is of earth, wherein live mortal men and irrational beasts. Regulate the needs of your body, therefore, in conformity with the hours of prayer and be prepared to dismiss arguments which would draw you away from observance of the rule; for it is the way of the devils to urge us to be absent during the time of prayer on the pretext of a seemingly worthy reason, so that they may plausibly draw us away from saving prayer. Do not make excuses, saying, ‘Alas, my head! Alas, my stomach!’ alleging invisible proofs of nonexistent pain and relaxing the rigor of the vigil for the sake of taking rest. Rather, be constant in secret prayer which God beholds in secret and will repay you for openly. Hoard the accruing gains of the most perfect way of life, that in the day of need you may discover hidden wealth.

### LECTURE 6.3

## The Council of Constantinople, Post-Nicene Fathers and the Barbarians

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following prayer of Gregory Nazianzus and the Easter Sermon of John Chrysostom. How do these men use literary beauty to communicate the Gospel?

.....

“Prayer of Gregory Nazianzus,”  
in *The Macmillan Book of Earliest  
Christian Prayers*, edited by F.  
Forrester Church and Terrence J.  
Mulry

.....

Alas, dear Christ, the Dragon is here again,  
Alas, he is here: terror has seized me, and fear.  
Alas that I ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge.  
Alas that his envy led me to envy too.  
I did not become like God; I was cast out of  
Paradise.  
Temper, sword, awhile, the heat of your flames  
and let me go again about the garden,  
entering with Christ, a thief from another tree.

.....

“The Easter Sermon of John  
Chrysostom,” translated by Mark  
Baker

.....

Is there anyone who is a devout lover of God?  
Let them enjoy this beautiful bright festival!  
Is there anyone who is a grateful servant?  
Let them rejoice and enter into the joy of their  
Lord!

Are there any weary with fasting?  
Let them now receive their wages!  
If any have toiled from the first hour,  
let them receive their due reward;  
If any have come after the third hour,  
let him with gratitude join in the Feast!  
And he that arrived after the sixth hour,  
let him not doubt; for he too shall sustain no loss.  
And if any delayed until the ninth hour,  
let him not hesitate; but let him come too.  
And he who arrived only at the eleventh hour,  
let him not be afraid by reason of his delay.

For the Lord is gracious and receives the last even  
as the first.  
He gives rest to him that comes at the eleventh  
hour,  
as well as to him that toiled from the first.  
To this one He gives, and upon another He  
bestows.  
He accepts the works as He greets the endeavor.  
The deed He honors and the intention He  
commends.

Let us all enter into the joy of the Lord!  
First and last alike receive your reward;  
rich and poor, rejoice together!  
Sober and slothful, celebrate the day!

You that have kept the fast, and you that have not,  
rejoice today for the Table is richly laden!  
Feast royally on it, the calf is a fatted one.  
Let no one go away hungry. Partake, all, of the cup  
of faith.  
Enjoy all the riches of His goodness!

Let no one grieve at his poverty,  
for the universal kingdom has been revealed.  
Let no one mourn that he has fallen again and  
again;  
for forgiveness has risen from the grave.

Let no one fear death, for the Death of our Savior  
has set us free.  
He has destroyed it by enduring it.

He destroyed Hades when He descended into it.  
He put it into an uproar even as it tasted of His  
flesh.  
Isaiah foretold this when he said,  
“You, O Hell, have been troubled by encountering  
Him below.”

Hell was in an uproar because it was done away  
with.  
It was in an uproar because it is mocked.  
It was in an uproar, for it is destroyed.  
It is in an uproar, for it is annihilated.  
It is in an uproar, for it is now made captive.  
Hell took a body, and discovered God.  
It took earth, and encountered Heaven.  
It took what it saw, and was overcome by what it  
did not see.  
O death, where is thy sting?  
O Hades, where is thy victory?

Christ is Risen, and you, o death, are annihilated!  
Christ is Risen, and the evil ones are cast down!  
Christ is Risen, and the angels rejoice!  
Christ is Risen, and life is liberated!  
Christ is Risen, and the tomb is emptied of its  
dead;  
for Christ having risen from the dead,  
is become the first-fruits of those who have fallen  
asleep.

To Him be Glory and Power forever and ever.  
Amen!

## LECTURE 6.4

### Jerome, the Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter. How does Jerome defend the study of pagan classics?

.....

Extracts from “Letter LXX. To Magnus an Orator of Rome,” in *Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, translated by W.H. Fremantle

.....

You ask me at the close of your letter why it is that sometimes in my writings I quote examples from secular literature and thus defile the whiteness of the church with the foulness of heathenism. I will now briefly answer your question. You would never have asked it, had not your mind been wholly taken up with Tully; you would never have asked it had you made it a practice instead of studying Volcatius to read the holy scriptures and the commentators upon them. For who is there who does not know that both in Moses and in the prophets there are passages cited from Gentile books and that Solomon proposed questions to the philosophers of Tyre and answered others put to him by them. In the commencement of the book of Proverbs he charges us to understand prudent maxims and shrewd adages, parables and obscure discourse, the words of the wise

and their dark sayings; all of which belong by right to the sphere of the dialectician and the philosopher. The Apostle Paul also, in writing to Titus, has used a line of the poet Epimenides: “The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.” Half of which line was afterwards adopted by Callimachus... And as if this were not enough, that leader of the Christian army, that unvanquished pleader for the cause of Christ, skilfully turns a chance inscription into a proof of the faith. For he had learned from the true David to wrench the sword of the enemy out of his hand and with his own blade to cut off the head of the arrogant Goliath. He had read in Deuteronomy the command given by the voice of the Lord that when a captive woman had had her head shaved, her eyebrows and all her hair cut off, and her nails pared, she might then be taken to wife. Is it surprising that I too, admiring the fairness of her form and the grace of her eloquence, desire to make that secular wisdom which is my captive and my handmaid, a matron of the true Israel? Or that shaving off and cutting away all in her that is dead whether this be idolatry, pleasure, error, or lust, I take her to myself clean and pure and beget by her servants for the Lord of Sabaoth? My efforts promote the advantage of Christ’s family, my so-called defilement with an alien increases the number of my fellow-servants. Hosea took a wife of whoredoms, Gomer the daughter of Diblaim, and this harlot bore him a son called Jezreel or the seed of God. Isaiah speaks of a sharp razor which shaves “the head of sinners and the hair of their feet;” and Ezekiel shaves his head as a type of that Jerusalem which has been an harlot, in sign that whatever in her is devoid of sense “and life must be removed.”

## LECTURE 6.5

# Attila the Hun, Leo the Great and the End of the Roman Empire

### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #6

## EXAM #6

1. How did the church handle the barbarian invasions? How did the liturgy provide unity for this mission?
2. How did Rome fall from within? How did both its culture and leadership become morally bankrupt?
3. Who was Julian the Apostate? How did he try to restore paganism?
4. Who was Basil of Caesarea? How did his work provide for the material needs of those where he lived?
5. What faiths did Theodosius make illegal? How was this a departure from Christianity's view of freedom of religion?
6. How did the Council of Constantinople address the doctrine of the Trinity? How were Basil's terms of *ousia* and *hypostasis* used to define the Trinity?
7. What did Alaric do to Rome in A.D. 410? Why did he do this?
8. Who was Jerome of Bethlehem? What did he translate?
9. What did the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon declare about *both* the humanity *and* divinity of Jesus?
10. Who was Attila the Hun? How did he threaten Rome?
11. Who was Leo the Great? How did he defend Rome?
12. How did Rome fall in A.D. 475?



## LESSON 7

# *Only the Lover Sings: Augustine of Hippo*

### LECTURE 7.1

#### Ambrose & Chant

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read St. Ambrose of Milan on the role of the psalms and his hymn “O Splendor of God’s Glory Bright.” How does Ambrose praise the singing of the Psalms? Then, find a recorded version of this song and sing along!

.....

Excerpt from *Commentary on the  
Psalms* by St. Ambrose of Milan

.....

What is more pleasing than a psalm? David expresses it well: Praise the Lord, for a song of praise is good: let there be praise of our God with gladness and grace. Yes, a psalm is a blessing on the lips of the people, a hymn in praise of God, the assembly’s homage, a general acclamation, a word that speaks for all, the voice of the Church, a confession of faith in song. It is the voice of complete assent, the joy of freedom, a cry of happiness, the echo of gladness. It soothes the temper, distracts from care, lightens the burden of sorrow. It is a source of security at night, a lesson in wisdom by day. It is a shield when we are afraid, a celebration of holiness, a vision of serenity, a promise of peace and harmony. It is like a lyre, evoking harmony from a blend of notes. Day begins to the music of a psalm. Day closes to the echo of a psalm.

In a psalm, instruction vies with beauty. We sing for pleasure. We learn for our profit. What experience is not covered by a reading of the psalms? I come across the words: A song for the beloved, and I am aflame with desire for God’s love. I go through God’s revelation in all its beauty, the intimations of resurrection, the gifts of his promise. I learn to avoid sin. I see my mistake in feeling ashamed of repentance for my sins.

What is a psalm but a musical instrument to give expression to all the virtues? The psalmist of old used it, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, to make earth re-echo the music of heaven. He used the dead gut of strings to create harmony from a variety of notes, in order to send up to heaven the song of God’s praise. In doing so he taught us that we must first die to sin, and then create in our lives on earth a harmony through virtuous deeds, if the grace of our devotion is to reach up to the Lord.

David thus taught us that we must sing an interior song of praise, like Saint Paul, who tells us: I shall pray in spirit, and also with understanding; I shall sing in spirit, and also with understanding. We must fashion our lives and shape our actions in the light of the things that are above. We must not allow pleasure to awaken bodily passions, which weigh our soul down instead of freeing it. The holy prophet told us that his songs of praise were to celebrate the freeing of his soul, when he said: I shall sing to you, God, on the Lyre, holy one of Israel; my lips will rejoice when I have sung to you, and my soul also, which you have set free.

.....

“O Splendor of God’s glory bright,”  
by St. Ambrose, translated by Robert  
Seymour Bridges

.....

O Splendor of God’s glory bright,  
O Thou that bringest light from light,  
O Light of Light, light’s living spring,  
O Day, all days illumining:  
Alleluia!

Come, very Sun of truth and love;  
Pour down Thy radiance from above  
And shed the Holy Spirit’s ray  
On all we think or do or say.  
Alleluia!

With prayer the Father we implore:  
O Father, glorious evermore,  
We plead with Thee for grace and pow’r  
To conquer in temptation’s hour,  
Alleluia!

To guide whate’er we nobly do,  
With love all envy to subdue,  
To give us grace our wrongs to bear,  
To make ill fortune turn to fair.  
Alleluia!

On Christ, the true bread, let us feed;  
Let Him to us be drink indeed;  
And let us taste with joyfulness  
The Holy Spirit’s plenteousness.  
Alleluia!  
All laud to God the Father be;  
All praise, eternal Son, to Thee;  
All glory to the Spirit raise  
In equal and unending praise.  
Alleluia!

## LECTURE 7.2

### Augustine’s Early Life & Conversion

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read an excerpt of *Confessions* by Augustine. How does Augustine describe the supernatural nature of his conversion?

.....

*Confessions*, book VIII ch. 12,  
translated by J.G. Pilkington

.....

But when a profound reflection had, from the secret depths of my soul, drawn together and heaped up all my misery before the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, accompanied by as mighty a shower of tears. Which, that I might pour forth fully, with its natural expressions, I stole away from Alypius; for it suggested itself to me that solitude was fitter for the business of weeping. So I retired to such a distance that even his presence could not be oppressive to me. Thus was it with me at that time, and he perceived it; for something, I believe, I had spoken, wherein the sound of my voice appeared choked with weeping, and in that state had I risen up. He then remained where we had been sitting, most completely astonished. I flung myself down, how, I know not, under a certain fig-tree, giving free course to my tears, and the streams of my eyes gushed out, an acceptable sacrifice unto You. [1 Peter 2:5] And, not indeed in these words, yet to this effect, spoke I much unto You—”But You, O Lord, how long?” “How long, Lord? Will You be angry for ever? Oh, remember not against us former iniquities;” for I felt that I was enthralled by them. I sent up these sorrowful cries—”How long, how long? Tomorrow, and tomorrow? Why not now? Why is

there not this hour an end to my uncleanness?”

I was saying these things and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo, I heard the voice as of a boy or girl, I know not which, coming from a neighboring house, chanting, and oft repeating, “Take up and read; take up and read.” Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began most earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children in any kind of game to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it no other way than as a command to me from Heaven to open the book, and to read the first chapter I should light upon. For I had heard of Antony, that, accidentally coming in while the gospel was being read, he received the admonition as if what was read were addressed to him, “Go and sell that you have, and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me.” [Matthew 19:21] And by such oracle was he immediately converted unto You. So quickly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I put down the volume of the apostles, when I rose thence. I grasped, opened, and in silence read that paragraph on which my eyes first fell—“Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof.” [Romans 13:13-14] No further would I read, nor did I need; for instantly, as the sentence ended—by a light, as it were, of security infused into my heart—all the gloom of doubt vanished away.

Closing the book, then, and putting either my finger between, or some other mark, I now with a tranquil countenance made it known to Alypius. And he thus disclosed to me what was wrought in him, which I knew not. He asked to look at what I had read. I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed. This it was, verily, “Him that is weak in the faith, receive;” [Romans 14:1] which he applied to himself, and dis-

covered to me. By this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, very much in accord with his character (wherein, for the better, he was always far different from me), without any restless delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother. We make it known to her—she rejoices. We relate how it came to pass—she leaps for joy, and triumphs, and blesses You, who art able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think; [Ephesians 3:20] for she perceived You to have given her more for me than she used to ask by her pitiful and most doleful groanings. For Thou so converted me unto Yourself, that I sought neither a wife, nor any other of this world’s hopes, standing in that rule of faith in which Thou, so many years before, had showed me unto her in a vision. And you turned her grief into a gladness, much more plentiful than she had desired, and much dearer and chaster than she used to crave, by having grandchildren of my body.

## LECTURE 7.3

### Augustine’s Ministry

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “The Great Prayer” by Augustine. How does Augustine praise God’s sovereignty? How does he admit the fallenness of man? What does he ask God for in that fallen state?

#### “The Great Prayer” from *Soliloquies* by Augustine

O God, by whose laws the poles revolve,  
the stars follow their courses,  
the sun rules the day and the moon presides over  
the night;  
and all the world maintains, as far as this world of  
sense allows,  
the wondrous stability of things by means of the

orders and recurrences of seasons:  
 through the days by the changing of light and  
 darkness,  
 through the months by the moon's progres-  
 sions and declines,  
 through the years by the successions of spring,  
 summer, autumn, and winter,  
 through the cycles by the completion of the  
 sun's course,  
 through the great eras of time by the return of  
 the stars to their starting  
 points.  
 God of life,  
 there are days when the burdens we carry chafe our  
 shoulders and wear us down;  
 when the road seems dreary and endless,  
 the skies gray and threatening;  
 when our lives have no music in them  
 and our hearts are lonely,  
 and our souls have lost their courage.  
 Flood the path with light, we beseech you;  
 turn our eyes to where the skies are full of promise.  
 Our hearts are restless, O Lord, until they rest in  
 you.

## LECTURE 7.4 Augustine's Writings I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read an excerpt of August-  
 tine's *Confessions*. What does Augustine  
 seek to understand in this prayer? How  
 does Augustine stand in awe of who God  
 is?

.....  
*Confessions*, Bk. I chs. 1-5, translated  
 by J.G. Pilkington  
 .....

### CHAPTER 1. HE PROCLAIMS THE GREATNESS OF GOD, WHOM HE DESIRES TO SEEK AND INVOICE, BEING AWAKENED BY HIM.

Great are You, O Lord, and greatly to be praised;  
 great is Your power, and of Your wisdom there is no  
 end. And man, being a part of Your creation, desires  
 to praise You—man, who bears about with him his  
 mortality, the witness of his sin, even the witness  
 that You “resist the proud,”—yet man, this part of  
 Your creation, desires to praise You. You move us to  
 delight in praising You; for You have made us for  
 Yourself, and our hearts are restless until they rest in  
 You. Lord, teach me to know and understand which  
 of these should be first: to call on You, or to praise  
 You; and likewise to know You, or to call on You.  
 But who calls upon You without knowing You? For  
 he that knows You not may call upon You as other  
 than You are. Or perhaps we call on You that we  
 may know You. “But how shall they call on Him  
 in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they  
 believe without a preacher?” [Romans 10:14] And  
 those who seek the Lord shall praise Him. For those  
 who seek shall find Him, [Matthew 7:7] and those  
 who find Him shall praise Him. Let me seek You,  
 Lord, in calling on You, and call on You in believing

in You; for You have been preached unto us. O Lord, my faith calls on You—that faith which You have imparted to me, which You have breathed into me through the incarnation of Your Son, through the ministry of Your preacher.

## **CHAPTER 2. THAT THE GOD WHOM WE INVOKE IS IN US, AND WE IN HIM.**

And how shall I call upon my God—my God and my Lord? For when I call on Him I ask Him to come into me. And what place is there in me into which my God can come—into which God can come, even He who made heaven and earth? Is there anything in me, O Lord my God, that can contain You? Do indeed the very heaven and the earth, which You have made, and in which You have made me, contain You? Or, as nothing could exist without You, does whatever exists contain You? Why, then, do I ask You to come into me, since I indeed exist, and could not exist if You were not in me? Because I am not yet in hell, though You are even there; for “if I go down into hell You are there.” I could not therefore exist, could not exist at all, O my God, unless You were in me. Or should I not rather say, that I could not exist unless I were in You from whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are all things? [Romans 11:36] Even so, Lord; even so. Where do I call You to, since You are in me, or whence can You come into me? For where outside heaven and earth can I go that from thence my God may come into me who has said, I fill heaven and earth? [Jeremiah 23:24]

## **CHAPTER 3. EVERYWHERE GOD WHOLLY FILLS ALL THINGS, BUT NEITHER HEAVEN NOR EARTH CONTAINS HIM.**

Since, then, You fill heaven and earth, do they contain You? Or, as they contain You not, do You fill them, and yet there remains something over? And where do You pour forth that which remains of You when the heaven and earth are filled? Or, indeed,

is there no need that You who contains all things should be contained of any, since those things which You fill You fill by containing them? For the vessels which You fill do not sustain You, since should they even be broken You will not be poured forth. And when You are poured forth on us, [Acts 2:18] You are not cast down, but we are uplifted; nor are You dissipated, but we are drawn together. But, as You fill all things, fill them with Your whole self, or, as even all things cannot altogether contain You, do they contain a part, and do all at once contain the same part? Or has each its own proper part—the greater more, the smaller less? Is, then, one part of You greater, another less? Or is it that You are wholly everywhere while nothing altogether contains You?

## **CHAPTER 4. THE MAJESTY OF GOD IS SUPREME, AND HIS VIRTUES INEXPLICABLE.**

What, then, are You, O my God—what, I ask, but the Lord God? For who is Lord but the Lord? Or who is God save our God? Most high, most excellent, most potent, most omnipotent; most piteous and most just; most hidden and most near; most beauteous and most strong, stable, yet contained of none; unchangeable, yet changing all things; never new, never old; making all things new, yet bringing old age upon the proud and they know it not; always working, yet ever at rest; gathering, yet needing nothing; sustaining, pervading, and protecting; creating, nourishing, and developing; seeking, and yet possessing all things. You love, and burn not; You are jealous, yet free from care; You repent, and have no sorrow; You are angry, yet serene; You change Your ways, leaving unchanged Your plans; You recover what You find, having yet never lost; You are never in want, while You rejoice in gain; You are never covetous, though requiring usury. [Matthew 25:27] “That You may owe, more than enough is given to You,” yet who has anything that is not Yours? You pay debts while owing nothing; and when You forgive debts, lose nothing. Yet, O my God, my life,

my holy joy, what is this that I have said? And what says any man when He speaks of You? Yet woe to those who keep silence, seeing that even they who say most are as the dumb.

## CHAPTER 5. HE SEEKS REST IN GOD, AND PARDON OF HIS SINS.

Oh! How shall I find rest in You? Who will send You into my heart to inebriate it, so that I may forget my woes, and embrace You my only good? What are You to me? Have compassion on me, that I may speak. What am I to You that You demand my love, and unless I give it You art angry, and threaten me with great sorrows? Is it, then, a light sorrow not to love You? Alas! Alas! Tell me of Your compassion, O Lord my God, what You are to me. "Say unto my soul, I am your salvation." So speak that I may hear. Behold, Lord, the ears of my heart are before You; open them, and "say unto my soul, I am your salvation." When I hear, may I run and lay hold on You. Hide not Your face from me. Let me die, lest I die, if only I may see Your face.

Cramped is the dwelling of my soul; expand it, that You may enter in. It is in ruins, restore it. There is that about it which must offend Your eyes; I confess and know it, but who will cleanse it? Or to whom shall I cry but to You? Cleanse me from my secret sins, O Lord, and keep Your servant from those of other men. I believe, and therefore do I speak; Lord, You know. Have I not confessed my transgressions unto You, O my God; and You have put away the iniquity of my heart? I do not contend in judgment with You, [Job 9:3] who art the Truth; and I would not deceive myself, lest my iniquity lie against itself. I do not, therefore, contend in judgment with You, for "if You, Lord, should mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?"

## LECTURE 7.5

### Augustine's Writings II

**ASSIGNMENT** — In place of an exam, read the following excerpt from *City of God* by Augustine. How does Augustine describe the differences between the City of Man and the City of God?

.....

*City of God* by Augustine, book XV  
ch. 1, book. XIX ch. 17, translated  
by Marcus Dodds

.....

#### BOOK XV. CHAP. 1. OF THE TWO LINES OF THE HUMAN RACE WHICH FROM FIRST TO LAST DIVIDE IT

##### ARGUMENT:

*Having treated in the four preceding books of the origin of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, Augustine explains their growth and progress in the four books which follow; and, in order to do so, he explains the chief passages of the sacred history which bear upon this subject. In this fifteenth book he opens this part of his work by explaining the events recorded in Genesis from the time of Cain and Abel to the deluge.*

Of the bliss of Paradise, of Paradise itself, and of the life of our first parents there, and of their sin and punishment, many have thought much, spoken much, written much. We ourselves, too, have spoken of these things in the foregoing books, and have written either what we read in the Holy Scriptures, or what we could reasonably deduce from them. And were we to enter into a more detailed investigation of these matters, an endless number of endless questions would arise, which would involve us in a larger work than the present occasion admits. We cannot



be expected to find room for replying to every question that may be started by unoccupied and captious men, who are ever more ready to ask questions than capable of understanding the answer. Yet I trust we have already done justice to these great and difficult questions regarding the beginning of the world, or of the soul, or of the human race itself. This race we have distributed into two parts, the one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. And these we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which the one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil. This, however, is their end, and of it we are to speak afterwards. At present, as we have said enough about their origin, whether among the angels, whose numbers we know not, or in the two first human beings, it seems suitable to attempt an account of their career, from the time when our two first parents began to propagate the race until all human generation shall cease. For this whole time or world-age, in which the dying give place and those who are born succeed, is the career of these two cities concerning which we treat.

Of these two first parents of the human race, then, Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the city of men; after him was born Abel, who belonged to the city of God. For as in the individual the truth of the apostle's statement is discerned, "that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual," whence it comes to pass that each man, being derived from a condemned stock, is first of all born of Adam evil and carnal, and becomes good and spiritual only afterwards, when he is grafted into Christ by regeneration: so was it in the human race as a whole. When these two cities began to run their course by a series of deaths and births, the citizen of this world was the first-born, and after him the stranger in this world, the citizen of the city of God, predestinated by grace, elected by grace, by grace a stranger below, and by grace a citizen above. By

grace, for so far as regards himself he is sprung from the same mass, all of which is condemned in its origin: but God, like a potter (for this comparison is introduced by the apostle judiciously, and not without thought), of the same lump made one vessel to honor, another to dishonor. But first the vessel to dishonor was made, and after it another to honor. For in each individual, as I have already said, there is first of all that which is reprobate, that from which we must begin, but in which we need not necessarily remain; afterwards is that which is well-approved, to which we may by advancing attain, and in which, when we have reached it we may abide. Not, indeed, that every wicked man shall be good, but that no one will be good who was not first of all wicked but the sooner any one becomes a good man, the more speedily does he receive this title, and abolish the old name in the new. Accordingly, it is recorded of Cain that he built a city, but Abel, being a sojourner, built none. For the city of the saints is above, although here below it begets citizens, in whom it sojourns till the time of its reign arrives, when it shall gather together all in the day of the resurrection; and then shall the promised kingdom be given to them, in which they shall reign with their Prince, the King of the ages, time without end.

#### **BOOK XIX, CHAP. 17. WHAT PRODUCES PEACE, AND WHAT DISCORD, BETWEEN THE HEAVENLY AND EARTHLY CITIES.**

But the families which do not live by faith seek their peace in the earthly advantages of this life; while the families which live by faith look for those eternal blessings which are promised, and use as pilgrims such advantages of time and of earth as do not fascinate and divert them from God, but rather aid them to endure with greater ease, and to keep down the number of those burdens of the corruptible body which weigh upon the soul. Thus the things necessary for this mortal life are used by both kinds of men and families alike, but each has its own peculiar and widely different aim in using

them. The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it. But, as the earthly city has had some philosophers whose doctrine is condemned by the divine teaching, and who, being deceived either by their own conjectures or by demons, supposed that many gods must be invited to take an interest in human affairs, and assigned to each a separate function and a separate department—to one the body, to another the soul; and in the body itself, to one the head, to another the neck, and each of the other members to one of the gods; and in like manner, in the soul, to one god the natural capacity was assigned, to another education, to another anger, to another lust; and so the various affairs of life were assigned—cattle to one, corn to another, wine to another, oil to another, the woods to another, money to another, navigation to another, wars and victories to another, marriages to another, births and fecundity to another, and other things to other gods: and as the celestial city, on the other hand, knew that one God only was to be worshipped, and that to Him alone was due that service which the Greeks call *latreia*, and which can be given only to a god, it has come to pass that the two cities could not have

common laws of religion, and that the heavenly city has been compelled in this matter to dissent, and to become obnoxious to those who think differently, and to stand the brunt of their anger and hatred and persecutions, except in so far as the minds of their enemies have been alarmed by the multitude of the Christians and quelled by the manifest protection of God accorded to them. This heavenly city, then, while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace. It therefore is so far from rescinding and abolishing these diversities, that it even preserves and adopts them, so long only as no hindrance to the worship of the one supreme and true God is thus introduced. Even the heavenly city, therefore, while in its state of pilgrimage, avails itself of the peace of earth, and, so far as it can without injuring faith and godliness, desires and maintains a common agreement among men regarding the acquisition of the necessities of life, and makes this earthly peace bear upon the peace of heaven; for this alone can be truly called and esteemed the peace of the reasonable creatures, consisting as it does in the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God and of one another in God. When we shall have reached that peace, this mortal life shall give place to one that is eternal, and our body shall be no more this animal body which by its corruption weighs down the soul, but a spiritual body feeling no want, and in all its members subjected to the will. In its pilgrim state the heavenly city possesses this peace by faith; and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of that peace every good action towards God and man; for the life of the city is a social life.

## LESSON 8

# *The Long Defeat: Byzantium*

### LECTURE 8.1

#### Introduction to Byzantium

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “To My Old House” by John Mauropus of Euchaita. How does the poet both appreciate the things of this world, but also recognize their temporary nature?

.....

“To My Old House” by John  
Mauropus of Euchaita

.....

O be not angry with me, gentle house  
That I have left thee empty and deserted!  
Since thou thyself that evil didst arouse,  
In being to thy masters so false-hearted,  
In loving one of those who did possess thee,  
In minist’ring to no one to an end,  
In no one’s service caring to confess thee,  
But living still the change of friend for friend,  
And sending the last, plague-wise, to the door!  
And so, or ere thou canst betray and leave me,  
I, a wise lord, dismiss thee, servitor,  
And antedate the wrong thou mayst achieve me  
Against my will, by what my will allows;  
Yet not without some sorrow, gentle house!

For oh, beloved house, what time I render  
My last look back on thee I grow more tender!  
Pleasant possession, hearth for father’s age,  
Dear gift of buried hands, sole heritage!

My blood is stirred; and love, that learnt its play  
From all sweet customs, moves mine heart thy way!  
For thou wast all my nurse and helpful creature,  
For thou wast all my tutor and my teacher;  
In thee through lengthening toils I struggled deep,  
In thee I watched all night without its sleep,  
In thee I worked the warier daytime out,  
Exalting truth, or trying by a doubt.

And oh, my father’s roof, the memory leaves  
Such pangs as break mine heart, beloved eaves!  
But God’s word conquers all.

Farewell, farewell, mine own familiar one,  
Estranged for evermore from this day’s sun,  
Fare-thee-well so! Farewell, O second mother.  
O nurse and help,—remains there not another!  
My bringer-up to some sublimer measure  
Of holy childhood and perfected pleasure!  
Now other spirits must thou tend and teach,  
And minister thy quiet unto each,  
For reasoning uses, if they love such use,  
But nevermore to me. God keep thee, house,  
God keep thee, faithful corner, where I drew  
So calm a breath of life! And God keep you,  
Kind neighbors! Though I leave you by His grace.  
Let no grief bring a shadow to your face;  
Because whate’er He willeth to be done  
His will makes easy, makes the distant one,  
And soon brings all embraced before His throne!

## LECTURE 8.2

## Justinian &amp; Theodora I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Titles I-III of *Corpus Juris Civilis*. How does Justinian view the purpose of the law and the freedom of individuals?

.....

*Corpus Juris Civilis*, Bk. I, Titles I-III

.....

**TITLE I. CONCERNING  
JUSTICE AND LAW**

Justice is the constant and perpetual desire to give to each one that to which he is entitled.

1. Jurisprudence is the knowledge of matters divine and human, and the comprehension of what is just and what is unjust.

2. These divisions being generally understood, and We being about to explain the laws of the Roman people, it appears that this may be most conveniently done if separate subjects are at first treated in a clear and simple manner, and afterwards with greater care and exactness; for if We, at once, in the beginning, load the still uncultivated and inexperienced mind of the student with a multitude and variety of details, We shall bring about one of two things; that is, We shall either cause him to abandon his studies, or, by means of excessive labor—and also with that distrust which very frequently discourages young men—conduct him to that point to which, if led by an easier route, he might have been brought more speedily without much exertion and without misgiving.

3. The following are the precepts of the Law: to live honestly, not to injure another, and to give to each one that which belongs to him.

4. There are two branches of this study, namely: public and private. Public Law is that which con-

cerns the administration of the Roman government; Private Law relates to the interests of individuals. Thus Private Law is said to be threefold in its nature, for it is composed of precepts of Natural Law, of those of the Law of Nations, and of those of the Civil Law.

**TITLE II. CONCERNING NATURAL  
LAW, THE LAW OF NATIONS,  
AND THE CIVIL LAW**

Natural Law is that which nature has taught to all animals, for this law is not peculiar to the human race, but applies to all creatures which originate in the air, or the earth, and in the sea. Hence arises the union of the male and the female which we designate marriage; and hence are derived the procreation and the education of children; for we see that other animals also act as though endowed with knowledge of this law.

1. The Civil Law and the Law of Nations are divided as follows. All peoples that are governed by laws and customs make use of the law which is partly peculiar to themselves and partly pertaining to all men; for what each people has established for itself is peculiar to that State, and is styled the Civil Law; being, as it were, the especial law of that individual commonwealth. But the law which natural reason has established among all mankind and which is equally observed among all peoples, is called the Law of Nations, as being that which all nations make use of. The Roman people also employ a law which is in part peculiar to them, and in part common to all men. We propose to set forth their distinctions in their proper places.

2. The Civil Law derives its name from each state, as, for example, that of the Athenians; for if anyone wishes to designate the laws of Solon or of Draco as the Civil Law of Athens, he will not commit an error; for in this manner We call the law which the Roman people use the Civil Law of the Romans, or the *Jus Quiritium* employed by Roman citizens, as the Romans are styled Quirites from

Quirinus. When, however, We do not add the name of the state, We mean Our own law; just as when We mention the poet but do not give his name, the illustrious Homer is understood among the Greeks, and Virgil among us.

The Law of Nations, however, Is common to the entire human race, for all nations have established for themselves certain regulations exacted by custom and human necessity. For wars have arisen, and captivity and slavery, which are contrary to natural law, have followed as a result, as, according to Natural Law, all men were originally born free; and from this law nearly all contracts, such as purchase, sale, hire, partnership, deposit, loan, and innumerable others have been derived.

3. Our Law, which We make use of, is either written or unwritten, just as among the Greeks, written and unwritten laws exist. The written law consists of the Statutes, the *Plebiscita*, the Decrees of the Senate, the Decisions of the Emperors, the Orders of the Magistrates and the Answers of Jurisconsults.

4. A Statute is what the Roman people have established as the result of an interrogatory of a senatorial magistrate, for example, a consul. The *Plebiscitum* is what the plebeians have established upon the interrogatory of a plebeian magistrate, for instance, a tribune. Plebeians differ from the people as a species does from a genus; for all citizens, including even patricians, and senators, are understood by the word people, and by the term plebeians all other citizens, exclusive of patricians and senators, are designated. Plebiscita have had the same force as statutes since the passage of the *Lex Hortensia*.

5. A Decree of the Senate is what the Senate orders and establishes, for since the Roman people have increased in numbers to such an extent that it is difficult for them to be convoked in an assembly for the purpose of adopting a law, it has seemed advisable for the Senate to be consulted instead of the people.

6. Whatever is approved by the sovereign has

also the force of law, because by the *Lex Regia*, from whence his power is derived, the people have delegated to him all their jurisdiction and authority. Therefore, whatever the Emperor establishes by means of a Rescript or decrees as a magistrate, or commands by an Edict, stands as law, and these are called Constitutions. Some of these are personal and are not considered as precedents, because the sovereign does not wish them to be such; for any favor he grants on account of merit, or where he inflicts punishment upon anyone or affords him unusual assistance, this affects only the individual concerned; the others, however, as they are of general application unquestionably are binding upon all.

7. The Edicts of the Praetors also possess more than ordinary authority, and we are accustomed to designate them “honorary” laws, because they derive their force from those who are invested with honors, that is to say magistrates. The Curule aediles, likewise, formerly published edicts relative to certain matters which also constitute part of the honorary law.

8. The Answers of Jurisconsults are the decisions and opinions of persons upon whom has been conferred authority to establish laws; for it was decided in ancient times that the laws should be publicly interpreted by those to whom the right to answer had been granted by the Emperor, and who were called jurisconsults, and the unanimous decisions and opinions of the latter had such force that, according to the Constitutions, a judge was not permitted to deviate from what they had determined.

9. The unwritten law is that which usage has confirmed, for customs long observed and sanctioned by the consent of those who employ them, resemble law.

10. Not improperly does the Civil Law appear to have been divided into two branches; since in its origin it seems to have been derived from the institutions of two states, namely, Athens, and Lacedaemon; for in these states it was the practice for the Lacedaemonians to commit to memory the rules



which served them as laws, and the Athenians, on the other hand, observed whatever legal regulations which they had reduced to writing.

11. Natural Laws that are observed without distinction by all nations and have been established by Divine Providence remain always fixed and unchangeable; but those which every State establishes for itself are often changed either by the tacit consent of the people, or by some other law subsequently enacted.

12. Every law of which We make use has reference either to persons, to things, or to actions. We shall first treat of persons, for there is little advantage in being familiar with the law if the persons on account of whom it was adopted are unknown.

Roman legislation begins with the *Leges Regiae*, the enactments passed by the Comitia, or assemblies of the people, with the sanction of the sovereign, or rather by his direction, for his influence and authority long were paramount. The *Leges Regiae* were generally of a religious or social character, and some of them, if not all, can lay claim to a much higher antiquity than the Twelve Tables.

### TITLE III. CONCERNING THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS

The principal division of the law of persons is this, that all men are either free or slaves.

1. Freedom (from which is derived the designation free) is the natural right enjoyed by each one to do as he pleases, unless prevented by force or by law.

2. Slavery is a provision of the Law of Nations by means of which one person is subjected to the authority of another, contrary to nature.

3. Slaves are so called because generals order captives to be sold, and in this way to be preserved instead of being put to death; and they dealt rather with moral duties and the ceremonial of pagan worship than with secular regulations, and bear convincing evidence of sacerdotal origin, which is especially apparent in those attributed to Numa Pompilius. These rules were compiled during the in-

fancy of the Republic by Papirius, a member of the College of Pontiffs.

During the early days of Rome, all judicial and sacerdotal authority—civil, criminal, and religious—was vested in the Chief of the State, in this instance, in the King. We have, of course, no authentic record giving details of the legal foundation and original polity of the greatest city of the ancient world; and the legendary history of those distant times is so involved in obscurity that it is now impossible to discriminate between even probability and mere tradition, or between the true and the fabulous. With the few reliable data at our command, however, and judging from analogy, there can be no question of the summary jurisdiction enjoyed by the first Roman Kings in all matters affecting the welfare of the people, who were presumed to have delegated their authority to them...

Religious dogmas, at all times, played a most important role in the formation of Roman jurisprudence. Some of the principles and rules derived from this source persisted even until the closing days of the Empire. The College of Pontiffs, whose province, in the beginning, embraced only questions connected with sacred subjects, became subsequently the custodian of secular laws. The absolute separation of what is now known as Church and State was never effected. The authority of both was centered in the Emperor, who was invested with the dignity of Pontifex Maximus. The religious element of the Roman Constitution was always powerful, not infrequently predominant, during the existence of the Republic. The Twelve Tables, the first statutory enactments adopted by the Romans, contained many precepts enjoining observances of a strictly religious nature, some of which, in a fragmentary but legible condition, have come down to us. This potent sacerdotal influence can be traced through all subsequent legislation; was recognized by the most renowned sovereigns, sometimes with sincere reverence, but in general as a matter of state policy; and appears in many of the laws of Justinian. It had no little effect



in founding and promoting the irresponsible, arrogant, and far reaching domination of the Popes, the legitimate successors of the Caesars.

4. Moreover, slaves are either born or become such. They are born such when they owe their origin to our female slaves, and they become such by the Law of Nations through captivity, or in accordance with the Civil Law; as where a man who is free and over twenty years of age permits himself to be sold in order to obtain a portion of the price.

5. No difference exists in the condition of slaves, but among freemen there are several distinctions for they are either born free, or manumitted.

### LECTURE 8.3

## Justinian & Theodora II

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Procopius and Paul the Silentiary. How do these writers describe the magnificence of the Hagia Sophia?

.....  
*De Aedificiis* by Procopius, translated  
 by W. Lethabv and H. Swainson  
 .....

The emperor, thinking not of cost of any kind, pressed on the work, and collected together workmen from every land. Anthemius of Tralles, the most skilled in the builder's art, not only of his own but of all former times, carried forward the king's zealous intentions, organized the labors of the workmen, and prepared models of the future construction. Associated with him was another architect named Isidorus, a Milesian by birth, a man of intelligence, and worthy to carry out the plans of the Emperor Justinian. It is indeed a proof of the esteem with which God regarded the emperor, that he furnished him with men who would be so useful in effecting his designs, and we are compelled to admire the

wisdom of the emperor, in being able to choose the most suitable of mankind to execute the noblest of his works...

[The Church] is distinguished by indescribable beauty, excelling both in its size, and in the harmony of its measures, having no part excessive and none deficient; being more magnificent than ordinary buildings, and much more elegant than those which are not of so just a proportion. The church is singularly full of light and sunshine; you would declare that the place is not lighted by the sun from without, but that the rays are produced within itself, such an abundance of light is poured into this church...

Now above the arches is raised a circular building of a curved form through which the light of day first shines; for the building, which I imagine overtops the whole country, has small openings left on purpose, so that the places where these intervals occur may serve for the light to come through. Thus far I imagine the building is not incapable of being described, even by a weak and feeble tongue. As the arches are arranged in a quadrangular figure, the stone-work between them takes the shape of a triangle, the lower angle of each triangle, being compressed where the arches unite, is slender, while the upper part becomes wider as it rises in the space between them, and ends against the circle which rests upon them, forming there its remaining angles. A spherical-shaped dome standing upon this circle makes it exceedingly beautiful; from the lightness of the building, it does not appear to rest upon a solid foundation, but to cover the place beneath as though it were suspended from heaven by the fabled golden chain. All these parts surprisingly joined to one another in the air, suspended one from another, and resting only on that which is next to them, form the work into one admirably harmonious whole, which spectators do not dwell upon for long in the mass, as each individual part attracts the eye to itself.

No one ever became weary of this spectacle, but those who are in the church delight in what they see,

and, when they leave, magnify it in their talk. Moreover it is impossible accurately to describe the gold, and silver, and gems, presented by the Emperor Justinian, but by the description of one part, I leave the rest to be inferred. That part of the church which is especially sacred, and where the priests alone are allowed to enter, which is called the Sanctuary, contains forty thousand pounds' weight of silver.

.....

*The Church of St. Sophia*  
Constantinople by Paul the Silentiary,  
translated by W. Lethaby  
and H. Swainson

.....

Above all rises into the immeasurable air the great helmet [of the dome], which, bending over, like the radiant heavens, embraces the church. And at the highest part, at the crown, was depicted the cross, the protector of the city. And wondrous it is to see how the dome gradually rises wide below, and growing less as it reaches higher. it does not however spring upwards to a sharp point, but is like the firmament which rests on air, though the dome is fixed on the strong backs of the arches... Everywhere the walls glitter with wondrous designs, the stone for which came from the quarries of seagirt Proconnesus. The marbles are cut and joined like painted patterns, and in stones formed into squares or eight-sided figures the veins meet to form devices; and the stones show also the forms of living creatures...

A thousand others [lamps] within the temple show their gleaming light, hanging aloft by chains of many windings. Some are placed in the aisles, others in the center or to east and west, or on the crowning walls, shedding the brightness of flame. Thus the night seems to flout the light of day, and be itself as rosy as the dawn...

Thus through the spaces of the great church come rays of light, expelling clouds of care, and filling the mind with joy. The sacred light cheers all: even the sailor guiding his bark on the waves, leaving behind him the unfriendly billows of the raging Pontus, and winding a sinuous course amidst creeks and rocks, with heart fearful at the dangers of his nightly wanderings-perchance he has left the Aegean and guides his ship against adverse currents in the Hellespont, awaiting with taut forestay the onslaught of a storm from Africa-does not guide his laden vessel by the light of Cynosure, or the circling Bear, but by the divine light of the church Itself. Yet not Only does it guide the merchant at night, like the rays from the Pharos on the coast of Africa, but it also shows the way to the living God.

## LECTURE 8.4

### Byzantine Religion, Art and Education

**ASSIGNMENT** — Visit the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition of Byzantine artifacts.<sup>1</sup> Write your observations on at least three artworks from the exhibit.

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/byza/hd\\_byza.htm](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/byza/hd_byza.htm)

## LECTURE 8.5

# Cyril, Methodius and the Mission to the East

### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #8

## EXAM #8

1. How is Byzantium often derided?
2. What are the main contributions of Byzantium to Christian culture?
3. How did Byzantium face a “long defeat?”
4. Who was Justinian? How did his character change?
5. Who was Theodora? How did she help Justinian rule Byzantium?
6. What was the *Corpus Juris Civilis*? Name some of its positive characteristics.
7. What did Justinian and his general Belisarius reconquer?
8. What made the Hagia Sophia a magnificent church? How did it use light and space?
9. What outside forces continually attacked Byzantium after the death of Justinian?
10. What were icons? How were they properly used? How were they abused?
11. Who were Cyril and Methodius? How did they bring the Gospel to the Slavic peoples?
12. How did the mission of Cyril, Methodius and their disciples positively affect the faith and language of the Slavic peoples?



## LESSON 9

# *There is No God but Allah: Islam*

### LECTURE 9.1

#### Introduction to Islam and the Life of Mohammed I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following passage from *The Koran*. How does this passage show the chief differences between Islam and Christianity regarding Jesus and his role in history?

.....

Sura 3:38-64, *The Koran*

.....

And when the angels said, "Mary, God has chosen thee, and purified thee; He has chosen thee above all women. Mary, be obedient to thy Lord, prostrating and bowing before Him." (That is of the tidings of the Unseen, that We reveal to thee; for thou wast not with them, when they were casting quills which of them should have charge of Mary; thou wast not with them, when they were disputing.)

When the angels said, "Mary, God gives thee good tidings of a Word from Him whose name is Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary; high honored shall he be in this world and the next, near stationed to God. He shall speak to men in the cradle, and of age, and righteous he shall be."

"Lord," said Mary, "how shall I have a son seeing no mortal has touched me?"

"Even so," God said, "God creates what He will. When He decrees a thing He does but say to it 'Be',

and it is. And he will touch him, the Book, the Wisdom, the Torah, the Gospel, to be a Messenger to the Children of Israel saying, 'I have come to you with a sign from your Lord. I will create for you out of clay as the likeness of a bird; then I will breathe into it, and it will be a bird, by the leave of God. I will also heal the blind and the leper, and bring to life the dead, by the leave of God. I will inform you too of what things you eat, and what you treasure up in your houses. Surely in that is a sign for you, if you are believers. Likewise confirming the truth of the Torah that is before me, and to make lawful to you certain things that before were forbidden unto you. I have come to you with a sign from your Lord; so fear you God, and obey you me. Surely God is my Lord and your Lord; so serve Him. This is a straight path.'"

And when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, "Who will be my helpers unto God?" The Apostles said, "We will be helpers of God; we believe in God; witness thou our submission. Lord, we believe in that Thou hast sent down, and we follow the Messenger. Inscribe us therefore with those who bear witness." And they devised, and God devised, and God is the best of devisers.

When God said, "Jesus, I will take thee to Me and will raise thee to Me, and I will purify thee of those who believe not. I will set thy followers above the unbelievers till the Resurrection Day. Then unto Me shall you return, and I will decide between you, as to what you were at variance on. As for the unbelievers, I will chastise them with a terrible chastisement in this world and the next; they shall have no helpers."

But as for the believers, who do deeds of righteousness, He will pay them in full their wages: And God loves not the evildoers.

This We recite to thee of signs and wise remembrance. Truly, the likeness of Jesus, in God's sight, is as Adam's likeness; He created him of dust, then said He unto him, "Be," and he was. The truth is of God; be not of the doubters.

And whoso disputes with thee concerning him, after the knowledge that has come to thee, say: "Come now, let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, our selves and your selves, then let us humbly pray and so lay God's curse upon the ones who lie." This is the true story. There is no god but God, and assuredly God is the All-mighty, the All-wise. And if they turn their backs, assuredly God knows the workers of Corruption.

Say: "People of the Book! Come now to a word common between us and you, that we serve none but God, and that we associate not aught with Him, and do not some of us take others as Lords, apart from God." And if they turn their backs, say: "Bear witness that we are Muslims."

People of the Book! Why do you dispute concerning Abraham? The Torah was not sent down, neither the Gospel, but after him. What, have you no reason?

Ha, you are the ones who dispute on what you know; why then dispute you touching a matter of which you know not anything? God knows, and you know not.

No; Abraham in truth was not a Jew, neither a Christian; but he was a Muslim and one of pure faith; certainly he was never of the idolators.

Surely the people standing closest to Abraham are those who followed him, and this Prophet, and those who believe; and God is the Protector of the believers.

There is a party of the People of the Book yearn to make you go stray; yet none they make to stray,

except themselves, but they are not aware.

People of the Book! Why do you disbelieve in God's signs, which you yourselves witness? People of the Book! Why do you confound the truth with vanity, and conceal the truth and that wittingly?

## LECTURE 9.2

### Life of Mohammed II and the Five Pillars

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from the *Hadith*, or collected writing from the prophet Mohammed. How does this passage show Mohammed as the final and most important prophet of Allah? How does he supersede Jesus, according to this passage?

#### Experience 5, "The Prophet is Taken into the Presence of God," *Hadith*

Now when I was brought on my Night Journey to the [place of the] Throne and drew near to it, a green *rafrāf* was let down to me, a thing too beautiful for me to describe to you, whereat Gabriel advanced and seated me on it. Then he had to withdraw from me, placing his hands over his eyes, fearing lest his sight be destroyed by the scintillating light of the Throne, and he began to weep aloud, uttering *tasbih*, *tahmid* and *tathniya* to Allah. By Allah's leave, as a sign of His mercy toward me and the perfection of His favor to me, that *rafrāf* floated me into the [presence of the] Lord of the Throne, a thing too stupendous for the tongue to tell of or the imagination to picture. My sight was so dazzled by it that I feared blindness. Therefore I shut my eyes, which was by Allah's good favor. When I thus veiled my sight Allah shifted my sight [from my eyes] to my heart, so with my heart I began to look at what



I had been looking at with my eyes. It was a light so bright in its scintillation that I despair of ever describing to you what I saw of His majesty. Then I besought my Lord to complete His favor to me by granting me the boon of having a steadfast vision of Him with my heart. This my Lord did, giving me that favor, so I gazed at Him with my heart till it was steady and I had a steady vision of Him.

There He was, when the veil had been lifted from Him, seated on His Throne, in His dignity, His might, His glory, His exaltedness, but beyond that it is not permitted me to describe Him to you. Glory be to Him! How majestic is He! How bountiful are His works! How exalted is His position! How brilliant is His light! Then He lowered somewhat for me His dignity and drew me near to Him, which is as He has said in His book, informing you of how He would deal with me and honor me: “One possessed of strength. He stood erect when He was at the highest point of the horizon. Then He drew near and descended, so that He was two bows’ lengths off, or even nearer” (Sura 53:6-9). This means that when He inclined to me He drew me as near to Him as the distance between the two ends of bow, nay, rather, nearer than the distance between the crotch of the bow and its curved ends. “Then He revealed to His servant what he revealed” (Sura 5:10), *i.e.*, what matters He had decided to enjoin upon me. “His heart did not falsify what it saw” (Sura 5:11), *i.e.*, my vision of Him with my heart. “Indeed he was seeing one of the greatest signs of his Lord” (Sura 5:181).

Now when He—glory be to Him—lowered His dignity for me He placed one of His hands between my shoulders and I felt the coldness of His fingertips for a while on my heart, whereat experienced such a sweetness, so pleasant a perfume, so delightful a coolness, such a sense of honor in [being granted this] vision of Him, that all my terrors melted away and my fears departed from me, so my heart became tranquil. Then was I filled with joy, my eyes were refreshed, and such delight and happiness took hold

of me that I began to bend and sway to right and left like one overtaken by slumber. Indeed, it seemed to me as though everyone in heaven and earth had died, for I heard no voices of angels, nor during the vision of my Lord did I see any dark bodies. My Lord left me there such time as He willed, then brought me back to my senses, and it was as though I had been asleep and had awakened. My mind returned to me and I was tranquil, realizing where I was and how I was enjoying surpassing favor and being shown manifest preference.

Then my Lord, glorified and praised be He, spoke to me, saying: “O Muhammad, do you know about what the Highest Council is disputing?” I answered: “O Lord, Thou knowest best about that, as about all things, for Thou art the One who knows the unseen.” “They are disputing,” he said, “about the degrees and the excellences. Do you know, O Muhammad, what the degrees and the excellences are?” “Thou, O Lord,” I answered, “knowest better and art more wise.” Then He said: “The degrees are concerned with performing one’s ablutions at times when that is disagreeable, walking on foot to religious assemblies, watching expectantly for the next hour of prayer when one time of prayer is over. As for the excellences, they consist of feeding the hungry, spreading peace, and performing the *Tahajjud* prayer at night when other folk are sleeping.” Never have I heard anything sweeter or more pleasant than the melodious sound of His voice.

Such was the sweetness of His melodious voice that it gave me confidence, and so I spoke to Him of my need. I said: “O Lord, Thou didst take Abraham as a friend, Thou didst speak with Moses face to face, Thou didst raise Enoch to high place, Thou didst give Solomon a kingdom such as none after him might attain, and didst give to David the Psalter. What then is there for me, O Lord?” He replied: “O Muhammad, I take you as a friend just as I took Abraham as a friend. I am speaking to you just as I spoke face to face with Moses. I am giving you the *Fatiha* (Sura 1) and the closing verses of *al-Bagara*

(Sura 2:284-6), both of which are from the treasures of My Throne and which I have given to no prophet before you. I am sending you as a prophet to the white folk of the earth and the black folk and the red folk, to jinn and to men thereon, though never before you have I sent a prophet to the whole of them. I am appointing the earth, its dry land and its sea, for you and for your community as a place for purification and for worship. I am giving your community the right to booty which I have given as provision to no community before them. I shall aid you with such terrors as will make your enemies flee before you while you are still a month's journey away. I shall send down to you the Master of all Books and the guardian of them, Qur'an which We Ourselves have parceled out. I shall exalt your name for you, even to the extent of conjoining it with My name, so that none of the regulations of My religion will ever be mentioned without you being mentioned along with me."

Then after this He communicated to me matters which I am not permitted to tell you, and when He had made His covenant with me and had left me there such time as He willed, He took His seat again upon His Throne. Glory be to Him in His majesty, His dignity, His might. Then I looked, and behold, something passed between us and veil of light was drawn in front of Him, blazing ardently to a distance that none knows save Allah, and so intense that were it to be rent at any point it would burn up all Allah's creation, Then the green *rafrāf* on which I was descended with me, gently rising and falling with me in Illiyun...till it brought me back to Gabriel, who took me from it. Then the *rafrāf* mounted up till it disappeared from my sight.

## LECTURE 9.3

### Jihad and Mohammed's Successors

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following passages. How is the struggle or jihad praised in them?

#### Sura 29:65-9, *Hadith*

When they embark in the ships, they call on God, making their religion sincerely His; but when He has delivered them to the land, they associate others with Him, that they may be ungrateful for what We have given them, and take their enjoyment; they will soon know!

Have they not seen that We have appointed a sanctuary secure, while all about them the people are snatched away? What, do they believe in vanity, and do they disbelieve in God's blessing? And who does greater evil than he who forges against God a lie, or cries lies to the truth when it comes to him? What, is there not in Gehenna a lodging for the unbelievers?

But those who struggle in Our cause, surely We shall guide them in Our ways; and God is with the good-doers.

.....  
 From *Speeches and Table-Talk of the*  
*Prophet Mohammed*  
 .....

We came out with the prophet, with a part of the army, and a man passed by a cavern in which was water and verdure, and he said in his heart, “I shall stay here, and retire from the world.” Then he asked the prophet’s permission to live in the cavern; but he said, “Verily I have not been sent on the Jewish religion, nor the Christian, to quit the delights of society; but I have been sent on the religion inclining to truth, and that which is easy, wherein is no difficulty or austerity, I swear by God, in whose hand is my life, that marching about morning and evening to fight for religion is better than the world and everything that is in it: and verily the standing of one of you in the line of battle is better than supererogatory prayers performed in your house for sixty years.

## LECTURE 9.4

### The Abbasid Caliphate and Islamic Art

**ASSIGNMENT** — View “The Nature of Islamic Art” exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>2</sup> Write your observations on at least three artworks from the exhibit.

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/orna/hd\\_orna.htm](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/orna/hd_orna.htm)

## LECTURE 9.5

### Islamic Science

#### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #9

#### EXAM #9

1. Who is Allah, according to Islam?
2. How are Allah and Islam different from Christianity?
3. What is the importance of the Ka'aba in Mecca?
4. According to Mohammed, how did he receive the Koran?
5. What is the Mijra, which allegedly took place in Jerusalem?
6. How did Mohammed establish the first Islamic community in Medina? What was his view of women?
7. How did Mohammed's Islamic community treat his critics, the Jews and the Meccans?
8. How do the Five Pillars show righteousness achieved by works?
9. What is jihad? What is its importance in Islamic history?
10. How did Islam expand under Mohammed's successors?
11. Briefly describe the characteristics of Islamic art and architecture.
12. Name at least two contributions of Islamic science.

## LESSON 10

# *How the Celts Saved Civilization: Christianity in Ireland and Britain*

### LECTURE 10.1

#### The Celts and Roman Britain

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “St. Patrick’s Breastplate” by Cecil Frances Alexander. How does this hymn serve as a credal statement of both doctrine and hope?

.....

“St. Patrick’s Breastplate”  
by Cecil Frances Alexander

.....

I bind unto myself today  
the strong name of the Trinity  
by invocation of the same,  
the Three in One and One in Three.

I bind this day to me forever,  
by power of faith, Christ’s incarnation,  
his baptism in the Jordan river,  
his death on cross for my salvation,  
his bursting from the spiced tomb,  
his riding up the heavenly way,  
his coming at the day of doom,  
I bind unto myself today.

I bind unto myself today  
the virtues of the starlit heaven,  
the glorious sun’s life-giving ray,  
the whiteness of the moon at even,

the flashing of the lightning free,  
the whirling wind’s tempestuous shocks,  
the stable earth, the deep salt sea  
around the old eternal rocks.

I bind unto myself today  
the power of God to hold and lead,  
God’s eye to watch, God’s might to stay,  
God’s ear to hearken to my need,  
the wisdom of my God to teach,  
God’s hand to guide, God’s shield to ward,  
the word of God to give me speech,  
God’s heavenly host to be my guard.

Christ be with me, Christ within me,  
Christ behind me, Christ before me,  
Christ beside me, Christ to win me,  
Christ to comfort and restore me.  
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,  
Christ in quiet, Christ in danger,  
Christ in hearts of all that love me,  
Christ in mouth of friend and stranger.

I bind unto myself the name,  
the strong name of the Trinity  
by invocation of the same,  
the Three in One and One in Three,  
of whom all nature has creation,  
eternal Father, Spirit, Word.  
Praise to the Lord of my salvation;  
salvation is of Christ the Lord!

## LECTURE 10.2

**Christianity in Britannia and Caledonia, the Roman Flight and King Arthur**

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following two narratives. How do both of these passages lay the foundation for the historical life and legend of King Arthur?

.....

Excerpt from *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* by Bede

.....

When the victorious army, having destroyed and dispersed the natives, had returned home to their own settlements, the Britons began by degrees to take heart, and gather strength, sallying out of the lurking places where they had concealed themselves, and unanimously imploring the Divine assistance, that they might not utterly be destroyed. They had at that time for their leader, Ambrosius Aurelius, a modest man, who alone, by chance, of the Roman nation had survived the storm, in which his parents, who were of the royal race, had perished. Under him the Britons revived, and offering battle to the victors, by the help of God, came off victorious. From that day, sometimes the natives, and sometimes their enemies, prevailed, till the year of the siege of Baddesdownhill, when they made no small slaughter of those invaders, about forty four years after their arrival in England. But of this hereafter.

.....

Excerpts from *Six Old English Chronicles*, edited by J. A. Giles,  
translated by Alan Lupack

.....

At that time, the Saxons grew strong by virtue of their large number and increased in power in Britain. Hengist having died, however, his son Octha crossed from the northern part of Britain to the kingdom of Kent and from him are descended the kings of Kent. Then Arthur along with the kings of Britain fought against them in those days, but Arthur himself was the military commander [*dux bellorum*]. His first battle was at the mouth of the river which is called Glein. His second, third, fourth, and fifth battles were above another river which is called Dubglas and is in the region of Lin-nuis. The sixth battle was above the river which is called Bassas. The seventh battle was in the forest of Celidon, that is Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth battle was at the fortress of Guinnion, in which Arthur carried the image of holy Mary ever virgin on his shoulders; and the pagans were put to flight on that day. And through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the power of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother there was great slaughter among them. The ninth battle was waged in the City of the Legion. The tenth battle was waged on the banks of a river which is called Tribruit. The eleventh battle was fought on the mountain which is called Agnet. The twelfth battle was on Mount Badon in which there fell in one day 960 men from one charge by Arthur; and no one struck them down except Arthur himself, and in all the wars he emerged as victor. And while they were being defeated in all the battles, they were seeking assistance from Germany and their numbers were being augmented many times over without interruption. And they brought over kings from Germany that they might reign over them in Britain, right down to the time in which



Ida reigned, who was son of Eobba. He was the first king in Bernicia, *i.e.*, in Berneich...

There is another marvel in the region which is called Buelt. There is a mound of stones there and one stone placed above the pile with the pawprint of a dog in it. When Cabal, who was the dog of Arthur the soldier, was hunting the boar Troynt, he impressed his print in the stone, and afterwards Arthur assembled a stone mound under the stone with the print of his dog, and it is called the Carn Cabal. And men come and remove the stone in their hands for the length of a day and a night; and on the next day it is found on top of its mound...

There is another wonder in the region which is called Ercing. A tomb is located there next to a spring which is called Licat Amr; and the name of the man who is buried in the tomb was called thus: Amr. He was the son of Arthur the soldier, and Arthur himself killed and buried him in that very place. And men come to measure the grave and find it sometimes six feet in length, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen. At whatever length you might measure it at one time, a second time you will not find it to have the same length—and I myself have put this to the test...

## LECTURE 10.3

### Ireland and Patrick

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpts of St. Patrick's *Confession*. How does St. Patrick show his understanding of his mission and his faith required to complete such a mission?

.....  
 Excerpts from St. Patrick's *Confession*  
 .....

And after a few years I was again in Britain with my parents, and they welcomed me as a son, and

asked me, in faith, that after the great tribulations I had endured I should not go anywhere else away from them. And, of course, there, in a vision of the night, I saw a man whose name was Victorinus coming as if from Ireland with innumerable letters, and he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter: "The Voice of the Irish"; and as I was reading the beginning of the letter I seemed at that moment to hear the voice of those who were beside the forest of Foclut which is near the western sea, and they were crying as if with one voice: "We beg you, holy youth, that you shall come and shall walk again among us." And I was stung intensely in my heart so that I could read no more, and thus I awoke. Thanks be to God, because after so many years the Lord bestowed on them according to their cry...

So for that reason one should, in fact, fish well and diligently, just as the Lord foretells and teaches, saying, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men," and, again, through the prophets: "'Behold, I am sending forth many fishers and hunters,' says the Lord," *et cetera*. So it behoved us to spread our nets, that a vast multitude and throng might be caught for God, and so there might be clergy everywhere who baptized and exhorted a needy and desirous people. Just as the Lord says in the Gospel, admonishing and instructing: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always to the end of time." And again he says: "Go forth into the world and preach the Gospel to all creation. He who believes and is baptized shall be saved; but he who does not believe shall be condemned." And again: "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world as a witness to all nations; and then the end of the world shall come." And likewise the Lord foretells through the prophet: "And it shall come to pass in the last days (sayeth the Lord) that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall

see visions and your old men shall dream dreams; yea, and on my menservants and my maidservants in those days I will pour out my Spirit and they shall prophesy." And in Hosea he says: "Those who are not my people I will call my people, and those not beloved I will call my beloved, and in the very place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' they will be called 'Sons of the living God'..."

But I see that even here and now, I have been exalted beyond measure by the Lord, and I was not worthy that he should grant me this, while I know most certainly that poverty and failure suit me better than wealth and delight (but Christ the Lord was poor for our sakes; I certainly am wretched and unfortunate; even if I wanted wealth I have no resources, nor is it my own estimation of myself, for daily I expect to be murdered or betrayed or reduced to slavery if the occasion arises. But I fear nothing, because of the promises of Heaven; for I have cast myself into the hands of Almighty God, who reigns everywhere. As the prophet says: "Cast your burden on the Lord and he will sustain you."

Behold now I commend my soul to God who is most faithful and for whom I perform my mission in obscurity, but he is no respecter of persons and he chose me for this service that I might be one of the least of his ministers.

For which reason I should make return for all that he returns me. But what should I say, or what should I promise to my Lord, for I, alone, can do nothing unless he himself vouchsafe it to me. But let him search my heart and my nature, for I crave enough for it, even too much, and I am ready for him to grant me that I drink of his chalice, as he has granted to others who love him.

Therefore may it never befall me to be separated by my God from his people whom he has won in this most remote land. I pray God that he gives me perseverance, and that he will deign that I should be a faithful witness for his sake right up to the time of my passing.

And if at any time I managed anything of good

for the sake of my God whom I love, I beg of him that he grant it to me to shed my blood for his name with proselytes and captives, even should I be left unburied, or even were my wretched body to be torn limb from limb by dogs or savage beasts, or were it to be devoured by the birds of the air, I think, most surely, were this to have happened to me, I had saved both my soul and my body. For beyond any doubt on that day we shall rise again in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus our Redeemer, as children of the living God and co-heirs of Christ, made in his image; for we shall reign through him and for him and in him.

For the sun we see rises each day for us at his command, but it will never reign, neither will its splendor last, but all who worship it will come wretchedly to punishment. We, on the other hand, shall not die, who believe in and worship the true sun, Christ, who will never die, no more shall he die who has done Christ's will, but will abide forever just as Christ abides forever, who reigns with God the Father Almighty and with the Holy Spirit before the beginning of time and now and forever and ever. Amen.

Behold over and over again I would briefly set out the words of my confession. I testify in truthfulness and gladness of heart before God and his holy angels that I never had any reason, except the Gospel and his promises, ever to have returned to that nation from which I had previously escaped with difficulty.

But I entreat those who believe in and fear God, whoever deigns to examine or receive this document composed by the obviously unlearned sinner Patrick in Ireland, that nobody shall ever ascribe to my ignorance any trivial thing that I achieved or may have expounded that was pleasing to God, but accept and truly believe that it would have been the gift of God. And this is my confession before I die.

## LECTURE 10.4

### Columba, Brendan and Augustine of Canterbury

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “Boat Song” and “Caedmon’s Hymn.” How do these poems show the adventurous faith of the Irish?

#### “Boat Song” by St. Columban

Cut in the forests, swept down the two-horned  
Rhine,  
Our keel, tight-caulked, now floats upon the sea.  
Heia, men! Let the echoes resound with our *heia!*  
The wild gusts swell, the slashing torrents fall,  
But manly strength has force to tame the storm.  
Heia, men! Let the echoes resound with our *heia!*  
To earnest effort, clouds and tempest yield;  
Zeal and unceasing labor conquer all.  
Heia, men! Let the echoes resound with our *heia!*  
Endure and save yourselves for better things;  
O you who have suffered worse, this too shall end.  
Heia, men! Let the echoes resound with our *heia!*  
So when the loathsome foe assaults our hearts,  
Tempting and shaking the depths of our hearts  
with passion,  
Let your souls, men, remembering Christ, cry *heia!*  
In resolution fixed, scorn Satan’s wiles.  
By virtues armed, defend yourselves with valor.  
Let your souls, men, remembering Christ, cry *heia!*  
Firm faith and holy ardor conquer all.  
The ancient fiend, defeated, breaks his arrows.  
Let your souls, men, remembering Christ, cry *heia!*  
The Source of Good and Being, the Highest Power,  
Offers the warrior and gives the victor prizes.  
Let your souls, men, remembering Christ, cry *heia!*

#### *Caedmon’s Hymn,* translated by Elaine Treharne

Now we ought to praise the Guardian of the  
heavenly kingdom,  
The might of the Creator and his conception,  
The work of the glorious Father, as he of each of  
the wonders,  
Eternal Lord, established the beginning.  
He first created for the sons of men  
Heaven as a roof, holy Creator;  
Then the middle-earth, the Guardian of mankind,  
The eternal Lord, afterwards made  
The earth for men, the Lord almighty.

## LECTURE 10.5

### Aidan, the Council of Whitby and the Venerable Bede

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #10

#### EXAM #10

1. Who were the Celts? What characteristics were they known for?
2. Who was Boudicca? How did she challenge the Roman rule of Britain?
3. What are some of the accounts given for how Christianity first came to Britain?
4. Why did the Romans leave Britain? What tribes invaded Britain during this time?
5. Who was the historical Arthur? Why are the legends of Arthur so popular?
6. Who was Patrick? How did he first come to Ireland, and how did he escape?
7. Why did Patrick return to Ireland? What did he accomplish there?
8. Who was Columba? What did he establish at Iona?
9. Who was Augustine of Canterbury? What did he accomplish among the Angles and Saxons?
10. Who was Aidan? What did he establish at Lindisfarne?
11. What was decided by the council of Whitby?
12. What did the Venerable Bede write? What did he contribute to the English church?

## LESSON 11

# *The Holy Roman Empire: Benedict & Monasticism, Gregory the Great & Worship, Charlemagne & Education*

### LECTURE 11.1

#### Benedict & Monasticism

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “The Tools For Good Works” by St. Benedict. How does Benedict in this passage provide a guide for the godly life?

.....

From *Rule of St. Benedict*,  
ch. 4 by St. Benedict

.....

First of all, *love the Lord God with your whole heart, your whole soul and all your strength, and love your neighbor as yourself.* Then the following: *You are not to kill, not to commit adultery; you are not to steal nor to covet, you are not to bear false witness. You must honor everyone, and never do to another what you do not want done to yourself.*

*Renounce yourself in order to follow Christ; discipline your body; do not pamper yourself, but love fasting. You must relieve the lot of the poor, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and bury the*

*dead. Go to help the troubled and console the sorrowing.*

Your way of acting should be different from the world's way; the love of Christ must come before all else. You are not to act in anger or nurse a grudge. Rid your heart of all deceit. Never give: hollow greeting of peace or turn away when someone needs

your love. Bind yourself to no oath lest it prove false, but speak the truth with heart and tongue.

*Do not repay one bad turn with another.* Do not injure anyone, but bear injuries patiently. *Love your enemies.* If people curse you, do not curse them back but bless them instead. *Endure persecution for the sake of justice.*

You must not be proud, *nor be given to wine.* Refrain from too much eating or sleeping, and *from laziness.* Do not grumble or speak ill of others.

Place your hope in God alone. If you notice something good in yourself, give credit to God, not to yourself, but be certain that the evil you commit is always your own and yours to acknowledge.

Live in fear of judgment day and have a great horror of hell. Yearn for everlasting life with holy desire. Day by day remind yourself that you are going to die. Hour by hour keep careful watch over all you do, aware that God's gaze is upon you, wherever you may be. As soon as wrongful thoughts come into your heart, dash them against Christ and disclose them to your spiritual father. Guard your lips from harmful or deceptive speech. Prefer moderation in speech and speak no foolish chatter, nothing just to provoke laughter; do not love immoderate or boisterous laughter.

Listen readily to holy reading, and devote yourself often to prayer. Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer and change from these evil ways in the future.

Do not gratify the promptings of the flesh; hate the urgings of self-will. Obey the orders of the abbot

unreservedly, even if his own conduct—which God forbid—be at odds with what he says.

Remember the teaching of the Lord: *Do what they say, not what they do.*

Do not aspire to be called holy before you really are, but first be holy that you may more truly be called so. Live by God's commandments every day; treasure chastity, harbor neither hatred nor jealousy of anyone, and do nothing out of envy. Do not love quarreling; shun arrogance. Respect the elders and love the young. Pray for your enemies out of love for Christ. If you have a dispute with someone, make peace with him before the sun goes down.

And finally, never lose hope in God's mercy.

These, then, are the tools of the spiritual craft. When we have used them without ceasing, day and night, and have returned them on judgment day, our wages will be the reward the Lord has promised: *What the eye has not seen nor the ear heard, God has prepared for those who love him.* The workshop where we are to toil faithfully at all these tasks is the enclosure of the monastery and stability in the community.

## LECTURE 11.2

### Gregory the Great & Worship

**ASSIGNMENT** — Listen to “*Deum verum*.”

[Any of the many recordings available online will suffice.] How does this piece show some of the characteristics of Gregorian chant?

.....  
 “*Deum verum*,”<sup>3</sup> a Gregorian chant  
 by Stephen of Liege  
 .....

## LECTURE 11.3

### The Germans, Clovis, the Merovingians and Boniface

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter to Boniface. What advice is Boniface given to convert the peoples he was ministering to?

.....  
 “Letter to Boniface,” included in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*,  
 edited by C.H. Talbot  
 .....

To Boniface, honored and beloved leader, Daniel, servant of the people of God.

Great is my joy, brother and colleague in the episcopate, that your good work has received its reward. Supported by your deep faith and great courage, you have embarked upon the conversion of heathens whose hearts have hitherto been stony and barren and with the Gospel as your plowshare you have labored tirelessly day after day to transform them into harvest-bearing fields. Well may the words of the prophet be applied to you: “A voice of one crying in the wilderness, etc.”

Yet not less deserving of reward are they who give what help they can to such a good and deserving work by relieving the poverty of the laborers, so that they may pursue unhampered the task of preaching and begetting children to Christ. And so, moved by affection and good will, I am taking the liberty of making a few suggestions, in order to show you how, in my opinion, you may overcome with the least possible trouble the resistance of this barbarous people.

Do not begin by arguing with them about the genealogies of their false gods. Accept their statement that they were begotten by other gods through

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kK5AobCMX0U>



the intercourse of male and female and then you will be able to prove that, as these gods and goddesses did not exist before, and were born like men, they must be men and not gods. When they have been forced to admit that their gods had a beginning, since they were begotten by others, they should be asked whether the world had a beginning or was always in existence. There is no doubt that before the universe was created there was no place in which these created gods could have subsisted or dwelt. And by "universe" I mean not merely heaven and earth which we see with our eyes but the whole extent of space which even the heathens can grasp in their imagination. If they maintain that the universe had no beginning, try to refute their arguments and bring forward convincing proofs; and if they persist in arguing, ask them, Who ruled it? How did the gods bring under their sway a universe that existed before them? Whence or by whom or when was the first god or goddess begotten? Do they believe that gods and goddesses still beget other gods and goddesses? If they do not, when did they cease and why? If they do, the number of gods must be infinite. In such a case, who is the most powerful among these different gods? Surely no mortal man can know. Yet man must take care not to offend this god who is more powerful than the rest. Do they think the gods should be worshiped for the sake of temporal and transitory benefits or for eternal and future reward? If for temporal benefit let them say in what respect the heathens are better off than the Christians. What do the heathen gods gain from the sacrifices if they already possess everything? Or why do the gods leave it to the whim of their subjects to decide what kind of tribute shall be paid? If they need such sacrifices, why do they not choose more suitable ones? If they do not need them, then the people are wrong in thinking that they can placate the gods with such offerings and victims.

These and similar questions, and many others that it would be tedious to mention, should be put to them, not in an offensive and irritating way but

calmly and with great moderation. From time to time their superstitions should be compared with our Christian dogmas and touched upon indirectly, so that the heathens, more out of confusion than exasperation, may be ashamed of their absurd opinions and may recognise that their disgusting rites and legends have not escaped our notice.

This conclusion also must be drawn: If the gods are omnipotent, beneficent and just, they must reward their devotees and punish those who despise them. Why then, if they act thus in temporal affairs, do they spare the Christians who cast down their idols and turn away from their worship the inhabitants of practically the entire globe? And whilst the Christians are allowed to possess the countries that are rich in oil and wine and other commodities, why have they left to the heathens the frozen lands of the north, where the gods, banished from the rest of the world, are falsely supposed to dwell?

The heathens are frequently to be reminded of the supremacy of the Christian world and of the fact that they who still cling to outworn beliefs are in a very small minority.

If they boast that the gods have held undisputed sway over these people from the beginning, point out to them that formerly the whole world was given over to the worship of idols until, by the grace of Christ and through the knowledge of one God, its Almighty Creator and Ruler, it was enlightened, vivified and reconciled to God. For what does the baptizing of the children of Christian parents signify if not the purification of each one from the uncleanness of the guilt of heathenism in which the human race was involved?

It has given me great pleasure, brother, for the love I bear you, to bring these matters to your notice. Afflicted though am with bodily infirmities, I may well say with the psalmist "I know, O Lord, that thy judgment is just and that in truth thou, hast afflicted me." For this reason, I earnestly entreat Your Reverence and those with you who serve Christ in the spirit, to pray for me that the Lord

who made me taste of the wine of compunction may quickly aid me unto mercy, that as He has punished me justly, so He may graciously pardon and mercifully enable me to sing in gratitude the words of the prophet: According to the number of my sorrows, thy consolations have comforted my soul."

I pray for your welfare in Christ, my very dear colleague, and beg you to remember me.

## LECTURE 11.4

### Pepin the Short & Charlemagne

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. How does this passage show noble characteristics of Charlemagne?

.....

Excerpt from *Einhard, Life of Charlemagne* by S. E. Turner

.....

Charles was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall (his height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot); the upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his neck was thick and somewhat short, and his belly rather prominent; but the symmetry of the rest of his body concealed these defects. His gait was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, but not so strong as his size led one to expect. His health was excellent, except during the four years preceding his death, when he was subject to frequent fevers; at the last he even limped a little with one foot. Even in those years he consulted rather his own inclinations than the advice of physicians, who were almost hateful to him, because they wanted him to give up roasts, to which he was accustomed, and to eat boiled meat instead.

In accordance with the national custom, he took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase, accomplishments in which scarcely any people in the world can equal the Franks. He enjoyed the exhalations from natural warm springs, and often practiced swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and hence it was that he built his palace at Aix La-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death. He used not only to invite his sons to his bath, but his nobles and friends, and now and then a troop of his retinue or bodyguard, so that a hundred or more persons sometimes bathed with him.

He used to wear the national, that is to say, the Frank, dress—next to his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always had a sword girt about him, usually one with a gold or silver hilt and belt; he sometimes carried a jeweled sword, but only on great feast-days or at the reception of ambassadors from foreign nations. He despised foreign costumes, however handsome, and never allowed himself to be robed in them, except twice in Rome, when he donned the Roman tunic, chlamys, and shoes; the first time at the request of Pope Hadrian, the second to gratify Leo, Hadrian's successor. On great feast-days he made use of embroidered clothes, and shoes bedecked with precious stones; his cloak was fastened by a golden buckle, and he appeared crowned with a diadem of gold and gems: but on other days his dress varied little from the common dress of the people.

Charles was temperate in eating, and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health. He very rarely gave entertainments, only on great feast-days, and then to large numbers of peo-

ple. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at the table, he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden time: he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled *The City of God*.

He was so moderate in the use of wine and all sorts of drink that he rarely allowed himself more than three cups in the course of a meal. In summer after the midday meal, he would eat some fruit, drain a single cup, put off his clothes and shoes, just as he did for the night, and rest for two or three hours. He was in the habit of waking and rising from bed four or five times during the night. While he was dressing and putting on his shoes, he not only gave audience to his friends, but if the Count of the Palace told him of any suit in which his judgment was necessary, he had the parties brought before him forthwith, took cognizance of the case, and gave his decision, just as if he were sitting on the judgment-seat. This was not the only business that he transacted at this time, but he performed any duty of the day whatever, whether he had to attend to the matter himself, or to give commands concerning it to his officers.

Charles had the gift of ready and fluent speech, and could express whatever he had to say with the utmost clearness. He was not satisfied with command of his native language merely, but gave attention to the study of foreign ones, and in particular was such a master of Latin that he could speak it as well as his native tongue; but he could understand Greek better than he could speak it. He was so eloquent, indeed, that he might have passed for a teacher of eloquence. He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them. He took lessons in grammar of the deacon Peter of Pisa, at that time an aged man. Another deacon, Albin of Britain, surnamed Alcuin, a man of Saxon extraction, who was the greatest scholar of the day,

was his teacher in other branches of learning. The King spent much time and labor with him studying rhetoric, dialectics, and especially astronomy; he learned to reckon, and used to investigate the motions of the heavenly bodies most curiously, with an intelligent scrutiny. He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill success...

The plan that he adopted for his children's education was, first of all, to have both boys and girls instructed in the liberal arts, to which he also turned his own attention. As soon as their years admitted, in accordance with the custom of the Franks, the boys had to learn horsemanship, and to practice war and the chase, and the girls to familiarize themselves with cloth-making, and to handle distaff and spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness, and he fostered in them every virtuous sentiment. He only lost three of all his children before his death, two sons and one daughter, Charles, who was the eldest, Pepin, whom he had made King of Italy, and Hruodrud, his oldest daughter

He was so careful of the training of his sons and daughters that he never took his meals without them when he was at home, and never made a journey without them; his sons would ride at his side, and his daughters follow him, while a number of his body-guard, detailed for their protection, brought up the rear. Strange to say, although they were very handsome women, and he loved them very dearly, he was never willing to marry any of them to a man of their own nation or to a foreigner, but kept them all at home until his death, saying that he could not dispense with their society. Hence, though otherwise happy, he experienced the malignity of fortune as far as they were concerned; yet he concealed his knowledge of the rumors current in regard to them, and of the suspicions entertained of their honor.

...He cherished the Church of St. Peter the

Apostle at Rome above all other holy and sacred places, and heaped its treasury with a vast wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones. He sent great and countless gifts to the popes; and throughout his whole reign the wish that he had nearest at heart was to re-establish the ancient authority of the city of Rome under his care and by his influence, and to defend and protect the Church of St. Peter, and to beautify and enrich it out of his own store above all other churches. Although he held it in such veneration, he only repaired to Rome to pay his vows and make his supplications four times during the whole forty-seven years that he reigned.

The Romans had inflicted many injuries upon the Pontiff Leo, tearing out his eyes and cutting out his tongue, so that he had been compelled to call upon the King for help. Charles accordingly went to Rome, to set in order the affairs of the Church, which were in great confusion, and passed the whole winter there. It was then that he received the titles of Emperor and Augustus, to which he at first had such an aversion that he declared that he would not have set foot in the Church the day that they were conferred, although it was a great feast-day, if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope. He bore very patiently with the jealousy which the Roman emperors showed upon his assuming these titles, for they took this step very ill; and by dint of frequent embassies and letters, in which he addressed them as brothers, he made their haughtiness yield to his magnanimity, a quality in which he was unquestionably much their superior.

## LECTURE 11.5

### Carolingian Education, Alcuin and the Trivium

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read the following letters of Charlemagne. How do they show his concern for the education of his people and their pursuit of wisdom?

.....

Selected letters of Charlemagne from  
*Readings in European History, vol 1*,  
edited by James Harvey Robinson

.....

#### CHARLEMAGNE'S LETTER ON THE DANGERS OF IGNORANCE (C. A.D. 780-800)

Be it known, therefore, to your Devotion pleasing to God, that we, together with our faithful, have considered it to be expedient that the bishoprics and monasteries intrusted by the favor of Christ to our government, in addition to the rule of monastic life and the intercourse of holy religion, ought to be zealous also in the culture of letters, teaching those who by the gift of God are able to learn, according to the capacity of each individual; so that just as the observance of the monastic rule imparts order and grace to moral conduct, so also zeal in teaching and learning may do the same for the use of words, so that those who desire to please God by living rightly should not neglect to please him also by speaking correctly. For it is written, "Either from thy words thou shalt be justified, or from thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Although it is better to *do* the right than know it, nevertheless knowledge should precede action. Therefore, each one ought to study what he would accomplish, so that the mind may the better know

what ought to be done, if the tongue utters the praises of omnipotent God without the hindrances of errors. For if errors should be shunned by all men, so much the more ought they to be avoided, as far as possible, by those who are chosen for the very purpose that they may be the servants of truth.

Yet, in recent years, when letters have been written to us from various monasteries to inform us that the brethren who dwelt there were offering up in our behalf holy and pious prayers, we noted in most of these letters correct thoughts but uncouth expressions; for what pious devotion dictated faithfully to the mind, the tongue, uneducated on account of the neglect of study, was not able to express without error. We, therefore, began to fear lest perchance, as the skill in writing was wanting, so also the wisdom for understanding the Holy Scriptures might be much less than it rightly ought to be. And we all know well that, although errors of speech are dangerous, far more dangerous are errors of the understanding.

Therefore, we exhort you not only not to neglect the study of letters, but also with most humble mind, pleasing to God, to pursue it earnestly in order that you may be able more easily and more correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Scriptures. Since, moreover, figures of speech, tropes, and the like are found in the sacred pages, it cannot be doubted that in reading these one will understand the spiritual sense more quickly if previously he shall have been fully instructed in the mastery of letters. Such men truly are to be chosen for this work as have both the will and the ability to learn and a desire to instruct others. And may this be done with a zeal as great as the earnestness with which we command it.

### **CHARLEMAGNE COMMANDS THAT SCHOOLS BE ESTABLISHED BY BISHOPS AND IN THE MONASTERIES (A.D. 789)**

Let the ministers of the altar of God adorn their ministry by good manners, and likewise the other orders who observe a rule, and the congregations of monks. We implore them to lead a just and fitting life, just as God himself commanded in the gospel. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," so that by our example many may be led to serve God. Let them join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition, but also sons of freemen. And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with all diligence.





## LESSON 12

# *The Ballad of the White Horse: The Norse and Alfred the Great*

### LECTURE 12.1

#### The Ancient Norse and Their Myths

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “Odin’s Reward.”  
How does the mission of Odin display the Norse value of wisdom?

.....

“Odin’s Reward,” from *Asgard  
Stories: Tales From Norse Mythology*  
by Mary Foster & Mabel Cummings

.....

One night when all was quiet in Asgard and the Aesir had gone to rest, Odin, the Allfather, sat awake on his high throne, troubled with many thoughts. At his feet crouched his two faithful wolves, and upon his shoulders perched the two ravens of thought and memory, who flew far abroad every day, through the nine worlds, as Odin’s messengers.

The Allfather had need of great wisdom in ruling the worlds; after thinking a long time on the matters which needed his care, he suddenly started up, and went forth with long strides from his palace of Gladsheim into the night. He soon returned, leading his beautiful, eight-footed steed, Sleipnir, and it was plain that Odin was going on a journey. He quickly mounted Sleipnir, and rode swiftly away toward Bifrost, the rainbow bridge, which reached from Asgard, the city of the gods, down through the

air to the lower worlds.

When Sleipnir stepped upon the bridge it trembled, and seemed hardly strong enough to bear the horse and his rider; but they had no fear of its giving way, and Sleipnir galloped swiftly onward.

Soon Odin saw Heimdall, the watchman of the bridge, riding toward him on a fine horse, with a golden mane that reflected light upon the noble face of his rider.

“You must be bound on some important errand, Father Odin, to be riding forth from Asgard so late at night,” said Heimdall.

“It is indeed a most important errand, and I must hasten on,” replied Odin. “It is well for us that we have such a faithful guardian of the ‘trembling bridge’; if it were not for you, Heimdall, our enemies might long ago have taken Asgard by storm. You are so watchful, you can hear the grass grow in the fields, and the wool gather on the backs of the sheep, and you need less sleep than a bird. I myself stand in great need of wisdom, in order to take care of such faithful servants, and to drive back such wicked enemies!”

They hurried over the bridge until they came to Heimdall’s far-shining castle, at the farther end of it. This was a lofty tower which was placed so as to guard the bridge, and it sent forth into the land of the giant enemies such a wonderful, clear light, that Heimdall could see, even in the darkest night, any one who came toward the bridge. Here Odin stopped a few moments to drink the mead which the good Heimdall offered him.

Then said Odin, "As I am journeying into the land of our enemies, I shall leave my good horse with you; there are not many with whom I would trust him, but I know that you, my faithful Heimdall, will take good care of him. I can best hide myself from the giants by going on as a wanderer."

With these words the Allfather quitted Heimdall's castle, and started off toward the north, through the land of the fierce giants.

During all the first day there was nothing to be seen but ice and snow; several times Odin was nearly crushed as the frost giants hurled huge blocks of ice after him.

The second day he came to mountains and broad rivers. Often when he had just crossed over a stream, the mountain giants would come after him to the other bank, and when they found that Odin had escaped them, they would send forth such a fierce yell, that the echoes sounded from hill to hill.

At the end of the third day, Odin came to a land where trees were green and flowers blooming. Here was one of the three fountains which watered the world tree, Yggdrasil, and near by sat the wise giant, Mimir, guarding the waters of this wonderful fountain, for whoever drank of it would have the gift of great wisdom.

Mimir was a giant in size, but he was not one of the fierce giant enemies of the gods, for he was kind, and wiser than the wisest.

Mimir's well of wisdom was in the midst of a wonderful valley, filled with rare plants and bright flowers, and among the groves of beautiful trees were strange creatures, sleeping dragons, harmless serpents, and lizards, while birds with gay plumage flew and sang among the branches. Over all this quiet valley shone a lovely soft light, different from sunlight, and in the center grew one of the roots of the great world tree. Here the wise giant Mimir sat gazing down into his well.

Odin greeted the kind old giant, and said, "Oh, Mimir, I have come from far-away Asgard to ask a great boon!"

"Gladly will I help you if it is in my power," said Mimir.

"You know," replied Odin, "that as father of gods and men I need great wisdom, and I have come to beg for one drink of your precious water of knowledge. Trouble threatens us, even from one of the Aesir, for Loki, the fire-god, has lately been visiting the giants, and I fear he has been learning evil ways from them. The frost giants and the storm giants are always at work, trying to overthrow both gods and men; great is my need of wisdom, and even though no one ever before has dared ask so great a gift, I hope that since you know how deep is my trouble, you will grant my request."

Mimir sat silently, thinking for several moments, and then said, "You ask a great thing, indeed, Father Odin; are you ready to pay the price which I must demand?"

"Yes," said Odin, cheerfully, "I will give you all the gold and silver of Asgard, and all the jeweled shields and swords of the Aesir. More than all, I will give up my eight-footed horse Sleipnir, if that is needed to win the reward."

"And do you suppose that these things will buy wisdom?" said Mimir. "That can be gained only by bearing bravely, and giving up to others. Are you willing to give me a part of yourself? Will you give up one of your own eyes?"

At this Odin looked very sad; but after a few moments of deep thought, he looked up with a bright smile, and answered, "Yes, I will even give you one of my eyes, and I will suffer whatever else is asked, in order to gain the wisdom that I need!"

We cannot know all that Odin bravely suffered in that strange, bright valley, before he was rewarded with a drink from that wonderful fountain; but we may be quite sure that never once was the good Allfather sorry for anything he had given up, or any suffering he had borne, for the sake of others.

## LECTURE 12.2

### Norse Mythology, Religion, and Culture

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from Norse wisdom literature. How do these proverbs show both a love for wisdom and home?

.....

“Hovamol,” stanzas 1-12,  
from *The Poetic Edda*,  
translated by Henry Adams Bellows

.....

Within the gates | ere a man shall go,  
(Full warily let him watch,)  
Full long let him look about him;  
For little he knows | where a foe may lurk,  
And sit in the seats within.

Hail to the giver! | a guest has come;  
Where shall the stranger sit?  
Swift shall he be who, | with swords shall try  
The proof of his might to make.

Fire he needs | who with frozen knees  
Has come from the cold without;  
Food and clothes | must the farer have,  
The man from the mountains come.

Water and towels | and welcoming speech  
Should he find who comes, to the feast;  
If renown he would get, | and again be greeted,  
Wisely and well must he act.

Wits must he have | who wanders wide,  
But all is easy at home;  
At the witless man | the wise shall wink  
When among such men he sits.

A man shall not boast | of his keenness of mind,  
But keep it close in his breast;  
To the silent and wise | does ill come seldom  
When he goes as guest to a house;  
(For a faster friend | one never finds  
Than wisdom tried and true.)

The knowing guest | who goes to the feast,  
In silent attention sits;  
With his ears he hears, | with his eyes he watches,  
Thus wary are wise men all.

Happy the one | who wins for himself  
Favor and praises fair;  
Less safe by far | is the wisdom found  
That is hid in another's heart.

Happy the man | who has while he lives  
Wisdom and praise as well,  
For evil counsel | a man full oft  
Has from another's heart.

A better burden | may no man bear  
For wanderings wide than wisdom;  
It is better than wealth | on unknown ways,  
And in grief a refuge it gives.

## LECTURE 12.3

## Norse Raids and Conquests

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following account of the ravages of the Northmen in Frankland. How does this account paint a picture of the destruction caused by the Norse?

.....

Selection from *Abbo's Wars of Count Odo with the Northmen in the Reign of Charles the Fat*,  
by Frederic Austin Ogg

.....

**A.D. 885**

The Northmen came to Paris with 700 sailing ships, not counting those of smaller size which are commonly called barques. At one stretch the Seine was lined with the vessels for more than two leagues, so that one might ask in astonishment in what cavern the river had been swallowed up, since it was not to be seen. The second day after the fleet of the Northmen arrived under the walls of the city, Siegfried, who was then king only in name but who was in command of the expedition, came to the dwelling of the illustrious bishop. He bowed his head and said: "Gauzelin, have compassion on yourself and on your flock. We beseech you to listen to us, in order that you may escape death. Allow us only the freedom of the city. We will do no harm and we will see to it that whatever belongs either to you or to Odo shall be strictly respected." Count Odo, who later became king, was then the defender of the city. The bishop replied to Siegfried, "Paris has been entrusted to us by the Emperor Charles, who, after God, king and lord of the powerful, rules over almost all the world. He has put it in our care, not at all that the kingdom may be ruined by our misconduct, but

that he may keep it and be assured of its peace. If, like us, you had been given the duty of defending these walls, and if you should have done that which you ask us to do, what treatment do you think you would deserve?" Siegfried replied. "I should deserve that my head be cut off and thrown to the dogs. Nevertheless, if you do not listen to my demand, on the morrow our war machines will destroy you with poisoned arrows. You will be the prey of famine and of pestilence and these evils will renew themselves perpetually every year." So saying, he departed and gathered together his comrades.

In the morning the Northmen, boarding their ships, approached the tower and attacked it. They shook it with their engines and stormed it with arrows. The city resounded with clamor, the people were aroused, the bridges trembled. All came together to defend the tower. There Odo, his brother Robert, and the Count Ragenar distinguished themselves for bravery; likewise the courageous Abbot Ebolus, the nephew of the bishop. A keen arrow wounded the prelate, while at his side the young warrior Frederick was struck by a sword. Frederick died, but the old man, thanks to God, survived. There perished many Franks; after receiving wounds they were lavish of life. At last the enemy withdrew, carrying off their dead. The evening came. The tower had been sorely tried, but its foundations were still solid, as were also the narrow bays which surmounted them. The people spent the night repairing it with boards. By the next day, on the old citadel had been erected a new tower of wood, a half higher than the former one. At sunrise the Danes caught their first glimpse of it. Once more the latter engaged with the Christians in violent combat. On every side arrows sped and blood flowed. With the arrows mingled the stones hurled by slings and war-machines; the air was filled with them. The tower which had been built during the night groaned under the strokes of the darts, the city shook with the struggle, the people ran hither and thither, the bells jangled. The warriors rushed together to defend the tottering tower and to repel

the fierce assault. Among these warriors two, a count and abbot Ebolus, surpassed all the rest in courage. The former was the redoubtable Odo who never experienced defeat and who continually revived the spirits of the worn-out defenders. He ran along the ramparts and hurled back the enemy. On those who were secreting themselves so as to undermine the tower he poured oil, wax, and pitch, which, being mixed and heated, burned the Danes and tore off their scalps. Some of them died; others threw themselves into the river to escape the awful substance...

Meanwhile Paris was suffering not only from the sword outside but also from a pestilence within which brought death to many noble men. Within the walls there was not ground in which to bury the dead... Odo, the future king, was sent to Charles, emperor of the Franks, to implore help for the stricken city. One day Odo suddenly appeared in splendor in the midst of three bands of warriors. The sun made his armor glisten and greeted him before it illuminated the country around. The Parisians saw their beloved chief at a distance, but the enemy, hoping to prevent his gaining entrance to the tower, crossed the Seine and took up their position on the bank. Nevertheless Odo, his horse at a gallop, got past the Northmen and reached the tower, whose gates Ebolus opened to him. The enemy pursued fiercely the comrades of the count who were trying to keep up with him and get refuge in the tower. [The Danes were defeated in the attack.]

Now came the Emperor Charles, surrounded by soldiers of all nations, even as the sky is adorned with resplendent stars. A great throng, speaking many languages, accompanied him. He established his camp at the foot of the heights of Montmartre, near the tower. He allowed the Northmen to have the country of Sens to plunder; and in the spring he gave them 700 pounds of silver on condition that by the month of March they leave France for their own kingdom. Then Charles returned, destined to an early death.

## LECTURE 12.4

### Alfred the Great

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter from Alfred the Great to Bishop Waerferth. According to this letter, what is Alfred attempting to recover?

.....

Letter of Alfred the Great to Bishop  
Waerferth, from *Kings' Letters*,  
*vol. 1*, edited by Robert Steele &  
Alexander Moring

.....

**A.D. 890**

King Alfred bids greet Bishop Waerferth with his words lovingly and with friendship. I let it be known to thee that it has very often come into my mind what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both church and lay folk, and how happy times there were then throughout England, and how the kings who had power over the nation in those days obeyed God and His ministers, and preserved peace, morality, and order at home, and at the same time enlarged their territory abroad, and prospered both in war and in wisdom: and how zealous were God's ministers in teaching and in learning, and in all the services they owed Him: and how men came from oversea in search of wisdom and instruction, which we should now have to get from thence if we would have them. So far has it fallen in England that few there are on this side [of the] Humber who understand the English of their service or can translate a letter from Latin, nor are there many, I know, beyond Humber more learned. There were so few of them that I cannot remember one south of Thames when I first began to reign. God Almighty be thanked that we have any teachers

among us now. And therefore I command thee, as I believe thou wouldst, to free thyself from worldly matters and apply the wisdom which God has given thee as thou art able. Consider what punishment shall fall upon us for the sake of this world, if we have neither loved wisdom ourselves nor suffered other men to obtain it, if we have loved the name of Christian only, and very few of us its duties.

When I considered all this I remembered how I had seen, before the land had been ravaged and burnt, how its churches stood filled with treasures and books, and with a multitude of His servants, but they had very little knowledge of the books, and could not understand them, for they were not written in their own language. As who should say: "Our forefathers who before us held these places, loved wisdom, and through it they obtained wisdom, and left it to us. Here may we still see their footprints, but we cannot follow them up and therefore have we lost both wealth and wisdom, since we would not incline our hearts to their example." When I remembered all this, I much marvelled that the good and wise men who were formerly all over England, and had perfectly learnt all these books, did not wish to translate them into their own tongue. But soon I answered myself and said: "They weaned not that men should be so reckless and that learning would so decay, in that mind they forbore it, wishing that wisdom in this land might increase with our knowledge of languages." Then I remembered how the Law was first known in Hebrew, and after, when the Greeks had learned it, they translated it whole into their tongue, and all other books as well. And the Latins in turn when they had learned it, translat-

ed the whole by learned interpreters into their own speech, and also all other Christian nations translated some part into their own language. Therefore it seems well to me, if ye think so, for us also to translate the books most needful for all men to know into the speech which all men know, and, as we are well able if we have peace, to make all the youth in England of free men rich enough to devote themselves to it, to learn while they are unfit for other occupation till they are well able to read English writing; and let those be afterwards taught Latin who are to continue learning and be promoted to higher rank.

When I remembered how Latin-learning had decayed in England, and yet many could read English, I began during the various and manifold troubles of this realm to translate into English the book which is called in Latin *Cura Pastoralis*, and in English *Shepherd's Book* sometimes word for word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learned it from Plegmund my archbishop, and Asser my bishop, and Grimbold and John my mass-priests. And when I had learned it as I could best understand and most clearly interpret it, I translated it into English; and I will send a copy to every bishopric in my kingdom; and on each there is a clasp worth 50 *mancus*. And I command in God's name that no man take the clasp from the book or the book from the minister; it is uncertain how long there may be such learned bishops as now are, thanks be to God, nearly everywhere. Therefore I wish them always to remain in their place, unless the bishop wish to take them with him, or they be lent out anywhere, or any one make a copy from them.



## LECTURE 12.5

### The Norse and Christianity

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #12

#### EXAM #12

1. What is the value of legends?
2. According to Chesterton's "Ballad of the White Horse," how did Alfred fight for Christian civilization against heathen nihilism?
3. According to the Norse, how was the earth created? Where did the first men come from? How were the nine realms connected?
4. Who is Odin and what is Valhalla?
5. How does Ragnarok show the Norse belief that this world is temporary, and also that there is life beyond this world?
6. How did the Norse praise self-sufficiency?
7. Describe the Norse raids upon Western Europe, such as the attacks on Anglo-Saxon monasteries, Paris, and Hamburg? How did these attacks threaten Western Christendom?
8. How did Alfred the Great become king of Wessex? What was his first victory over the Danes?
9. How was Alfred the Great driven from his throne by the Danes? What did he learn in exile? (Hint: consider the story of the cakes.)
10. How did Alfred secure peace with the Danes and a lasting protection of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms?
11. What is the legacy of Alfred the Great with respect to education?
12. Why was it challenging to convert the Norse to Christianity? How did Christianity change them?



## LESSON 13

# *Medieval Covenants: Feudalism and the Norman Conquest*

### LECTURE 13.1

#### Feudal Terms and Covenants

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter from a bishop to a duke. How does this letter show the covenantal obligations of lord and vassal?

.....

“Mutual Duties of Vassals and Lords,” from *Recueil des Histoires des Gaules et de la France*, translated by E.P. Cheyney

.....

To William most glorious duke of the Aquitanians, bishop Fulbert the favor of his prayers.

Asked to write something concerning the form of fealty, I have noted briefly for you on the authority of the books the things which follow. He who swears fealty to his lord ought always to have these six things in memory: what is harmless, safe, honorable, useful, easy, practicable. Harmless, that is to say that he should not be injurious to his lord in his body; safe, that he should not be injurious to him in his secrets or in the defenses through which he is able to be secure; honorable, that he should not be injurious to him in his justice or in other matters that pertain to his honor; useful, that he should not be injurious to him in his possessions; easy or practicable, that that good which his lord is able to

do easily, he make not difficult, nor that which is practicable he make impossible to him.

However, that the faithful vassal should avoid these injuries is proper, but not for this does he deserve his holding; for it is not sufficient to abstain from evil, unless what is good is done also. It remains, therefore, that in the same six things mentioned above he should faithfully counsel and aid his lord, if he wishes to be looked upon as worthy of his benefice and to be safe concerning the fealty which he has sworn.

The lord also ought to act toward his faithful vassal reciprocally in all these things. And if he does not do this he will be justly considered guilty of bad faith, just as the former, if he should be detected in the avoidance of or the doing of or the consenting to them, would be perfidious and perjured.

I would have written to you at greater length, if I had not been occupied with many other things, including the rebuilding of our city and church which was lately entirely consumed in a great fire; from which loss though we could not for a while be diverted, yet by the hope of the comfort of God and of you we breathe again.

## LECTURE 13.2

### Feudalism's Development and the Life of the Peasant

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following dialogue between a master and his disciple. How does this paint a lively picture of the peasants' work?

.....

“The Dialogue Between Master & Disciple: On Laborers, c. 1000,”  
from *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, vol. 1*, edited by  
Thomas Wright

.....

Master: What do your companions know?

Disciple: They are plowmen, shepherds, oxherds, huntsmen, fishermen, falconers, merchants, cobblers, salt-makers, and bakers.

Master: What sayest thou plowman? How do you do your work?

Plowman: O my lord, I work very hard: I go out at dawn, driving the cattle to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Nor is the weather so bad in winter that I dare to stay at home, for fear of my lord: but when the oxen are yoked, and the plowshare and coulter attached to the plow, I must plow one whole field a day, or more.

Master: Have you any assistant?

Plowman: I have a boy to drive the oxen with a goad, and he too is hoarse with cold and shouting.

Master: What more do you do in a day?

Plowman: Certainly I do more. I must fill the manger of the oxen with hay, water them, and carry out the dung.

Master: Indeed, that is a great labor.

Plowman: Even so, it is a great labor for I am not free.

Master: What have you to say shepherd? Have you heavy work too?

Shepherd: I have indeed. In the gray dawn I drive my sheep to the pasture and I stand watch over them, in heat and cold, with my dogs, lest the wolves devour them. And I bring them back to the fold and milk them twice a day. And I move their fold; and I make cheese and butter, and I am faithful to my lord.

Master: Oxherd, what work do you do?

Oxherd: O my lord, I work hard. When the plowman unyokes the oxen I lead them to the pasture and I stand all night guarding them against thieves. Then in the morning I hand them over to the plowman well fed and watered.

Master: What is your craft?

Fisherman: I am a fisherman.

Master: What do you obtain from your work?

Fisherman: Food and clothing and money.

Master: How do you take the fish?

Fisherman: I get into a boat, and place my nets in the water, and I throw out my hook and lines, and whatever they take I keep.

Master: What if the fish should be unclean?

Fisherman: I throw out the unclean fish and use the clean as food.

Master: Where do you sell your fish?

Fisherman: In the town.

Master: Who buys them?

Fisherman: The citizens. I cannot catch as much as I can sell.

Master: What fish do you take?

Fisherman: Herring, salmon, porpoises, sturgeon, oysters, crabs, mussels, periwinkles, cockles, plaice, sole, lobsters, and the like.

Master: Do you wish to capture a whale?

Fisherman: No.

Master: Why?

Fisherman: Because it is a dangerous thing to capture a whale. It is safer for me to go to the river with my boat than to go with many ships hunting whales.

Master: Why so?

Fisherman: Because I prefer to take a fish that I can kill rather than one which with a single blow can sink or kill not only me but also my companions.

Master: Yet many people do capture whales and escape the danger, and they obtain a great price for what they do.

Fisherman: You speak the truth, but I do not dare because of my cowardice.

## LECTURE 13.3

### The Saxons, Canute and Edward the Confessor

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following poem (or a part of it). How does this epic show the fatalism of the Saxons as they lose to the Danes?

.....

“The Battle of Maldon,” translated  
by Kevin Crossley-Holland

.....

... it was shattered.  
Then Byrhtnoth ordered every warrior to  
dismount,  
Let loose his horse and go forward into battle  
With faith in his own skills and bravery.  
Thus Offa's young son could see for himself  
That the earl was no man to suffer slackness.  
He sent his best falcon flying from his wrist  
To the safety of the forest and strode into the fight;  
The boy's behavior was a testament  
That he would not be weak in the turmoil of battle.  
Eadric too was firmly resolved to follow his leader  
Into the fight. At once he hurried forward  
With his spear. He feared no foe  
For as long as he could lift his shield  
And wield a sword: he kept his word  
That he would pierce and parry before his prince.  
Then Byrhtnoth began to marshal his men.  
He rode about, issuing instructions  
As to how they should stand firm, not yielding an  
inch,  
And how they should tightly grip their shields  
Forgetting their qualms and pangs of fear.  
And when he had arrayed the warriors' ranks  
He dismounted with his escort at a carefully chosen  
place

Where his finest troops stood prepared for the  
fight.  
Then a spokesman for the Vikings stood on the  
river  
And aggressively shouted  
A message from the seafarers  
To Byrhtnoth, the earl, on the opposite bank.  
“The brave seafarers have sent me to say to you  
That they will be so good as to let you give gold  
rings  
In return for peace. It is better for you  
To buy off our raid with gold  
Than that we, renowned for cruelty, should cut you  
down in battle.  
Why destroy one another?  
If you're good for a certain sum,  
We'll settle for peace in exchange for gold,  
If you, most powerful over there, agree to this  
And wisely decide to disband your men,  
Giving gold to the seafarers on their own terms.  
In return for a truce,  
We'll take to the sea with the tribute you pay  
And keep our promise of peace.”  
Then Byrhtnoth spoke. He grasped his shield  
And brandished his slender ashen spear,  
Resentful and resolute he shouted his reply:  
Can you hear, you pirate, what these people say?  
They will pay you a tribute of whistling spears,  
Of deadly darts and proven swords,  
Weapons to pay you, pierce, slit and slay you in  
storming battle,  
Listen, messenger! Take back this reply  
Tell your people the unpleasant tidings  
That over here there stands a noble earl with his  
troop  
Guardians of the people and of the country,  
The home of Aethelred, my prince who'll defend  
this land  
To the last ditch. We'll sever the heathens' heads  
From their shoulders. It would be much to our  
shame

If you took our tribute and embarked without  
battle  
Since you've intruded so far And so rudely into this  
country.  
No! You'll not get your treasure so easily.  
The spear's point and the sword's edge, savage  
battle-play,  
Must teach us first that we have to yield tribute.”  
Then Byrhtnoth gave word that all his warriors  
should walk  
With their shields to the river bank.  
The troops on either side could not get at one  
another,  
For there the flood flowed after the turn of the tide;  
The water streams ran together. Waiting seemed  
like passing years,  
Waiting to cross and clash their spears.  
The East-Saxons and the Ship-army  
Stood beside the River Panta in proud array.  
But no warrior could work harm on another  
Except by the flight of a feathered arrow.  
The tide ebbed; the pirates stood prepared,  
Many bold Vikings ready for battle.  
Then Byrhtnoth, brave protector of his men,  
ordered  
A warrior, Wulfstan by name, to defend the ford.  
He was Ceola's son, outstanding for his courage  
amongst courageous men.  
He struck the first seafarer with his spear  
Who fearlessly stepped onto the ford.  
Two experienced warriors stood with Wulfstan,  
Aelfere and Maccus, both brave men.  
Nothing could have made them take flight at the  
ford.  
They would have defended it  
For as long as they could wield their weapons.  
But as it was, the Danes found the dauntless guard  
ians  
Of the ford too fierce for their liking ...  
The hateful strangers began to use guile  
And asked if they could cross,  
Leading their warriors over the water.



Then, in foolhardy pride, the earl permitted  
 Those hateful strangers to have access to the ford.  
 The son of Byrthelme began to call out  
 Across the cold water (the warriors listened):  
 “Now the way is clear for you. Come over to us  
     quickly,  
 Come to the slaughter. God alone can say  
 Who of us that fight today will live to fight again.”  
 Then the wolfish Vikings, avid for slaughter,  
 Waded to the west across the River Panta;  
 The seafarers hoisted their shields on high  
 And carried them over the gleaming water.  
 Byrhtnoth and his warriors awaited them,  
 Ready for battle: he ordered his men  
 To form a phalanx with their shields, and to stand  
     firm  
 Against the onslaught of the enemy. Then was the  
     battle,  
 With its chance of glory, about to begin. The time  
     had come  
 For all the doomed men to fall in the fight.  
 The clamor began; the ravens wheeled and the eagle  
 Circled overhead, craving for carrion; there was  
     shouting on earth.  
 They hurled their spears, hard as files,  
 And sent sharp darts flying from their hands.  
 Bow strings were busy, shield parried point,  
 Bitter was the battle. Brave men fell  
 On both sides, youths choking in the dust.  
 Byrhtnoth’s sister’s son, Wulfmaer, was wounded;  
 Slashed by the sword, he decided  
 To sleep on the bed of death.  
 This was violently requited, the Vikings were repaid  
     in kind.  
 I was told that Eadweard swung his sword  
 So savagely a full-blooded blow  
 That a fated warrior fell lifeless at his feet.  
 Byrhtnoth shouted out his thanks to him,  
 His chamberlain, as soon as he had a chance to do  
     so.  
 The brave men stood resolute, rock firm.  
 Each of them eagerly hunted for a way

To be first in with his spear,  
 Winning with his weapons the life  
 Of a doomed warrior; the dead sank down to the  
     earth.  
 But the rest stood unshaken and Byrhtnoth spurred  
     them on,  
 Inciting each man to fight ferociously  
 Who wished to gain glory against the Danes.  
 Then a brave seafarer raised up his spear,  
 Gripped his shield and advanced towards  
     Byrhtnoth.  
 The resolute earl advanced towards the churl;  
 Each had evil designs on the other.  
 The Viking was the quicker he hurled his foreign  
     spear  
 Wounding the lord of the warriors.  
 Byrhtnoth broke the shaft with the edge of his  
     shield;  
 The imbedded spear-head sprang out of his wound.  
 Then he flung his spear in fury  
 At the proud Viking who dared inflict such pain.  
 His aim was skillful. The spear  
 Slit open the warrior’s neck.  
 Thus Byrhtnoth put paid to his enemy’s life.  
 Then, for safety’s sake, he swiftly hurled another  
 Which burst the Viking’s breastplate, cruelly  
     wounding him  
 In the chest; the deadly spear pierced his heart.  
 The brave earl, Byrhtnoth, delighted at this;  
 He laughed out loud and gave thanks to the Lord  
 That such good fortune had been granted to him.  
 But one of the seafarers sent a sharp javelin  
 Speeding from his hand  
 That pierced Byrhtnoth’s body, the noble thane of  
     Aethelred.  
 By his side stood a young warrior,  
 Wulfmaer by name, Wulfstan’s son,  
 Who without a moment’s hesitation  
 Drew out the blood-red javelin from Byrhtnoth’s  
     side  
 And hurled it back as hard as he could  
 At the man who had grievously injured his prince.

The sharp point struck home; the Viking sagged,  
 and sank into the dust.  
 Another seafarer advanced on the earl, meaning to  
 make  
 Short work of him and snatch away his treasures  
 His armor and his rings and his ornamented sword.  
 Byrhtnoth drew out his sword from its sheath,  
 Broad-faced and gleaming, and made to slash at the  
 seafarer's corselet,  
 But his enemy stopped him all too soon,  
 Savagely striking Byrhtnoth's arm.  
 The golden-hilted sword dropped from his hand.  
 He could hold it no longer  
 Nor wield a weapon of any kind. Then the old  
 warrior  
 Raised his men's morale with bold words,  
 Called on his brave companions to do battle again.  
 He no longer stood firmly on his feet  
 But swayed, and raised his eyes to heaven:  
 "O Guardian of the people, let me praise and thank  
 you  
 For all the real joys I received in this world.  
 Now, gracious Lord, as never before, I need your  
 grace,  
 That my soul may set out on its journey to  
 You, O Prince of Angels, that my soul may depart  
 Into your power in peace. I pray  
 That the devils may never destroy it."  
 Then the heathens hewed him down  
 And the two men who stood there supporting him;  
 Aelfnoth and Wulfmaer fell to the dust,  
 Both gave their lives in defense of their lord.  
 Then certain cowards beat a hasty retreat:  
 The sons of Odda were the first to take flight;  
 Godric fled from the battle, forsaking Byrhtnoth.  
 Forgetting that his lord had given him often the  
 gift of a horse,  
 He leapt into the saddle  
 Of his lord's own horse, most unlawfully,  
 And both his brothers, Godwine and Godwig,  
 Galloped beside him; forgetting their duty  
 They fled from the fight

And saved their lives in the silent wood.  
 And more men followed than was at all fitting  
 Had they remembered the former rewards  
 That the prince had given them, generous presents.  
 It was just as Offa once said to Byrhtnoth  
 At an open council in the meeting place,  
 That many spoke proudly of their prowess  
 Who would prove unworthy of their words under  
 battle-stress.  
 So Aethelred's earl, the prince of those people,  
 Fell; all his hearth-companions  
 Could see for themselves that their lord lay low.  
 Then the proud thanes, with the utmost bravery,  
 Threw themselves once more into the thick of the  
 battle.  
 They all, without exception, strove to one of two  
 ends  
 To avenge their lord or to leave this world.  
 Aelfwine the son of Aelfric, still a young man,  
 Shouted encouragement, urging them on.  
 He rallied them with valiant words:  
 "Think of all the times we boasted  
 At the mead-bench, heroes in the hall  
 Predicting our own bravery in battle.  
 Now we shall see who meant what he said.  
 Let me announce my ancestry to one and all:  
 I come from a mighty family of Mercian stock;  
 My grandfather was Ealhelm,  
 A wise ealdorman, well endowed with worldly  
 riches.  
 No thane shall ever have reason to reproach me  
 With any desire to desert this troop  
 And hurry home, now that my prince has been  
 hewn down  
 In battle. This is the most bitter sorrow of all.  
 He was my kinsman and my lord."  
 Then he went forward into the fight  
 And pierced a pirate's body with his spear.  
 The man keeled over, dead,  
 Killed by Aelfwine's weapon.  
 Again he urged friends and companions  
 To follow him into the fray.

Then Offa spoke and brandished his ash-spear:  
 “Aelfwme, you’ve encouraged all the thanes  
 At exactly the right time. Now that our prince  
 Is slain, the earl on the earth,  
 We must all encourage each other  
 To fight, for as long as we can wield  
 Our weapons, pierce with our spears,  
 And lunge and parry with our swords.  
 Godric, the cowardly son of Odda, has betrayed us  
 all.  
 When he hurried off toward the woods on our  
 lord’s fine horse  
 He misled many men into believing it was  
 Byrhtnoth himself;  
 And so they followed him, and here on the field  
 The phalanx was broken: may fortune frown on  
 him  
 Whose cowardice has caused this catastrophe.”  
 Then Leofsunu spoke. He raised his shield  
 For protection, and replied to Offa:  
 “I give you my word that I will not retreat  
 One inch; I shall forge on  
 And avenge my lord in battle.  
 Now that he has fallen in the fight  
 No loyal warrior living at Sturmere  
 Need reproach me for returning home lordless  
 In unworthy retreat, for the weapon shall take me,  
 The iron sword.” He strode forward angrily,  
 Fighting furiously; he spurned escape.  
 Then Dunnere spoke and shook his spear;  
 A lowly churl, he cried out loud  
 And asked every man to avenge Byrhtnoth’s death:  
 “Whoever intends to avenge our prince  
 Must not flinch, nor care for his own life.”  
 Then they hurried forward, heedless of their lives;  
 The brave followers, fiercely carrying spears,  
 Fought with great courage, and prayed to God  
 That they should be allowed to avenge their lord  
 By killing all his enemies.  
 The hostage helped them with all his might  
 His name was Aescferth, the son of Ecglaf;  
 He came from a family renowned in Northumbria.

In the fire of battle he did not flinch,  
 Notching arrow after arrow as quick as he could.  
 Sometimes he hit a shield, sometimes he pierced a  
 man,  
 Again and again he inflicted wounds  
 For as long as he could hold a bow in his hands.  
 Eadweard the tall, eager and impetuous,  
 Did not stray from the line of battle. He boasted  
 that he  
 Would not shrink so much as a footstep,  
 Or seek safety by flight, now that his lord lay dead.  
 He smashed the wall of shields, and attacked the  
 seafarers  
 Worthily avenging his ring-giver’s death.  
 He sold his life dearly in the storm of battle.  
 And so too did Aetheric, a stalwart companion...  
 He grappled aggressively and without delay.  
 The brother of Sibyrht, both he and many others  
 Split the hollow shields and warded off the  
 seafarers.  
 The corner of the shield broke and the corselet sang  
 A terrible song. Then in the turmoil  
 Offa struck a seafarer; he fell dead at his feet.  
 But the kinsman of Gadd was killed there too,  
 Offa was quickly brought down in the battle.  
 Yet he had kept his promise to his prince;  
 He fulfilled his former boast to Byrhtnoth, the  
 ring-giver,  
 That they should either return unhurt, riding to the  
 stronghold  
 In victory together, or together surrender their  
 lives,  
 Bleeding from wounds on the battlefield.  
 He lay near his lord as befits a thane.  
 Then shields were shattered; the seafarers surged  
 forward,  
 Embittered by bloodshed. Often a spear  
 Sank into the body of a fated warrior. Then Wistan  
 advanced,  
 The son of Thurstan; he fought with the Vikings  
 Slew three in the struggling throng

Before he, Wigelm's brave son, was himself brought down. That was a savage fight; the warriors stood firm

In the struggle. Strong men fell,  
Utterly worn out by wounds; the dead dropped to the earth. The brothers Oswold and Eadweard  
Continuously encouraged the companions;  
They urged their kinsmen to use  
Their weapons without slackening  
And endure the stress to the best of their strength.  
Byrhtwold grasped his shield and spoke.  
He was an old companion. He brandished his ash-spear

And with wonderful courage exhorted the warriors,  
"Mind must be the firmer, heart the more fierce.  
Courage the greater, as our strength diminishes.  
Here lies our leader, dead,  
An heroic man in the dust.  
He who now longs to escape will lament for ever.  
I am old. I will not go from here,  
But I mean to lie by the side of my lord,  
Lie in the dust with the man I loved so dearly."  
Godric, too, the son of Aethelgar, gave them  
courage

To continue the fight. Often he let fly his spear.  
His deadly javelin, at the Vikings  
As he advanced at the head of the host.  
He humbled and hewed down until at last he fell  
himself...

## LECTURE 13.4

### William of Normandy, Harold Godwinson and the Battle of Hastings

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical account. How does William of Malmesbury show the customs of the Saxons and Normans, as well as details on the day of battle?

.....

"The Battle of Hastings, 1066" by William of Malmesbury, included in *Readings in European History, vol. 1*, edited by James Harvey Robinson

.....

The courageous leaders mutually prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English, as we have heard, passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing, and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy. All on foot, armed with battle-axes, and covering themselves in front by the juncture of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body which would assuredly have secured their safety that day had not the Normans, by a feigned flight, induced them to open their ranks, which till that time, according to their custom, had been closely compacted. King Harold himself, on foot, stood with his brothers near the standard in order that, so long as all shared equal danger, none could think of retreating. This same standard William sent, after his victory, to the pope; it was sumptuously embroidered with gold and precious stones, and represented the figure of a man fighting.

On the other hand, the Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins, and received the communion of the Lord's body in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry, divided into wings, was placed in the rear. The duke, with serene countenance, declaring aloud that God would favor his as being the righteous side, called for his arms; and when, through the haste of his attendants, he had put on his hauberk the hind part before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying "The power of my dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom." Then starting the Song of Roland, in order that the warlike example of that hero might stimulate the soldiers, and calling on God for assistance, the battle commenced on both sides, and was fought with great ardor, neither side giving ground during the greater part of the day.

Observing this, William gave a signal to his troops, that, feigning flight, they should withdraw from the field. By means of this device the solid phalanx of the English opened for the purpose of cutting down the fleeing enemy and thus brought upon itself swift destruction; for the Normans, facing about, attacked them, thus disordered, and compelled them to fly. In this manner, deceived by a stratagem, they met an honorable death in avenging their enemy; nor indeed were they at all without their own revenge, for, by frequently making a stand, they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps. Getting possession of an eminence, they drove back the Normans, who in the heat of pursuit were struggling up the slope, into the valley beneath, where, by hurling their javelins and rolling down stones on them as they stood below, the English easily destroyed them to a man. Besides, by a short passage with which they were acquainted, they avoided a deep ditch and trod underfoot such a multitude of their enemies in that place that the heaps of bodies made the hollow level with the plain. This alternating victory, first of one side and then of the other, continued so long as Harold lived to check the retreat; but when he fell, his brain pierced by an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

In the battle both leaders distinguished themselves by their bravery. Harold, not content with the functions of a general and with exhorting others, eagerly assumed himself the duties of a common soldier. He was constantly striking down the enemy at close quarters, so that no one could approach him with impunity, for straightway both horse and rider would be felled by a single blow. So it was at long range, as I have said, that the enemy's deadly arrow brought him to his death. One of the Norman soldiers gashed his thigh with a sword, as he lay prostrate; for which shameful and cowardly action he was branded with ignominy by William and expelled from the army.

William, too, was equally ready to encourage his soldiers by his voice and by his presence, and

to be the first to rush forward to attack the thickest of the foe. He was everywhere fierce and furious; he lost three choice horses, which were that day killed under him. The dauntless spirit and vigor of the intrepid general, however, still held out. Though often called back by the kind remonstrance of his bodyguard, he still persisted until approaching night crowned him with complete victory. And no doubt the hand of God so protected him that the enemy should draw no blood from his person, though they aimed so many javelins at him.

This was a fatal day to England, and melancholy havoc was wrought in our dear country during the change of its lords. For it had long adopted the manners of the Angles, which had indeed altered with the times; for in the first years of their arrival they were barbarians in their look and manner, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rights. After embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and, in process of time, in consequence of the peace which they enjoyed, they relegated arms to a secondary place and gave their whole attention to religion. I am not speaking of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bound of justice; I omit, too, men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect for their profession and sometimes the fear of shame suffers not to deviate from the true path; I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure. Some of these in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many others during their whole lives devoted themselves in outward appearance to worldly affairs, but in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor or divide them amongst monasteries.

What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its own people that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint?

And of how many more has all remembrance perished through the want of records?

Nevertheless, the attention to literature and religion had gradually decreased for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a little confused learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers, amid the blandishments of their wives. The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes, either by seizing on their property or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it is characteristic of this people to be more inclined to reveling than to the accumulation of wealth...

Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses, unlike the Normans and French, who live frugally in noble and splendid mansions. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence it came about that when they engaged William, with more rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by a single, and that an easy, victory. For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence quickly ceases or is repelled.

The English at that time wore short garments, reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped, their beards shaven, their arms laden with gold bracelets, their skin adorned with tattooed designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became

surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, had these bad propensities ascribed to the English universally; I know that many of the clergy at that day trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole, indiscriminately; but as in peace the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together, so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity.

The Normans—that I may speak of them also—were at that time, and are even now, exceedingly particular in their dress and delicate in their food, but not so to excess. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy, and, where force fails of success, ready to use stratagem or to corrupt by bribery. As I have said, they live in spacious houses with economy, envy their superiors, wish to excel their equals, and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offense alienates them. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments for money. The most hospitable, however, of all nations, they esteem strangers worthy of equal honor with themselves; they also inter-marry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the rule of religion which had everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalize by some munificent action.



## LECTURE 13.5

### William the Conqueror

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #13

#### EXAM #13

1. What did land provide for medieval life?
2. Define the terms *feudalism* and *noblesse oblige*.
3. What was the relationship between a vassal and his lord? What obligations did they have towards each other?
4. How did the role of slave transform into the role of serf in feudalism?
5. What was the relationship between a serf or peasant and his lord? What obligations did they have towards each other?
6. How did Aethelred the Unready lose England to the Danes?
7. Who was Canute? How did he govern England? How does the story of Canute and the waves show his character?
8. Who was Edward the Confessor? Of what character was he? How did he promise the throne of England to both William and Harold?
9. Who was William of Normandy? What threats did he face as duke?
10. Who was Harold Godwinson? What promise did he give William of Normandy?
11. What occurred at the Battle of Hastings in A.D. 1066? Who won this conflict?
12. What kind of king was William the Conqueror? What was the purpose of his *Domesday Book*?



## LESSON 14

# Deus Vult: *The First Crusade*

### LECTURE 14.1

## Chivalry and Introduction to the Crusades

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Laisses 161-166 from *The Song of Roland*. How does this poem display the roles of faith and courage in the medieval knight?

.....  
Laisses 161-166 from *The Song of Roland*, translated by Dorothy Sayers  
.....

### 161

In wrath and grief away the Paynims fly;  
Backward to Spain with headlong haste they hie.  
The County Roland cannot pursue their flight,  
Veillantif's lost, he has no steed to ride;  
Will he or nill he, he must on foot abide,  
He's turned to aid Archbishop Turpin's plight,  
And from his head the gilded helm untied,  
Stripped off the hauberk of subtle rings and bright,  
And all to pieces has cut the bliaut fine  
Wherewith to bandage his wounds that gape so wide.

Then to his breast he clasps and lifts him light  
And gently lays him upon the green hill-side,  
With fair soft speech entreating on this wise:  
"Ah, noble sir, pray give me leave awhile;  
These friends of ours, we loved so well in life,  
We must not leave them thus lying where they

died.

I will go seek them, find, and identify,  
And lay them here together in your sight."  
"Go and return," the Bishop makes reply;  
"Thanks be to God, this field is yours and mine."

### 162

Roland departs and through the field is gone;  
Alone he searches the valleys and high rocks.  
[And there he finds Ivor, and there Ivon],  
Gierier and Gerin, the good companions,  
[And Engelier whom Gascony begot];  
And he has found Berenger and Oton,  
And after finds Anseïs and Samson,  
And finds Gerard the Old, of Roussillon.  
He lifts them up, brave baron, one by one,  
To the Archbishop he carries them anon,  
And by his knees ranges them all along.  
The Bishop weeps, he cannot stint thereof;  
He lifts his hand and gives them benison,  
And after saith: "Alack, brave champions!  
May your souls rest with the all-glorious God  
In Paradise, amid the rose-blossoms.  
I too am dying and sorrow for my lot,  
Who the great Emperor no more may look upon."

### 163

Roland once more unto the field repairs,  
And has sought out his comrade Oliver.  
Close to his breast he lifts him, and with care  
As best he may to the Archbishop bears  
And on his shield lays with the others there;  
The Bishop signs and shrives them all with prayer.

With tears renewed their sorrow is declared,  
 And Roland saith: "Fair fellow Oliver,  
 You were own son unto Duke Renier  
 That held the marches of the Vale of Runers.  
 To shatter shield or break lance anywhere,  
 And from their seat proud men to overbear,  
 And cheer the brave with words of counsel fair,  
 And bring the cruel to ruin and despair,  
 No knight on earth was valiant as you were."

164

The County Roland, seeing his peers lie dead,  
 And Oliver, who was his dearest friend,  
 Begins to weep for ruth and tenderness;  
 Out of his cheeks the colour all has fled,  
 He cannot stand, he is so deep distressed,  
 He swoons to earth, he cannot help himself.  
 "Alas, for pity, sweet lord!" the Bishop saith.

165

When the Archbishop saw Roland faint and fallen,  
 So sad was he, he never had been more so;  
 He reaches out; he's taken Roland's horn up.  
 In Ronceval there runs a stream of water;  
 Fain would he go there and fetch a little for him.  
 With feeble steps he turns him thither, falt'ring;  
 He is so weak, that he cannot go forward,  
 For loss of blood he has no strength to call on.  
 Ere one might cover but a rood's length in walking  
 His heart has failed him, he has fallen face-  
     foremost;  
 The pangs of death have seized him with great  
     torment.

166

The County Roland has rallied from his faint,  
 Gets to his feet, though he's in grievous pain,  
 And looks about him over hill, over vale.  
 Beyond his comrades, upon the grass-green plain,  
 There he beholds the noble baron laid,  
 The great Archbishop, vice-gerent of God's name.

He beats his breast with eyes devoutly raised,  
 With folded hands lifted to Heaven he prays  
 That God will give him in Paradise a place.  
 Turpin is dead that fought for Charlemagne;  
 In mighty battles, and in preaching right brave,  
 Still against Paynims a champion of the Faith;  
 Blest mote he be, the Lord God give him grace!

## LECTURE 14.2

### The Contexts for the First Crusade

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical account. What ordeals did these German pilgrims face in order to see the Holy Land?

.....

"The Great German Pilgrimage  
 of 1064-65" by the Annalist of  
 Nieder-Altaich, translated by James  
 Brundage

.....

An almost incredible multitude set out for Jerusalem this year to worship at the sepulcher of the Lord. So many people took part in the pilgrimage and so much has been said about it that, lest its omission seem serious, we should briefly summarize here what transpired.

The leading personages who took part in the pilgrimage were Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, Bishop William of Utrecht, Bishop Otto of Ratisbon, and Bishop Gunther of Bamberg. Bishop Gunther, though younger than the others, was not inferior to the rest in wisdom and strength of spirit. Although now, after his death, we can scarcely record it without sorrowful groans Gunther was at that time the glory and pillar of the whole realm. Those who were acquainted with his secrets used to say that in many

virtues he was perfection itself, down to the most minute details.

These leaders were followed by a multitude of counts and princes, rich and poor, whose numbers seemed to exceed twelve thousand. As soon as they had crossed the river known as the Morava, they fell at once into constant danger from thieves and brigands. Prudently avoiding these dangers, they cautiously made their way to the city of Constantinople. There they conducted themselves so honorably in every way that even the imperial arrogance of the Greeks was taken aback by them. The Greeks were so astounded by the noble appearance of Bishop Gunther that they took him to be, not a bishop, but the King of the Romans [*i.e.*, the King of Germany]. They believed that he had disguised himself as a bishop, because he could not otherwise pass through these kingdoms to the sepulcher of the Lord.

They left Constantinople a few days later and, after passing through various difficulties and tribulations, came to Latakia. Bishop Gunther made their troubles clear when he wrote from Latakia to his people who were still at home. He said, among other things: "Brethren, we have truly passed through fire and water and at length the Lord has brought us to Latakia, which is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures as Laodicea. We have had the Hungarians serve us without faith and we have had the Bulgarians prey secretly upon us; we have fled from the open raging of the Uzes [the Byzantine name for the Oghuz Turks] and we have seen the Greek and imperial arrogance of the citizens of Constantinople; we have suffered in Asia Minor, but worse things are yet to come."

While they were staying for a few days in Latakia, they began to meet each day many people returning from Jerusalem. The returning parties told of the deaths of an uncounted number of their companions. They also shouted about and displayed their own recent and still bloody wounds. They bore witness publicly that no one could pass along that route because the whole land was occupied by a most fero-

cious tribe of Arabs who thirsted for human blood. The question before the pilgrims was what to do and where to turn. First of all, they quickly agreed in council to deny their own wishes and to put all hope in the Lord. They knew that, living or dying, they belonged to the Lord and so, with all their wits about them, they set out through the pagan territory toward the holy city.

They soon came to a city called Tripoli. When the barbarian commander of the city saw such a multitude he ordered that all of them, without exception, be slaughtered cruelly with the sword; he hoped thereby to acquire an infinite sum of money. Immediately there arose from the sea (which beats against one side of the city) a dark cloud, from which there issued a great many lightning flashes, accompanied by terrifying claps of thunder. When this storm had lasted until noon of the next day and the waves of the sea had reached unusual heights, the pagans, united by the urgency of the situation, shouted to one another that the Christian God was fighting for his people and was going to cast the city and its people into the abyss. The commander, fearing death, changed his mind. The Christians were given leave to depart and at once the disturbance of the sea was calmed.

Harassed by various trials and tribulations, the pilgrims at last made their way through the whole country to the city called Caesarea. There they celebrated Holy Thursday, which fell that year on March 24. They even congratulated themselves on having escaped all danger, since it was reckoned that the journey from there to Jerusalem would take no more than two days.

On the following day, Good Friday [March 25, 1065] about the second hour of the day, [about 6:30-8 AM] just as they were leaving Kafar Sallam, they suddenly fell into the hands of the Arabs who leaped on them like famished wolves on long awaited prey. They slaughtered the first pilgrims pitifully, tearing them to pieces. At first our people tried to fight back, but they were quickly forced, as poor

men, to take refuge in the village. After they had fled, who can explain in words how many men were killed there, how many types of death there were, or how much calamity and grief there was? Bishop William of Utrecht, badly wounded and stripped of his clothes, was left lying on the ground with many others to die a miserable death. The three remaining bishops, together with a considerable crowd of various kinds of people, occupied a certain walled building with two stone towers. Here they prepared to defend themselves, so long as God allowed it.

The gate of the building was extremely narrow, and since the enemy was so close, they could not unload the packs carried by their horses. They lost, therefore, their horses and mules and everything that the animals were carrying. The enemy divided these things among themselves and soon hastened to destroy the owners of the wealth. The pilgrims, on the other hand, decided to take up arms and with weapons in hand they courageously fought back. The enemy, more indignant than ever, pressed the attack more vigorously, for they saw that the pilgrims, who they had thought would not attempt anything against them, were resisting manfully. For three whole days both sides fought with full force. Our men, though handicapped by hunger, thirst, and lack of sleep, were fighting for their salvation and their lives. The enemy gnashed their teeth like ravening wolves, since it seemed that they were not to be allowed to swallow the prey which they had grasped in their jaws. At last, on Easter Sunday, about the ninth hour of the day [mid-afternoon], a truce was called and eight pagan leaders were allowed to climb up into the tower, where the bishops were, to find out how much money the bishops would pay for their lives and for permission to leave.

As soon as they had climbed up, the one who seemed to be their chief approached Bishop Gunther, whom he took to be the leader of the pilgrims. The sheik removed the linen cloth with which his head was covered, and wrapped it around the neck

of the seated bishop. "Now that I have taken you," he said, "all of these men are in my power and I shall hang you and as many of the others as I wish from a tree." Gunther acted as he did because the just man was fearless as a lion. As soon as the interpreter made known what the sheik had done and said, Gunther, who was not at all terrified by the numerical strength of the surrounding enemy, immediately leaped up and knocked the pagan to the ground with a single blow of his fist. The venerable man brought his foot down on the sheik's neck; then he said to his men: "Quick now! Set to and cast all these men into chains and put them out naked to ward off the missiles which their men are throwing at us." There was no delay; as soon as he had spoken his orders were carried off. Thus the assault of the attacking pagans was quelled for that day. On the following day, about the ninth hour, the governor of the King of Babylon, who ruled the city of Ramla, came at last with a large host to liberate our men. The governor, who had heard what the Arabs, like heathen, were doing, had calculated that if these pilgrims were to perish such a miserable death, then no one would come through this territory for religious purposes and thus he and his people would suffer seriously. When the Arabs learned of his approach, they dispersed and fled. The governor took charge of those who had been captured and tied up by the pilgrims and opened the gate so that our men could leave. They made their way, after leaving, to Ramla, where, at the invitation of the governor and townspeople, they rested for two weeks. They were finally allowed to leave and on April 12 they entered the holy city.

One cannot describe with words the fountain of tears which was shed there, the number and purity of the prayers and consecrated hosts which were sacrificed to God, or the joyful spirit with which, after many sighs, the pilgrims now chanted: "We shall now pay reverence at his footstool." [Ps. 131:1]

After they had spent thirteen days there, fulfilling with intimate devotion their vows to the Lord,



they finally returned in exultation to Ramla. Large numbers of Arabs gathered together at many places along the route, lying in ambush at all the entrances to the road, for they still sorrowed over the prey which had been snatched from their jaws. Our men, however, were not unaware of this. They presently gave passage money to the merchants. When they saw a favorable wind they boarded the ship. After a prosperous voyage they landed on the eighth day at the port of the city of Latakia. Leaving there a few days later, they joyfully arrived at last, though not without great difficulty and travail, at the Hungarian border and the banks of the Danube river.

### LECTURE 14.3

## The Call to Crusade and the First Departures

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont. What reasons does he give for going on crusade?

.....

“Pope Urban II's Speech at Council of Clermont” (1095), recorded by Fulcher of Chartres, translated by Oliver J. Thatcher & Edgar Holmes McNeal

.....

“Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God.

“I hoped to find you as faithful and as zealous in the service of God as I had supposed you to be. But if there is in you any deformity or crookedness contrary to God's law, with divine help I will do my best to remove it. For God has put you as stewards

over his family to minister to it.

“Happy indeed will you be if he finds you faithful in your stewardship. You are called shepherds; see that you do not act as hirelings. But be true shepherds, with your crooks always in your hands. Do not go to sleep, but guard on all sides the flock committed to you. For if through your carelessness or negligence a wolf carries away one of your sheep, you will surely lose the reward laid up for you with God. And after you have been bitterly scourged with remorse for your faults, you will be fiercely overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death. For according to the gospel you are the salt of the earth.

“But if you fall short in your duty, how, it may be asked, can it be salted? O how great the need of salting! It is indeed necessary for you to correct with the salt of wisdom this foolish people which is so devoted to the pleasures of this world, lest the Lord, when He may wish to speak to them, find them putrefied by their sins unsalted and stinking. For if He shall find worms, that is, sins, in them, because you have been negligent in your duty, He will command them as worthless to be thrown into the abyss of unclean things. And because you cannot restore to Him His great loss, He will surely condemn you and drive you from His loving presence.

“But the man who applies this salt should be prudent, provident, modest, learned, peaceable, watchful, pious, just, equitable, and pure. For how can the ignorant teach others? How can the licentious make others modest? And how can the impure make others pure? If anyone hates peace, how can he make others peaceable? Or if anyone has soiled his hands with baseness, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch.

“But first correct yourselves, in order that, free from blame, you may be able to correct those who are subject to you. If you wish to be the friends of God, gladly do the things which you know will please Him. You must especially let all matters that pertain to the church be controlled by the law of the

church. And be careful that simony does not take root among you, lest both those who buy and those who sell [church offices] be beaten with the scourges of the Lord through narrow streets and driven into the place of destruction and confusion. Keep the church and the clergy in all its grades entirely free from the secular power. See that the tithes that belong to God are faithfully paid from all the produce of the land; let them not be sold or withheld.

"If anyone seizes a bishop let him be treated as an outlaw. If anyone seizes or robs monks, or clergymen, or nuns, or their servants, or pilgrims, or merchants, let him be anathema [that is, cursed]. Let robbers and incendiaries and all their accomplices be expelled from the church and anathematized. If a man who does not give a part of his goods as alms is punished with the damnation of hell, how should he be punished who robs another of his goods? For thus it happened to the rich man in the gospel; he was not punished because he had stolen the goods of another, but because he had not used well the things which were his.

"You have seen for a long time the great disorder in the world caused by these crimes. It is so bad in some of your provinces, I am told, and you are so weak in the administration of justice, that one can hardly go along the road by day or night without being attacked by robbers; and whether at home or abroad one is in danger of being despoiled either by force or fraud. Therefore it is necessary to reenact the truce, as it is commonly called, which was proclaimed a long time ago by our holy fathers. I exhort and demand that you, each, try hard to have the truce kept in your diocese. And if anyone shall be led by his cupidity or arrogance to break this truce, by the authority of God and with the sanction of this council he shall be anathematized."

After these and various other matters had been attended to, all who were present, clergy and people, gave thanks to God and agreed to the pope's proposition. They all faithfully promised to keep the decrees. Then the pope said that in another part of

the world Christianity was suffering from a state of affairs that was worse than the one just mentioned. He continued:

"Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impurity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.

"All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let

those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who for a long time, have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! On this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let him eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide.”

#### LECTURE 14.4

### The Journey of the Crusaders to Constantinople, Asia Minor and Antioch

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “The Siege and Capture of Nicea.” How does this passage praise the combined efforts of the crusader armies and Byzantine forces? How does it refer both to the deaths of crusaders and to their conduct following the battle?

.....  
 “The Siege and Capture of Nicea: the Gesta Account,” found in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, by C. Krey August  
 .....

And thus Duke Godfrey went first to Nicomedia, together with Tancred and all the rest, and they

were there for three days. The Duke, indeed, seeing that there was no road open by which he could conduct these hosts to the city of Nicaea, for so great an army could not pass through the road along which the others had passed before, sent ahead three thousand men with axes and swords to cut and clear this road, so that it would lie open even to the city of Nicaea. They cut this road through a very narrow and very great mountain and fixed back along the way iron and wooden crosses on posts, so that the pilgrims would know the way. Meanwhile, we came to Nicaea, which is the capital of all Romania, on the fourth day, the day before the Nones of May, and there encamped. However, before Lord Bohemund had arrived, there was such scarcity of bread among us that one loaf was sold for twenty or thirty *denarii*. After the illustrious man, Bobemund, came, he ordered the greatest market to be brought by sea, and it came both ways at the same time, this by land and that by sea, and there was the greatest abundance in the whole army of Christ.

Moreover, on the day of the Ascension of the Lord we began to attack the city on all sides, and to construct machines of wood, and wooden towers, with which we might be able to destroy towers on the walls. We attacked the city so bravely and so fiercely that we even undermined its wall. The Turks who were in the city, barbarous horde that they were, sent messages to others who had come up to give aid. The message ran in this way: that they might approach the city boldly and in security and enter through the middle gate, because on that side no one would oppose them or put them to grief. This gate was besieged on that very day—the Sabbath after the Ascension of the Lord—by the Count of St. Gilles and the Bishop of Puy. The Count, approaching from another side, was protected by divine might, and with his most powerful army gloried in terrestrial strength. And so he found the Turks, coming against us here. Armed on all sides with the sign of the cross, he rushed upon them violently and overcame them. They turned

in flight, and most of them were killed. They came back again, reinforced by others, joyful and exulting in assured [outcome] of battle, and bearing along with them the ropes with which to lead us bound to Chorosan. Coming gladly, moreover, they began to descend from the crest of the mountain a short distance. As many as descended remained there with their heads cut off at the hands of our men; moreover, our men hurled the heads of the killed far into the city, that they [the Turks] might be the more terrified thereat. Then the Count of St. Gilles and the Bishop of Puy took counsel together as to how they might have undermined a certain tower which was opposite their tents. Men were assigned to do the digging, with *arbalistae* and bowmen to defend them on all sides. So they dug to the foundations of the wall and fixed timbers and wood under it and then set fire to it. However, evening had come; the tower had already fallen in the night, and because it was night they could not fight with the enemy. Indeed, during that night the Turks hastily built up and restored the wall so strongly that when day came no one could harm them on that side.

Now the Count of Normandy came up, Count Stephen and many others, and finally Roger of Barneville. At length Bohemund, at the very front, besieged the city. Beside him was Tancred, after him Duke Godfrey, then the Count of St. Gilles, next to whom was the Bishop of Puy. It was so besieged by land that no one dared to go out or in. There all our forces were assembled in one body, and who could have counted so great an army of Christ? No one, as I think, has ever before seen so many distinguished knights or ever will again!

However, there was a large lake on one side of the city, on which the Turks used to send out their ships, and go back and forth and bring fodder, wood, and many other things. Then our leaders counseled together and sent messengers to Constantinople to tell the Emperor to have ships brought to Civitote, where there is a fort, and that he should order oxen to be brought to drag the ships over the mountains

and through the woods, until they neared the lake. This was done forthwith, and he sent his Turcopolles with them. They did not want to put the ships on the lake on the very day that they were brought across, but under cover of night they launched them on the lake itself. [The boats were] filled with Turcopolles well decorated with arms. Moreover, at earliest daybreak the ships stood in good order and hastened through the lake against the city. The Turks marveled upon seeing them, not knowing whether they were manned by their own forces or the Emperor's. However, after they recognized that it was the host of the Emperor, they were frightened even to death, weeping and lamenting; and the Franks were glad and gave glory to God.

The Turks, moreover, seeing that they could have no further aid from their armies, sent a message to the Emperor that they would willingly surrender the city, if he would permit them to go entirely away with their wives and children and all their substance. Then the Emperor, full of vain and evil thinking, ordered them to depart unpunished, without any fear, and to be brought to him at Constantinople with great assurance [of safety]. These he cared for zealously, so that he had them prepared against any damage or hindrance from the Franks. We were engaged in that siege for seven weeks and three days. Many of our men there received martyrdom, and, glad and rejoicing, gave back their happy souls to God. Many of the very poor died of hunger for the name of Christ, and these bore triumphantly to heaven their robes of martyrdom crying with one voice, "Avenge, Lord, our blood which has been shed for Thee, who are blessed and praiseworthy forever and ever. Amen." In the meanwhile, after the city had been surrendered and the Turks had been conducted to Constantinople, the Emperor, more and more rejoiced because the city had been surrendered to his power, ordered the greatest alms to be distributed to our poor.

## LECTURE 14.5

## The Conquest of Antioch and Jerusalem

## ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #14

## EXAM #14

1. What does the term *chivalry* mean? Why is chivalry necessary?
2. What were some of the symbols in a knight's initiation ceremony, and what do they mean?
3. What were the primary goals and motivations of the crusaders?
4. Describe the issues of the 11th-century church. What was the relationship between the Latin and Greek churches? What issues, such as simony, did the Latin church face?
5. What issues did Christians living under Arab rule in Palestine face?
6. Who were the Seljuk Turks? What did they accomplish at Manzikert in A.D. 1071?
7. What did Pope Urban II call for at Clermont in A.D. 1095? What reasons did he give for going on crusade?
8. How did the nobles respond to the call for crusade at Clermont?
9. Describe the failure of *either* the Peasants' Crusade *or* the German Crusade.
10. How did the Frankish nobles prepare for crusade? What challenges did they face as they entered Byzantium?
11. Why was Antioch so difficult to conquer? How did the crusaders take the city? How were the crusaders divided after the siege?
12. What challenges did the crusaders face at Jerusalem? How did they take this city and how were civilians treated? Who governed Jerusalem after it was conquered?





## LESSON 15

# *Outremer: Crusader Kingdoms and Later Crusades*

### LECTURE 15.1

#### **Outremer, the Military Orders and Zengi**

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following account by William of Tyre. How does he praise the appointment of Godfrey of Bouillon as Defender of the Holy Sepulcher? How does he praise the character of both Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse?

.....

“Godfrey of Bouillon Becomes  
Defender of the Holy Sepulcher”  
by William of Tyre,  
translated by James Brundage

.....

When the Holy City had, by the superabundant grace of the Lord, been restored and affairs had returned to a more or less tranquil state, the army spent seven days rejoicing greatly, with spiritual gladness and fear of the Lord. On the eighth day [July 22, 1099] the princes gathered in order that, after calling on the grace of the Holy Spirit, they might deal with the business of electing one of their group to rule over the area and take charge of the royal duties in the province. While they were gathered, some of the clergy assembled. The latter were puffed up with spiritual pride. They sought their

own ends, not those of Jesus Christ. They professed to have a secret message which they wished to convey to the princes who were participating in the conclave. The clergy’s representatives, when admitted, said: “It has been announced to the clergy that you have assembled in order to elect one of yourselves as king. Your proposal seems to us a just and useful one and worthy to be carried out if only the proper order in this matter be observed, For it is certain that spiritual matters are of greater dignity than secular affairs and, truly, what is of greater dignity ought to have precedence. It seems to us, therefore, that unless a backward order be followed, a religious person, a man pleasing to God, ought first to be chosen, who will know how to preside and rule over the Church of God. This, rather than the election of a secular power, ought to be done first. If you will follow this procedure, we shall indeed be pleased and we shall be with you body and soul. If you do not, however, we shall judge and decree that whatsoever you have ordained out of our order is invalid and without force among men...”

The princes, however, considered the aforementioned message frivolous and without weight... Some say that in order to proceed to an election which was pleasing to God and which took account of individual merits, the princes called in some of the household of each of the great leaders, made them take a solemn oath, and questioned them about the conduct and habits of their lords so that they would tell the truth without any admixture of falsehood. This was done so that the electors might

thus be more fully and more faithfully informed of the merits of the candidates. Those who were later very closely questioned under the required oath by the electors were forced to confess in secret the vices of their lords and likewise to enumerate their virtues, so that it might be made plain just what sort of men their lords were. When the Duke's household were questioned among the others, they replied that, among all the Duke's actions, the one which most irritated his servants was this: that when he entered a church, even after the celebration of the liturgy had been finished, he could not be drawn out. Rather, he demanded of the priests and those who seemed experienced in such matters an account of each picture and statue. His associates, who were interested in other things, found this boring, even nauseating. Further, his meals, which had been prepared for a certain and appropriate hour, grew cold and most unappetizing because of these long and vexing delays. The electors who heard these things said: "Blessed is the man to whom are ascribed as faults those traits which would be called virtues in another." At length, after consulting with one another and after many deliberations, they unanimously elected the lord Duke. They brought him to the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord most devoutly, chanting hymns and canticles.

It is said, however, that most of the nobles had agreed upon Lord Raymond, Count of Toulouse. When they learned, however, that if the kingdom were not given to Raymond he would immediately return home, they were led by their desire for their native land to invent reasons to hold him unfitted, and they even went against the dictates of their consciences to do so. Count Raymond, nonetheless, spurned his native land and did not return home, but, instead, most devoutly followed Christ. He extended further the pilgrimage upon which he had embarked and followed it in voluntary poverty to the end...

After the aforementioned Lord Duke had, by God's grace, been confirmed as the head of the King-

dom and after all the quarrels which had arisen had abated, the Kingdom in his days grew more secure and well established. He reigned but one year, for, because of men's sins, the Kingdom was deprived of the continued consolation of such a prince. He refreshed the newly planted Kingdom and gave it protection. He was wrenched away in midcareer, lest his heart be affected by evil; as it is written: "The men of mercy are taken away and there is none that understandeth."

Duke Godfrey was born in the French kingdom, in the province of Reims, in the city of Boulogne by the English Sea. He was descended from illustrious and religious forebears. His father was the elder Lord Eustace, the famous and splendid count of that region, whose many and memorable works are still recalled by the old men of the neighboring provinces and his memory as a religious and God-fearing man is like a blessing in the pious recollection of men. Duke Godfrey's mother was well known among the noble matrons of the West, as much for her way of life as for her noble generosity. She was named Ida and was a sister of the exalted Duke Godfrey of Lorraine who was known as Struma. That Duke Godfrey, since he had no children, adopted his nephew Godfrey as his own son and bestowed his entire patrimony upon young Godfrey as his heir. Thus, when the elder Duke Godfrey died, the young Godfrey succeeded him as Duke.

The younger Duke Godfrey had three brothers who, by reason of their worthy lives and their distinguished virtues, were true brothers to such a prince. They were the Lord Baldwin, Count of Edessa, who succeeded Godfrey in the kingdom; and the Lord Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who was his father's namesake, successor to his father as Count and inheritor of the paternal estate...The third was Lord William, a famous man, no less virtuous and energetic than his father and brothers. Of these three, the first two followed their lord and brother, Duke Godfrey, on the expedition, while the third remained at home.

Godfrey was the eldest of them by birth and the foremost in his inner qualities as well... He was a religious man, mild mannered, virtuous, and God-fearing. He was just, he avoided evil, he was trustworthy and dependable in his undertakings. He scorned the vanities of the world, a quality rare in that age and especially among men of the military profession. He was assiduous in prayer and pious works, renowned for his liberality, graciously affable, civil, and merciful. His whole life was commendable and pleasing to God. His body was tall and although he was shorter than the very tall, yet he was taller than men of average height. He was a man of incomparable strength, with stout limbs, a manly chest, and a handsome face. His hair and beard were a medium blond. He was considered by everyone to be most outstanding in the use of weapons and in military operations.

## LECTURE 15.2

### The Second Crusade, Nur ed-Din and Saladin

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “Apologia for the Second Crusade.” What causes does Bernard of Clairvaux give for the failure of the Second Crusade?

.....

“Apologia for the Second Crusade”  
by Bernard of Clairvaux,  
translated by James Brundage

.....

I remember, most Holy Father Eugene, my promises [to complete the treatise *De Consideratione*] made to you long ago, and at long last I shall acquit myself. The delay, were I aware that it proceeded from carelessness or contempt, should cause me shame. It is not thus, however. As you know, we have fallen upon grave times, which seemed about to

bring to an end not only my studies but my very life, for the Lord, provoked by our sins, gave the appearance of having judged the world prematurely, with justice, indeed, but forgetful of his mercy. He spared neither his people nor his name. Do not the heathen say: “Where is their God?” Nor do I wonder, for the sons of the Church, those who bear the label, “Christian,” have been laid low in the desert and have either been slain by the sword or consumed by famine... We said “Peace, and there is no peace;” we promised good things, “and behold, trouble.” It might seem, in fact, that we acted rashly in this affair [*i.e.*, the Second Crusade] or had “used lightness.” But, “I did not run my course like a man in doubt of his goal,” for I acted on your orders, or rather on God’s orders given through you... The judgments of the Lord are true indeed. Who does not know that? This judgment, however, “is a great deep,” so much so, that it seems to me not unwarranted to call him blessed who is not scandalized thereat.

How, then, does human rashness dare reprove what it can scarcely understand? Let us put down some judgments from on high, which are “from everlasting,” for there may, perhaps, be consolation in them... I speak of a matter which is unknown to no one, but of which no one now seems to be aware. Such is the human heart, indeed, that what we know when we need it not, is lost to us when it is required.

When Moses was going to lead the people out of the land of Egypt, he promised them a better land. Otherwise, would that people, who knew only earthly things, ever have followed him? He led them away—but he did not lead them into the land which he had promised them. The sad and unexpected outcome, however, cannot be laid to the rashness of the leader, for he did everything at the Lord’s command, with “the Lord aiding them and attesting his word by the miracles that went with them.” But, you may say, they were a stiff-necked race forever contending against the Lord and Moses his servant. Very well, they were rebellious and unbelieving; but what about these other people [the crusaders]? Ask

them. Why should it be my task to speak of what they have done? One thing I shall say: How could they make progress when they were always looking backward as they walked? Was there a time in the whole journey when they were not in their hearts returning to Egypt? But if the Jews were vanquished and “perished because their iniquity,” is it any wonder that those who did likewise suffered a similar fate? Would anyone say that the fate of the former was contrary to God’s promise? Neither, therefore, was the fate of the latter...

These few things have been said by way of apology, so that your conscience may have something from me, whereby you can hold yourself and me excused, if not in the eyes of those who judge causes from their results, then at least in your own eyes. The perfect and final apology for any man is the testimony of his own conscience. As for myself, I take it to be a small matter to be judged by those “who call evil good, and good evil, whose darkness is light, whose light darkness.”

If one or the other must be done, I would rather that men murmur against us than against God. It would be well for me if he designs to use me for his shield...I shall not refuse to be made ignominious, so long as God’s glory is not attacked.

## LECTURE 15.3

### The Fall of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “Richard the Lionheart Makes Peace with Saladin.” How does this passage show the respect Saladin had for Richard?

.....

“Richard the Lionheart Makes Peace with Saladin” from *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, translated by James Brundage

.....

As his illness became very grave, the King despaired of recovering his health. Because of this he was much afraid, both for the others as well as for himself. Among the many things which did not pass unnoted by his wise attention, he chose, as the least inconvenient course, to seek to make a truce rather than to desert the depopulated land altogether and to leave the business unfinished as all the others had done who left the groups in the ships.

The King was puzzled and unaware of anything better that he could do. He demanded of Sayf ad-Din, Saladin’s brother, that he act as go between and seek the best conditions he could get for a truce between them. Sayf ad-Din was an uncommonly liberal man who had been brought, in the course of many disputes, to revere the King for his singular probity. Sayf ad-Din carefully secured peace terms on these conditions: that Ascalon, which was an object of fear for Saladin’s empire so long as it was standing, be destroyed and that it be rebuilt by no one during three years beginning at the following Easter [March 28, 1193]. After three years, however, whoever had the greater, more flourishing power, might have Ascalon by occupying it. Saladin allowed Joppa to

be restored to the Christians. They were to occupy the city and its vicinity, including the seacoast and the mountains, freely and quietly. Saladin agreed to confirm an inviolate peace between Christians and Saracens, guaranteeing for both free passage and access to the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord without the exaction of any tribute and with the freedom of bringing objects for sale through any land whatever and of exercising a free commerce.

When these conditions of peace had been reduced to writing and read to him, King Richard agreed to observe them, for he could not hope for anything much better, especially since he was sick, relying upon scanty support, and was not more than two miles from the enemy's station. Whoever contends that Richard should have felt otherwise about this peace agreement should know that he thereby marks himself as a perverse liar.

Things were thus arranged in a moment of necessity. The King, whose goodness always imitated higher things and who, as the difficulties were greater, now emulated God himself, sent legates to Saladin. The legates informed Saladin in the hearing of many of his satraps, that Richard had in fact sought this truce for a three year period so that he could go back to visit his country and so that, when he had augmented his money and his men, he could return and wrest the whole territory of Jerusalem from Saladin's grasp if, indeed, Saladin were even to consider putting up resistance. To this Saladin replied through the appointed messengers that, with his holy law and God almighty as his witnesses, he thought King Richard so pleasant, upright, magnanimous, and excellent that, if the land were to be lost in his time, he would rather have it taken into Richard's mighty power than to have it go into the hands of any other prince whom he had ever seen.

## LECTURE 15.4

### The Fourth Crusade

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read about the sack of Constantinople. How does this author condemn the crusaders who sacked Constantinople?

.....

#### "The Sack of Constantinople"

by Nicetas Choniates,  
translated by D.C. Munro

.....

...How shall I begin to tell of the deeds wrought by these nefarious men! Alas, the images, which ought to have been adored, were trodden under foot! Alas, the relics of the holy martyrs were thrown into unclean places! Then was seen what one shudders to hear, namely, the divine body and blood of Christ was spilled upon the ground or thrown about. They snatched the precious reliquaries, thrust into their bosoms the ornaments which these contained, and used the broken remnants for pans and drinking cups, precursors of antichrist, authors and heralds of his nefarious deeds which we momentarily expect. Manifestly, indeed, by that race then, just as formerly, Christ was robbed and insulted and His garments were divided by lot; only one thing was lacking, that His side, pierced by a spear, should pour rivers of divine blood on the ground.

Nor can the violation of the Great Church [Hagia Sophia] be listened to with equanimity. For the sacred altar, formed of all kinds of precious materials and admired by the whole world, was broken into bits and distributed among the soldiers, as was all the other sacred wealth of so great and infinite splendor.

When the sacred vases and utensils of unsurpassable art and grace and rare material, and the fine

silver, wrought with gold, which encircled the screen of the tribunal and the ambo, of admirable workmanship, and the door and many other ornaments, were to be borne away as booty, mules and saddled horses 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 when they fell, so that the sacred pavement was polluted with blood and filth.

Nay more, a certain harlot, a sharer in their guilt, a minister of the furies, a servant of the demons, a worker of incantations and poisonings, insulting Christ, sat in the patriarch's seat, singing an obscene song and dancing frequently. Nor, indeed, were these crimes committed and others left undone, on the ground that these were of lesser guilt, the others of greater. But with one consent all the most heinous sins and crimes were committed by all with equal zeal. Could those, who showed so great madness against God Himself, have spared the honorable matrons and maidens or the virgins consecrated to God?

Nothing was more difficult and laborious than to soften by prayers, to render benevolent, these wrathful barbarians, vomiting forth bile at every unpleasing word, so that nothing failed to inflame their fury. Whoever attempted it was derided as insane and a man of intemperate language. Often they drew their daggers against any one who opposed them at all or hindered their demands.

No one was without a share in the grief. In the alleys, in the streets, in the temples, complaints, weeping, lamentations, grief, the groaning of men, the shrieks of women, wounds, rape, captivity, the separation of those most closely united. Nobles wandered about ignominiously, those of venerable age in tears, the rich in poverty. Thus it was in the streets, on the corners, in the temple, in the dens, for no place remained unassailed or defended the suppliants. All places everywhere were filled full of all kinds of crime. Oh, immortal God, how great the afflictions of the men, how great the distress!



## LECTURE 15.5

### The Later Crusades

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #15

#### EXAM #15

1. What does *Outremer* mean? What were the five crusader kingdoms?
2. What positive things did the crusaders accomplish in their kingdoms? Consider the treatment of Muslims and Jews, the building of churches, and the establishment of hospitals.
3. Describe the purpose and role of *either* the Knights Templar *or* the Knights Hospitaller.
4. Why was the Second Crusade called? What was its objective? Who led it, and what kind of confidence did they bring?
5. How did the Second Crusade fail?
6. Who was Nur ed-Din? How did he make the fight against crusaders an Islamic jihad?
7. How did the drama created by Reynauld of Chatillon, Guy of Lusignan, and Sibylla of Jerusalem weaken the kingdom of Jerusalem?
8. What occurred at the Horns of Hattin? What city fell because of this crusader loss?
9. Describe the characters of Richard the Lionheart and Saladin.
10. What did the Third Crusade under Richard and Philip accomplish? What did they fail to retake?
11. How was the Fourth Crusade a failure in crusading goals and in moral action?
12. Briefly describe and evaluate one of the later crusades.



## LESSON 16

# *The Music of the Spheres: Medieval Art, Towns, Cathedrals and Monks*

### LECTURE 16.1

#### The Medieval Worldview

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas. How does he connect beauty, goodness, and love?

.....

“Whether good is the only cause of love?” from *Summa Theologica*, Bk. II, First Part, Question 27 Article 1, translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province

.....

...Love belongs to the appetitive power which is a passive faculty. Wherefore its object stands in relation to it as the cause of its movement or act. Therefore the cause of love must needs be love's object. Now the proper object of love is the good; because, as stated above..., love implies a certain connaturalness or complacency of the lover for the thing beloved, and to everything, that thing is a good, which is akin and proportionate to it. It follows, therefore, that good is the proper cause of love.

The beautiful is the same as the good, and they differ in aspect only. For since good is what all seek,

the notion of good is that which calms the desire; while the notion of the beautiful is that which calms the desire, by being seen or known. Consequently those senses chiefly regard the beautiful, which are the most cognitive, *viz.* sight and hearing, as ministering to reason; for we speak of beautiful sights and beautiful sounds. But in reference to the other objects of the other senses, we do not use the expression “beautiful,” for we do not speak of beautiful tastes, and beautiful odors. Thus it is evident that beauty adds to goodness a relation to the cognitive faculty: so that “good” means that which simply pleases the appetite; while the “beautiful” is something pleasant to apprehend.

### LECTURE 16.2

#### Medieval Art

**ASSIGNMENT** — View “The Cloisters” exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>4</sup> Write your observations on at least three artworks from the exhibit.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search?department=7&pageSize=0&sortBy=relevance&sortOrder=asc&searchField=All&showOnly=highlights%7CwithImage>

## LECTURE 16.3

## Medieval Towns, Guilds and Cathedrals I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical account. How does this selection show the establishment of self-government based upon free elections and written charters in the town of Ipswich?

.....

Excerpt from *The Ipswich Domesday*,  
translated by Stephen Alsford

.....

On Thursday following the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in the second year of the reign of King John, the whole town of the borough of Ipswich gathered in the churchyard of St. Mary at Tower to elect two bailiffs and four coroners for the town, according to the specifications of the charter of the aforesaid lord King, which that king recently granted to the the borough. On which day the burgesses, by common assent and with one voice, elected two upright and law-abiding men of their town, *viz.*, John FitzNorman and William de Beaumes, who were sworn to the administration of the ballivalty<sup>5</sup> of the town and that they shall behave well and faithfully to both poor and rich.

They also unanimously elected on that day four coroners, *viz.* John FitzNorman, William de Beaumes, Philip de Porta, and Roger Lew, who were sworn to the administration of pleas of the crown and to doing other things which concern the crown in the borough, and to supervise the bailiffs in the just and legal treatment of poor as well as rich.

On the same day it was ordained by common

counsel of the town that henceforth there ought to be in the borough twelve sworn capital portmen, such as there are in other free boroughs of England, and that they should have full power on behalf of themselves and the whole town to govern and maintain the borough and all its liberties, and to render judgements of the town; and also to take care of, ordain and do in the borough whatever may need to be done to maintain the status and reputation of the town. And on this matter the bailiffs and coroners declared that the whole town should come to the churchyard on Sunday following the festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to elect twelve capital portmen, according to the intent of this ordinance. On Sunday following the festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the whole town of Ipswich gathered before the bailiffs and coroners to elect twelve capital portmen for the town, as was previously decided. By consent of the town, the bailiffs and coroners elected four upright and law-abiding men from each parish of the town, who were sworn to elect twelve capital portmen from the better, wiser and more able townsmen to make ordinances for the well-being of the town, as was already said. And those sworn men of the parishes came and elected, on behalf of themselves and the whole town, these twelve names written below, *viz.* John FitzNorman, William de Beaumes, Philip de Porta, Roger Lew, Peter Everard, William Goscalc, Amise Bolle, John de Saint George, John le Mayster, Sayer FitzThurstan, Robert Parys and Andrew Peper, who took oath before the whole town that they would govern the borough of Ipswich well and faithfully, maintain as best they could all the liberties recently granted to the burgesses of the borough by the charter of the lord King, maintain all liberties and free customs of the town, render just judgments in the town court without discrimination towards any individual, and

<sup>5</sup> The Latin word *baiulus* (carrier, porter or steward) was borrowed with the Old French *baillif* (magistrate) to produce the Medieval Latin word *ballivus* meaning “one to whom powers of custody or care are intrusted.” Ballivalty is the state or office of holding the post of bailiff. Therefore, *ballivalty* is to *bailiff* as *duchy* is to *duke* or *duchess*, *magistracy* to *magistrate*, *kingdom* to *king*, etc.

moreover ordain and do all things touching the status and reputation of the town, and to deal lawfully and justly with poor as well as rich.

On the same day as the twelve capital portmen were sworn in this fashion, they required the whole town to raise its hands over the book and in one voice to solemnly swear that from that hour forth they would obey, attend, counsel and support the bailiffs, coroners, and each and every of the twelve capital portmen, with their bodies and their chattels for the purpose of preserving and maintaining the reputation, liberties and free customs of the town in whatever location necessary (excepting against the lord King or his power), with all their might, insofar as they ought to do within justice and reason.

## LECTURE 16.4 Cathedrals II

**ASSIGNMENT** — Take the virtual tour of Notre-Dame Cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Write and/or draw your observations of the cathedral.

## LECTURE 16.5 Bernard of Clairvaux, Dominic and Francis of Assisi

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read “Canticle of the Sun” by Francis of Assisi. How does he praise the Creator and His creation?

### “Canticle of the Sun”

Most high, all-powerful, all good, Lord!  
All praise is yours, all glory, all honor  
And all blessing.

To you alone, Most High, do they belong.  
No mortal lips are worthy  
To pronounce your name.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through all that you  
have made,  
And first my lord Brother Sun,  
Who brings the day; and light you give to us  
through him.

How beautiful is he, how radiant in all his  
splendor!  
Of you, Most High, he bears the likeness.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Sister Moon  
and Stars;  
In the heavens you have made them, bright  
And precious and fair.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.friendsofnotredamedeparis.org/virtual-tour-notre-dame/>

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Brothers  
Wind and Air,  
And fair and stormy, all the weather's moods,  
By which you cherish all that you have made.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Sister Water,  
So useful, lowly, precious, and pure.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Brother Fire,  
Through whom you brighten up the night.  
How beautiful he is, how gay!  
Full of power and strength.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Sister Earth,  
our mother,  
Who feeds us in her sovereignty and produces  
Various fruits and colored flowers and herbs.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through those who  
grant pardon  
For love of you; through those who endure  
Sickness and trial.

Happy those who endure in peace,  
By you, Most High, they will be crowned.

All praise be yours, my Lord, through Sister Death,  
From whose embrace no mortal can escape.  
Woe to those who die in mortal sin!  
Happy those She finds doing your will!  
The second death can do no harm to them.

Praise and bless my Lord, and give him thanks,  
And serve him with great humility.



## LESSON 17

# *Wonder & Delight: Medieval Education, the Scholastics and Dante*

### LECTURE 17.1

#### The Quadrivium

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following introduction to *The Principles of Music*. How does Boethius connect musical harmony with the harmony of the universe and personal character?

.....

“Introduction” from  
*De institutione musica*, by Boethius

.....

Perception through all the senses is so spontaneously and naturally present in certain living creatures that an animal without them cannot be conceived. But knowledge and clear perception of the senses themselves are not so immediately acquired through inquiry with the mind. For it is indisputable that we use our senses to perceive sensible objects. But what is the nature of these very senses according to which we act? And what is the property of the sensible objects? Answers to these questions do not come easily to anyone; nor can they become clear unless appropriate inquiry has guided one in reflection concerning truth. Sight, for example, is present in all mortal beings. Whether sight occurs by images coming to the eye or by rays sent out to sensible objects is a point of disagreement among the learned, although this dispute escapes the notice

of the ordinary person. Further, when someone sees a triangle or a square, he recognizes easily that which is observed with the eyes. But what is the nature of a triangle or a square? For this you must ask a mathematician.

Now the same can be said with respect to other sensible objects, especially concerning the witness of the ears: the sense of hearing is capable of apprehending sounds in such a way that it not only exercises judgment and identifies their differences, but very often actually finds pleasure if the modes are pleasing and ordered, whereas it is vexed if they are disordered and incoherent.

From this it follows that, since there happen to be four mathematical disciplines, the other three share with music the task of searching for truth; but music is associated not only with speculation but with morality as well. For nothing is more characteristic of human nature than to be soothed by pleasant modes or disturbed by their opposites. This is not peculiar to people in particular endeavors or of particular ages. Indeed, music extends to every endeavor; moreover, youths, as well as the aged are so naturally attuned to musical modes by a kind of voluntary affection that no age at all is excluded from the charm of sweet song. What Plato rightfully said can likewise be understood: the soul of the universe was joined together according to musical concord. For when we hear what is properly and harmoniously united in sound in conjunction with that which is harmoniously coupled and joined together within us and are attracted to it, then we recognize that we

ourselves are put together in its likeness. For likeness attracts, whereas unlikeness disgusts and repels.

## LECTURE 17.2

### Medieval Books, Universities and Science

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read “On Experimental Science.” What reasons does Roger Bacon list for experimental science?

#### “On Experimental Science” by Roger Bacon

There are two ways of acquiring knowledge, one through reason, the other by experiment. Argument reaches a conclusion and compels us to admit it, but it neither makes us certain nor so annihilates doubt that the mind rests calm in the intuition of truth, unless it finds this certitude by way of experience. Thus many have arguments toward attainable facts, but because they have not experienced them, they overlook them and neither avoid a harmful nor follow a beneficial course. Even if a man that has never seen fire proves by good reasoning that fire burns, and devours and destroys things, nevertheless the mind of one hearing his arguments would never be convinced, nor would he avoid fire until he puts his hand or some combustible thing into it in order to prove by experiment what the argument taught. But after the fact of combustion is experienced, the mind is satisfied and lies calm in the certainty of truth. Hence argument is not enough, but experience is.

This is evident even in mathematics, where demonstration is the surest. The mind of a man that receives that clearest of demonstrations concerning the equilateral triangle without experiment will never stick to the conclusion nor act upon it till

confirmed by experiment by means of the intersection of two circles from either section of which two lines are drawn to the ends of a given line. Then one receives the conclusion without doubt. What Aristotle says of the demonstration by the syllogism being able to give knowledge, can be understood if it is accompanied by experience, but not of the bare demonstration. What he says in the first book of the *Metaphysics*, that those knowing the reason and cause are wiser than the experienced, he speaks concerning the experienced who know the bare fact only without the cause. But I speak here of the experienced that know the reason and cause through their experience. And such are perfect in their knowledge, as Aristotle wishes to be in the sixth book of the *Ethics*, whose simple statements are to be believed as if they carried demonstration, as he says in that very place...

The experimenter considers whether among visible things, he can find colors formed and arranged as given in the rainbow. He finds that there are hexagonal crystals from Ireland or India which are called rainbow-hued in Solinus' *Concerning the Wonders of the World* and he holds these in a ray of sunlight falling through the window, and finds all the colors of the rainbow, arranged as in it in the shaded part next the ray. Moreover, the same experimenter places himself in a somewhat shady place and puts the stone up to his eye when it is almost closed, and beholds the colors of the rainbow clearly arranged, as in the bow. And because many persons making use of these stones think that it is on account of some special property of the stones and because of their hexagonal shape the investigator proceeds further and finds this in a crystal, properly shaped, and in other transparent stones. And not only are these Irish crystals in white, but also black, so that the phenomenon occurs in smoky crystal and also in all stones of similar transparency. Moreover, in stones not shaped hexagonally, provided the surfaces are rough, the same as those of the Irish crystals, not entirely smooth and yet not rougher than those—

the surfaces have the same quality as nature has given the Irish crystals, for the difference of roughness makes the difference of color. He watches, also, rowers and in the drops falling from the raised oars he finds the same colors, whenever the rays of the sun penetrate the drops.

The case is the same with water falling from the paddles of a water-wheel. And when the investigator looks in a summer morning at the drops of dew clinging to the grass in the field or plane, he sees the same colors. And, likewise, when it rains, if he stands in a shady place and the sun's rays beyond him shine through the falling drops, then in some rather dark place the same colors appear, and they can often be seen at night about a candle. In the summer time, as soon as he rises from sleep while his eyes are not yet fully opened, if he suddenly looks at a window through which the light of the sun is streaming, he will see the colors. Again, sitting outside of the sunlight, if he holds his head covering beyond his eyes, or, likewise, if he closes his eyes, the same thing happens in the shade at the edges, and it also takes place through a glass vase filled with water, sitting in the sunlight. Similarly, if any one holding water in his mouth suddenly sprinkles the water in jets and stands at the side of them; or if through a lamp of oil hanging in the air the rays shine in the proper way, or the light shines upon the surface of the oil, the colors again appear. Thus, in an infinite number of ways, natural as well as artificial, colors of this kind are to be seen, if only the diligent investigator knows how to find them.

Experimental science is also that which alone, as the mistress of the speculative sciences, can discover magnificent truths in the fields of the other sciences, to which these other sciences can in no way attain. And these truths are not of the nature of former truths, but they may be even outside of them, in the fields of things where there are neither as yet conclusions or principles, and good examples may be given of this, but in everything which follows it is not necessary for the inexperienced to seek a reason

in order to understand at the beginning, but rather he will never have a reason before he has tried the experiment. Whence in the first place there should be credulity until experiment follows, in order that the reason may be found. If one who has never seen that a magnet draws iron nor heard from others that it attracts, seeks the reason before experimenting, he will never find it. Indeed, in the first place, he ought to believe those who have experimented or who have it from investigators, nor ought he to doubt the truth of it because he himself is ignorant of it and because he has no reason for it.

The third value of this science is this—it is on account of the prerogatives through which it looks, not only to the other sciences, but by its own power investigates the secrets of nature, and this takes place in two ways—in the knowledge of future and present events, and in those wonderful works by which it surpasses astronomy commonly so-called in the power of its conclusions. For Ptolemy, in the introduction of the *Almagest*, says that there is another and surer way than the ordinary astronomy; that is, the experimental method which follows after the course of nature, to which many faithful philosophers, such as Aristotle and a vast crowd of the authors of predictions from the stars, are favorable, as he himself says, and we ourselves know through our own experience, which cannot be denied. This wisdom has been found as a natural remedy for human ignorance or imprudence; for it is difficult to have astronomical implements sufficiently exact and more difficult to have tables absolutely verified, especially when the motion of the planets is involved in them. The use of these tables is difficult, but the use of the instruments more so.

## LECTURE 17.3

## Scholasticism: Anselm &amp; Abelard

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read *Proslogion*. How does Anselm prepare his mind for contemplating God's existence? How does he demonstrate the necessity of God's existence?

.....

*Proslogion*, chs. 1-3,  
by Anselm of Canterbury,  
translated by David Burr

.....

### CHAPTER 1: ENCOURAGING THE MIND TO CONTEMPLATE GOD

Come on now little man, get away from your worldly occupations for a while, escape from your tumultuous thoughts. Lay aside your burdensome cares and put off your laborious exertions. Give yourself over to God for a little while, and rest for a while in Him. Enter into the cell of your mind, shut out everything except God and whatever helps you to seek Him once the door is shut. Speak now, my heart, and say to God, "I seek your face; your face, Lord, I seek."

Come on then, my Lord God, teach my heart where and how to seek you, where and how to find you. Lord, if you are not here, where shall I find you? If, however, you are everywhere, why do I not see you here? But certainly you dwell in inaccessible light. And where is that inaccessible light? Or how do I reach it? Or who will lead me to it and into it, so that I can see you in it? And then by what signs, under what face shall I seek you? I have never seen you, my Lord God, or known your face. What shall I do, Highest Lord, what shall this exile do, banished far from you as he is? What should your servant do, desperate as he is for your love yet cast away

from your face? He longs to see you, and yet your face is too far away from him. He wants to come to you, and yet your dwelling place is unreachable. He yearns to discover you, and he does not know where you are. He craves to seek you, and does not know how to recognize you. Lord, you are my Lord and my God, and I have never seen you. You have made me and nurtured me, given me every good thing I have ever received, and I still do not know you. I was created for the purpose of seeing you, and I still have not done the thing I was made to do.

Oh, how miserable man's lot is when he has lost what he was made for! Oh how hard and dire was that downfall! Alas, what did he lose and what did he find? What was taken away and what remains? He has lost beatitude for which he was made, and he has found misery for which he was not made. That without which he cannot be happy has been taken away, and that remains which in itself can only make him miserable. Back then man ate the bread of angels for which he now hungers, and now he eats the bread of griefs which he did not even know back then. Alas for the common grief of man, the universal lamentation of Adam's sons! He belched in his satiety, while we sigh in our want. He was rich, we are beggars. He happily possessed and miserably abandoned, we unhappily lack and miserably desire, yet alas, we remain empty. Why, since it would have been easy for him, did he not keep what we so disastrously lack? Why did he deprive us of light, and cover us with darkness instead? Why did he take life away from us and inflict death instead? From what have we poor wretches been expelled, and toward what are we being driven? From what have we been cast down, in what buried? From our fatherland into exile, from the vision of God into blindness. From the happiness of immortality into the bitterness and horror of death. What a miserable transformation! From so much good into so much evil! A heavy injury, a heavy, heavy grief.

I have come to you as a poor man to a rich one, as a poor rich to a merciful giver. May I not return

empty and rejected! And if “I sigh before I eat” [Job 3:4], once I have sighed give me something to eat. Lord, turned in as I am I can only look down, so raise me up so that I can look up. “My iniquities heaped on my head” cover me over and weigh me down “like a heavy load” [Ps. 37:5]. Dig me out and set me free before “the pit” created by them “shuts its jaws over me” [Ps. 67:16]. Let me see your light, even if I see it from afar or from the depths. Teach me to seek you, and reveal yourself to this seeker. For I cannot seek you unless you teach me how, nor can I find you unless you show yourself to me. Let me seek you in desiring you, and desire you in seeking you. Let me find you in loving you and love you in finding you.

I acknowledge, Lord, and I give thanks that you have created in me this your image, so that I can remember you, think about you and love you. But it is so worn away by sins, so smudged over by the smoke of sins, that it cannot do what it was created to do unless you renew and reform it. I do not even try, Lord, to rise up to your heights, because my intellect does not measure up to that task; but I do want to understand in some small measure your truth, which my heart believes in and loved. Nor do I seek to understand so that I can believe, but rather I believe so that I can understand. For I believe this too, that “unless I believe I shall not understand” [Isa. 7:9].

## CHAPTER 2: THAT GOD REALLY EXISTS

Therefore, Lord, you who give knowledge of the faith, give me as much knowledge as you know to be fitting for me, because you are as we believe and that which we believe. And indeed we believe you are something greater than which cannot be thought. Or is there no such kind of thing, for “the fool said in his heart, ‘there is no God’” [Ps. 13:1, 52:1]? But certainly that same fool, having heard what I just said, “something greater than which cannot be thought,” understands what he heard, and what he

understands is in his thought, even if he does not think it exists. For it is one thing for something to exist in a person’s thought and quite another for the person to think that thing exists. For when a painter thinks ahead to what he will paint, he has that picture in his thought, but he does not yet think it exists, because he has not done it yet. Once he has painted it he has it in his thought and thinks it exists because he has done it. Thus even the fool is compelled to grant that something greater than which cannot be thought exists in thought, because he understands what he hears, and whatever is understood exists in thought. And certainly that greater than which cannot be understood cannot exist only in thought, for if it exists only in thought it could also be thought of as existing in reality as well, which is greater. If, therefore, that than which greater cannot be thought exists in thought alone, then that than which greater cannot be thought turns out to be that than which something greater actually can be thought, but that is obviously impossible. Therefore something than which greater cannot be thought undoubtedly exists both in thought and in reality.

## CHAPTER 3: THAT GOD CANNOT BE THOUGHT NOT TO EXIST

In fact, it so undoubtedly exists that it cannot be thought of as not existing. For one can think there exists something that cannot be thought of as not existing, and that would be greater than something which can be thought of as not existing. For if that greater than which cannot be thought can be thought of as not existing, then that greater than which cannot be thought is not that greater than which cannot be thought, which does not make sense. Thus that than which nothing can be thought so undoubtedly exists that it cannot even be thought of as not existing. And you, Lord God, are this being. You exist so undoubtedly, my Lord God, that you cannot even be thought of as not existing. And deservedly, for if some mind could think of something greater than you, that creature would rise above the creator and



could pass judgment on the creator, which is absurd. And indeed whatever exists except you alone can be thought of as not existing. You alone of all things most truly exists and thus enjoy existence to the fullest degree of all things, because nothing else exists so undoubtedly, and thus everything else enjoys being in a lesser degree. Why therefore did the fool say in his heart “there is no God,” since it is so evident to any rational mind that you above all things exist [Ps. 13:1, 52:1]? Why indeed, except precisely because he is stupid and foolish?

## LECTURE 17.4

### Scholasticism: Peter Lombard & Thomas Aquinas

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas. How does he logically argue for God's existence?

.....

From *Summa Theologica*,  
Bk. I, Question 2 Articles 1-3,  
translated by David Burr

.....

#### ARTICLE 1: WHETHER GOD'S EXISTENCE IS SELF-EVIDENT.

Thus we proceed to the first point. It seems that God's existence is self-evident, for those things are said by us to be self-evident the knowledge of which is naturally within us, as is the case with first principles. But, as John of Damascus says, “The knowledge of God's existence is naturally implanted in all things.” Therefore God's existence is self-evident.

Furthermore, those things are said to be self-evident, the truth of which is obvious once the meaning of the words is clear. For example, when we understand the meanings of the words “whole” and

“part,” we immediately realize that every whole is greater than its part. Once we understand the meaning of the word “God,” however, it immediately follows that God exists. The word itself signifies “that being a greater than which cannot be signified.” That which exists in fact and in the mind is greater than that which exists in the mind alone. Thus, since the moment we understand the meaning of the word “God” he exists in our minds, it follows that he must also exist in fact. Thus God's existence is self-evident.

Furthermore, it is self-evident that truth exists, for whoever denies the existence of truth simultaneously concedes its existence. If truth does not exist, then it is true that truth does not exist; yet if something is true, then truth exists. God, however, is truth itself. “I am the way, the truth and the life” [Jn. 14:6]. Therefore God's existence is self-evident.

But on the contrary, no one can think the opposite of what is self-evident, as Aristotle remarks. One can, however, think the opposite of the proposition “God exists,” for, as the Psalm says, “The fool says in his heart, ‘there is no God.’” [Ps. 13:1, 52:1]. Thus it is not self-evident that God exists.

Response: It must be said that a thing can be called “self-evident” in two ways, in itself and in relation to us. A proposition is self-evident when its predicate is included in the definition of its subject. For example, in the proposition “man is an animal,” the idea of “animal” is included in the definition of “man.” Thus if everyone knows the definitions of both subject and predicate, the proposition will be self-evident to all, as is the case with the first principles of demonstration, the terms of which are so common that no one is ignorant of them, such as “being” and “nonbeing,” “whole” and “part,” etc. If, the proposition may be self-evident in itself, but not to them. Thus it happens, as Boethius says, that some things are common conceptions of the mind” and are self-evident “among the learned only, such as that incorporeal beings do not occupy a place.”

I say, therefore, that this proposition, “God ex-



ists,” is self-evident in itself, since the predicate is the same as the subject. For God is his own existence, as will be seen later. Nevertheless, because we do not know what is involved in being God, the proposition is not self-evident to us, but needs to be demonstrated through those things that are more evident to us though less evident to themselves, namely God’s effects.

To the first argument, therefore, it must be said that a general and confused knowledge of God’s existence is naturally infused within us, for God is man’s beatitude and man naturally desires beatitude. What man naturally desires he naturally knows. This is not to know God’s existence specifically, however. It is one thing to know that someone is approaching and quite another to know that Peter is approaching, even though that someone may actually be Peter. Many people think that the perfect good of man called “beatitude” is wealth, some imagine it to be pleasure, and so on.

To the second argument it must be said that he who hears the name “God” may perhaps not know that it signifies “something greater than which cannot be conceived,” since some people have thought of God as a body. Granting, however, that someone should think of God in this way, namely as “that being a greater than which cannot be conceived,” it does not follow on this account that the person must understand what is signified to exist in the world of fact, but only in the mind. Nor can one argue that it exists in fact unless one grants that there actually exists in fact something a greater than which cannot be conceived. It is, however, precisely this assertion the atheist denies.

To the third, it must be said that the existence of truth in general is self-evident to us, but it is not self-evident that this particular being is the primal truth.

## ARTICLE 2: WHETHER GOD’S EXISTENCE IS DEMONSTRABLE.

We proceed thus to the second point. It seems that God’s existence is not demonstrable, for it is an article of faith. What is a matter of faith cannot be demonstrable, for demonstration allows one to know, whereas faith, as Paul says, is in “things not seen” [Heb. 11:1]. Therefore God’s existence is not demonstrable. Furthermore, the central link in any demonstration is a definition; yet we cannot know what God is, but only what he is not, as John of Damascus says. Therefore we cannot demonstrate God’s existence.

Furthermore, if God’s existence were demonstrable, this could only be through his effects; yet his effects are not proportionate to him, for he is infinite, his effects are infinite, and there is no proportion between the two. Therefore, since a cause cannot be demonstrated through an effect which is not proportioned to it, it seems that God’s existence cannot be demonstrated.

But on the contrary Paul says, “The invisible things of God are understood by the things that are made” [Romans 1:20]. Such could not be the case unless God’s existence could be demonstrated by the things that are made, for the first thing to be understood about a thing is whether it exists.

Response: It must be said that there are two types of demonstration. One is through the cause, is called a demonstration *propter quid*, and argues from what is prior in an absolute sense. The other is through the effect, is called a demonstration *quia*, and argues from what is prior according to our perspectives; for when an effect is better known to us than its cause, we proceed from the effect to knowledge of the cause. In situations where the effect is better known to us than the cause, the existence of the cause can be demonstrated from that of the effect, since the effect depends on the cause and can only exist if the cause already does so. Thus God’s existence, though not self-evident to us, can be demonstrated through his effects.

To the first argument, therefore, it must be said that God's existence and other things about him which (as Paul says) can be known by natural reason are not articles of faith but preambles to the articles of faith. For faith presupposes natural knowledge just as grace presupposes nature and perfection presupposes something which can be perfected. Nothing prohibits what is demonstrable and knowable in itself from being accepted on faith by someone who does not understand the demonstration.

To the second it must be said that, when a cause is demonstrated through its effect, the effect substitutes for the definition of the cause within the demonstration. This is particularly true in arguments concerning God. When we prove that something exists, the middle term in the demonstration is what we are taking the word to mean for purposes of the demonstration, not what the thing signified by the word actually is (since the latter, the actual nature of the thing in question, is determined only after we determine that it exists). In demonstrating that God exists, we can take as our middle term definition of what this word "God" means for us, for, as we shall see, the words we use in connection with God are derived from his effects.

To the third, it must be said that perfect knowledge of a cause cannot be derived from an effect that is not proportionate to the cause. Nevertheless, the existence of the cause can be demonstrated clearly from the existence of the effects, even though we cannot know the cause perfectly according to its essence.

### ARTICLE 3: WHETHER GOD EXISTS.

Thus we proceed to the third point. It seems that God does not exist, for if one of two contrary things were infinite, its opposite would be completely destroyed. By "God," however, we mean some infinite good. Therefore, if God existed evil would not. Evil does exist in the world, however. Therefore God does not exist.

Furthermore, one should not needlessly multiply elements in an explanation. It seems that we can account for everything we see in this world on the assumption that God does not exist. All natural effects can be traced to natural causes, and all contrived effects can be traced to human reason and will. Thus there is no need to suppose that God exists. But on the contrary God says, "I am who I am" [Ex. 3:14].

Response: It must be said that God's existence can be proved in five ways. The first and most obvious way is based on the existence of motion. It is certain and in fact evident to our senses that some things in the world are moved. Everything that is moved, however, is moved by something else, for a thing cannot be moved unless that movement is potentially within it. A thing moves something else insofar as it actually exists, for to move something is simply to actualize what is potentially within that thing. Something can be led thus from potentiality to actuality only by something else which is already actualized. For example, a fire, which is actually hot, causes the change or motion whereby wood, which is potentially hot, becomes actually hot. Now it is impossible that something should be potentially and actually the same thing at the same time, although it could be potentially and actually different things. For example, what is actually hot cannot at the same moment be actually cold, although it can be actually hot and potentially cold. Therefore it is impossible that a thing could move itself, for that would involve simultaneously moving and being moved in the same respect. Thus whatever is moved must be moved by something, else, etc. This cannot go on to infinity, however, for if it did there would be no first mover and consequently no other movers, because these other movers are such only insofar as they are moved by a first mover. For example, a stick moves only because it is moved by the hand. Thus it is necessary to proceed back to some prime mover which is moved by nothing else, and this is what everyone means by "God."

The second way is based on the existence of ef-

ficient causality. We see in the world around us that there is an order of efficient causes. Nor is it ever found (in fact it is impossible) that something is its own efficient cause. If it were, it would be prior to itself, which is impossible. Nevertheless, the order of efficient causes cannot proceed to infinity, for in any such order the first is cause of the middle (whether one or many) and the middle of the last. Without the cause, the effect does not follow. Thus, if the first cause did not exist, neither would the middle and last causes in the sequence. If, however, there were an infinite regression of efficient causes, there would be no first efficient cause and therefore no middle causes or final effects, which is obviously not the case. Thus it is necessary to posit some first efficient cause, which everyone calls “God.”

The third way is based on possibility and necessity. We find that some things can either exist or not exist, for we find them springing up and then disappearing, thus sometimes existing and sometimes not. It is impossible, however, that everything should be such, for what can possibly not exist does not do so at some time. If it is possible for every particular thing not to exist, there must have been a time when nothing at all existed. If this were true, however, then nothing would exist now, for something that does not exist can begin to do so only through something that already exists. If, therefore, there had been a time when nothing existed, then nothing could ever have begun to exist, and thus there would be nothing now, which is clearly false. Therefore all beings cannot be merely possible. There must be one being which is necessary. Any necessary being, however, either has or does not have something else as the cause of its necessity. If the former, then there cannot be an infinite series of such causes, any more than there can be an infinite series of efficient causes, as we have seen. Thus we must posit the existence of something which is necessary and owes its necessity to no cause outside itself. That is what everyone calls “God.”

The fourth way is based on the gradations

found in things. We find that things are more or less good, true, noble, etc.; yet when we apply terms like “more” and “less” to things we imply that they are closer to or farther from some maximum. For example, a thing is said to be hotter than something else because it comes closer to that which is hottest. Therefore something exists which is truest, greatest, noblest, and consequently most fully in being; for, as Aristotle says, the truest things are most fully in being. That which is considered greatest in any genus is the cause of everything is that genus, just as fire, the hottest thing, is the cause of all hot things, as Aristotle says. Thus there is something which is the cause of being, goodness, and every other perfection in all things, and we call that something “God.”

The fifth way is based on the governance of things. We see that some things lacking cognition, such as natural bodies, work toward an end, as is seen from the fact that they always (or at least usually) act the same way and not accidentally, but by design. Things without knowledge tend toward a goal, however, only if they are guided in that direction by some knowing, understanding being, as is the case with an arrow and archer. Therefore, there is some intelligent being by whom all natural things are ordered to their end, and we call this being “God.”

To the first argument, therefore, it must be said that, as Augustine remarks, “since God is the supreme good he would permit no evil in his works unless he were so omnipotent and good that he could produce good even out of evil.”

To the second, it must be said that, since nature works according to a determined end through the direction of some superior agent, whatever is done by nature must be traced back to God as its first cause. In the same way, those things which are done intentionally must be traced back to a higher cause which is neither reason nor human will, for these can change and cease to exist and, as we have seen, all such things must be traced back to some first principle which is unchangeable and necessary, as has been shown.

## LECTURE 17.5

### Dante

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read the final canto from Dante's *The Divine Comedy*. How does he praise God in this canto? How does Dante revel in the music of the spheres and God's act of love?

..... •  
*The Divine Comedy: Paradiso,*  
 Bk. III, Canto XXXIII,  
 translated by Dorothy Sayers  
 ..... •

“O Virgin Mother, Daughter of thy Son,  
 Lowliest and loftiest of created stature,  
 Fixed goal to which the eternal counsels run,

Thou art that She by whom our human nature  
 Was so ennobled that it might become  
 The Creator to create Himself His creature.

Thy sides were made a shelter a to relume  
 The Love whose warmth within the timeless  
 peace  
 Quickened the seed of this immortal bloom;

High noon of charity to those in bliss,  
 And upon earth, to men in mortal plight,  
 A living spring of hope, thy presence is.

Lady, so great thou art and such thy might,  
 The seeker after grace who shuns thy knee  
 May aim his prayer, but fails to wing the flight.

Not only does thy succor flow out free  
 To him who asks, but many a time the aid  
 Fore-runs the prayer, such largesse is in thee.

All ruth, all mercy are in thee displayed,  
 And all munificence; in thee is knit  
 Together all that's good in all that's made.

This man, who witnessed from the deepest pit  
 Of all the universe, up to this height,  
 The souls' lives one by one, doth now entreat

That thou, by grace, may grant to him such might  
 That higher yet in vision he may rise  
 Towards the final source of bliss and light.

And I who never burned for my own eyes  
 More than I burn for his, with all my prayers  
 Now pray to thee, and pray they may suffice,

That of all mortal clouding which impairs,  
 Thine own prayers may possess the power to  
 clean  
 His sight, till in the highest bliss it shares.

And further do I pray thee, heavenly Queen,  
 Who canst all that thou wilt, keep his heart  
 pure  
 And meet, when such great vision he has seen.

With thy protection render him secure  
 From human impulse; for this boon the saints,  
 With Beatrice, thronging fold hands and im-  
 plore.”

The eyes which God doth love and reverence,  
 Gazing on him who prayed, to us made plain  
 How prayers, devoutly prayed, her joy enhance.

Unto the eternal light she raised them then:  
 No eye of living creature could aspire  
 To penetrate so fixedly therein.

And I, who now was drawing ever nigher  
 Towards the end of yearning, as was due,  
 Quenched in my soul the burning of desire.

Bernard conveyed to me what I should do  
 By sign and smile; already on my own  
 had looked upwards, as he wished me to.

For now my sight, clear and yet clearer grown,  
 Pierced through the ray of that exalted light,  
 Wherein, as in itself, the truth is known.

Henceforth my vision mounted to a height  
 Where speech is vanquished and must lag  
 behind,  
 And memory surrenders in such plight.

As from a dream one may awake to find  
 Its passion yet imprinted on the heart,  
 Although all else is canceled from the mind,

So of my vision now but little part  
 Remains, yet in my inmost soul I know  
 The sweet instilling which it did impart.

So the sun melts the imprint on the snow,  
 Even so the Sybil's wisdom that was penned  
 On light leaves vanished on the winds that  
 blow.

O Light supreme, by mortal thought unscanned,  
 Grant that Thy former aspect may return,  
 Once more a little of Thyself relend.

Make strong my tongue that in its words may burn  
 One single spark of all Thy glory's light  
 For future generations to discern.

For if my memory but glimpse the sight  
 Whereof these lines would now little say,  
 Men may the better estimate Thy might.

The piercing brightness of the living ray  
 Which I endured, my vision had undone,  
 I think, if I had turned my eyes away.

And I recall this further led me on,  
 Wherefore my gaze more boldness yet assumed  
 Till to the Infinite Good it last had won.

O grace abounding, whereby I presumed  
 So deep the eternal light to search and sound  
 That my whole vision was therein consumed!

In that abyss I saw how love held bound  
 Into one volume all the leaves whose flight  
 Is scattered through the universe around;

How substance, accident, and mode unite  
 Fused, so to speak, together, in such wise  
 That this I tell of is one simple light.

Yea, of this complex I believe mine eyes  
 Beheld the universal form – in me,  
 Even as speak, I feel such joy arise.

One moment brings me deeper lethargy  
 Than twenty-five centuries brought the quest  
 that dazed  
 Neptune when Argo's shadow crossed the sea.

And so my mind, bedazzled and amazed,  
 Stood fixed in wonder, motionless, intent,  
 And still my wonder kindled as gazed.

That light doth so transform a man's whole bent  
 That never to another sight or thought  
 Would he surrender, with his own consent;

For everything the will has ever sought  
 Is gathered there, and there is every quest  
 Made perfect, which apart from it falls short.

Now, even what I recall will be exprest  
 More feebly than if I could wield no more  
 Than a babe's tongue, yet milky from the breast;

Not that the living light I looked on wore  
 More semblances than one, which cannot be,  
 For it is always what it was before;

But as my sight by seeing learned to see,  
 The transformation which in me took place  
 Transformed the single changeless form for me.

That light supreme, within its fathomless  
 Clear substance, showed to me three spheres,  
 which bare  
 Three hues distinct, and occupied one space;

The first mirrored the next, as though it were  
 Rainbow from rainbow, and the third seemed  
 flame  
 Breathed equally from each of the first pair.

How weak are words, and how unfit to frame  
 My concept – which lags after what was shown  
 So far, 'twould flatter it to call it lame!

Eternal light, that in Thyself alone  
 Dwelling, alone dost know Thyself, and smile  
 On Thy self-love, so knowing and so known!

The sphering thus begot, perceptible  
 In Thee like mirrored light, now to my view –  
 When I had looked on it a little while

Seemed in itself, and in its own self-hue,  
 Limned with our image; for which cause mine  
     eyes  
 Were altogether drawn and held thereto.

As the geometer his mind applies  
 To square the circle, nor for all his wit  
 Finds the right formula, howe'er he tries,

So strove I with that wonder – how to fit  
 The image to the sphere; so sought to see  
 How it maintained the point of rest in it.  
 Thither my own wings could not carry me,  
 But that a flash my understanding clove,  
 Whence its desire came to it suddenly.

High phantasy lost power and here broke off;  
 Yet, as a wheel moves smoothly, free from jars,  
 My will and my desire were turned by love,  
 The love that moves the sun and the other stars.



## LESSON 18

# *Just Rule and a Braveheart: Plantagenets, Common Law, and the Scots*

### LECTURE 18.1

#### **Just War Theory, Henry II and Common Law**

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following section. How do these laws of Henry II establish the system of trial by jury, circuit judges, and writs such as warrants and subpoenas?

.....

#### Assize of Clarendon (1166)

.....

1. In the first place the aforesaid king Henry, by the counsel of all his barons, for the preservation of peace and the observing of justice, has decreed that an inquest shall be made throughout the separate counties, and throughout the separate hundreds, through twelve of the more lawful men of the hundred, and through four of the more lawful men of each township, upon oath that they will speak the truth: whether in their hundred or in their township there be any man who, since the lord king has been king, has been charged or published as being a robber or murderer or thief; or any one who is a harbinger of robbers or murderers or thieves. And the Justices shall make this inquest by themselves, and the sheriffs by themselves.
2. And he who shall be found through the oath of the aforesaid persons to have been charged or published as being a robber, or murderer, or thief, or a receiver of them, since the lord king has been king, shall be taken and shall go to the ordeal of water, and shall swear that he was not a robber or murderer or thief or receiver of them since the lord king has been king, to the extent of five shillings as far as he knows.
3. And if the lord of him who has been taken, or his steward or his vassals, shall, as his sureties, demand him back within three days after he has been taken, he himself, and his chattels, shall be remanded under surety until he shall have done his law.
4. And when a robber or murderer or thief, or harbourers of them, shall be taken on the aforesaid oath, if the Justices shall not be about to come quickly enough into that county where they have been taken, the sheriffs shall send word to the nearest Justice through some intelligent man, that they have taken such men; and the Justices shall send back word to the sheriffs where they wish those men to be brought before them: and the sheriffs shall bring them before the Justices. And with them they shall bring, from the hundred or township where they were taken, two lawful men to bear record on the part of the county and hundred as to why they were taken; and there, before the Justice, they shall do their law.

5. And in the case of those who shall be taken on the aforesaid oath of this Assize, no one shall have court or justice or chattels save the king himself in his own court, before his own Justices; and the lord king shall have all their chattels. But in the case of those who shall be taken otherwise than through this oath, it shall be as it ordinarily is and ought to be.
6. And the sheriffs who take them shall lead them before the Justice without other summons than they have from him. And when the robbers or murderers or thieves, or receivers of them, who shall be taken through the oath or otherwise, are given over to the sheriffs, they also shall receive them straightway without delay.
7. And, in the different counties where there are no jails, such shall be made in the burgh or in some castle of the king from the money of the king and from his woods if they be near, or from some other neighboring woods, by view of the servants of the king; to this end, that the sheriffs may keep in them those who shall be taken by the servitors who are accustomed to do this, and through their servants.
8. The lord king wills also that all shall come to the county courts to take this oath; so that no one shall remain away, on account of any privilege that he has, or of a court or soc that he may have, from coming to take this oath.
9. And let there be no one, within his castle or without his castle, nor even in the honor of Wallingford, who shall forbid the sheriffs to enter into his court or his land to take the view of frankpledge; and let all be under pledges: and let them be sent before the sheriffs under free pledge.
10. And, in the cities or Burroughs, let no one have men or receive them in his home or his land or his soc whom he will not take in hand to present before the Justice if they be required; or let them be in frankpledge.
11. And let there be none within a city or Burroughs or castle, or without it, nor also in the honour of Wallingford, who shall forbid the sheriffs to enter into their land or soc to take those who shall have been charged or published as being robbers or murderers or thieves, or harbourers of the same, or outlawed or accused with regard to the forest, but [the king] commands that they shall aid [the sheriffs] to take [the robbers, etc.].
12. And if any one shall be taken who shall be possessed of robbed or stolen goods, if he be notorious and have evil testimony from the public, and have no warrant, he shall not have law. And if he be not notorious, on account of the goods in his possession, he shall go to the water.
13. And if any one shall confess before lawful men, or in the hundred court, concerning robbery, murder, or theft, or the harbouring of those committing them, and afterwards wish to deny it, he shall not have law.
14. The lord king wishes also that those who shall be tried and shall be absolved by the law, if they be of very bad testimony and are publicly and disgracefully defamed by the testimony of many and public men, shall forswear the lands of the king, so that within eight days they shall cross the sea unless the wind detains them; and, with the first wind which they shall have afterwards, they shall cross the sea; and they shall not return any more to England unless by the mercy of the lord king: and there, and if they return, they shall be outlawed; and if they return they shall be taken as outlaws.
15. And the lord king forbids that any waif, that is vagabond or unknown person, shall be entertained any where except in the burgh, and there he shall not be entertained more than a night, unless he become ill there, or his horse, so that he can show an evident essoin.

16. And if he shall have been there more than one night, he shall be taken and held until his lord shall come to pledge him, or until he himself shall procure safe pledges; and he likewise shall be taken who shall have entertained him.
17. And if any sheriff shall send word to another sheriff that men have fled from his county into another county on account of robbery or murder or theft, or the harbouring of them, or for outlawry, or for a charge with regard to the forest of the king, [the sheriff who is informed] shall capture them; and even if he learn it of himself or through others that such men have fled into his county, he shall take them and keep them in custody until he have safe pledges from them.
18. And all sheriffs shall cause a register to be kept of all fugitives who shall flee from their counties; and this they shall do before the county assemblies; and they shall write down and carry their names to the Justices when first they shall come to them, so that they may be sought for throughout all England, and their chattels may be taken for the service of the king.
19. And the lord king wills that, from the time when the sheriffs shall receive the summonses of the itinerant Justices to appear before them with their counties, they shall assemble their counties and shall seek out all who have come anew into their counties since this assize; and they shall send them away under pledge that they will come before the Justices, or they shall keep them in custody until the Justices come to them, and then they shall bring them before the Justices.
20. The lord king forbids, moreover, that monks or canons or any religious house, receive any one of the petty people as monk or canon or brother, until they know of what testimony he is, unless he shall be sick unto death.
21. The lord king forbids, moreover, that any one in all England receive in his land or his soc or the home under him any one of that sect of renegades who were excommunicated and branded at Oxford. And if any one receive them, he himself shall be at the mercy of the lord king; and the house in which they have been shall be carried without the town and burned. And each sheriff shall swear that he will observe this, and shall cause all his servitors to swear this, and the stewards of the barons, and all the knights and free tenants of the counties.
22. And the lord king wills that this assize shall be kept in his kingdom as long as it shall please him.

## LECTURE 18.2

### Richard the Lionheart & John Lackland

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical document. How does the *Magna Carta* further establish a just legal system under the Common Law?

#### The *Magna Carta*

The great charter of King John, granted June 15, A.D. 1215. John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Foresters, Sheriffs, Governors, Officers, and to all Bailiffs, and his faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the presence of God, and for the salvation of our soul, and the souls of all our ancestors and heirs, and unto the honor of God and the advancement of Holy Church, and amendment of our Realm, by ad-

vice of our venerable Fathers, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; Henry, Archbishop of Dublin; William, of London; Peter, of Winchester; Jocelin, of Bath and Glastonbury; Hugh, of Lincoln; Walter, of Worcester; William, of Coventry; Benedict, of Rochester—Bishops: of Master Pandulph, Sub-Deacon and Familiar of our Lord the Pope; Brother Aymeric, Master of the Knights-Templar in England; and the noble Persons, William Marescall, Earl of Pembroke; William, Earl of Salisbury; William, Earl of Warren; William, Earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, Constable of Scotland; Warin FitzGerald, Peter FitzHerbert, and Hubert de Burgh, Seneschal of Poitou; Hugh de Neville, Matthew FitzHerbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip of Albiney, Robert de Roppell, John Mareschal, John FitzHugh, and others, our liegemen, have, in the first place, granted to God, and by this our present Charter confirmed, for us and our heirs for ever:

1. Rights of the church. That the Church of England shall be free, and have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolable; and we will have them so observed that it may appear thence that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned chief and indispensable to the English Church, and which we granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the confirmation of the same from our Lord and Pope Innocent III, before the discord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which Charter we shall observe, and we do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.
2. Grant of liberty to freemen. We also have granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and holden by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever: If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at the time of his death his heir shall be of full age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the

ancient relief—that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earldom, by a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred pounds; their heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by a hundred shillings at most; and whoever oweth less shall give less according to the ancient custom of fees...

12. No tax except by the general council. No scutage [tax] or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the general council of our kingdom; except for ransoming our person, making our eldest son a knight, and once for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall be paid no more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the City of London.
13. Liberties of London and other towns. And the City of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs, and towns and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.
14. General council shall consent to assessment of taxes. And for holding the general council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of aids, except in the three cases aforesaid, and for the assessing of scutages, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons of the realm, singly by our letters, and furthermore, we shall cause to be summoned generally, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, for a certain day, that is to say, forty days before their meeting at least, and to a certain place; and in all letters of such summons we will declare the cause of such summons, and, summons being thus made the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as shall be present, although all that were summoned come not...

17. Courts shall administer justice in a fixed place. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some place certain.
18. Land disputes shall be tried in their proper counties. Trials upon the Writs of Novel Disseisin, and of Mort d'ancestor, and of Darrein Presentment, shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner: We, or if we should be out of the realm, our chief justiciary, will send two justiciaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall hold the said assizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed.
19. Keeping the assize courts open. And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the assizes in each county, so many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the assizes aforesaid shall stay to decide them as is necessary, according as there is more or less business.
20. Fines against freemen to be measured by the offense. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offense, but only according to the degree of the offense; and for a great crime according to the heinousness of it, saving to him his contentment; and after the same manner a merchant, saving to him his merchandise. And a villein shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our mercy; and none of the aforesaid amerciements shall be assessed but by the oath of honest men in the neighborhood.
21. Same for nobles. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and after the degree of the offense.
22. Same for clergymen. No ecclesiastical person shall be amerced for his tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforesaid, and not according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice.
23. Neither a town nor any tenant shall be distrained to make bridges or embankments, unless that anciently and of right they are bound to do it.
24. No sheriff, constable, coroner, or other of our bailiffs, shall hold "Pleas of the Crown."
25. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, shall stand at the old rents, without any increase, except in our demesne manors.
26. If any one holding of us a lay fee die, and the sheriff, or our bailiffs, show our letters patent of summons for debt which the dead man did owe to us, it shall be lawful for the sheriff or our bailiff to attach and register the chattels of the dead, found upon his lay fee, to the amount of the debt, by the view of lawful men, so as nothing be removed until our whole clear debt be paid; and the rest shall be left to the executors to fulfill the testament of the dead; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall go to the use of the dead, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.
27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by view of the Church, saving to every one his debts which the deceased owed to him.
28. Compensation for the taking of private property. No constable or bailiff of ours shall take corn or other chattels of any man unless he presently give him money for it, or hath respite of payment by the good-will of the seller.
29. No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he himself will do it in his person, or by another able man, in case he cannot do it through any reasonable cause. And if we have carried or sent him into the army, he shall be free from such guard for the time he shall be in the army by our command.



30. No taking of horses or carts without consent. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any freeman for carriage, without the assent of the said freeman.
31. No taking of trees for timber without consent. Neither shall we nor our bailiffs take any man's timber for our castles or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber.
32. We will retain the lands of those convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.
33. All kiddles [weirs] for the time to come shall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the seacoast.
34. The writ which is called proceipe, for the future, shall not be made out to any one, of any tene-ment, whereby a freeman may lose his court.
35. Uniform weights and measures. There shall be one measure of wine and one of ale through our whole realm; and one measure of corn, that is to say, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and russets, and haberjects, that is to say, two ells within the lists; and it shall be of weights as it is of measures.
36. Nothing from henceforth shall be given or tak-en for a writ of inquisition of life or limb, but it shall be granted freely, and not denied.
37. If any do hold of us by fee-farm, or by socage, or by burgage, and he hold also lands of any other by knight's service, we will have the cus-tody of the heir or land, which is holden of another man's fee by reason of that fee-farm, socage, or burgage; neither will we have the custody of the fee-farm, or socage, or bur-gage, unless knight's service was due to us out of the same fee-farm. We will not have the custody of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by knight's service, by reason of any petty serjeanty by which he holds of us, by the service of paying a knife, an arrow, or the like.
38. No bailiff from henceforth shall put any man to his law upon his own bare saying, without credible witnesses to prove it.
39. Guarantee of judgment by one's peers and of proceedings according to the "law of the land." No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judg-ment of his peers, or by the law of the land.
40. Guarantee of equal justice. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, ei-ther justice or right.
41. Freedom of movement for merchants. All mer-chants shall have safe and secure conduct, to go out of, and to come into England, and to stay there and to pass as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and allowed customs, without any unjust tolls; except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us. And if there be found any such in our land, in the beginning of the war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it be known unto us, or our chief justiciary, how our merchants be treated in the nation at war with us; and if ours be safe there, the others shall be safe in our dominions.
42. Freedom to leave and reenter the kingdom. It shall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return safe-ly and securely by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us; unless in time of war, by some short space, for the common benefit of the realm, except prisoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who shall be treated as is above mentioned.



43. If any man hold of any escheat as of the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which be in our hands, and are baronies, and die, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us than he would to the baron, if it were in the baron's hand; and we will hold it after the same manner as the baron held it.
44. Those men who dwell without the forest from henceforth shall not come before our justiciaries of the forest, upon common summons, but such as are impleaded, or as sureties for any that are attached for something concerning the forest.
45. Appointment of those who know the law. We will not make any justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm and mean duly to observe it.
46. All barons who have founded abbeys, which they hold by charter from the kings of England, or by ancient tenure, shall have the keeping of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.
47. All forests that have been made forests in our time shall forthwith be disforested; and the same shall be done with the water-banks that have been fenced in by us in our time.
48. All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, foresters, and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keeper, shall forthwith be inquired into in each county, by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by creditable persons of the same county; and within forty days after the said inquest be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored: so as we are first acquainted therewith, or our justiciary, if we should not be in England.
49. We will immediately give up all hostages and charters delivered unto us by our English subjects, as securities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful service.
50. We will entirely remove from their bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Atheyes, so that for the future they shall have no bailiwick in England; we will also remove from their bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Atheyes, so that for the future they shall have no bailiwick in England; we will also remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the Chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martyn, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers, and his nephew, Geoffrey, and their whole retinue.
51. As soon as peace is restored, we will send out of the kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bowmen, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the molestation of our people.
52. If any one has been dispossessed or deprived by us, without the lawful judgment of his peers, of his lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith restore them to him; and if any dispute arise upon this head, let the matter be decided by the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preservation of the peace. And for all those things of which any person has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been dispossessed or deprived, either by our father King Henry, or our brother King Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are possessed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we shall have a respite till the term usually allowed the crusaders; excepting those things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inquest hath been made, by our order before we undertook the crusade; but as soon as we return from our expedition, or if perchance we tarry at home and do not make our expedition, we will immediately cause full justice to be administered therein.
53. The same respite we shall have, and in the same manner, about administering justice, disafforesting or letting continue the forests, which Henry our father, and our brother Richard,

- have afforested; and the same concerning the wardship of the lands which are in another's fee, but the wardship of which we have hitherto had, by reason of a fee held of us by knight's service; and for the abbeys founded in other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee says he has a right; and when we return from our expedition, or if we tarry at home, and do not make our expedition, we will immediately do full justice to all the complainants in this behalf.
54. No man shall be taken or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.
  55. All unjust and illegal fines made by us, and all amerciements imposed unjustly and contrary to the law of the land, shall be entirely given up, or else be left to the decision of the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned for the preservation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the foresaid Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to invite; and if he cannot be present, the business shall notwithstanding go on without him; but so that if one or more of the aforesaid five-and-twenty barons be plaintiffs in the same cause, they shall be set aside as to what concerns this particular affair, and others be chosen in their room, out of the said five-and-twenty, and sworn by the rest to decide the matter.
  56. If we have disseised or dispossessed the Welsh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, either in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if any dispute arise upon this head, the matter shall be determined in the Marches by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, for tenements of the Marches according to the law of the Marches: the same shall the Welsh do to us and our subjects.
  57. As for all those things of which a Welshman hath, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or deprived of by King Henry our father, or our brother King Richard, and which we either have in our hands or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we shall have a respite till the time generally allowed the crusaders; excepting those things about which a suit is depending, or whereof an inquest has been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade: but when we return, or if we stay at home without performing our expedition, we will immediately do them full justice, according to the laws of the Welsh and of the parts before mentioned.
  58. We will without delay dismiss the son of Llewellyn, and all the Welsh hostages, and release them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preservation of the peace.
  59. We will treat with Alexander, King of Scots, concerning the restoring of his sisters and hostages, and his right and liberties, in the same form and manner as we shall do to the rest of our barons of England; unless by the charters which we have from his father, William, late King of Scots, it ought to be otherwise; and this shall be left to the determination of his peers in our court.
  60. Liberties to be granted to all subjects. All the foresaid customs and liberties, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us, all people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, shall observe, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents.
  61. Oath to observe rights of the church and the people. And whereas, for the honour of God and the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better quieting the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these things aforesaid; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant our sub-

jects the underwritten security, namely, that the barons may choose five-and-twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient; who shall take care, with all their might, to hold and observe, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and by this our present Charter confirmed in this manner; that is to say, that if we, our justiciary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall in any circumstance have failed in the performance of them towards any person, or shall have broken through any of these articles of peace and security, and the offence be notified to four barons chosen out of the five-and-twenty before mentioned, the said four barons shall repair to us, or our justiciary, if we are out of the realm, and, laying open the grievance, shall petition to have it redressed without delay: and if it be not redressed by us, or if we should chance to be out of the realm, if it should not be redressed by our justiciary within forty days, reckoning from the time it been notified to us, or to our justiciary (if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall lay the cause before the rest of the five-and-twenty barons; and the said five-and-twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress us in all the ways in which they shall be able, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redressed, according to their pleasure; saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our Queen and children; and when it is redressed, they shall behave to us as before. And any person whatsoever in the kingdom may swear that he will obey the orders of the five-and-twenty barons aforesaid in the execution of the premises, and will distress us, jointly with them, to the utmost of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that shall please to swear to this, and never will hinder any person from taking the same oath.

62. As for all those of our subjects who will not, of their own accord, swear to join the five-and-twenty barons in distraining and distressing us, we will issue orders to make them take the same oath as aforesaid. And if any one of the five-and-twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from carrying the things aforesaid into execution, the rest of the said five-and-twenty barons may choose another in his room, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner as the rest. In all things that are committed to the execution of these five-and-twenty barons, if, when they are all assembled about any matter, and some of them, when summoned, will not or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of those that are present shall be reputed as firm and valid as if all the five-and-twenty had given their consent; and the aforesaid five-and-twenty shall swear that all the premises they shall faithfully observe, and cause with all their power to be observed. And we will procure nothing from any one, by ourselves nor by another, whereby any of these concessions and liberties may be revoked or lessened; and if any such thing shall have been obtained, let it be null and void; neither will we ever make use of it either by ourselves or any other. And all the ill-will, indignations, and rancors that have arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the first breaking out of the dissensions between us, we do fully remit and forgive: moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said dissensions, from Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign till the restoration of peace and tranquility, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and as far as in us lies do fully forgive. We have, moreover, caused to be made for them the letters patent testimonial of Stephen, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops aforesaid, as also of Master Pandulph, for the security and concessions aforesaid.

63. Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the Church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly to themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, for ever, as is aforesaid. It is also sworn, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforesaid shall be observed in good faith, and without evil subtilty. Given under our hand, in the presence of the witnesses above named, and many others, in the meadow called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, the 15th day of June, in the 17th year of the reign.

### LECTURE 18.3

## Henry III & Edward Longshanks

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selections. How do these three summonses show the diversity of governance in Parliament?

.....

“Three Summonses to the Parliament of 1295” translated by E.P. Cheyney

.....

### SUMMONS OF A BISHOP TO PARLIAMENT

The King to the venerable father in Christ Robert, by the same grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. As a most just law, established by the careful providence of sacred princes, exhorts and decrees that what affects all, by all should be approved, so also, very evidently should common danger be met by means provided in common. You know sufficiently well, and it is now, as we believe, divulged through all regions

of the world, how the king of France fraudulently and craftily deprives us of our land of Gascony, by withholding it unjustly from us. Now, however, not satisfied with the before-mentioned fraud and injustice, having gathered together for the conquest of our kingdom a very great fleet, and an abounding multitude of warriors, with which he has made a hostile attack on our kingdom and the inhabitants of the same kingdom, he now proposes to destroy the English language altogether from the earth, if his power should correspond to the detestable proposition of the contemplated injustice, which God forbid. Because, therefore, darts seen beforehand do less injury, and your interest especially, as that of the rest of the citizens of the same realm, is concerned in this affair, we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster; citing beforehand the dean and chapter of your church, the archdeacons and all the clergy of your diocese, causing the same dean and archdeacons in their own persons, and the said chapter by one suitable proctor, and the said clergy by two, to be present along with you, having full and sufficient power from the same chapter and clergy, to consider, ordain and provide, along with us and with the rest of the prelates and principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom, how the dangers and threatened evils of this kind are to be met.

Witness the king at Wingham, the thirtieth day of September.

### SUMMONS OF A BARON TO PARLIAMENT

The king to his beloved and faithful relative, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, greeting. Because we wish to have a consultation and meeting with you and with the rest of the principal men of our kingdom, as to provision for remedies against the dan-

gers which in these days are threatening our whole kingdom; we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster, for considering, ordaining and doing along with us and with the prelates, and the rest of the principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom, as may be necessary for meeting dangers of this kind.

Witness the king at Canterbury, the first of October.

#### SUMMONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF SHIRES AND TOWNS TO PARLIAMENT

The king to the sheriff of Northamptonshire. Since we intend to have a consultation and meeting with the earls, barons and other principal men of our kingdom with regard to providing remedies against the dangers which are in these days threatening the same kingdom; and on that account have commanded them to be with us on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin in the approaching winter, at Westminster, to consider, ordain, and do as may be necessary for the avoidance of these dangers; we strictly require you to cause two knights from the aforesaid county, two citizens from each city in the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of those who are especially discreet and capable of laboring, to be elected without delay, and to cause them to come to us at the aforesaid said time and place.

Moreover, the said knights are to have full and sufficient power for themselves and for the community of the aforesaid county, and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves and the communities of the aforesaid cities and boroughs separately, then and there for doing what shall then be ordained according to the common counsel in the premises; so that the aforesaid business shall not remain unfinished in any way for defect of this power. And you shall have there the names of the knights, citizens

and burgesses and this writ.

Witness the king at Canterbury on the third day of October.

#### LECTURE 18.4

### Scotland, Longshanks and William Wallace

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Declaration of Arbroath. How do the Scots make their case to the pope for independence from England?

#### Declaration of Arbroath (1320), compiled by Alan Borthwick

To the most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord John, by divine providence Supreme Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, his humble and devout sons Duncan, Earl of Fife, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Man and of Annandale, Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, Malise, Earl of Strathearn, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, William, Earl of Ross, Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, and William, Earl of Sutherland; Walter, Steward of Scotland, William Soules, Butler of Scotland, James, Lord of Douglas, Roger Mowbray, David, Lord of Brechin, David Graham, Ingram Umfraville, John Menteith, guardian of the earldom of Menteith, Alexander Fraser, Gilbert Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland, Henry Sinclair, John Graham, David Lindsay, William Oliphant, Patrick Graham, John Fenton, William Abernethy, David Wemyss, William Mushet, Fergus of Ardrossan, Eustace Maxwell, William Ramsay, William Mowat, Alan Murray, Donald Campbell, John Cameron, Reginald Cheyne, Alexander Seton, Andrew Leslie and Alexander Straiton, and the other barons and freeholders and the whole community



of the realm of Scotland send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses of his blessed feet.

Most Holy Father, we know and from the chronicles and books of the ancients we find that among other famous nations our own, the Scots, has been graced with widespread renown. It journeyed from Greater Scythia by way of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and dwelt for a long course of time in Spain among the most savage peoples, but nowhere could it be subdued by any people, however barbarous. Thence it came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, to its home in the west where it still lives today. The Britons it first drove out, the Picts it utterly destroyed, and, even though very often assailed by the Norwegians, the Danes and the English, it took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and, as the histories of old time bear witness, they have held it free of all servitude ever since. In their kingdom there have reigned one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.

The high qualities and merits of these people, were they not otherwise manifest, shine forth clearly enough from this: that the King of kings and Lord of lords, our Lord Jesus Christ, after His Passion and Resurrection, called them, even though settled in the uttermost parts of the earth, almost the first to His most holy faith. Nor did He wish them to be confirmed in that faith by merely anyone but by the first of His Apostles—by calling, though second or third in rank—the most gentle Saint Andrew, the Blessed Peter's brother, and desired him to keep them under his protection as their patron for ever.

The Most Holy Fathers your predecessors gave careful heed to these things and strengthened this same kingdom and people with many favors and numerous privileges, as being the special charge of the Blessed Peter's brother. Thus our people under their protection did indeed live in freedom and peace up to the time when that mighty prince the King of the English, Edward, the father of the one

who reigns today, when our kingdom had no head and our people harbored no malice or treachery and were then unused to wars or invasions, came in a guise of a friend and ally to harass them as an enemy. The deeds of cruelty, massacre, violence, pillage, arson, imprisoning prelates, burning down monasteries, robbing and killing monks and nuns and yet other outrages without number which he committed against our people, sparing neither age nor sex, religion nor rank, no-one could describe nor fully imagine unless he had seen them with his own eyes.

But from these countless evils we have been set free, by the help of Him who though He afflicts yet heals and restores, by our most tireless prince, King and lord, the lord Robert. He, that his people and his heritage might be delivered out of the hands of our enemies, bore cheerfully toil and fatigue, hunger and peril, like another Maccabaeus or Joshua. Him, too, divine providence, the succession to his right according to our laws and customs which we shall maintain to the death, and the due consent and assent of us all have made our prince and king. To him, as to the man by whom salvation has been wrought unto our people, we are bound both by his right and by his merits that our freedom may be still maintained, and by him, come what may, we mean to stand.

Yet if he should give up what he has begun, seeking to make us or our kingdom subject to the King of England or the English, we should exert ourselves at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and make some other man who was well able to defend us our King; for, as long as a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honors that we are fighting, but for freedom alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself.

Therefore it is, Reverend Father and Lord, that we beseech your Holiness with our most earnest prayers and suppliant hearts, inasmuch as you will



in your sincerity and goodness consider all this, that, since with Him Whose vice-gerent on earth you are there is neither weighing nor distinction of Jew and Greek, Scotsman or Englishman, you will look with the eyes of a father on the troubles and privations brought by the English upon us and upon the Church of God. May it please you to admonish and exhort the King of the English, who ought to be satisfied with what belongs to him since England used once to be enough for seven kings or more, to leave us Scots in peace, who live in this poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all, and covet nothing but our own. We are sincerely willing to do anything for him, having regard to our condition, that we can, to win peace for ourselves.

This truly concerns you, Holy Father, since you see the savagery of the heathen raging against the Christians, as the sins of Christians have indeed deserved, and the frontiers of Christendom being pressed inward every day; and how much it will tarnish your Holiness's memory if (which God forbid) the Church suffers eclipse or scandal in any branch of it during your time, you must perceive. Then rouse the Christian princes who for false reasons pretend that they cannot go to the help of the Holy Land because of wars they have on hand with their neighbors. The real reason that prevents them is that in making war on their smaller neighbors they

find a readier advantage and weaker resistance. But how cheerfully our lord the King and we too would go there if the King of the English would leave us in peace, He from Whom nothing is hidden well knows; and we profess and declare it to you as the Vicar of Christ and to all Christendom.

But if your Holiness puts too much faith in the tales the English tell and will not give sincere belief to all this, nor refrain from favoring them to our undoing, then the slaughter of bodies, the perdition of souls, and all the other misfortunes that will follow, inflicted by them on us and by us on them, will, we believe, be surely laid by the Most High to your charge.

To conclude, we are and shall ever be, as far as duty calls us, ready to do your will in all things, as obedient sons to you as His Vicar, and to Him as the Supreme King and Judge we commit the maintenance of our cause, casting our cares upon Him and firmly trusting that He will inspire us with courage and bring our enemies to nothing.

May the Most High preserve you to His Holy Church in holiness and health for many days to come.

Given at the monastery of Arbroath in Scotland on the sixth day of the month of April in the year of grace thirteen hundred and twenty and the fifteenth year of the reign of our King aforesaid.

## LECTURE 18.5

### Robert the Bruce and Scottish Independence

**ASSIGNMENT** — Complete Exam #18

#### EXAM #18

1. What is the Christian view of just war theory according to Augustine and Aquinas?
2. Who was Henry II? How did he further the Common Law through judges, writs and trial by jury?
3. What was the conflict between Henry II and Thomas Becket? How did this conflict end?
4. Why was Richard the Lionheart loved by his people? What were his positive and negative character traits?
5. Why was John Lackland unloved by his people? Describe his character.
6. What was the *Magna Carta* and what did it accomplish?
7. How did the power of Parliament grow and become more diverse under Henry III?
8. Who was Edward I? How did he exercise justice as a king? How was he tyrannical toward the Welsh and the Scots?
9. How did Edward I take over Scotland?
10. Who was William Wallace? How did he lead a rebellion against the unjust takeover of Scotland by the English?
11. Who was Robert the Bruce? How did he secure Scottish independence through his leadership as a commander and a statesman?
12. What is the significance of the Arbroath Declaration of 1320? How does it highly value freedom?

## LESSON 19

# *The Fracturing of Christendom I: Invasions, Wars and Plagues*

### LECTURE 19.1

#### The Mongol Invasions

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from Richard Hakluyt's account of his voyages. How does he describe the warrior spirit of the Mongols?

.....

From *The Principal Navigations,  
Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries  
of the English Nation*

.....

But concerning their manners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their country and manner of fighting etc., he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were above all men, covetous, hasty, deceitful, and merciless: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigor and extremity of punishments to be inflicted upon them by their superiors, they are restrained from brawlings, and from mutual strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certain set times they do celebrate solemn feasts unto them, many of them being particular, and but four only general. They think that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteem it none offense to exercise cruelty against rebels. They are hardy and strong in the breast, lean and pale-faced,

rough and hug-shouldered, having flat and short noses, long and sharp chins, their upper jaws are low and declining, their teeth long and thin, their eye-brows extending from their foreheads down to their noses, their eyes inconstant and black, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreme joints strong with bones and sinews, having thick and great thighs, and short legs, and yet being equal unto us in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the upper parts of their bodies. Their country in old time was a land utterly desert and waste, situated far beyond Chaldea, from whence they have expelled lions, bears, and such like tainted beasts, with their bows, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they use to shape for themselves light but yet impenetrable armor. They ride fast bound unto their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and maintained with little provender. They used to fight constantly and valiantly with javelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriors with their bows. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselves from the combat till they see the chief standard of their General give back. Vanquished, they ask no favor, and vanquishing, they show no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world under their own subjection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are more than millions in number. They have 60,000 couriers, who being sent before upon light horses to prepare a place for the army

to encamp in, will in the space of one night gallop three days journey. And suddenly diffusing themselves over an whole province, and surprising all the people thereof unarmed, unprovided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land invaded, cannot find people sufficient to wage battle against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to Colen, to fetch home the three wise kings into their own country; sometimes to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquer barbarous and Northern nations; sometimes to moderate the fury of the Germans with their own meek mildness; sometimes to learn warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes again in derision they say that they intend to go on pilgrimage to St. James of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certain indiscreet governors concluding a league with them, have granted them free passage through their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruin and destruction unto the governors.

## LECTURE 19.2

### Tamerlane and the 100 Years War I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. How does Froissart show the chivalric ideal in this account of the Battle of Crecy?

.....

From *The Chronicles of Froissart*,  
translated by Lord Berners;  
ed. G.C. Macaulay

.....

The Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there stood in manner of a herse and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and [he] said to his marshals: "Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis." There were of the Genoways crossbows about fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day six leagues armed with their crossbows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the earl of Alencon, who said: "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season there

fell a great rain and a clipse with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyes and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great [shout] and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoways again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads arms and breasts, many of them cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men at arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, an many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that on overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to the

about him: "Where is the lord Charles my son?" His men said: "Sir we cannot tell; we think he be fighting." Then he said: "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey: I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were there all slain; and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other. [The contingent led by the king's son, the Black Prince, was hard pressed in the fighting.] Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succor the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: "Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the king said: "Is my son dead or hurt or on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive: and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win

his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honor thereof, and to them that be about him.”

### LECTURE 19.3

## The Black Death, the Albigenian Crusade and the Avignon Papacy

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Boccaccio’s introduction to his great poem. How does he describe both the effects and the spreading of the Black Death? How does he attribute the Black Death to God’s judgment?

.....

Excerpts from the  
introduction to *The Decameron*,  
translated by M. Rigg

.....

In Florence, despite all that human wisdom and forethought could devise to avert it, as the cleansing of the city from many impurities by officials appointed for the purpose, the refusal of entrance to all sick folk, and the adoption of many precautions for the preservation of health; despite also humble supplications addressed to God, and often repeated both in public procession and otherwise by the devout; towards the beginning of the spring of the said year the doleful effects of the pestilence began to be horribly apparent by symptoms that shewed as if miraculous.

Not such were they as in the East, where an issue of blood from the nose was a manifest sign of inevitable death; but in men a women alike it first betrayed itself by the emergence of certain tumors in the groin or the armpits, some of which grew as large as a common apple, others as an egg, some more, some less, which the common folk called *gavoccio-li*. From the two said parts of the body this deadly *gavoccio* soon began to propagate and spread itself

in all directions indifferently; after which the form of the malady began to change, black spots or livid making their appearance in many cases on the arm or the thigh or elsewhere, now few and large, then minute and numerous. And as the *gavoccio* had been and still were an infallible token of approaching death, such also were these spots on whomsoever they shewed themselves. Which maladies seemed set entirely at naught both the art of the physician and the virtue of physic; indeed, whether it was that the disorder was of a nature to defy such treatment, or that the physicians were at fault—besides the qualified there was now a multitude both of men and of women who practiced without having received the slightest tincture of medical science—and, being in ignorance of its source, failed to apply the proper remedies; in either case, not merely were those that covered few, but almost all within three days from the appearance of the said symptoms, sooner or later, died, and in most cases without any fever or other attendant malady...

...I say, then, that such was the energy of the contagion of the said pestilence, that it was not merely propagated from man to mail, but, what is much more startling, it was frequently observed, that things which had belonged to one sick or dead of the disease, if touched by some other living creature, not of the human species, were the occasion, not merely of sickening, but of an almost instantaneous death. Whereof my own eyes (as I said a little before) had cognizance, one day among others, by the following experience. The rags of a poor man who had died of the disease being strewn about the open street, two hogs came thither, and after, as is their wont, no little trifling with their snouts, took the rags between their teeth and tossed them to and fro about their chaps; whereupon, almost immediately, they gave a few turns, and fell down dead, as if by poison, upon the rags which in an evil hour they had disturbed...

...Some again, the most sound, perhaps, in judgment, as they were also the most harsh in tem-



per, of all, affirmed that there was no medicine for the disease superior or equal in efficacy to flight; following which prescription a multitude of men and women, negligent of all but themselves, deserted their city, their houses, their estates, their kinsfolk, their goods, and went into voluntary exile, or migrated to the country parts, as if God in visiting men with this pestilence in requital of their iniquities would not pursue them with His wrath wherever they might be, but intended the destruction of such alone as remained within the circuit of the walls of the city; or deeming perchance, that it was now time for all to flee from it, and that its last hour was come.

#### LECTURE 19.4

### The 100 Years War II, the Peasants' Revolt and Richard II

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. How does this chronicler side with the king against the peasants?

.....

Excerpt from the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, included in Charles Oman's *The Great Revolt of 1381*

.....

Then the King caused a proclamation to be made that all the commons of the country who were still in London should come to Smithfield, to meet him there; and so they did.

And when the King and his train had arrived there they turned into the Eastern meadow in front of St. Bartholomew's, which is a house of canons: and the commons arrayed themselves on the west side in great battles. At this moment the Mayor of London, William Walworth, came up, and the King bade him go to the commons, and make their chief-  
tain come to him. And when he was summoned by the Mayor, by the name of Wat Tyler of Maidstone,

he came to the King with great confidence, mounted on a little horse, that the commons might see him. And he dismounted, holding in his hand a dagger which he had taken from another man, and when he had dismounted he half bent his knee, and then took the King by the hand, and shook his arm forcibly and roughly, saying to him, "Brother, be of good comfort and joyful, for you shall have, in the fortnight that is to come, praise from the commons even more than you have yet had, and we shall be good companions." And the King said to Walter, "Why will you not go back to your own country?" But the other answered, with a great oath, that neither he nor his fellows would depart until they had got their charter such as they wished to have it, and had certain points rehearsed and added to their charter which they wished to demand. And he said in a threatening fashion that the lords of the realm would rue it bitterly if these points were not settled to their pleasure. Then the King asked him what were the points which he wished to have revised, and he should have them freely, without contradiction, written out and sealed. Thereupon the said Walter rehearsed the points which were to be demanded; and he asked that there should be no law within the realm save the law of Winchester, and that from henceforth there should be no outlawry in any process of law, and that no lord should have lordship save civilly, and that there should be equality among all people save only the King, and that the goods of Holy Church should not remain in the hands of the religious, nor of parsons and vicars, and other churchmen; but that clergy already in possession should have a sufficient sustenance from the endowments, and the rest of the goods should be divided among the people of the parish. And he demanded that there should be only one bishop in England and only one prelate, and all the lands and tenements now held by them should be confiscated, and divided among the commons, only reserving for them a reasonable sustenance. And he demanded that there should be no more villeins in England,

and no serfdom or villeinage, but that all men should be free and of one condition. To this the King gave an easy answer, and said that he should have all that he could fairly grant, reserving only for himself the regality of his crown. And then he bade him go back to his home, without making further delay.

During all this time that the King was speaking, no lord or counselor dared or wished to give answer to the commons in any place save the King himself. Presently Wat Tyler, in the presence of the King, sent for a flagon of water to rinse his mouth, because of the great heat that he was in, and when it was brought he rinsed his mouth in a very rude and disgusting fashion before the King's face. And then he made them bring him a jug of beer, and drank a great draught, and then, in the presence of the King, climbed on his horse again. At this time a certain valet from Kent, who was among the King's retinue, asked that the said Walter, the chief of the commons, might be pointed out to him. And when he saw him, he said aloud that he knew him for the greatest thief and robber in all Kent... And for these words Wat tried to strike him with his dagger, and would have slain him in the King's presence; but because he strove so to do, the Mayor of London, William Walworth, reasoned with the said Wat for his violent behavior and despite, done in the King's presence, and arrested him. And because he arrested him, he said Wat stabbed the Mayor with his dagger in the stomach in great wrath. But, as it pleased God, the Mayor was wearing armor and took no harm, but like a hardy and vigorous man drew his cutlass, and struck back at the said Wat, and gave him a deep cut on the neck, and then a great cut on the head. And during this scuffle one of the King's household drew his sword, and ran Wat two or three times through the body, mortally wounding him. And he spurred his horse, crying to the commons to avenge him, and the horse carried him some four score paces, and then he fell to the ground half dead. And when the commons saw him fall, and knew not how for certain it was, they began to bend their bows and to

shoot, wherefore the King himself spurred his horse, and rode out to them, commanding them that they should all come to him to Clerkenwell Fields.

Meanwhile the Mayor of London rode as hastily as he could back to the City, and commanded those who were in charge of the twenty four wards to make proclamation round their wards, that every man should arm himself as quickly as he could, and come to the King in St. John's Fields, where were the commons, to aid the King, for he was in great trouble and necessity... And presently the aldermen came to him in a body, bringing with them their wardens, and the wards arrayed in bands, a fine company of well-armed folks in great strength. And they enveloped the commons like sheep within a pen, and after that the Mayor had set the wardens of the city on their way to the King, he returned with a company of lances to Smithfield, to make an end of the captain of the commons. And when he came to Smithfield he found not there the said captain Wat Tyler, at which he marveled much, and asked what was become of the traitor. And it was told him that he had been carried by some of the commons to the hospital for poor folks by St. Bartholomew's, and was put to bed in the chamber of the master of the hospital. And the Mayor went thither and found him, and had him carried out to the middle of Smithfield, in presence of his fellows, and there beheaded. And thus ended his wretched life. But the Mayor had his head set on a pole and borne before him to the King, who still abode in the Fields. And when the King saw the head he had it brought near him to abash the commons, and thanked the Mayor greatly for what he had done. And when the commons saw that their chieftain, Wat Tyler, was dead in such a manner, they fell to the ground there among the wheat, like beaten men, imploring the King for mercy for their misdeeds. And the King benevolently granted them mercy, and most of them took to flight. But the King ordained two knights to conduct the rest of them, namely the Kentishmen, through London, and over London Bridge, without

doing them harm, so that each of them could go to his own home.

Afterwards the King sent out his messengers into divers parts, to capture the malefactors and put them to death. And many were taken and hanged at London, and they set up many gallows around the City of London, and in other cities and boroughs of the south country. At last, as it pleased God,

the King seeing that too many of his liege subjects would be undone, and too much blood split, took pity in his heart, and granted them all pardon, on condition that they should never rise again, under pain of losing life or members, and that each of them should get his charter of pardon, and pay the King as fee for his seal twenty shillings, to make him rich. And so finished this wicked war.

## LECTURE 19.5

### William Langland & Geoffrey Chaucer

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read and compare the first stanza of the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, one in Middle English and one translated into modern English by Nevill Coghill. How does this passage convey the beauty of spring and the desire for pilgrimage?

Excerpt from  
“Prologue” to the *Canterbury Tales*,  
by Geoffrey Chaucer

Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote,  
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,  
And bathed every veyne in swich licour  
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;  
Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth  
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth  
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne  
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours y-ronne,  
And smale foweles maken melodye,  
That slepen al the nyght with open ye,  
So priketh hem Nature in hir corages,  
Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,  
And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,  
To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;  
And specially, from every shires ende  
Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende,  
The hooly blisful martir for to seke,  
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.

Excerpt from  
“Prologue” to the *Canterbury Tales*,  
translated by Nevill Coghill

When in April the sweet showers fall  
And pierce the drought of March to the root, and all  
The veins are bathed in liquor of such power  
As brings about the engendering of the flower,  
When also Zephyrus with his sweet breath  
Exhales an air in every grove and heath  
Upon the tender shoots, and the young sun  
His half-course in the sign of the *Ram* has run,  
And the small fowl are making melody  
That sleep away the night with open eye  
(So nature pricks them and their heart engages)  
Then people long to go on pilgrimages  
And palmers long to seek the stranger strands  
Of far-off saints, hallowed in sundry lands,  
And specially, from every shire's end  
Of England, down to Canterbury they wend  
To seek the holy blissful martyr, quick  
To give his help to them when they were sick.



## LESSON 20

# *The Fracturing of Christendom II: The End of the Middle Ages*

### LECTURE 20.1

#### The 100 Years War III and Henry V

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpt. How does Shakespeare memorialize the courage of Henry V? How is this different from reality?

.....

“St. Crispin’s Day Speech” from  
*Henry V* by William Shakespeare

.....

“This day is called the feast of Crispian:  
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,  
Will stand a tip-toe when the day is named,  
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.  
He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbors,  
And say ‘To-morrow is Saint Crispian:’  
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars.  
And say ‘These wounds I had on Crispin’s day.’  
Old men forget: yet all shall be forgot,  
But he’ll remember with advantages  
What feats he did that day: then shall our names,  
Familiar in his mouth as household words  
Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,  
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,  
Be in their flowing cups freshly remember’d.  
This story shall the good man teach his son;  
And Crispin Crispian shall ne’er go by,

From this day to the ending of the world,  
But we in it shall be remember’d;  
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;  
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me  
Shall be my brother; be he ne’er so vile,  
This day shall gentle his condition:  
And gentlemen in England now a-bed  
Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,  
And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks  
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin’s day.”

### LECTURE 20.2

#### The 100 Years War IV and Joan of Arc

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter. How does Joan of Arc appeal to justice and her divine mission in this letter?

.....

A Letter to the King of England  
by Joan of Arc,  
translated by Belle Tuten

.....

Jesus, Mary,

King of England, render account to the King of  
Heaven of your royal blood. Return the keys of all  
the good cities which you have seized, to the Maid.  
She is sent by God to reclaim the royal blood, and

is fully prepared to make peace, if you will give her satisfaction; that is, you must render justice, and pay back all that you have taken.

King of England, if you do not do these things, I am the commander of the military; and in whatever place I shall find your men in France, I will make them flee the country, whether they wish to or not; and if they will not obey, the Maid will have them all killed. She comes sent by the King of Heaven, body for body, to take you out of France, and the Maid promises and certifies to you that if you do not leave France she and her troops will raise a mighty outcry as has not been heard in France in a thousand years. And believe that the King of Heaven has sent her so much power that you will not be able to harm her or her brave army.

To you, archers, noble companions in arms, and all people who are before Orleans, I say to you in God's name, go home to your own country; if you do not do so, beware of the Maid, and of the damages you will suffer. Do not attempt to remain, for you have no rights in France from God, the King of Heaven, and the Son of the Virgin Mary. It is Charles, the rightful heir, to whom God has given France, who will shortly enter Paris in a grand company. If you do not believe the news written of God and the Maid, then in whatever place we may find you, we will soon see who has the better right, God or you.

William de la Pole, Count of Suffolk, Sir John Talbot, and Thomas, Lord Scales, lieutenants of the Duke of Bedford, who calls himself regent of the King of France for the King of England, make a response, if you wish to make peace over the city of Orleans! If you do not do so, you will always recall the damages which will attend you.

Duke of Bedford, who call yourself regent of France for the King of England, the Maid asks you not to make her destroy you. If you do not render her satisfaction, she and the French will perform the greatest feat ever done in the name of Christianity.

Done on the Tuesday of Holy Week [March 22, 1429]. Hear the words of God and the Maid.

### LECTURE 20.3

## Byzantium, the Ottoman Turks and the Fall of Constantinople

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. How do these authors show the trauma—both physical and spiritual—in the fall of Constantinople?

.....

“Account of the Taking of  
Constantinople” by Thomas the  
Eparch and Joshua Diplovatatzes,  
translated by William L. North

.....

First and foremost, we must recall how the great, noble, and most powerful imperial city located in Greek territory and called Constantinople was conquered and taken by the Turkish emperor. This is found written here, and it happened 28 May 1452, that is four days after the feast of St Urban; on the following day, the city of Pera, situated not far from Constantinople, was also seized by the Turks. May the grace of God be with us.

When the old Turkish emperor was on his deathbed, he ordered his son, the present Turkish emperor, not to wage war against the Greeks or against Constantinople, or else he would curse him. To which the son responded, “Even if you wish to curse me, father, I shall begin a war against the emperor of Constantinople the moment you have expired, since, if I defeat him, I will become master of the entire world.” Later on, he began to build a fortress about two German miles from the perimeter, near the city of Fimiän in the outskirts of Con-



stantinople, and he built it so that it was like a fork, as a challenge to the lordship of Constantinople, in a place where the emperors of Constantinople had their hunting reserve. The citizens of Constantinople, however, were unaware of this and considered it as the building project of a neighbor. When Mehmet realized this, he awaited the beginning of the grain harvest and then killed as many of them as he could take. This was the beginning of the undeclared war. When news reached the emperor of Constantinople that his people had been killed by the Turk, he left the city, found five hundred Turks and killed three hundred of them. Then, since a massacre had occurred on both sides, the emperor of Constantinople sent an embassy to the Turk to ask him why he had behaved in this way, since he knew that his father had established in writing friendly relations between them. The Turk, however, did not send a reply; he sang and awaited the grape harvest. Then he advanced with fifty thousand men, killed people, uprooted the vines, and blockaded the city. He entrusted the blockade and the fifty thousand men to his feudatory named Czamakpegis and blockaded the city so that no one could enter or leave. Then the Turkish emperor arrived at his city of Adrianople after a march of four days, mobilized another [several] thousand men and returned to the siege. This occurred on the Friday after Easter. The Turkish emperor encamped in front of the Gate called Sauroman before which he placed his cannons: the projectile of the first cannon had a circumference of twelve spans and those of the other cannons a circumference not much smaller; he deployed them at a distance... from the gate. After they had come close to the city, during the night they brought up a war machine with ten thousand men and the cannons behind it; furthermore they made an agreement with the city's artillerymen, who were Genoese, and they slowed their fire. The war machine was square like a house and moved on wheels. The Turks hid inside and began to dig underground up to the walls of the city; there they constructed a wooden shelter and retreat

with openings on the sides through which they shot: scarcely could someone poke his head above the wall before they shot him dead. Later on the Turk moved in front of the Gate called Ventura and there built a wooden tower encased in leather and skins and covered by a net in such a way as to prevent the stones being thrown at them from harming it. Under this tower they began to dig a tunnel which passed under the walls and under the trench around the city until finally reaching the suburbs. After this, they built a kind of house in which they placed their cannon. This structure had a gate facing the city; when they wanted to fire the cannon, the gate was opened. This was how it was done: when the command was given, the gate was opened, and when the shot had been fired, the gate was closed again. In front of another gate called Saligaria, they deployed four cannons, three large ones and one small, and standing behind a tower, they dug five new tunnels in the direction of the city, reinforcing them with beams. But those inside the city had also begun a tunnel in order to get out, and it happened that the two tunnels met: the Turks had with them cannons and other materials, but those from the city started a fire and thus burned many Turks. Later, the Turk occupied the hills above Pera and had great ships brought over them, [two thousand] two hundred galleys and long boats, which were placed on rollers and pulled with oxen and mules followed by armed men. When they reached the top, they were allowed to slide down to the sea, into the water between Pera and Constantinople in the middle of the fortified zone. When the Turk then drew near to Pera in the fortified zone, he seized all the boats he could find and bound them to each other so as to form a bridge which permitted the combatants to fight on the water just as they did on land. The Turks had with them thousands of ladders which they placed against the walls, right at the place which they had fired [their cannon] and breached the wall, just as they did at the cemetery of St. Sebold. The Genoese handled this breach; they wanted to protect it with their ships because they

had so many. In the army of the Turk the order had been given fifteen days before the attack that each soldier would carry a ladder, whether he was fighting on land or sea. There also arrived galleys full of armed men: it seemed that they were Genoese and that they had come to aid the besieged, but in fact they were Turks and they were slipping into the gates. When this was less worrisome and the city seemed secure, there arrived under the flag of the Genoese several ships which repelled the Turks with great losses. At dawn on Monday, 29 May, they began an attack that lasted all night until Tuesday evening and they conquered the city. The commander of the Genoese, who was leading the defense of the breach, pretended to be wounded and abandoned his battle station, taking with him all his people. When the Turks realized this, they slipped in through the breach. When the emperor of the Greeks saw this, he exclaimed in a loud voice, "My God, I have been betrayed!" And he suddenly appeared with his people, exhorting the others to stand firm and defend themselves. But then the gate was opened and the crush of people became such that the emperor himself and his ninety one thousand men were killed by the Turks and the traitors. Afterwards, the Turks ran to the Hagia Sophia, and all those whom they had imprisoned there, they killed in the first heat of rage. Those whom they found later, the bound with a cord around their neck and their hands tied behind their backs and led them out of the city. When the Turk learned that the emperor had been killed in Constantinople, he captured the Grand Duke who was governing in the emperor's stead and had the Grand Duke's son beheaded and then the Grand Duke himself... Then the most brutish of the Turks seized the finest noble women, virgins, and nuns of the city and violated them in the presence of the Greeks and in sacrilege of Christianity. Then they destroyed all the sacred objects and the bodies of the saints and burned everything they found, save for the cross, the nail, and the clothing of Christ: no one knows where these relics ended up, no one has found them.

They also wanted to desecrate the image of the Virgin of St. Luke by stabbing six hundred people in front of it, one after another, like madmen... The Turk who had become governor of Constantinople, named Suleiman in German, occupied the temple of Hagia Sophia to practice his faith there. For three days the Turks sacked and pillaged the city, and each kept whatever he found, people and goods, and did with them whatever he wished...

## LECTURE 20.4

### The War of the Roses

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read "The Ballad of Bosworth Field." How does this ballad show the tragedy of Richard III and the triumph of Henry IV?

#### "The Ballad of Bosworth Field"

King Richard did in his army stand,  
He was numbered to forty thousand and three  
Of hardy men of heart and hand,  
That under his banner there did be.

Sir William Stanley wise and worthy  
Remembered the breakfast he promised to him;  
Down at a back then cometh he,  
And shortly set upon the King.

Then they 'countered together sad and sore;  
Archers they let sharp arrows fly,  
They shot guns both fell and far,  
Bows of yews bended did be,

Springals sped them speedily,  
Harquebusiers' pellets throughly did thring;  
So many banners began to sway  
That was on Richard's party, their king.

Then our archers let their shooting be,  
With joined weapons were grounded full right,  
Brands rang on basinet high,  
Battle-axes fast on helms did light.

There died many a doughty knight,  
There under foot can they thring;  
Thus they fought with main and might  
That was Henry's part, our King.

Then to King Richard there came a knight,  
And said, 'I hold it time for to flee;  
For yonder Stanleys' dints they be so wight,  
Against them no man may dree.

'Here is thy horse at thy hand ready;  
Another day thou may worship win,  
And for to reign with royalty,  
To wear the crown, and be our King.'

He said, 'Give me my battle-axe in my hand,  
Set the crown of England on my head so high!  
For by Him that shope both sea and land,  
King of England this day will I die!

'One foot will I never flee  
Whist the breath is my breast within!  
As he said it, so did it be;  
If he lost his life, if he were King.

About his standard can they light,  
The crown of gold they hewed him fro,  
With doleful dints his death they dight,  
The duke of Norfolk that day they slew.

Then they moved to a mountain on height,  
With a loud voice they cried 'King Henry!';  
The crown of gold that was bright,  
To the Lord Stanley delivered it be.

Anon to King Henry delivered it he,  
The crown that was so delivered to him.  
And said, 'Methink ye are best worthy  
To wear the crown and be our King.'

## LECTURE 20.5

### Gutenberg, Caxton and Malory

#### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #20

#### EXAM #20

1. For what reason was the 100 Years War fought by the English?
2. How did the English wage war against the French? How did they attack French civilians?
3. Of what character was Henry V?
4. What occurred at the Battle of Agincourt? How was this a remarkable victory for the English?
5. Who was Joan of Arc? How did she rally the French to fight for their land?
6. For what reasons was Joan of Arc executed?
7. Who were the Ottoman Turks? What did they conquer?
8. How did Byzantium come to an end in A.D. 1453? Why was the fall of Constantinople such a significant moment in the history of Christendom?
9. What was the War of the Roses about? Of what character were the Lancastrians and Yorkists who waged this conflict?
10. Who was Johannes Gutenberg? What did he invent? How did this change the world?
11. How did William Caxton standardize the English language? What did he publish?
12. How does Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* show the failure and redemption of Christian heroes?

## LESSON 21

# *Man the Measure I: The Renaissance*

### LECTURE 21.1

#### **Renaissance Worldview and Morality**

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following section. How does Petrarch describe the desire for reading and writing poetry at the expense of regular life in Renaissance Italy?

.....

#### Selection from the letters of Petrarch

.....

It is after all but a poor consolation to have companions in misery. I should prefer to be ill by myself. Now I am involved in other's ill fortune as well as in my own, and am hardly given time to take breath. For every day letters and poems from every corner of our land come showering down upon my devoted head. Nor does this satisfy my foreign friends. I am overwhelmed by floods of missives, no longer from France alone, but from Greece, from Germany, from England. I am unable to judge even my own work, and yet I am called upon to be the universal critic of others.

Were I to answer the requests in detail, I should be the busiest of mortals. If I condemn the composition, I am a jealous carper at the good work of others; if I say a good word for the thing, it is attributed to a mendacious desire to be agreeable; if I keep silence altogether, it is because I am a rude,

pert fellow. They are afraid, I infer, that my disease will not make way with me promptly enough. Between their goading and my own madness I shall doubtless gratify their wishes.

But all this would be nothing if, incredible as it may seem, this subtle poison had not just now begun to show its effects in the Roman curia itself [at Avignon]. What do you think the lawyers and doctors are up to? Justinian and Æsculapius have palled upon them. The sick and the litigious cry in vain for their help, for they are deafened by the thunder of Homer's and Virgil's names, and wander oblivious in the woody valleys of Cirrha, by the purling waters of the Aonian fountain. But it is hardly necessary to speak of these lesser prodigies. Even carpenters, fullers, and plowmen leave the implements of their calling to talk of Apollo and the Muses. I cannot say how far the plague, which lately was confined to a few, has now spread.

## LECTURE 21.2

### Petrarch, Giotto, Cosimo de Medici and Ghiberti

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following poem aloud to help identify Middle English words whose spelling you do not recognize. How does Petrarch define love and wrestle with it as an emotion?

“If no love is, O God, what fele I so?” by Petrarch, translated by Geoffrey Chaucer

If no love is, O God, what fele I so?  
And if love is, what thing and which is he?  
If love be good, from whennes cometh my woo?  
If it be wikke, a wonder thynketh me,  
When every torment and adversite  
That cometh of hym, may to me savory thinke,  
For ay thurst I, the more that ich it drynke.  
And if that at myn owen lust I brenne,  
From whennes cometh my waillynge and my  
pleynte?  
If harm agree me, whereto pleyne I thenne?  
I noot, ne whi unwery that I feynte.  
O quike deth, O swete harm so queynte,  
How may of the in me swich quantite,  
But if that I consente that it be?  
And if that I consente, I wrongfully  
Compleyne, iwis. Thus possed to and fro,  
Al sterelees withinne a boot am I  
Amydde the see, betwixen wyndes two,  
That in contrarie stonden evere mo.  
Allas! what is this wondre maladie?  
For hete of cold, for cold of hete, I dye.

## LECTURE 21.3

### Brunelleschi, Donatello and Fra Angelico

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. In what way does Vasari admire Brunelleschi? How does he show Brunelleschi's genius?

From *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors & Architects*, by Giorgio Vasari, translated by Gaston du C. de Vere

It is a habit of Nature when she makes one man very great in any art, not to make him alone, but at the same time and in the same place to produce another to rival him, that they may aid each other by emulation. And that this is true may be seen by the example of Florence, which produced at one epoch Filippo, Donatello, Lorenzo, Paolo Uccello, and Masaccio, each one most excellent in his way. This last, who came from Castello San Giovanni di Valdarno, was a most absentminded man, and seemed like one who, having fixed his mind on things of art only, cared little for himself and less for others. And because he would never trouble himself about the things of the world, not even about dressing himself, and never took the pains to get money from those who owed it him, unless he were in extreme need, he was by every one nicknamed Masaccio for Tommaso, which was his real name, and this not because he was a bad man, but merely from his slovenliness, for he was goodness itself, and as ready to do another a service as any one could desire. All the most celebrated sculptors and painters from his time until now have studied his works in the Brancacci chapel, as Lionardo da Vinci, Perugino, the divine Michael



Angelo, Raffaello da Urbino, Andrea del Sarto, and many more, and if I have not mentioned many Florentines and strangers who have gone to that chapel to study there, it is because where the heads of the art go, there the members are sure to follow. Yet although his works have always been held in such reputation, it is the firm belief of many that he would have brought forth much greater fruit if death had not carried him off, at the age of twenty six, so suddenly that there were not wanting those who laid it down to poison. It is said that when Filippo di Ser Brunellesco [Brunelleschi] heard of his death, he said, "We have suffered a great loss in Masaccio," and mourned for him deeply.

There are some whom Nature has created little of stature, but with a soul of greatness and a heart of such immeasurable daring that if they do not set themselves to difficult and almost impossible things, and do not complete them to the wonder of those who behold, they have no peace in their lives. Thus it was with Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, who was small in stature like Giotto, but great in genius. His father, Ser Brunellesco, taught him in his childhood the first principles of letters, in which he showed himself intelligent, but careless of perfecting himself in these matters. Therefore, seeing him occupied with matters of art, he put him under a goldsmith, to Filippo's great satisfaction. Having become skilled in setting stones, and in niello work, and in the science of the motion of weights and wheels, not content with this, there awoke within him a great desire for the study of sculpture. And Donatello, then a young man, being held in esteem as a sculptor, Filippo began to hold intercourse with him, and such an affection sprang up between them that it seemed as if the one could not live without the other. Filippo, who was capable of many things, was held also by those who understood such matters to be a good architect. He studied also perspective, and taught it to Masaccio his friend.

Messer Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, having returned from his studies, invited Filippo with oth-

er friends to supper in a garden, and the discourse falling on mathematical subjects, Filippo formed a friendship with him and learned geometry from him. And although he was not learned, he would reason on all matters from his own practical experience so as frequently to confound Toscanelli. He also applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures, never failing to be present at the disputations or lectures of learned men, and making such good use of his wonderful memory that Messer Paolo used to say when he heard Filippo argue, he seemed to him a new St. Paul.

Filippo, as we have said, entered into competition with Lorenzo and the others for the gates of San Giovanni, but when the work was assigned to Lorenzo at the request of Filippo and Donatello, they determined to set out together from Florence and to spend some years in Rome, that Filippo might study architecture and Donatello sculpture. And when he came to Rome, and saw the grandeur of the buildings and the perfection of the form of the temples, he remained lost in thought and like one out of his mind; and he and Donatello set themselves to measure them and to draw out the plan of them, sparing neither time nor expense. And Filippo gave himself up to the study of them, so that he cared neither to eat or to sleep, having two great ideas in his mind, the one to restore the knowledge of good architecture, hoping thus to leave behind no less a memory of himself than Cimabue and Giotto had done, and the other to find a way, if it were possible, of raising the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, the difficulty of which was so great that since the death of Arnolfo Lapi none had had courage enough to attempt it. He confided his intention neither to Donatello or any soul living, but gave himself no rest until he had considered all the difficulties of the Pantheon and had noted and drawn all the ancient vaulted roofs, continually studying this matter, and if by chance they found any pieces of capitals or columns they set to work and had them dug out. And the story ran through Rome that they were "trea-

sure seekers," the people thinking that they studied divination to find treasures, it having befallen them once to find an ancient pitcher filled with medals.

Then money becoming scarce with Filippo, he set himself to work for the goldsmiths, and remained thus alone in Rome when Donatello returned to Florence. Neither did he cease from his studies, until he had drawn every kind of building, temples round and square and eight-sided, basilicas, aqueducts, baths, arches, and others, and the different orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, until he was able to see in imagination Rome as she was before she fell into ruins.

In the year 1407 he returned to Florence, and the same year there was held a meeting of architects and engineers to consider how to raise the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. Among them came Filippo, and gave it as his opinion that it should not be done according to the design of Arnolfo, but in another fashion, of which he made a model.

Some months after, Filippo being one morning in the Piazza of Santa Maria del Fiore with Donatello and other artists, talking about ancient sculpture, Donatello began telling them how when he was returning from Rome he had journeyed by Orvieto to see the famous marble facade of the cathedral, and afterwards passing through Cortona went into the church there and found a most beautiful piece of ancient sculpture, which was then a rare thing, for they had not then disinterred such an abundance as they have in our times. So Donatello, going on to describe the manner of the work and its perfection and excellence, kindled such an ardent desire in Filippo to see it that, without saying where he was going, he set out on foot in his mantle and hood and sandals, and was carried to Cortona by the love he bore to art. The sculpture pleasing him much, he made a drawing of it with the pen, and returned to Florence before Donatello or any one else had discovered that he was gone. And when he showed him the careful drawing he had made, Donatello marveled greatly at his love for art.

The other architects meanwhile being dismayed at the difficulties in raising the cupola, the masters of the works in Santa Maria and the consuls of the Guild of the Woollen Merchants assembled together, and sent to pray Filippo to come to them. And he being come, they laid before him the difficulties small and great which the architects felt who were also present. And Filippo answered them, "Sirs, there is no doubt that in great undertakings you have always to encounter great difficulties, and in this one of yours there are greater than you perhaps imagine, for I do not think that even the ancients ever raised such a vaulted roof as this will be. And I, having considered it much, have never been able to come to any conclusion, the width as well as the height of the building dismaying me. But remembering that it is a temple consecrated to God and the Virgin, I believe that the wisdom and skill of any one who undertook it would not be allowed to fail, and if it were my affair I would resolutely set myself to find out a way. But if you resolve upon doing it you must take counsel not alone of me, who am not sufficient to give counsel in so great a matter, but summon to Florence upon a fixed day within a year's time architects, not only Tuscan and Italian but German and French, and those of every nation, and lay before them this matter, that having been discussed and decided by so many masters, it may be entrusted to him who has the best judgment and knows the best way."

And this counsel pleased them well, and they desired that he also would consider the matter and make a model for it. But he made believe not to care about the matter, and took his leave of them to return to Rome. And they, seeing that their prayers availed not to stop him, made many of his friends implore him also; and when he would not be moved, the members of the council voted him an offering of money. But he, keeping firm to his resolution, left Florence and returned to Rome, where he applied himself to continual study of the matter, thinking, as was true, that none but he could accomplish it.

So the Florentine merchants who dwell in France and England and Spain were commanded to obtain from the princes of those lands, without sparing expense, the most skilled and gifted men in those regions. And when the year 1420 was come, there were assembled in Florence all these masters from other lands and those of Tuscany, and the skilled artificers of Florence itself, and Filippo returned from Rome. And they came together in Santa Maria del Fiore, with the consuls and members of the guild, and some ingenious men chosen from among the citizens, that the minds of all might be known, and the manner of raising the dome decided upon. So one by one each architect was called upon to give his opinion and describe the way in which it should be done. And it was a fine thing to hear the strange and diverse opinions in the matter. For some proposed that it should be built of sponge stone that the weight might be less, and many agreed that it would be best to put a pillar in the middle, while there were not wanting those who suggested that they should fill the space with earth, mixing money with it, and when the dome was built give leave to every one to take the money, by which means the earth would be cleared away without expense. Filippo alone declared that he could make a vaulted roof without much wood, without pillars or supports, and with little expense of arches. It seemed to all who heard him that what he had said was foolish, and they mocked him and laughed at him, saying he was speaking like a madman. Then Filippo, being offended, said, "Though you laugh at me, you will find out that it can be done in no other manner." And as he grew warm in explaining his ideas, they doubted him the more, and held him to be a mere chattering fool. And when they had bidden him depart several times and he would not go, he was carried out by force, all supposing him to be mad. And this was how it came about that Filippo used to say afterwards that he dared not at that time pass along any part of the city lest it should be said, "There goes that madman." So the consuls in the assembly were

left altogether confused with the difficult methods proposed by the other masters, and Filippo's plan, which seemed to them foolish. And on his part Filippo was many times tempted to leave Florence; but desiring to conquer, he had to arm himself with patience. He might have shown a little model that he had made, but he would not, knowing how little the consuls understood the matter, and aware of the jealousy of the artists, and the unstable character of the citizens, who favored now one, now another. And I do not marvel at this, for in that city every one professes to know as much as skilled masters themselves, although there are few who really understand such things.

So Filippo, not having succeeded at the assembly, began to treat with them separately, talking now to this consul, now to that member of the guild, and to some of the citizens, showing them part of his design. And so, having been moved by his arguments, they met again and disputed of the matter. The other architects desired that Filippo would tell all his mind and show his model. This he would not do, but made a proposal that the building of the cupola should be given to him who could make an egg stand firmly on the smooth marble, for by doing this he would show his skill. And an egg being brought, all the masters tried to make it stand upright, but none found the way. And when they bade Filippo set it up, he took it, and striking it on the marble made it stand. And the architects murmured, saying that they could have done that; but Filippo replied laughing that they could have built the cupola, too, if they had seen his model and designs. So it was resolved that the charge of the work should be entrusted to him.

But while he was making ready to begin to build, some began to say that such a work as this ought not to be entrusted to one only, as too great a burden for one to bear alone. And Lorenzo Ghiberti, having obtained great credit by his gates of San Giovanni, and being beloved by certain who had power with the Government, he was joined with

Filippo in this work. What was Filippo's bitter despair when he heard of this may be imagined from his desiring to leave Florence; and had it not been for Donatello and Luca della Robbia, who comforted him, he would have gone out of his mind. He set to work with little will, knowing that he should have all the trouble and yet be obliged to share the honor and fame with Lorenzo. In this state of torment they went on working together until the end of 1426, when they had raised the walls twelve braccia, and it was time to begin works of wood and stone to strengthen it, which, being a difficult thing, he consulted Lorenzo to see whether he had considered this difficulty, and he was so barren of suggestions that he only replied that he would leave it to him. The answer pleased Filippo, for he thought he had found a way of driving him from the work. One morning, therefore, he did not come to the place, but took to his bed, and lay groaning and causing hot cloths to be brought him constantly, pretending to be ill.

So the masons, having waited for his orders in vain, went to Lorenzo, and asked what they were to do. But he replied that it was for Filippo to order, and they must wait for him. And one asked him, "Do you not know his mind?" and Lorenzo answered, "Yes, but I will do nothing without him." And this he said to excuse himself, for he had never seen Filippo's model. But when this had lasted two days the chief masons went to Filippo to ask what they were to do. And he answered, "You have Lorenzo, let him do a little." So there arose great murmuring among the men, some saying that Lorenzo was good at taking his salary, but at giving orders, no!

Then the wardens of Santa Maria went to see Filippo, and after having condoled with him on his sickness, told him how it had brought all the building into confusion. But he answered with passionate words, "Is not he there—Lorenzo?" And they answered, "He will do nothing without you." "I could do very well without him," said Filippo.

But seeing that Lorenzo was willing to take his salary without any work for it, he thought of another

way of bringing him to scorn; so, returning to his work, he made proposition to the wardens, Lorenzo being present, that as they had divided the salary so they should divide the work. "There are now two difficulties to be overcome, the one the matter of the scaffolding to bear the men, and the other the chainwork to bind the building together. Let Lorenzo take which he will, and I will do the other, that no time may be lost." Lorenzo, being forced in honor or not to refuse, chose the chainwork, trusting to the advice of the masons, and remembering that there was something like it in San Giovanni. So they set to work, and Filippo's scaffolds were made so that the men could work as if they were on firm ground. Lorenzo with great difficulty made the chainwork on one of the eight faces, and when it was finished the wardens took Filippo to see it, but he said nothing. But to his friends he said it ought to be secured in another way to that, and that it was not sufficient for the weight to be put upon it. And his words being heard, they called upon him to show how the thing ought to be done. So he brought out his models and designs, and they saw into what an error they had fallen in favoring Lorenzo. Then they made Filippo sole head and manager of the building, and commanded that none should work thereon but with his consent.

Lorenzo, although vanquished and shamed, was so favored by his friends that he was allowed to go on drawing his salary, having proved that they could not legally withdraw it for three years.

So the works went forward, but the masons, being urged on by Filippo more than they were used to, began to grow weary, and joining together in a body, they said it was hard work and perilous, and they would not go on without great pay, although they had more than was usual. Thereupon Filippo and those who had the management of the works, being displeased, took counsel together, and resolved on the Saturday evening to dismiss them all. And on the Monday following Filippo set ten Lombards to the work, and being constantly with them, saying,

“Do this here, and do that there,” he taught them in a day so much that for many weeks they were able to carry on the works. The masons, on the other hand, seeing themselves dismissed and their work taken from them, and finding no other work so profitable, sent men to intercede for them with Filippo. But for many days he kept them in suspense, and then received them at lower wages than they had received before.

The building had now proceeded so far that it was a long way for any one to climb, and much time was lost in going down to dinner and to drink, for they suffered much from thirst in the heat of the day. So Filippo ordered that eatinghouses should be opened in the cupola, where wine should be sold, and that no one should leave his work till the evening, which was a great convenience to them and profit to the work.

Although he had now overcome envy and was everywhere praised, he could not prevent all the architects in Florence, after they had seen his model, from producing others; even a lady of the Gaddi family venturing to compete with him. He, however, laughed at them all, and some of them having introduced in their models parts of Filippo’s work, he remarked one day when looking at them, “The next model will be all mine.” His own was infinitely praised, but because people could not see the staircase leading up to the ball, they said it was defective. So some of those presiding over the work came to him concerning the matter, and Filippo, raising a little piece of wood in his model, showed them the staircase in one of the piers, formed like a pipe, with bars of bronze on one side by which one could climb up. He did not live to see the lantern finished, but he left orders in his will that it should be done as it was in his model, otherwise he protested the building would fall.

While this work was going on, Filippo undertook many other buildings, and his fame was spread abroad, so that any one who desired to build sent for him, among whom were the Marquis of Man-

tua and Count Francesco Sforza. Cosimo de Medici also proposing to build himself a palace, Filippo laid aside all his other occupations and made a large and most beautiful model for it. But Cosimo, thinking it too sumptuous a building, and fearing not so much the expense as the envy it would excite, did not have it put in execution. While he was working at the model, Filippo used to say he thanked fortune for the opportunity of designing a house, which he had desired for many years. Therefore when he heard that Cosimo had decided not to have it carried out, in his anger he broke it into a thousand pieces. But Cosimo afterwards repented not having followed Filippo’s design.

Filippo was a facetious man in conversation, and would often give a witty answer. Lorenzo Ghiberti had bought a farm at Mount Morello, called Lepriano, on which he had to spend twice as much as it brought him in, so that it being an annoyance to him he sold it. Someone therefore asking Filippo what was the best thing Lorenzo had ever done, expecting as they were enemies he would begin to find fault with his works, he answered, “Selling Lepriano.” Filippo at his death was greatly lamented by other artists, especially by those who were poor, whom he often assisted. So having lived as a Christian should, he left behind him a fragrant memory of his goodness and his great talents.



## LECTURE 21.4

## Lorenzo de Medici and Botticelli

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter.

What good advice does Lorenzo de Medici give his son, who had become the youngest cardinal in church history?

.....

From a letter by  
Lorenzo de Medici (1491),  
translated by Merrick Whitcomb

.....

You, and all of us who are interested in your welfare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favored by Providence, not only for the many honors and benefits bestowed upon our house, but more particularly for having conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity we have ever enjoyed. This favor, in itself so important, is rendered still more so by the circumstances with which it is accompanied, and especially by the consideration of your youth and of our situation in the world. The first that I would therefore suggest to you is that you ought to be grateful to God, and continually to recollect that it is not through your merits, your prudence, or your solicitude, that this event has taken place, but through his favor, which you can only repay by a pious, chaste and exemplary life; and that your obligations to the performance of these duties are so much the greater, as in your early years you have given some reasonable expectations that your riper age may produce such fruits. It would indeed be highly disgraceful, and as contrary to your duty as to my hopes, if, at a time when others display a greater share of reason and adopt a better mode of life, you should forget the precepts of your youth, and forsake the path in which you have hitherto trodden. Endeavor, therefore, to alleviate the burden of your early dignity by

the regularity of your life and by your perseverance in those studies which are suitable to your profession. It gave me great satisfaction to learn, that, in the course of the past year, you had frequently, of your own accord, gone to communion and confession; nor do I conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the favor of heaven than by habituating yourself to a performance of these and similar duties. This appears to me to be the most suitable and useful advice which, in the first instance, I can possibly give you.

I well know, that as you are now to reside in Rome, that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting yourself by these admonitions will be increased. The influence of example is itself prevalent; but you will probably meet with those who will particularly endeavor to corrupt and incite you to vice; because, as you may yourself perceive, your early attainment to so great a dignity is not observed without envy, and those who could not prevent your receiving that honor will secretly endeavor to diminish it, by inducing you to forfeit the good estimation of the public; thereby precipitating you into that gulf into which they had themselves fallen; in which attempt, the consideration of your youth will give them a confidence of success. To these difficulties you ought to oppose yourself with the greater firmness, as there is at present less virtue amongst your brethren of the college. I acknowledge indeed that several of them are good and learned men, whose lives are exemplary, and whom I would recommend to you as patterns of your conduct. By emulating them you will be so much the more known and esteemed, in proportion as your age and the peculiarity of your situation will distinguish you from your colleagues. Avoid, however, as you would Scylla or Charybdis, the imputation of hypocrisy; guard against all ostentation, either in your conduct or your discourse; affect not austerity, nor ever appear too serious. This advice you will, I hope, in time understand and practice better than I can express it.



Yet you are not unacquainted with the great importance of the character which you have to sustain, for you well know that all the Christian world would prosper if the cardinals were what they ought to be; because in such a case there would always be a good pope, upon which the tranquility of Christendom so materially depends. Endeavor then to render yourself such, that if all the rest resembled you, we might expect this universal blessing. To give you particular directions as to your behavior and conversation would be a matter of no small difficulty. I shall, therefore, only recommend, that in your intercourse with the cardinals and other men of rank, your language be unassuming and respectful, guiding yourself, however, by your own reason, and not submitting to be impelled by the passions of others, who, actuated by improper motives, may pervert the use of their reasons. Let it satisfy your conscience that your conversation is without intentional offense; and if, through impetuosity of temper, any one should be offended, as his enmity is without just cause, so it will not be very lasting. On this your first visit to Rome, it will, however, be more advisable for you to listen to others than to speak much yourself.

You are now devoted to God and the church: on which account you ought to aim at being a good ecclesiastic, and to show that you prefer the honor and state of the church and of the apostolic see to every other consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will it be difficult for you to favor your family and your native place. On the contrary, you should be the link to bind this city closer to the church, and our family with the city; and although it be impossible to foresee what accidents may happen, yet I doubt not but this may be done with equal advantage to all: observing, however, that you are always to prefer the interests of the church.

You are not only the youngest cardinal in the college, but the youngest person that ever was raised to that rank; and you ought, therefore, to be the most vigilant and unassuming, not giving others occasion to wait for you, either in the chapel, the

consistory or upon deputations. You will soon get a sufficient insight into the manners of your brethren. With those of less respectable character converse not with too much intimacy; not merely on account of the circumstance in itself, but for the sake of public opinion. Converse on general topics with all. On public occasions, let your equipage and address be rather below than above mediocrity. A handsome house and a well-ordered family will be preferable to a great retinue and a splendid residence. Endeavor to live with regularity, and gradually to bring your expenses within those bounds which in a new establishment cannot perhaps be expected. Silk and jewels are not suitable for persons in your station. Your taste will be better shown in the acquisition of a few elegant remains of antiquity, or in the collecting of handsome books, and by your attendants being learned and well-bred rather than numerous. Invite others to your house oftener than you receive invitations. Practice neither too frequently. Let your own food be plain, and take sufficient exercise, for those who wear your habit are soon liable, without great caution, to contract infirmities. The station of a cardinal is not less secure than elevated; on which account those who arrive at it too frequently become negligent; conceiving their object is attained and that they can preserve it with little trouble, This idea is often injurious to the life and character of those who entertain it. Be attentive, therefore, to your conduct, and confide in others too little rather than too much. There is one rule which I would recommend to your attention in preference to all others. Rise early in the morning. This will not only contribute to your health, but will enable you to arrange and expedite the business of the day; and as there are various duties incident to your station, such as the performance of divine service, studying, giving audience, and so forth, you will find the observance of this admonition productive of the greatest utility. Another very necessary precaution, particularly on your entrance into public life, is to deliberate every evening on what you may have to perform the

following day, that you may not be unprepared for whatever may happen. With respect to your speaking in the consistory, it will be most becoming for you at present to refer the matters in debate to the judgment of his holiness alleging as a reason your own youth and inexperience. You will probably be desired to intercede for the favors of the pope on particular occasions. Be cautious, however, that you trouble him not too often; for his temper leads him to be most liberal to those who weary him least with their solicitations. This you must observe, lest you should give him offense, remembering also at times to converse with him on more agreeable topics; and if you should be obliged to request some kindness from him, let it be done with that modesty and humility which are so pleasing to his disposition. Farewell.

## LECTURE 21.5

### Leonardo da Vinci

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, visit the Victoria and Albert Museum's online exhibition of Leonardo's notebooks.<sup>7</sup> Explore one of the editions of the notebooks and draw at least three of his sketches.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/leonardo-da-vincis-notebooks>

## LESSON 22

# *Man the Measure II: The Renaissance*

### LECTURE 22.1

#### Ariosto and Machiavelli

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpt.  
How does Machiavelli give leadership advice? What is his ideal leader?

.....  
Excerpts from *The Prince* by Niccolo  
Machiavelli  
.....

#### THAT WHICH CONCERNS A PRINCE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ART OF WAR

The Prince ought to have no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study, than war and its rules and discipline; for this is the sole art that belongs to him who rules, and it is of such force that it not only upholds those who are born princes, but it often enables men to rise from a private station to that rank. And, on the contrary, it is seen that when princes have thought more of ease than of arms they have lost their states. And the first cause of your losing it is to neglect this art; and what enables you to acquire a state is to be master of the art. Francesco Sforza, though being martial, from a private person became Duke of Milan; and the sons, through avoiding the hardships and troubles of arms, from dukes became private persons. For among other evils which being unarmed brings you,

it causes you to be despised, and this is one of those ignominies against which a prince ought to guard himself, as is shown later on.

#### CONCERNING THINGS FOR WHICH MEN, AND ESPECIALLY PRINCES, ARE BLAMED

It remains now to see what ought to be the rules of conduct for a prince toward subject and friends. And as I know that many have written on this point, I expect I shall be considered presumptuous in mentioning it again, especially as in discussing it I shall depart from the methods of other people. But it being my intention to write a thing which shall be useful to him who apprehends it, it appears to me more appropriate to follow up the real truth of a matter than the imagination of it; for many have pictured republics and principalities which in fact have never been known or seen, because how one lives is so far distant from how one ought to live, that he who neglects what is done for what ought to be done, sooner effects his ruin than his preservation; for a man who wishes to act entirely up to his professions of virtue soon meets with what destroys him among so much that is evil.

Hence, it is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong, and to make use of it or not according to necessity. Therefore, putting on one side imaginary things concerning a prince, and discussing those which are real, I say that all men when they are spoken of, and chiefly princes for being more highly placed, are remarkable

for some of those qualities which bring them either blame or praise; and thus it is that one is reputed liberal, another miserly...; one is reputed generous, one rapacious; one cruel, one compassionate; one faithless, another faithful... And I know that every one will confess that it would be most praiseworthy in a prince to exhibit all the above qualities that are considered good; but because they can neither be entirely possessed nor observed, for human conditions do not permit it, it is necessary for him to be sufficiently prudent that he may know how to avoid the reproach of those vices which would lose him his state...

### CONCERNING CRUELTY AND CLEMENCY, AND WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO BE LOVED THAN FEARED

Upon this a question arises: whether it is better to be loved than feared or feared than loved? It may be answered that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved, when, of the two, either must be dispensed with. Because this is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowardly, covetous, and as long as you succeed they are yours entirely; they will offer you their blood, property, life, and children, as is said above, when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you. And that prince who, relying entirely on their promises, has neglected other precautions, is ruined; because friendships that are obtained by payments, and not by nobility or greatness of mind, may indeed be earned, but they are not secured, and in time of need cannot be relied upon; and men have less scruple in offending one who is beloved than one who is feared, for love is preserved by the link of obligation which, owing to the baseness of men, is broken at every opportunity for their advantage; but fear preserved you by a dread of punishment which never fails.

Nevertheless a prince ought to inspire fear in such a way that, if he does not win love, he avoids

hatred; because he can endure very well being feared whilst he is not hated, which will always be as long as he abstains from the property of his citizens and subjects and from their women.

## LECTURE 22.2

### Rodrigo and Cesare Borgia

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection by Rafael Sabatini. How does he describe the age of the Borgias?

#### From the Preface to *The Life of Cesare Borgia*

This is no Chronicle of Saints. Nor yet is it a History of Devils. It is a record of certain very human, strenuous men in a very human, strenuous age; a lustful, flamboyant age; an age red with blood and pale with passion at white-heat; an age of steel and velvet, of vivid color, dazzling light and impenetrable shadow; an age of swift movement, pitiless violence and high endeavor, of sharp antitheses and amazing contrasts.

To judge it from the standpoint of this calm, deliberate, and correct century—as we conceive our own to be—is for sedate middle-age to judge from its own standpoint the reckless, hot, passionate, lustful humors of youth, of youth that errs grievously and achieves greatly.

So to judge that epoch collectively is manifestly wrong, a hopeless procedure if it be our aim to understand it and to be in sympathy with it, as it becomes broad-minded age to be tolerantly in sympathy with the youth whose follies it perceives. Life is an ephemeral business, and we waste too much of it in judging where it would beseem us better to accept, that we ourselves may come to be accepted by such future ages as may pursue the study of us.

But if it be wrong to judge a past epoch collectively by the standards of our own time, how much more is it not wrong to single out individuals for judgment by those same standards, after detaching them for the purpose from the environment in which they had their being? How false must be the conception of them thus obtained! We view the individuals so selected through a microscope of modern focus. They appear monstrous and abnormal, and we straight-way assume them to be monsters and abnormalities, never considering that the fault is in the adjustment of the instrument through which we inspect them, and that until that is corrected others of that same past age, if similarly viewed, must appear similarly distorted.

Hence it follows that some study of an age must ever prelude and accompany the study of its individuals, if comprehension is to wait upon our labors. To proceed otherwise is to judge an individual Hot-tentot or South Sea Islander by the code of manners that obtains in Belgravia or Mayfair.

Mind being the seat of the soul, and literature being the expression of the mind, literature, it follows, is the soul of an age, the surviving and immortal part of it; and in the literature of the Cinquecento you shall behold for the looking the ardent, unmoral, naïve soul of this Renaissance that was sprawling in its lusty, naked infancy and bellowing hungrily for the pap of knowledge, and for other things. You shall infer something of the passionate mettle of this infant: his tempestuous mirth, his fierce rages, his simplicity, his naïveté, his inquisitiveness, his cunning, his deceit, his cruelty, his love of sunshine and bright gewgaws.

To realize him as he was, you need but to bethink you that this was the age in which the *Decameron* of Giovanni Boccaccio, the *Facetiae* of Poggio, the *Satires* of Filelfo, and the *Hermaphroditus* of Panormitano afforded reading-matter to both sexes. This was the age in which the learned and erudite Lorenzo Valla—of whom more anon—wrote his famous indictment of virginity, condemning it as against na-

ture with arguments of a most insidious logic.... This was the age of the Discovery of Man; the pagan age which stripped Christ of His divinity to bestow it upon Plato, so that Marsilio Ficino actually burnt an altar-lamp before an image of the Greek by whose teachings—in common with so many scholars of his day—he sought to inform himself.

It was an age that had become unable to discriminate between the merits of the Saints of the Church and the Harlots of the Town. Therefore it honored both alike, extolled the carnal merits of the one in much the same terms as were employed to extol the spiritual merits of the other. Thus when a famous Roman courtesan departed this life in the year 1511, at the early age of twenty-six, she was accorded a splendid funeral and an imposing tomb in the Chapel Santa Gregoria...

It was, in short, an age so universally immoral as scarcely to be termed immoral, since immorality may be defined as a departure from the morals that obtain a given time and in a given place. So that whilst from our own standpoint the Cinquecento, taken collectively, is an age of grossest license and immorality, from the standpoint of the Cinquecento itself few of its individuals might with justice be branded immoral.

For the rest, it was an epoch of reaction from the Age of Chivalry: an epoch of unbounded luxury, of the cult and worship of the beautiful externally; an epoch that set no store by any inward virtue, by truth or honor; an epoch that laid it down as a maxim that no inconvenient engagement should be kept if opportunity offered to evade it.

### LECTURE 22.3

## Julius II, Saint Peter's Basilica and Leo X

**ASSIGNMENT** — Take the virtual tour of St. Peter's Basilica.<sup>8</sup> Write and/or draw your observations of the basilica.

### LECTURE 22.4

## Raphael de Santi

**ASSIGNMENT** — Take the virtual tour of Raphael's rooms at the Vatican.<sup>9</sup> Write and/or draw your observations of the rooms.

### LECTURE 22.5

## Michelangelo di Buonarroti

**ASSIGNMENT** — Take the virtual tour of the Sistine Chapel.<sup>10</sup> Write and/or draw your observations of the chapel.

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.vatican.va/various/basiliche/san\\_pietro/vr\\_tour/index-en.html](https://www.vatican.va/various/basiliche/san_pietro/vr_tour/index-en.html)

<sup>9</sup> <https://m.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani-mobile/en/collezioni/musei/stanze-di-raffaello/tour-virtuale.html>

<sup>10</sup> <https://m.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani-mobile/en/collezioni/musei/cappella-sistina/tour-virtuale.html>



## LESSON 23

# *The Morning Stars of the Reformation: Wycliffe to Erasmus*

### LECTURE 23.1

#### John Wycliffe

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards. What problems in the church do the Lollards identify? What reforms do they propose?

.....

The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards, included in Roger Dymok's "Against the Twelve Heresies" and translated in the *English Historical Review*

.....

We poor men, treasurers of Christ and his Apostles, denounce to the Lords and the Commons of the Parliament certain conclusions and truth for the reformation of the Holy Church of England, the which has been blind and leprous many years by the maintenance of the proud prelacy, borne up with flattering of private religion, the which is multiplied to a great charge and onerous [to] people here in England.

#### THE FIRST CONCLUSION: STATE OF THE CHURCH

When the Church of England began to dote in temporality after her stepmother, the great Church

of Rome, and churches were slain by appropriation to diverse places. Faith, Hope, and Charity began for to flee out of our Church. For Pride with his sorry genealogy of deadly sins challengeth it by title of heritage. This conclusion is general and proved by experience, custom, and manner, as you shall after hear.

#### THE SECOND CONCLUSION: THE PRIESTHOOD

The second conclusion is this: Our usual priesthood, the which began in Rome feigned of a power higher than angels, is not the priesthood the which Christ ordained to his Apostles. This conclusion is proved: for the priesthood of Rome is made with signs, rites, and bishops' blessings, and that is of little virtue, nowhere ensampled in the Holy Scripture, for the bishops ordinals in the New Testament be little of record. And we can not see that the Holy Ghost, for any such signs, gives any gifts, for he and his noble gifts may not stand with deadly sin in no matter person. The corollary of this conclusion is that it is full uncouth to many that be wise to see bishops play with the holy ghost in making of their orders, for they give crowns in characters in stead of white harts, and that is the livery of Antichrist, brought into Holy Church to color idleness.

#### THE THIRD CONCLUSION: CLERICAL CELIBACY

The third conclusion, sorrowful to hear, is: That the law of continence annexed to priesthood, that

in prejudice of women was first ordained, induces sodomy in Holy Church; but we excuse us by the Bible, for the suspect decree that says we should not name it. Reason and experience prove this conclusion. For delicious meats and drinks of men of Holy Church will have needful purgation or worse. Experience for the privy assay of such men is that they like not women. The corollary of this conclusion is that the private religions, beginners of this sin, were most worthy to be annulled but God, for his might, of privy sin send open vengeance.

#### THE FOURTH CONCLUSION: TRANSUBSTANTIATION

The fourth conclusion that most harms the innocent people is this: That the sacrament of bread induces all men but a few to idolatry, for they ween that Christ's body, that never shall out of heaven, by virtue of the priest's word should be essentially enclosed in a little bread, that they show to the people. But would God that they would believe that the Doctor Evangelicus says in his *Trialogue, quod panis materialis est habitualiter corpus Christi*. For we suppose that on this wise may every true man and woman in God's law make the sacrament of the bread without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is that if Christ's body be endued with everlasting joy, the service of Corpus Christi made by Friar Thomas is untrue and painted full of false miracles, and that is no wonder, for Friar Thomas that same time, holding with the Pope, would have made a miracle of a hen's egg, and we know well that every lie openly preached turns itself to villainy that ever was true and without lack.

#### THE FIFTH CONCLUSION: EXORCISMS AND HALLOWINGS

The fifth conclusion is this: that exorcisms and hallowings, made in the church, of wine, bread, and wax, water, salt, oil and incense, the stone of the altar, upon vestment, miter, cross, and pilgrim staffs

be the very practice of necromancy rather than of the holy theology. This conclusion is proved thus: For by such exorcisms creatures be charged to be of higher virtue than their own kind, and we see no thing of change in no such creature that is so charmed but by false belief, the which is the principal of the Devil's craft. The corollary of this, that is the book that charmeth holy water spread in Holy Church were all true, us thinks verily that holy water used in holy church should be the best medicine to all manner of sickness. *Cuius contrarium experimur.*

#### THE SIXTH CONCLUSION: CLERICS IN SECULAR OFFICES

The sixth conclusion that maintaineth much pride is: that a king and a bishop all in one person, a prelate and a justice in temporal cause, a curate and an officer in worldly service, make every realm out of good rule. This conclusion is openly showed, for temporality and spirituality be two parts of Holy Church and therefore he that hath taken him to the one should not meddle him with the other, *quia nemo potest duobus dominis servire*. Us thinketh that hermaphrodite or ambidexter were a good name to such men of double estate. The corollary is that for we, procurators of God, for this cause pursue to this Parliament that all manner of curates, both high and low, be fully excused of temporal office and occupy them with their cure and naught else.

#### THE SEVENTH CONCLUSION: PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

The seventh conclusion that we mightily affirm is: that special prayers for dead men's souls made in our church, preferring one by name more than another, this is the false ground of alms deeds, on the which all alms houses in England be wickedly grounded. This conclusion is proven by two skills. One is for prayer meritorious and of value should be a work proceeding from high charity, and perfect charity accepts no persons, *quia diliges proxi-*

*mum tuum*, etc. Wherefore us thinks that the gifts of temporal goods to priests and to alms houses is the principal cause of special prayers, the which is not far from simony. Another skill for special prayer made for men damned to everlasting pain is to God greatly displeasing, and though it be doubt, it is lightly to true Christian people that the founders of the alms houses for their venomous donation be for the most part passed the broad way. The corollary is the prayer of value springing out of perfect charity should embrace in general all those that God would have saved and leave their merchandise now used for special prayers made to mendicants and possessioners and other souls' priests, the which be a people of great charge to all the realm maintained in idleness, for it was proved in a book that the king heard that an hundred of alms houses sufficed to the realm and thereof should fall the greatest increase possible to temporal part.

#### THE EIGHTH CONCLUSION: PILGRIMAGES

The eighth conclusion needful to tell the people beguiled is the pilgrimage, prayers, and offerings made to blind roods and deaf images of tree and stone be near kin to idolatry and far from alms deeds. And though this forbidden imagery be a book of errors to the lewd people, yet the image used of Trinity is most abominable. This conclusion God openly showeth, commanding to do almsdeeds to men that be needy, for they be the image of God in a more likeness than the stock of the stone, for God sayeth not *faciamus lignum ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram aut lapidem*, but *faciamus hominem* etc. For the high worship that clerks call *latría* longeth to the godhead alone and the lower worship that is called *dulia* longeth to man and to angel and to lower creatures. The corollary is that the service of the Rood, done twice every year in our church, is fulfilled of idolatry, for if the Rood tree, nails, and the spear, and the crown of God should be so holy worshiped, then were Judas' lips, whoso might them

get, a wonder great relic. But we pray thee, pilgrim, us to tell when thou first offerest to saints' bones enshrined in any place, whether relieves thou the saint that is in bliss or the alms house that is so well endowed. For men be canonized, God knows how, and for to speak more in plain, true Christian men suppose that the points of that noble man that men call Saint Thomas, were no cause of martyrdom.

#### THE NINTH CONCLUSION: CONFESSION

The ninth conclusion that holdeth the people low is, that the articles of confession that is said necessary to the salvation of man, with a feigned power of absolution enhanceth priests' pride, and giveth them opportunity of calling other than we will not say. For lords and ladies be arrested that for fear of their confessors, that they dare not say a truth, and in time of confession is the best time of wooing and of privy continuance of deadly sin. They say that they be commissaries of God to deem of every sin, to foul and cleanse whomso they like. They say that they have the keys of heaven and of hell, they may curse and bless, bind and unbind at their own will, in so much that for a bushel of wheat or twelve pence by year they will sell the bliss of heaven by charter of clause of warranty, ensealed with the common seal. This conclusion is seen in use that it needeth none other proof. *Correlarium*: The Pope of Rome that feigneth him high treasurer of holy church, having the worthy jewel of Christ's passion in his keeping, with the deserts of all hallows of heaven, by which he giveth the pardon *a poena et a culpa*. He is a treasurer most banished out of charity, since he may deliver the prisoners that be in pain at his own will, and make himself so that he shall never come there, Here may every true Christian well see that there is much privy falseness hid in our church.

### THE TENTH CONCLUSION: WAR, BATTLE, AND CRUSADES

The tenth conclusion is that manslaughter by battle or law of righteousness for temporal cause or spiritual with out special revelation is express contrary to the New Testament, the which is a law of grace and full of mercy. This conclusion is openly proved by example of Christ's preaching here on earth. the which most taught to love and to have mercy on his enemies, and not for to slay them. The reason is of this, that for the more party, there men fight, after the first stroke charity is broken; and who so dyeth out of charity goth the high way to hell. And over this, we know well that no clerk can find by scripture or by reason lawful punishment of death for one sin and not for another. But the law of mercy, that is the New Testament, forbade all manslaughter: *in evangelio dictum est antiquis, non occides*. The corollary is: it is an holy robbing of poor people when lords purchase indulgences *a poena et a culpa* to them that helpeth with his host, and gathereth to slay the Christian men in far lands for good temporal, as we have seen. And knights, that run to heathenness to get them a name in slaying of men, get much maugré of the King of Peace; for the meekness and sufferance our belief was multiplied, and fighters and manslayers Jesu Christ hateth and menaceth. *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*.

### THE ELEVENTH CONCLUSION: FEMALE VOWS OF CONTINENCE AND ABORTION

The eleventh conclusion is shameful for to speak: that a vow of continence made in our church of women, the which be fickle and imperfect in kind, is cause of bringing in of most horrible sin possible to man kind. ...[S]laying of children ere they be christened, abortion, and destroying of kind by medicine be full sinful... The corollary is that widows and which as have taken the mantle and the ring, deliciously fed, we would they were wedded for we can not excuse them from privy sins.

### THE TWELFTH CONCLUSION: ARTS AND CRAFTS

The twelfth conclusion is that the multitude of crafts not needful used in our church nourisheth much sin in waste, curiosity, and disguising. This showeth experience, and reason proveth, for nature with a few crafts sufficeth to need of man. The corollary is, since Saint Paul sayeth, we having our bodily food and clothing, we should hold ourselves satisfied, us thinketh that goldsmiths and armorers and all manner crafts not needful to men, [according to] the Apostle, should be destroyed for the increase of virtue. For though to these crafts named were much more needful in the Old Law, the New testament hath voided these and many others.

This is our embassy, that Christ has commanded us to pursue, at this time most acceptable for many causes. And though these matters be here shortly knit they be in another book longly declared, and may another more, all in our language, the which we would were communed to all true Christian men. We pray God of his endless goodness reform our church, all out of joint, to the perfections of the first beginning. Amen.

## LECTURE 23.2

### Jan Hus

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following letter. What principles does Jan Hus stand by in this final declaration? What is he unwilling to deny or compromise?

#### “Final Declaration” (1415) of Jan Hus

I, Jan Hus, in hope a priest of Jesus Christ, fearing to offend God, and fearing to fall into perjury, do hereby profess my unwillingness to abjure all or any of the articles produced against me by false witnesses. For God is my witness that I neither preached, affirmed, nor defended them, though they say that I did. Moreover, concerning the articles that they have extracted from my books, I say that I detest any false interpretation which any of them bears. But inasmuch as I fear to offend against the truth, or to gainsay the opinion of the doctors of the Church, I cannot abjure any one of them. And if it were possible that my voice could now reach the whole world, as at the Day of Judgment every lie and every sin that I have committed will be made manifest, then would I gladly abjure before all the world every falsehood and error which I either had thought of saying or actually said!

I say I write this of my own free will and choice.

Written with my own hand, on the first day of July.

## LECTURE 23.3

### Savonarola

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following sermon. How does Savonarola use emotion and strong language to persuade his audience to do penance?

#### Excerpt from Sermon 59, “Penitence, Penitence!” by Girolamo Savonarola, translated by Gertrude Puccia

O sinners, stubborn, lukewarm, all who defer repentance to the last, *agite poenitentiam*, do penance; do it now; do not delay any longer, for the Lord now awaits you and thus He calls you. Listen to my words, not as if they came from me, but from God. I can do no more than say: *agite poenitentiam*. See how good and how merciful God is and how He desires to lead you to the Ark to save you. Come, sinner, come, for God calls you. I feel great grief and great compassion for you. Join us in this Holy Feast of All Saints, which we celebrate today. When I think of it, my grief increases tremendously, for I compare, with your misery, the rejoicing and beatitude in which the Saints find themselves today on the occasion of this Feast; and, for the sake of charity, I cannot but feel deeply sorry for you. So great is their beatitude and contentment that not only can one not speak of it, but one cannot even imagine it... O foolish men, who by sinning are willing to lose of much peace and rest; *agite poenitentiam*, do penance; return to God and you will find complete rest; repent your errors; confess; make strong your intention never to sin again; receive the sacrament of Holy Communion which will make you, also, blessed! When we look at those who are converted

and who follow the road of a good Christian life, who confess and receive Holy Communion often, we see in them something almost divine, a humility, a spiritual rejoicing. Their faces have almost assumed angelic form. And [conversely], looking upon the faces of the wicked and stubbornly perverted and especially upon the faces of certain ecclesiastics when they are unbridled in their vices, we see them as demons, and worse than laymen. And [nevertheless], these ecclesiastics use this sacrament every day. See how different is the effect upon them: this sacrament sweetens the hearts of the good and produces perfect humility in them; the contrary is seen in the wicked. Thus I thought and I said: If this sacrament in which one believes what is not seen, gives so much joy to one who, well disposed, takes it and receives it, O how much greater will be and is this joy in those blessed spirits who [face to face] see Him and fully rejoice in Him. O human heart, why do you not dissolve and melt in so much sweetness and so much love?...

## LECTURE 23.4

### The Mystics and the Brethren of the Common Life

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following chapters from *The Imitation of Christ*. What advice does Thomas à Kempis have for the Christian life? How should we view this world? How should our heart be changed by a love for Christ? How should we view ourselves?

.....

*The Imitation of Christ*, Chs. 1-2,  
by Thomas à Kempis

.....

### THE IMITATION OF CHRIST AND CONTEMPT FOR THE VANITIES OF THE WORLD

1. "Whoever follows Me will not walk in darkness," says the Lord. These are Christ's own words by which He exhorts us to imitate His life and His ways, if we truly desire to be enlightened and free of all blindness of heart. Let it then be our main concern to meditate on the life of Jesus Christ.
2. Christ's teaching surpasses that of all the saints, and whoever has His spirit will find in His teaching hidden manna. But it happens that many are little affected, even after a frequent hearing of His Gospel. This is because they do not have the spirit of Christ. If you want to understand Christ's words and relish them fully, you must strive to conform your entire life to His.
3. What good does it do you to be able to give a learned discourse on the Trinity, while you are without humility and, thus, are displeasing to the Trinity? Esoteric words neither make us holy nor righteous; only a virtuous life makes us beloved of God. I would rather experience repentance in my soul than know how to define it.

If you knew the entire Bible inside out and all the maxims of the philosophers, what good would it do you if you were, at the same time, without God's love and grace? Vanity of vanities! All is vanity, except our loving God and serving only Him. This is the highest wisdom: to despise the world and seek the kingdom of heaven.

4. It is vanity to seek riches that are sure to perish and to put your hope in them.

It is vanity to pursue honors and to set yourself up on a pedestal.

It is vanity to follow the desires of the flesh and to crave the things which will eventually bring you heavy punishment.



It is vanity to wish for a long life and to care little about leading a good life.

It is vanity to give thought only to this present life and not to think of the one that is to come.

It is vanity to love what is transitory and not to hasten to where everlasting joy abides.

5. Keep this proverb often in mind: The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. Therefore, withdraw your heart from the love of things visible and turn yourself to things invisible. Those who yield to their sensual nature dishonor their conscience and forfeit God's grace.

#### **HAVING A HUMBLE OPINION OF ONE'S SELF**

1. Everyone has a natural desire for knowledge but what good is knowledge without the fear of God? Surely a humble peasant who serves God is better than the proud astronomer who knows how to chart the heavens' stars but lacks all knowledge of himself.

If I truly knew myself I would look upon myself as insignificant and would not find joy in hearing others praise me. If I knew everything in the world and were still without charity, what advantage would I have in the eyes of God who is to judge me according to my deeds?

2. Curb all undue desire for knowledge, for in it you will find many distractions and much delusion. Those who are learned strive to give the appearance of being wise and desire to be recognized as such; but there is much knowledge that is of little or no benefit to the soul.

Whoever sets his mind on anything other than what serves his salvation is a senseless fool. A barrage of words does not make the soul happy, but a good life gladdens the mind and a pure conscience generates a bountiful confidence in God.

3. The more things you know and the better you know them, the more severe will your judgment be, unless you have also lived a holier life. Do not boast about the learning and skills that are yours; rather, be cautious since you do possess such knowledge.

4. If it seems to you that you know many things and thoroughly understand them all, realize that there are countless other things of which you are ignorant. Be not haughty, but admit your ignorance. Why should you prefer yourself to another, when there are many who are more learned and better trained in God's law than you are? If you are looking for knowledge and a learning that is useful to you, then love to be unknown and be esteemed as nothing.

5. This is the most important and most salutary lesson: to know and to despise ourselves. It is great wisdom and perfection to consider ourselves as nothing and always to judge well and highly of others. If you should see someone commit a sin or some grievous wrong, do not think of yourself as someone better, for you know not how long you will remain in your good state.

We are all frail; but think of yourself as one who is more frail than others.

## LECTURE 23.5

### Erasmus

#### ASSIGNMENT — Complete Exam #23

### EXAM #23

1. Why was the great reformation of Martin Luther not the beginning of reformation in the church?
2. How did Wycliffe provide a proper separation between the church and the state?
3. What was Wycliffe's opinion regarding *either* confession and doing penance, *or* transubstantiation and communion?
4. How did Wycliffe and his Poor Preaching Priests, or Lollards, promote Bible reading and biblical literacy?
5. How did Jan Hus begin reforming the church in Bohemia through the use of the Czech language in worship, sermons against church corruption, and the definition of the church as "the priesthood of believers?"
6. For what reasons was Hus executed? How did the Czechs of Bohemia respond to Hus's execution?
7. What kinds of sermons did Savonarola preach?
8. For what reasons was Savonarola executed?
9. Who were the Mystics? What was their advice for the Christian life?
10. Who were the Brethren of the Common Life? What did they establish that led to the Reformation?
11. How was Erasmus a humanist and scholar?
12. How did Erasmus attempt to reform the church?

## LESSON 24

# *Justification by Faith: The Great Reformation*

### LECTURE 24.1

#### Martin Luther I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read Martin Luther’s instructions to readers of the Gospels. What advice does Luther give on how to read and understand the Gospels?

.....

#### “A Brief Instruction on What to Look for and Expect in the Gospels”

.....

It is a common practice to number the gospels and to name them by books and say that there are four gospels. From this practice stems the fact that no one knows what St. Paul and St. Peter are saying in their epistles, and their teaching is regarded as an addition to the teaching of the gospels, in a vein similar to that of Jerome’s introduction. There is, besides, the still worse practice of regarding the gospels and epistles as law books, in which is supposed to be taught what we are to do and in which the works of Christ are pictured to us as nothing but examples. Now where these two erroneous notions remain in the heart, there neither the gospels nor the epistles may be read in a profitable or Christian manner, and [people] remain as pagan as ever.

One should thus realize that there is only one gospel, but that it is described by many apostles. Every single epistle of Paul and of Peter, as well as

the Acts of the Apostles, by Luke, is a gospel, even though they do not record all the works and words of Christ, but one is shorter and includes less than another. There is not one of the four major gospels anyway that includes all the words and works of Christ; nor is this necessary. Gospel is and should be nothing else than a discourse or story about Christ, just as happens among men when one writes a book about a king or a prince, telling what he did, said, and suffered in his day. Such a story can be told in various ways; one spins it out, and the other is brief. Thus the gospel is and should be nothing else than a chronicle, a story, a narrative about Christ, telling who He is, what He did, said, and suffered—a subject which one describes briefly, another more fully, one this way, another that way.

For at its briefest, the gospel is a discourse about Christ, that He is the Son of God and became man for us, that He died and was raised, that He has been established as a Lord over all things. This much St. Paul takes in hand and spins out in his epistles. He bypasses all the miracles and incidents [in Christ’s ministry] which are set forth in the four gospels, yet he includes the whole gospel adequately and abundantly. This may be seen clearly and well in his greeting to the Romans [1:1-4], where he says what the gospel is, and declares, “Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, which He promised beforehand through His prophets in the holy scriptures, the gospel concerning His Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in

power according to the Spirit of holiness by His Resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord," etc.

There you have it. The gospel is a story about Christ, God's and David's Son, who died and was raised and is established as Lord. This is the gospel in a nutshell. Just as there is no more than one Christ, so there is and may be no more than one gospel...

Yes, even the teaching of the prophets, in those places where they speak of Christ, is nothing but the true, pure, and proper gospel—just as if Luke or Matthew had described it. For the prophets have proclaimed the gospel and spoken of Christ, as St. Paul here [Rom. 1:2] reports and as everyone indeed knows. Thus when Isaiah in chapter 53 says how Christ should die for us and bear our sins, he has written the pure gospel. And I assure you, if a person fails to grasp this understanding of the gospel, he will never be able to be illuminated in the scripture, nor will he receive the right foundation.

Be sure, moreover, that you do not make Christ into a Moses, as if Christ did nothing more than teach and provide examples as the other saints do, as if the gospel were simply a textbook of teachings or laws. Therefore you should grasp Christ, His words, works, and sufferings in a twofold manner. First as an example that is presented to you, which you should follow and imitate. As St. Peter says in 1 Pet. 4, "Christ suffered for us, thereby leaving us an example." Thus when you see how He prays, fasts, helps people, and shows them love, so also you should do, both for yourself and for your neighbor. However, this is the smallest part of the gospel, on the basis of which it cannot yet even be called gospel. For on this level Christ is of no more help to you than some other saint. His life remains His own and does not as yet contribute anything to you. In short, this mode [of understanding Christ as simply an example] does not make Christians, but only hypocrites. You must grasp Christ at a much higher level. Even though this higher level has for a long time been the very best, the preaching of it has been something rare. The chief article and foundation of

the gospel is that before you take Christ as an example, you accept and recognize Him as a gift, as a present that God has given you and that is your own. This means that when you see or hear of Christ doing or suffering something, you do not doubt that Christ Himself with His deeds and suffering, belongs to you. On this you may depend as surely as if you had done it yourself; indeed as if you were Christ Himself. See, this is what it means to have a proper grasp of the gospel, that is, of the overwhelming goodness of God, which neither prophet, nor apostle, nor angel was ever able fully to express, and which no heart could adequately fathom or marvel at. This is the great fire of the love of God for us, whereby the heart and conscience become happy, secure, and content. This is what preaching the Christian faith means. This is why such preaching is called "gospel," which in German means a joyful, good, and comforting "message," and this is why the apostles are called the "twelve messengers."

Now when you have Christ as the foundation and chief blessing of your salvation, then the other part follows: that you take Him as your example, giving yourself in service to your neighbor just as you see that Christ has given Himself for you. See, there faith and love move forward, God's commandment is fulfilled, and a person is happy and fearless to do and to suffer all things. Therefore make note of this, that Christ as a gift nourishes your faith and makes you a Christian. But Christ as an example exercises your works. These do not make you a Christian. Actually they come forth from you because you have already been made a Christian. As widely as a gift differs from an example, so widely does faith differ from works, for faith possesses nothing of its own, only the deeds and life of Christ. You have something of your own in them, yet they should not belong to you but to your neighbor.

So you see that the gospel is really not a book of laws and commandments which require deeds of us, but a book of divine promises in which God promises, offers, and gives us all His possessions and

benefits in Christ. The fact that Christ and the apostles provide much good teaching and explain the law is to be counted a benefit just like any other good work of Christ. For to teach aright is not the least sort of benefit. We see too that unlike Moses in his book, and contrary to the nature of a commandment, Christ does not horribly force and drive us. Rather...He teaches so gently that He entices rather than commands. He begins by saying, "Blessed are the poor, blessed are the meek," and so on. And the apostles commonly use the expressions, "I admonish," "I request," "I beseech," and so on. But Moses says, "I command," "I forbid," threatening and frightening everyone with horrible punishments and penalties. With this sort of instruction you can now read and hear the gospels profitably.

When you open the book containing the gospels and read or hear how Christ comes here or there, or how someone is brought to Him, you should therein perceive the sermon or the gospel through which He is coming to you, or you are being brought to Him. For the preaching of the gospel is nothing else than Christ coming to us, or us being brought to Him.

## LECTURE 24.2

### Martin Luther II

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read selections from the 95 Theses. How does Luther show a biblical theology of salvation, justice and mercy in his 95 Theses?

#### Selections from the 95 Theses

In the desire and with the purpose of elucidating the truth, a disputation will be held on the underwritten propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, monk of the order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts

and of Sacred Theology, and ordinary lecturer in the same at that place. He therefore asks those who cannot be present and discuss the subject with us orally to do so by letter in their absence. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying "Repent ye" [*poenitentiam agite*], etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence [*poenitentia*],
2. This word cannot be understood as sacramental penance, that is, the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests.
3. It does not, on the other hand, refer solely to inward penitence; nay, such inward penitence is naught, unless it outwardly produces various mortifications of the flesh.
4. The penalty [for sin] must thus continue as long as the hatred of self—that is, true inward penitence; namely, till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.
5. The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.
6. The pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain.
7. Certainly God remits no man's guilt without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative, the priest.
20. Therefore the pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean really of all, but only of those imposed by himself.
21. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that by the indulgences of the pope a man is freed and saved from all punishment.

23. If any entire remission of all penalties can be granted to any one, it is certain that it is granted to none but the most perfect—that is, to very few.
27. They preach man [rather than God] who say that the soul flies out of purgatory as soon as the money rattles in the chest.
28. It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the effect of the intercession of the Church depends on the will of God alone.
39. It is a very difficult thing, even for the most learned theologians, to exalt at the same time, in the eyes of the people, the ample effect of pardons and the necessity of true contrition.
40. True contrition seeks and loves punishment, while the amplex of pardons relaxes it and causes men to hate it or at least gives occasion for them to do so.
43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons.
44. Because by works of charity, charity increases and the man becomes better, while by means of pardons he does not become better, but only freer from punishment.
50. Christians should be taught that, if the pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would prefer that the basilica of St. Peter should be burnt to ashes rather than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.
51. Christians should be taught that as it would be the duty, so it would be the wish of the pope even to sell, if necessary, the basilica of St. Peter, as well as to give of his own money to very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons extract money.
56. The treasures of the Church, whence the pope grants indulgences, are neither sufficiently discussed nor understood among the people of Christ.
57. It is clear that they are at least not temporal treasures, for these are not so readily lavished, but only accumulated, by many of the preachers.
62. The true treasure of the Church is the holy gospel of the glory and grace of God.
63. This treasure, however, is naturally most hateful, because it makes the first to be last;
64. While the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, because it makes the last to be first.
81. This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the pope against the calumnies, or, at all events, the keen questionings of the laity.
82. As, for instance: Why does not the pope empty purgatory for the sake of his most holy charity and of the supreme necessity of souls—this being the most just of all reasons—if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of that most fatal thing, money, to be spent on building a basilica—this being a very slight reason?
86. Again: Why does not the pope, whose riches are this day more ample than those of Croesus, build the basilica of St. Peter with his own money rather than with that of poor believers?
88. Again: What greater good could the Church receive than if the pope were to bestow these remissions and participations a hundred times a day, instead of once, as he does now, on any one of the faithful?
90. To repress these scruples and arguments of the laity by force alone, and not to solve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the



pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian men unhappy.

91. If then pardons were preached according to the spirit and wish of the pope, all these questions would be solved with ease; nay, would not exist.

### LECTURE 24.3

## Martin Luther III & Albrecht Dürer

**ASSIGNMENT** — Visit the National Gallery of Art’s exhibition of works by Albrecht Dürer.<sup>11</sup> Write your observations on at least three artworks from the exhibit—or sketch one.

### LECTURE 24.4

## Ulrich Zwingli & Martin Bucer

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following sermon excerpt. What is the value of the Word according to Zwingli? How should it be understood?

.....

Selection from the sermon “Of the Clarity and Certainty or Power of the Word of God” by Ulrich Zwingli

.....

The Word of God is so sure and strong that if God wills all things are done the moment that he speaks his Word. For it is so living and powerful that even the things which are irrational immediately conform themselves to it, or to be more accurate, things both rational and irrational are fashioned

and dispatched and constrained in conformity with its purpose. The proof may be found in Genesis 1: “And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.” Note how alive and strong the Word is, not merely ruling all things but creating out of nothing that which it wills.

With God, in fact, there is no such thing as past or future, but all things are naked and open to his eyes. He does not learn with time or forget with time, but with unerring knowledge and perception he sees all things present in eternity. It is in time that we who are temporal find the meaning and measure of longness or shortness. Yet what seems long to us is not long to God, but eternally present. If you think that God often fails to punish a wicked individual or nation, suffering their arrogance far too long, you are completely mistaken, for note that they can never escape him. The whole world is before him, where then can they hide from his presence? Most certainly he will find them [Ps. 139]. And if you think that he does not punish or save according to his Word you are quite wrong. His Word can never be undone or destroyed or resisted. For if it could, if God could resist it, it would not be almighty. But it must always be fulfilled. If it is not fulfilled at the time when you desire, that is not due to any deficiency of power but to the freedom of his will. For if he had to act according to your will, you would be stronger than he and he would have to consult you. But what could be more nonsensical? God will never leave his Word powerless, as he says in Ezekiel 12: “O you that are rebellious, I will say the word and will perform it.” And just after: “The word which I have spoken shall be done.” The whole teaching of the Gospel is a sure demonstration that what God has promised will certainly be performed. For the Gospel is now an accomplished fact: the One who was promised to the patriarchs, and to the whole race, has now been given to us, and in him we have the assurance of all our hope, as Simeon said in Luke 2. “For what can

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1256.html#works>

he withhold when he delivered up his own Son for us, and how shall he not with him freely give us all things?" [Rom. 8]

Oh you rascals—you are not instructed or versed in the Gospel, and you pick out verses from it without regard to their context, and wrest them according to your own desire. It is like breaking off a flower from its roots and trying to plant it in a garden. But that is not the way: you must plant it with roots and the soil in which it is embedded. And similarly we must leave the Word of God its own proper nature if its sense is to be the same to all of us. And those who err in this way we can easily vanquish by leading them back to the source, though they never come willingly. But some of them are such confirmed dunces that even when the natural sense is expounded in such a way that they cannot deny it, they still allege that they cannot presume to understand it thus unless the Fathers allow that it may so be understood; on the ground that many expositors will always have a better understanding than one or two. Answer: if that is the case, then Christ himself was in error, which God forbid, for most of the priests of the time held quite a different view and he had to stand alone. And the apostles were also mistaken, for they were opposed by whole nations and cities. And even today the number of unbelievers far outweighs the number of believers: are we to conclude then that their view is right and ours wrong simply because they are more numerous than we? No. Consider for yourselves; truth is not necessarily with the majority.

## LECTURE 24.5

### John Calvin

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read the following selection from John Calvin's *Golden Booklet of the True Christian Life*. How does John Calvin view the Christian life in this current world? What opportunities does the Christian life provide?

.....

#### Chapter 5, "The Right Use of the Present Life," itself excerpted from Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*

.....

Just as Scripture points us to heaven as our goal, so it fully instructs us in the right use of earthly blessings, and this ought not to be overlooked in a discussion of the rules of life.

[A]s we run the danger of falling into two opposite errors, let us try to proceed on safe ground, so that we may avoid both extremes. For there have been some people, otherwise good and holy, who saw that intemperance and luxury time and again drive man to throw off all restraints unless he is curbed by the utmost severity. And in their desire to correct such a pernicious evil, they have adopted the only method that they saw fit, namely to permit earthly blessings only insofar as they were an absolute necessity. This advice showed the best of intentions but was far too rigid. For they committed the dangerous error of imposing on the conscience of others stricter rules than those laid down in the Word by the Lord.

On the other hand, there are many nowadays who seek a pretext to excuse intemperance in the use of external things, and who desire to indulge the lusts of the flesh. Such people take for granted that

liberty should not be restricted by any limitations at all; but to this we can never agree. They clamor that it ought to be left to the conscience of every individual to use as much as he thinks fit for himself.

We must grant, indeed, that it is not right or possible to bind the consciences of others with hard and fast rules. But since Scripture lays down some general principles for the lawful use of earthly things, we certainly ought to follow them in our conduct.

### **EARTHLY THINGS ARE GIFTS OF GOD**

The first principle we should consider is that the use of gifts of God cannot be wrong, if they are directed to the same purpose for which the Creator himself has created and destined them. For he has made the earthly blessings for our benefit, and not for our harm. No one, therefore, will observe a more proper rule than he who will faithfully observe this purpose.

If we study, for instance, why he has created the various kinds of food, we shall find that it was his intention not only to provide for our needs, but likewise for our pleasure and for our delight. If this were not true, the psalmist would not enumerate among the divine blessings “the wine that makes glad the heart of man, and the oil that makes his face to shine” [Ps. 104:15].

Even natural properties of things sufficiently point out to what purpose and to what extent we are allowed to use them. Should the Lord have attracted our eyes to the beauty of the flowers and our sense of smell to pleasant odors, and should it then be sin to drink them in? Has he not even made the colors so that the one is more wonderful than the other? In one word, has he not made many things worthy of our attention that go far beyond our needs [Ps. 104:15]?

### **TRUE GRATITUDE WILL RESTRAIN US FROM ABUSE**

Let us discard, therefore, that inhuman philosophy that would allow us no use of creation unless it is absolutely necessary. Such a malignant notion deprives us of the lawful enjoyment of God’s kindness. And it is impossible actually to accept it, until we are robbed of all our senses and reduced to a senseless block.

On the other hand, we must with equal zeal fight the lusts of the flesh, for if they are not firmly restrained, they will transgress every bound. As we have observed, licentiousness has its advocates: there are people who under the pretext of liberty will stop short of nothing.

First of all, if we want to curb our passions we must remember that all things are made for us, with the purpose that we may know and acknowledge their Author. We should praise his kindness toward us in earthly matters by giving him thanks. But what will become of our thanksgiving if we indulge in [his gifts] in such a way that we are too dull to carry out the duties of devotion or of our business?

For many so madly pursue pleasure that their minds become enslaved to it. Therefore, it is clear, that the principle gratitude should curb our desire to abuse the divine blessings. This principle confirms the rule of Paul, that we may “not make provision for the flesh to fulfill its lusts.” For if we give our natural desires free rein, they will pass all the bounds of temperance and moderation [Rom. 13:14].

### **BE FAITHFUL IN YOUR DIVINE CALLING**

Finally we should note that the Lord commands every one of us in all the actions of our life to be faithful to our calling. For he knows that the human mind burns with restlessness, that it is swept easily hither and thither, and that its ambition to embrace many things at once is insatiable. Therefore, to prevent that general confusion being produced by our folly and boldness, he has appointed to everyone his

particular duties in the different spheres of life. And, that no one might rashly go beyond his limits, he has called such spheres of life vocations, or callings. Every individual's sphere of life, therefore, is a post assigned him by the Lord.

Our present life, therefore, will be best regulated if we always keep our calling in mind. No one will then be tempted by his own boldness to dare to undertake what is not compatible with his calling, because he will know that it is wrong to go beyond his limits. Anyone who is not in the front ranks should be content to accomplish his private task, and should not desert the place where the Lord has put him. It will be no small comfort for his cares,

labors, troubles, and other burdens, when a man knows that in all these matters God is his guide.

The magistrate will then carry out his office with greater willingness. The father of a family will then perform his duties with more courage. And everyone in his respective sphere of life will show more patience, and will overcome the difficulties, cares, miseries, and anxieties in his path, when he will be convinced that every individual has his task laid upon his shoulders by God. If we follow our divine calling, we shall receive this unique consolation that there is no work so mean and so sordid that does not look truly respectable and highly important in the sight of God.

## LESSON 25

# *Towards a Proper End: Reformations and Counter-Reformations*

### LECTURE 25.1

#### Henry VIII

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Act of Supremacy. What church role was given to Henry VIII? Why was this a problem? How did this role damage the monasteries and convents of England?

.....

#### Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1534)

.....

Albeit the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicans Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, preeminences, juris-

dictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm; any usage, foreign land, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

## LECTURE 25.2

The English Reformation,  
Edward VI and Mary I

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection. How does the marriage service from *The Book of Common Prayer* show a biblical view of marriage? How does this service still influence wedding ceremonies today?

.....

“The Form of Solemnization of  
Matrimony,” from *The Book of  
Common Prayer* (1662)

.....

*At the day and time appointed for solemnization of Matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the body of the Church with their friends and neighbors: and there standing together, the Man on the right hand, and the Woman on the left, the Priest shall say,*

Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together this Man and this Woman in holy Matrimony; which is an honorable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church; which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence, and first miracle that he wrought, in Cana of Galilee; and is commended of Saint Paul to be honorable among all men: and therefore is not by any to be enterprised, nor taken in hand, unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God; duly considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained.

First, It was ordained for the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the

Lord, and to the praise of his holy Name.

Secondly, It was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.

Thirdly, It was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity. Into which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can shew any just cause, why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

*And also, speaking unto the persons that shall be married, he shall say,*

I require and charge you both, as ye will answer at the dreadful day of judgment when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that if either of you know any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, ye do now confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow are not joined together by God; neither is their Matrimony lawful.

*At which day of Marriage, if any man do allege and declare any impediment, why they may not be coupled together in Matrimony, by God's law, or the laws of this Realm; and will be bound, and sufficient sureties with him, to the parties; or else put in a caution (to the full value of such charges as the persons to be married do thereby sustain) to prove his allegation: then the solemnization must be deferred, until such time as the truth be tried.*

*If no impediment be alleged, then shall the Curate say unto the Man,*

(Name), Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honor, and keep her in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?

*The Man shall answer, I will.*



*Then shall the Priest say unto the Woman,*

(Name), Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and serve him, love, honor, and keep him in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?

*The Woman shall answer, I will.*

Then shall the Minister say,

Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?

*Then shall they give their troth to each other in this manner.*

*The Minister, receiving the Woman at her father's or friend's hands, shall cause the Man with his right hand to take the Woman by her right hand, and to say after him as followeth.*

I, (Name), take thee (Name) to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth.

*Then shall they loose their hands; and the Woman, with her right hand taking the Man by his right hand, shall likewise say after the Minister,*

I, (Name), take thee (Name) to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my troth.

*Then shall they again loose their hands; and the Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk. And the Priest, taking the Ring, shall deliver it unto the Man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand. And the Man holding the Ring there, and taught by the Priest, shall say,*

With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and

of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*Then the Man leaving the Ring upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand, they shall both kneel down; and the Minister shall say,*

Let us pray.

O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life: Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy Name; that, as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this Ring given and received is a token and pledge,) and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Then shall the Priest join their right hands together, and say,*

Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.

*Then shall the Minister speak unto the people.*

Forasmuch as (Name) and (Name) have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving of a Ring, and by joining of hands; I pronounce that they be Man and Wife together, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

## LECTURE 25.3

### The Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits and the Huguenots

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following spiritual exercises of Ignatius Loyola. How do these rules show a reaction to the Reformation? How are they different than the theology of the Reformation?

.....

From the *Spiritual Exercises* of  
Ignatius Loyola, translated by Father  
Elder Mullen, S.J.

.....

#### TO HAVE THE TRUE SENTIMENT WHICH WE OUGHT TO HAVE IN THE CHURCH MILITANT

Let the following Rules be observed.

1. All judgment laid aside, we ought to have our mind ready and prompt to obey, in all, the true Spouse of Christ our Lord, which is our holy Mother the Church Hierarchical.
2. To praise confession to a Priest, and the reception of the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar once in the year, and much more each month, and much better from week to week, with the conditions required and due.
3. To praise the hearing of Mass often, likewise hymns, psalms, and long prayers, in the church and out of it; likewise the hours set at the time fixed for each Divine Office and for all prayer and all Canonical Hours.
4. To praise much Religious Orders, virginity and continence, and not so much marriage as any of these.

5. To praise vows of Religion, of obedience, of poverty, of chastity and of other perfections of supererogation. And it is to be noted that as the vow is about the things which approach to Evangelical perfection, a vow ought not to be made in the things which withdraw from it, such as to be a merchant, or to be married, etc.
6. To praise relics of the Saints, giving veneration to them and praying to the Saints; and to praise Stations, pilgrimages, Indulgences, pardons, Cruzadas, and candles lighted in the churches.
7. To praise Constitutions about fasts and abstinence, as of Lent, Ember Days, Vigils, Friday and Saturday; likewise penances, not only interior, but also exterior.
8. To praise the ornaments and the buildings of churches; likewise images, and to venerate them according to what they represent.
9. Finally, to praise all precepts of the Church, keeping the mind prompt to find reasons in their defense and in no manner against them.
10. We ought to be more prompt to find good and praise as well the Constitutions and recommendations as the ways of our Superiors. Because, although some are not or have not been such, to speak against them, whether preaching in public or discoursing before the common people, would rather give rise to fault-finding and scandal than profit; and so the people would be incensed against their Superiors, whether temporal or spiritual. So that, as it does harm to speak evil to the common people of Superiors in their absence, so it can make profit to speak of the evil ways to the persons themselves who can remedy them.
11. To praise positive and scholastic learning. Because, as it is more proper to the Positive Doctors, as St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Gregory, etc., to move the heart to love and serve God our Lord in everything; so it is

more proper to the Scholastics, as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and to the Master of the Sentences, etc., to define or explain for our times the things necessary for eternal salvation; and to combat and explain better all errors and all fallacies. For the Scholastic Doctors, as they are more modern, not only help themselves with the true understanding of the Sacred Scripture and of the Positive and holy Doctors, but also, they being enlightened and clarified by the Divine virtue, help themselves by the Councils, Canons and Constitutions of our holy Mother the Church.

12. We ought to be on our guard in making comparison of those of us who are alive to the blessed passed away, because error is committed not a little in this; that is to say, in saying, this one knows more than St. Augustine; he is another, or greater than, St. Francis; he is another St. Paul in goodness, holiness, etc.
13. To be right in everything, we ought always to hold that the white which I see, is black, if the Hierarchical Church so decides it, believing that between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, His Bride, there is the same Spirit which governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls. Because by the same Spirit and our Lord Who gave the ten Commandments, our holy Mother the Church is directed and governed.
14. Although there is much truth in the assertion that no one can save himself without being predestined and without having faith and grace; we must be very cautious in the manner of speaking and communicating with others about all these things.
15. We ought not, by way of custom, to speak much of predestination; but if in some way and at some times one speaks, let him so speak that the common people may not come into any error, as sometimes happens, saying: Whether I have to be saved or condemned is already determined, and no other thing can now be, through my doing well or ill; and with this, growing lazy, they become negligent in the works which lead to the salvation and the spiritual profit of their souls.
16. In the same way, we must be on our guard that by talking much and with much insistence of faith, without any distinction and explanation, occasion be not given to the people to be lazy and slothful in works, whether before faith is formed in charity or after.
17. Likewise, we ought not to speak so much with insistence on grace that the poison of discarding liberty be engendered. So that of faith and grace one can speak as much as is possible with the Divine help for the greater praise of His Divine Majesty, but not in such way, nor in such manners, especially in our so dangerous times, that works and free will receive any harm, or be held for nothing.
18. Although serving God our Lord much out of pure love is to be esteemed above all; we ought to praise much the fear of His Divine Majesty, because not only filial fear is a thing pious and most holy, but even servile fear—when the man reaches nothing else better or more useful—helps much to get out of mortal sin. And when he is out, he easily comes to filial fear, which is all acceptable and grateful to God our Lord: as being at one with the Divine Love.

## LECTURE 25.4

## Scotland, John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the excerpt from a treatise on justification by John Knox. What is justification, according to him?

.....

Excerpts from a treatise on  
“Justification”

.....

Our whole study should be to adhere unto God; running to him in the time of tribulation, (as doth the wild hart in the burning heat to the cold river), with sure hope of deliverance by him alone; not inquiring his name, that is, the manner how he shall deliver us.

By Faith have we knowledge of God, whom we should seek in his Scriptures, and receive him as he is offered to us thereinto; that is, a Defender, Protector, Refuge and Father inquiring no further speculation of him. For, Philip desiring to see the Father, answered Christ, “Who hath seen me hath seen the Father.” Meaning that the love, goodness and mercy, which God the Father beareth unto mankind, he had expressed in doctrine and works; and also should show a most singular token of love, giving his own life for his enemies. And therefore would all men come to him, to whom the Father hath given all power.

By bodily afflictions our faith is tried, as gold by the fire. They are also a communion with the passions of Jesus Christ. And therefore in them have we matter and cause to rejoice, considering we suffer without cause, committed contrary man. Notwithstanding, the wicked persecute the faithful in all ages as if they had been mischievous or evil doers; as may be seen in the persecution of the Prophets, Apos-

tles, and of Jesus Christ himself. The cause hereof is the neglecting of God's Word, and taking from Faith her due office, whereof riseth all dishonoring of God; for none may or can honor God except the justified man.

And albeit, in diverse men there be diverse opinions of Justification; yet they alone, in whom the Holy Spirit worketh true Faith (which never wane good works) are just before God. The substance of Justification is, to cleave fast unto God, by Jesus Christ, and not by our self, nor yet by our works. And this article of Justification should be holden in recent memory, because without the knowledge thereof, no works are pleasant before God.

Seeing then our Forefathers were not just by the Law, nor works thereof, of necessity must we seek the Justice of another (that is, of Jesus Christ) which the Law may not accuse. In whom if we believe, we are received in the favor of God, accepted as just without our merits or deservings.

The Justice which is acceptable before God hath diverse names. First, it is called the Justice of God, because it proceedeth onely of the mercy of God. Secondly, it is called the Justice of Faith, because Faith is the instrument whereby we apprehend the mercy of God. And last, it is called Justice because by Faith in Christ, it is given us freely without our deservings. But even as the dry land receiveth the rain but all deservings of the self; so receive we the justice, which is of value before God, without all our works: but yet we must suffer God to work in us. And this Justice is plainly revealed in the Evangel, from faith to faith, that is, we should continue in this faith all our life. For the just live by faith, ever trusting to obtain that which is promised, which is eternal life, promised to us by Jesus Christ.

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the selection from “A Letter of Wholesome Counsel” by John Knox. What does Knox say about the importance of regular Bible reading?

.....  
 “A Letter of Wholesome Counsel”  
 .....

Not so much to instruct you, as to leave with you (dearly beloved Brethren) some testimony of my love, I have thought good to communicate with you, in these few lines, my weak counsel, how I would ye should behave your selves in the midst of this wicked generation, touching the exercise of God’s most sacred and holy Word, without which, neither shall knowledge increase, godliness appear, nor fervency continue amongst you. For as the Word is the beginning of life spiritual, without which all flesh is dead in God’s presence, and the lantern to our feet, without the brightness whereof all the posterity of Adam doth walk in darkness; and as it is the foundation of faith, without which no man understandeth the good will of God, so it is also the only organ and instrument which God useth to strengthen the weak, to comfort the afflicted, to reduce to mercy by repentance such as have sliiden, and, finally, to preserve and keep the very life of the soul in all assaults and temptations. And thereof, if that ye desire your knowledge to be increased, your faith to be confirmed, your conscience to be quieted and comforted, or, finally, your soul to be preserved in life, let your exercise be frequent in the law of your Lord God.

Now if the Law, which by reason of our weakness can work nothing but wrath and anger, was so effectual, that remembered and rehearsed of purpose to do it, it brought to the people a corporal benediction, what shall we say that the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus doth work, so that with reverence it be entreated? St. Paul calleth it the sweet odor of life to those that shall receive life, borrowing his similitude

of odoriferous herbs or precious ointments, whose nature is, the more that they be touched or moved, to send forth their odor more pleasant and delectable: Even such, dear Brethren is the blessed Evangel of our Lord Jesus; for the more that it be entreated, the more comfortable and puissant is it to such as do hear, read, or exercise the same.

But if such men, as having liberty to read and exercise them selves in God’s holy Scriptures, and yet begin to weary, because from time to time they read but one thing, I ask, Why weary they not also every day to eat bread? Every day to drink wine? Every day to behold the brightness of the sun? And to use the rest of God’s creatures, which every day do keep their own substance, course and nature? They shall answer, I trust, Because such creatures have a strength to preserve the life. O miserable creatures! Who dare attribute more power and strength to corruptible creatures in nourishing and preserving the mortal carcass, than to the eternal Word of God in the nourishment of the soul, which is immortal!

And therefore, dear Brethren, if that ye look for a life to come, of necessity it is that ye exercise your selves in the book of the Lord your God. Let no day slip or want some comfort received from the mouth of God. Open your ears, and he will speak even pleasant things to your heart. Close not your eyes, but diligently let them behold what portion of substance is left to you within your Father’s testament. Let your tongues learn to praise the gracious goodness of Him, whose mere mercy hath called you from darkness to light, and from death to life.



## LECTURE 25.5

## Elizabeth I and Shakespeare

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read Queen Elizabeth's speech to the troops at Tilbury. How does Elizabeth show leadership and inspire her army before they fight the Spanish Armada?

.....

Elizabeth I's Tilbury Speech

.....

My loving people,

We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery. But I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm: to which rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

I know already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and We do assure you on a word of a prince, they shall be duly paid. In

the mean time, my lieutenant general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following excerpts from the plays of Shakespeare. How do these monologues show the genius of Shakespeare in their range of human emotions and concerns, in their poetry and word play, and in their understanding of morality?

.....

Hamlet's Monologue in *Hamlet*,  
Act 3, Scene 1

.....

To be, or not to be, that is the question:  
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer  
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,  
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles  
And by opposing end them. To die—to sleep,  
No more; and by a sleep to say we end  
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks  
That flesh is heir to: 'tis a consummation  
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;  
To sleep, perchance to dream—ay, there's the rub:  
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,  
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,  
Must give us pause—there's the respect  
That makes calamity of so long life.  
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,  
Th'oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,  
The pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay,  
The insolence of office, and the spurns  
That patient merit of th'unworthy takes,



When he himself might his quietus make  
 With a bare bodkin? Who would fardels bear,  
 To grunt and sweat under a weary life,  
 But that the dread of something after death,  
 The undiscover'd country, from whose bourn  
 No traveller returns, puzzles the will,  
 And makes us rather bear those ills we have  
 Than fly to others that we know not of?  
 Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all,  
 And thus the native hue of resolution  
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,  
 And enterprises of great pith and moment  
 With this regard their currents turn awry  
 And lose the name of action. Soft you now,  
 The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons  
 Be all my sins remembered.

.....

Romeo's Monologue in  
*Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2

.....

But, soft! what light through yonder window  
 breaks?  
 It is the east, and Juliet is the sun!  
 Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon,  
 Who is already sick and pale with grief,  
 That thou her maid art far more fair than she:  
 Be not her maid, since she is envious;  
 Her vestal livery is but sick and green,  
 And none but fools do wear it; cast it off.  
 It is my lady; O! it is my love:  
 O! that she knew she were.  
 She speaks, yet she says nothing: what of that?  
 Her eye discourses; I will answer it.  
 I am too bold, 'tis not to me she speaks:  
 Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,  
 Having some business, do entreat her eyes  
 To twinkle in their spheres till they return.  
 What if her eyes were there, they in her head?  
 The brightness of her cheek would shame those  
 stars

As daylight doth a lamp; her eyes in heaven  
 Would through the airy region stream so bright  
 That birds would sing and think it were not night.  
 See! how she leans her cheek upon her hand:  
 O! that I were a glove upon that hand,  
 That I might touch that cheek.

.....

Portia's Monologue in *The Merchant*  
*of Venice*, Act 4, Scene 1

.....

The quality of mercy is not strain'd,  
 It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven  
 Upon the place beneath: it is twice bless'd;  
 It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:  
 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes  
 The throned monarch better than his crown;  
 His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,  
 The attribute to awe and majesty,  
 Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings;  
 But mercy is above this sceptred sway,  
 It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,  
 It is an attribute to God himself,  
 And earthly power doth then show likest God's  
 When mercy seasons justice. Therefore, Jew,  
 Though justice be thy plea, consider this,  
 That in the course of justice none of us  
 Should see salvation: we do pray for mercy,  
 And that same prayer doth teach us all to render  
 The deeds of mercy. I have spoke thus much  
 To mitigate the justice of thy plea,  
 Which if thou follow, this strict court of Venice  
 Must needs give sentence 'gainst the merchant  
 there.

Henry V's Monologue in  
*Henry V*, Act 4, Scene 3

This day is called the feast of Crispian:  
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,  
Will stand a tip-toe when the day is named,  
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.  
He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,  
And say 'To-morrow is Saint Crispian:'  
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars.  
And say 'These wounds I had on Crispin's day.'  
Old men forget: yet all shall be forgot,  
But he'll remember with advantages  
What feats he did that day: then shall our names  
Familiar in his mouth as household words  
Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,  
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,  
Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.  
This story shall the good man teach his son;  
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,  
From this day to the ending of the world,  
But we in it shall be remember'd;  
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;  
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me  
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,  
This day shall gentle his condition:  
And gentlemen in England now a-bed  
Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,  
And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks  
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

Jacques' Monologue in  
*As You Like It*, Act 2, Scene 7

All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players:  
They have their exits and their entrances;  
And one man in his time plays many parts,  
His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,  
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.  
And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel,  
And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,  
Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad  
Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,  
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,  
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,  
Seeking the bubble reputation  
Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,  
In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,  
With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,  
Full of wise saws and modern instances;  
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts  
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,  
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,  
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide  
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,  
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes  
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,  
That ends this strange eventful history,  
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,  
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

.....

Puck's Monologue in *A Midsummer*  
*Night's Dream*, Act 5, Scene 2

.....

If we shadows have offended,  
Think but this, and all is mended,  
That you have but slumber'd here  
While these visions did appear.  
And this weak and idle theme,  
No more yielding but a dream,  
Gentles, do not reprehend:  
If you pardon, we will mend.  
And, as I'm an honest Puck,  
If we have unearned luck  
Now to 'scape the serpent's tongue,  
We will make amends ere long;  
Else the Puck a liar call:  
So, good night unto you all.  
Give me your hands, if we be friends,  
And Robin shall restore amends.



## LESSON 26

# Lex Rex: *The English Civil War and the Scots*

### LECTURE 26.1

#### James I & Divine Right

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following speech. How does James I reveal himself to be a tyrant?

.....

#### Speech of James I to Parliament (1610)

.....

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself are called gods. There be three principal similitudes that illustrate the state of monarchy: one taken out of the word of God; and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the Scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers *Parens patriae* of families: for a king is truly, the political father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man.

Kings are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth: for if you will consider the attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to

judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both souls and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects, they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only...

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of divinity, That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy...so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws...I would wish you to be careful to avoid three things in the matter of grievances:

First, that you do not meddle with the main points of government; that is my craft...to meddle with that were to lesson me...I must not be taught my office.

Secondly, I would not have you meddle with such ancient rights of mine as I have received from my predecessors...All novelties are dangerous as well in a politic as in a natural body and therefore I would be loath to be quarreled in my ancient rights and possessions, for that were to judge me unworthy of that which my predecessors had, and left me.

And lastly, I pray you beware to exhibit for

grievance anything that is established by a settled law, and whereunto...you know I will never give a plausible answer; for it is an undutiful part in subjects to press their king, wherein they know beforehand he will refuse them.

## LECTURE 26.2

### The Puritans, Charles I, the Scots and the National Covenant

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following sermon excerpt. How does the Puritan Richard Baxter address the heart of a believer?

#### Excerpt from “Signs of Living to Please God” by Richard Baxter

See therefore that you live upon God's approval as that which you chiefly seek, and will suffice you: which you may discover by these signs.

1. You will be most careful to understand the Scripture, to know what doth please and displease God.
2. You will be more careful in the doing of every duty, to fit it to the pleasing of God than men.
3. You will look to your hearts, and not only to your actions; to your ends, and thoughts, and the inward manner and degree.
4. You will look to secret duties as well as public and to that which men see not, as well as unto that which they see.
5. You will reverence your consciences, and have much to do with them, and will not slight them: when they tell you of God's displeasure, it will disquiet you; when they tell you of his approval, it will comfort you.

6. Your pleasing men will be charitable for their good, and pious in order to the pleasing of God, and not proud and ambitious for your honour with them, nor impious against the pleasing of God.
7. Whether men be pleased or displeased, or how they judge of you, or what they call you, will seem a small matter to you, as their own interest, in comparison to God's judgment. You live not on them. You can bear their displeasure, censures, and reproaches, if God be but pleased. These will be your evidences.

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the Petition of Right. What rights does Parliament tell the King are solely theirs? What are *due process* and *habeas corpus*? Why does the petition defend them?

#### Petition of Right (1628)

*The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereunto in full Parliament*

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, bur-



gesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in Parliament:

Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound and make appearance and give utterance before your Privy Council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction from your Majesty or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

And whereas also by the statute called “The Great Charter of the Liberties of England,” it is declared and enacted that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices, by your Majesty’s writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty’s special command, signified by the lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your Majesty’s

great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

By pretext whereof some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, judged and executed.

And also sundry grievous offenders, by color thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forbore to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretense that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of Parliament; and that none be called to make, answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said sol-

diers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical document. What do the Scots in the National Covenant pledge to do? What are their apparent motivations?

### ..... The National Covenant (1638) .....

We Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons under-subscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the King's honour, and of the publick peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils, generally contained, and particularly mentioned in our

late supplications, complaints, and protestations; do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, That with our whole heart we agree, and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and to defend the foresaid true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the publick government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliament) to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations. And because, after due examination, we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications, complaints, and protestations, have no warrant of the word of God, are contrary to the articles of the foresaid Confession, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above-written acts of Parliament; and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the Popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates; we also declare, That the foresaid Confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid Confessions; and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them, amongst other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect; we promise and swear, by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the

days of our life.

And in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before God and men, That we have no intention nor desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority; but, on the contrary, we promise and swear, That we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom; as also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion, and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever; so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular. And that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, by whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction; nor shall cast in any let or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends; but, on the contrary, shall by all lawful means labour to further and promote the same: and if any such dangerous and divisive motion be made to us by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put upon us; seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and our posterity.

And because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our profes-

sion and subscription we join such a life and conversation as beseebeth Christians who have renewed their covenant with God; we therefore faithfully promise for ourselves, our followers, and all others under us, both in publick, and in our particular families, and personal carriage, to endeavour to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man.

And, that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we call the LIVING GOD, THE SEARCHER OF OUR HEARTS, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to JESUS CHRIST in the great day, and under the pain of God's everlasting wrath, and of infamy and loss of all honour and respect in this world: most humbly beseeching the LORD to strengthen us by his HOLY SPIRIT for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with a happy success; that religion and righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of GOD, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all. In witness whereof, we have subscribed with our hands all the premises.

## LECTURE 26.3

### Parliament, Civil War, the Westminster Assembly and Regicide

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selections. How do these passages from the *Westminster Confession of Faith* show a proper distinction between the church and the state? How do they defend the freedom of conscience? How do they show the purpose of government and the duties of a Christian towards government?

.....  
*Westminster Confession of Faith,*  
 Chs. 20 and 23  
 .....

#### OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

1. The liberty which Christ hath purchased for believers under the gospel consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemning wrath of God, the curse of the moral law; and, in their being delivered from this present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin; from the evil of afflictions, the sting of death, the victory of the grave, and everlasting damnation; as also, in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto him, not out of slavish fear, but a childlike love and willing mind. All which were common also to believers under the law. But, under the new testament, the liberty of Christians is further enlarged, in their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law, to which the Jewish church was subjected; and in greater boldness of access to the throne

of grace, and in fuller communications of the free Spirit of God, than believers under the law did ordinarily partake of.

2. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are, in anything, contrary to his Word; or beside it, if matters of faith, or worship. So that, to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commands, out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience: and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also.
3. They who, upon pretense of Christian liberty, do practice any sin, or cherish any lust, do thereby destroy the end of Christian liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life.
4. And because the powers which God hath ordained, and the liberty which Christ hath purchased, are not intended by God to destroy, but mutually to uphold and preserve one another, they who, upon pretense of Christian liberty, shall oppose any lawful power, or the lawful exercise of it, whether it be civil or ecclesiastical, resist the ordinance of God. And, for their publishing of such opinions, or maintaining of such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity (whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation), or to the power of godliness; or, such erroneous opinions or practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against, by the censures of the church.

## OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE

1. God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates, to be, under him, over the people, for his own glory, and the public good: and, to this end, hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defense and encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evildoers.
2. It is lawful for Christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate, when called thereunto: in the managing whereof, as they ought especially to maintain piety, justice, and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth; so, for that end, they may lawfully, now under the new testament, wage war, upon just and necessary occasion.
3. Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and sacraments; or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. Yet, as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or of infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever: and to take order, that all religious



and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

4. It is the duty of people to pray for magistrates, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute or other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority, for conscience' sake. Infidelity, or difference in religion, doth not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to them: from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted, much less hath the pope any power and jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people; and, least of all, to deprive them of their dominions, or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretense whatsoever.

## LECTURE 26.4

### Cromwell, the Protectorate and Milton

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following historical account. How does Macauley describe and evaluate both Cromwell and his soldiers?

.....

From *History of England*, Vol. I, by  
Thomas Macauley

.....

And now a new and alarming class of symptoms began to appear in the distempered body politic. There had been, from the first, in the parliamentary party, some men whose minds were set on objects from which the majority of that party would have shrunk with horror. These men were, in religion, Independents. They conceived that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in things spiritual; that appeals to provincial

and national synods were scarcely less unscriptural than appeals to the Court of Arches, or to the Vatican: and that Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism were merely three forms of one great apostasy. In politics they were, to use the phrase of their time, root and branch men, or, to use the kindred phrase of our own time, radicals. Not content with limiting the power of the monarch, they were desirous to erect a commonwealth on the ruins of the old English polity. At first they had been inconsiderable, both in numbers and in weight; but, before the war had lasted two years, they became, not indeed the largest, but the most powerful faction in the country. Some of the old parliamentary leaders had been removed by death; and others had forfeited the public confidence. Pym had been borne, with princely honors, to a grave among the Plantagenets. Hampden had fallen, as became him, while vainly endeavoring, by his heroic example, to inspire his followers with courage to face the fiery cavalry of Rupert. Bedford had been untrue to the cause. Northumberland was known to be lukewarm. Essex and his lieutenants had shown little vigor and ability in the conduct of military operations. At such a conjuncture it was that the Independent party, ardent, resolute, and uncompromising, began to raise its head, both in the camp and in the parliament.

The soul of that party was Oliver Cromwell. Bred to peaceful occupations, he had, at more than forty years of age, accepted a commission in the parliamentary army. No sooner had he become a soldier, than he discerned, with the keen glance of genius, what Essex and men like Essex, with all their experience, were unable to perceive. He saw precisely where the strength of the royalists lay, and by what means alone that strength could be overpowered. He saw that it was necessary to reconstruct the army of the parliament. He saw, also, that there were abundant and excellent materials for the purpose; materials less showy, indeed, but more solid, than those of which the gallant squadrons of the king were composed. It was necessary to look for



recruits who were not mere mercenaries—for recruits of decent station and grave character, fearing God and zealous for public liberty. With such men he filled his own regiment, and, while he subjected them to a discipline more rigid than had ever before been known in England, he administered to their intellectual and moral nature stimulants of fearful potency.

The events of the year 1644 fully proved the superiority of his abilities. In the south, where Essex held the command, the parliamentary forces underwent a succession of shameful disasters; but in the north the victory of Marston Moor fully compensated for all that had been lost elsewhere. That victory was not a more serious blow to the royalists than to the party which had hitherto been dominant at Westminster; for it was notorious that the day, disgracefully lost by the Presbyterians, had been retrieved by the energy of Cromwell, and by the steady valor of the warriors whom he had trained.

These events produced the self-denying ordinance and the new model of the army. Under decorous pretexts, and with every mark of respect, Essex and most of those who had held high posts under him were removed; and the conduct of the war was intrusted to very different hands. Fairfax, a brave soldier, but of mean understanding and irresolute temper, was the nominal lord-general of the forces; but Cromwell was their real head.

Cromwell made haste to organize the whole army on the same principles on which he had organized his own regiment. As soon as this process was complete, the event of the war was decided. The Cavaliers had now to encounter natural courage equal to their own, enthusiasm stronger than their own, and discipline such as was utterly wanting to them. It soon became a proverb that the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell were men of a different breed from the soldiers of Essex. At Naseby took place the first great encounter between the royalists and the remodelled army of the Houses. The victory of the Roundheads was complete and decisive. It was fol-

lowed by other triumphs in rapid succession. In a few months, the authority of the parliament was fully established over the whole kingdom. Charles fled to the Scots, and was by them, in a manner which did not much exalt their national character, delivered up to his English subjects.

While the event of the war was still doubtful, the Houses had put the primate to death, had interdicted, within the sphere of their authority, the use of the liturgy, and had required all men to subscribe that renowned instrument, known by the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. When the struggle was over, the work of innovation and revenge was pushed on with still greater ardor. The ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom was remodelled. Most of the old clergy were ejected from their benefices. Fines, often of ruinous amount, were laid on the royalists, already impoverished by large aids furnished to the king. Many estates were confiscated. Many proscribed Cavaliers found it expedient to purchase, at an enormous cost, the protection of eminent members of the victorious party. Large domains belonging to the crown, to the bishops, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away or put up to auction. In consequence of these spoiliations, a great part of the soil of England was at once offered for sale. As money was scarce, as the market was glutted, as the title was insecure, and as the awe inspired by powerful bidders prevented free competition, the prices were often merely nominal. Thus many old and honorable families disappeared and were heard of no more; and many new men rose rapidly to affluence.

But, while the Houses were employing their authority thus, it suddenly passed out of their hands. It had been obtained by calling into existence a power which could not be controlled. In the summer of 1647, about twelve months after the last fortress of the Cavaliers had submitted to the parliament, the parliament was compelled to submit to its own soldiers.

Thirteen years followed, during which England

was, under various names and forms, really governed by the sword. Never, before that time, or since that time, was the civil power in our country subjected to military dictation.

The army which now became supreme in the state was an army very different from any that has since been seen among us. At present, the pay of the common soldier is not such as can seduce any but the humblest class of English laborers from their calling. A barrier almost impassable separates him from the commissioned officer. The great majority of those who rise high in the service rise by purchase. So numerous and extensive are the remote dependencies of England, that every man who enlists in the line must expect to pass many years in exile, and some years in climates unfavorable to the health and vigor of the European race. The army of the Long Parliament was raised for home service. The pay of the private soldier was much above the wages earned by the great body of the people; and, if he distinguished himself by intelligence and courage, he might hope to attain high commands. The ranks were accordingly composed of persons superior in station and education to the multitude. These persons, sober, moral, diligent, and accustomed to reflect, had been induced to take up arms, not by the pressure of want, not by the love of novelty and license, not by the arts of recruiting officers, but by religious and political zeal, mingled with the desire of distinction and promotion. The boast of the soldiers, as we find it recorded in their solemn resolutions, was, that they had not been forced into the service, nor had enlisted chiefly for the sake of lucre; that they were no janizaries, but free-born Englishmen, who had, of their own accord, put their lives in jeopardy for the liberties and religion of England, and whose right and duty it was to watch over the welfare of the nation which they had saved.

A force thus composed that, without injury to its efficiency, be indulged in some liberties which, if allowed to any other troops, would have proved subversive of all discipline. In general, soldiers who

should form themselves into political clubs, elect delegates. and pass resolutions on high questions of state, would soon break loose from all control, would come to form an army, and would become the worst and most dangerous of mobs. Nor would it be safe, in our time, to tolerate in any regiment religious meetings, at which a corporal versed in Scripture should lead the devotions of his less gifted colonel, and admonish a backsliding major. But such was the intelligence, the gravity, and the self-command of the warriors whom Cromwell had trained, that in their camp a political organization and a religious organization could exist without destroying military organization. The same men, who, off-duty, were noted as demagogues and field-preachers, were distinguished by steadiness, by the spirit of order, and by prompt obedience on watch, on drill, and on the field of battle.

In war this strange force was irresistible. The stubborn courage characteristic of the English people was, by the system of Cromwell, at once regulated and stimulated. Other leaders have maintained order as strict. Other leaders have inspired their followers with a zeal as ardent. But in his camp alone the most rigid discipline was found in company with the fiercest enthusiasm. His troops moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of crusaders. From the time when the army was remodelled to the time when it was disbanded, it never found, either in the British Islands, or on the Continent, an enemy who could stand its onset. In England, Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, the Puritan warriors, often surrounded by difficulties, sometimes contending against threefold odds, not only never failed to conquer, but never failed to destroy and break in pieces whatever force was opposed to them. They at length came to regard the day of battle as a day of certain triumph and march against the most renowned battalions of Europe with disdainful confidence. Turenne was startled by the shout of stern exultation with which his English allies advanced to the combat, and ex-

pressed the delight of a true soldier when he learned that it was ever the fashion of Cromwell's pikemen to rejoice greatly when they beheld the enemy; and the banished Cavaliers felt an emotion of national pride, when they saw a brigade of their countrymen, outnumbered by foes and abandoned by allies, dive before it in headlong rout the finest infantry of Spain, and force a passage into a countersearp which had just been pronounced impregnable by the ablest of the marshals of France.

But that which chiefly distinguished the army of Cromwell from other armies was the austere morality and the fear of God which pervaded all ranks. It is acknowledged by the most zealous royalists that, in that singular camp, no oath was heard, no drunkenness or gambling was seen, and that, during the long dominion of the soldiery, the property of the peaceable citizen and the honor of woman were held sacred. If outrages were committed, they were outrages of a very different kind from those of which a victorious army is generally guilty. No servant girl complained of the rough gallantry of the redcoats. Not an ounce of plate was taken from the shops of the goldsmiths. But a Pelagian sermon, or a window on which the Virgin and Child were painted, produced in the Puritan ranks an excitement which it required the utmost exertions of the officers to quell. One of Cromwell's chief difficulties was to restrain the pikemen and dragoons from invading by main force the pulpits of ministers whose discourses, to use the language of that time, were not savory; and too many of our cathedrals still bear the marks of the hatred with which those stern spirits regarded every vestige of Popery.

**ASSIGNMENT** — Read the following selection from *Paradise Lost*. What is Milton praising? What images and references does he use?

.....  
*Paradise Lost*, Bk. III,  
 lines 1-12 by John Milton  
 .....

Hail holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,  
 Or of th' Eternal Coeternal beam  
 May I express thee unblam'd? since God is light,  
 And never but in unapproached light  
 Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee,  
 Bright effluence of bright essence increate.  
 Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,  
 Whose Fountain who shall tell? before the Sun,  
 Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice  
 Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest  
 The rising world of waters dark and deep,  
 Won from the void and formless infinite.

## LECTURE 26.5

**Charles II, James II and the Glorious Revolution**

**ASSIGNMENT** — Instead of an exam, read the English Bill of Rights. What abuses by the King are listed? What rights does Parliament have? What rights does the individual have?

.....

Excerpt from the English Bill of Rights

.....

**AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS  
AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT,  
AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION  
OF THE CROWN**

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the Thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-eight, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain Declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following, viz.:

“Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.
2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.
4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.
5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.
6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.
7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.
8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal causes.
9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned, and served on juries in trials, and particularly diverse jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.
10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.
11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.
12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II, having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and diverse principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.
2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.
5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.
7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.
8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.
9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.
10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.
12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.
13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties,

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions

thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly."