

Ministry in Historical Perspective¹

Part I. The Middle Ages

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This presentation is the first of two parts and is a limited survey of the changing concepts of Christian ministry from the Patristic period to about 1500.

Part II will be devoted to the Continental Reformation of the 16th century and include England and Scotland.

These sweeping historical perspectives, I hope, will enable readers and students to grasp the continuity of the story, of course, but also to appreciate the often subtle and often unintended influences and consequences of great and small actions that accumulate over time.

¹ This lecture, its title and its contents, draw heavily from *The Ministry in Historical Perspective*, edited by H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel Day Williams. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Two essays in the volumes that are important for these two papers. First, Roland H. Bainton, "The Ministry in the Middle Ages" (82-109) is of immense importance in dealing with its nooks and crannies on the shore of ecclesiastical geography of the age.

Second, Wilhelm Pauck, "The Ministry in the Time of the Reformation" (110-148) is a valuable piece of work in order to understand the Reformation its context. Furthermore, the Reformers' recovery of ministry, based on Word and Sacrament and a vibrant understanding of the doctrine of the Church and the priesthood of all believers, continues to exert its influence even into the early years of the 21st century.

However, I have expanded the material considerably, as new information and studies become available and shed new light on the subject, two reasons call for these additional reinforcements.

First, to identify the style of ministry as it changes through the ages; and, second, to demonstrate the importance of preaching which, in the Protestant churches, has become the distinguishing mark of Protestantism.

Another important work that influences this presentation and also deals with ministry in the urban setting of the late Middle Ages and the early Reformation is the work of Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*. New York and London: Yale University Press, 1975.

Ozment's study is rich in his use of recently discovered tracts, pamphlets, urban studies and other primary and secondary literature. Some of the primary literature is of recent origin. Ozment's works are interesting and makes exciting reading, as he attempts, successfully, to demonstrate why the Reformation "won allegiance from a broad spectrum of the population, cutting across the barriers of class and education. Tens of thousands of people put aside religious values and practices sanctioned by centuries of tradition and habit"(1).

I recommend the interested student consult Ozment's several books in order to view the Reformation from another perspective other than simply through the eyes of the theologian or the historian.

The unintended influences and consequences reshaped and reconfigured the ministry of the Christian Church in the West during the almost 900 years of the Middle Ages.

The accumulation of decisions change the shape of the Church's ministry through the centuries, influence her worship, shape her liturgy, redirect the Christian purposes of ordinary men and women, reconstitute the work of cure of souls and determine the content of her preaching.

For purposes of organization and clarification, therefore, I have organized our material into three discrete sections. But also I have unashamedly let the materials freely move about in a conversation between and among the centuries and ages under review. I think we can keep the players straight, though.

First, our survey begins with a brief overview from the Age of the Church Fathers, specifically St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine.

Second, attention is drawn to the Middle Ages (600-1500 AD), which prepares the ground for the Reformation of the 16th Century. This section covers 900 years, is developed in greater depth than the Patristic materials and prepares one to place the Reformation in a board context. Some might argue that the Reformation was an inevitable necessity in the return of Christendom to her roots.

Third, in Part II, a study of the Continental Reformation (1500-1600) absorbs most of our attention but the Reformation in England and Scotland cannot and will not be slighted.

The scope of our work will, of necessity, touch on far more than the office of the minister. The office of minister or priest or pastor requires or inherently creates the expectation that the office-holder performs or undertake a range of duties, obligations and responsibilities consistent and as a result of being ordained to the pastoral office.

These duties, obligations and responsibilities may pertain to worship and liturgy or church organization and, ultimately, the role of the parish priest or minister in society. But, collectively, the duties, obligations and responsibilities become the core model of what the minister (1) should be as well as (2) what the minister should do or (3) what the minister should be about in the conduct of the office.

During the course of this presentation, the reader or listener will observe that the office of minister develops and developed, adapts and adapted according to the demands and needs of the age and under strange, particular, unexpected, unwanted and sometimes peculiar circumstances.

In this winnowing process, seeking to separate the wheat of Christian faith from the chaff of worldly power and prestige, The Way becomes reduced to Christendom quite early, creating a hazardous enterprise to the faith of early Christianity and the practice of authentic holiness and piety in every age.

Seen in a larger context and to a large extent, the evangelical developments in ministry and associated topics, occasioned by the appearance of the Reformation of the 16th century, served as a correction to the excesses that had crept into the Roman Catholicism and its ministry. Our story, then, begins in the Patristic period.

I. The Ministry in the Middle Ages and Its Patristic Roots.

Changes in the office of minister toward the end of the late Patristic period are accurately portrayed in the John Chrysostom's essay, *"On the Priesthood."*²

"On the Priesthood" represents a major shift in the thought of the time. John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) defends the monastic life as easier to perform than to "assume the onerous tasks of a parish minister" (82).

In Book IV of "On the Priesthood," Chrysostom explains that "those who allow themselves to be forced into the clerical office, no less than they who enter upon it from ambitious motives, are sorely punished hereafter for their sin."³ Parish ministry is tough!

Explaining his reasoning for accentuating the role of the parish minister, Chrysostom recalls the stories of Eli and Moses and their problems with rebellious sons and a rebellious people, respectively.

Chrysostom argues, quite simply, the life of the monk is safer, easier and comparably free from concerns of this world than rigors encountered in the world of the cleric, who lives in a parish and among people.

In the Patristic age, most notably in the third or fourth century, the monk, either living the eremitic or cenobite life, was believed to be the most rugged form of Christian devotion and life. Chrysostom's essay appears to challenge that notion, indicating a shift in advance in which the parish minister now faces a future in which the tests of the desert will be less a challenge than the tests of the parish.

But, suggesting the in values, St. John Chrysostom's argues, "the priesthood had come to be regarded as more arduous [of the two] and monasticism was defended as the safest way to heaven, for [there] one might not rise too high, neither fall so low" (82) as in parish Church.

In a sense, the monastic life was a quiet ground on which to climb a ladder to heaven. The priest, attempting to climb the ladder to heaven, was actually climbing a rickety religious scaffold and could lose his footing or perhaps his soul on part of the perilous climb.

In the late 3rd or early 4th century, one may rightly conclude Chrysostom sees the office of the minister as the more arduous and hazardous journey of faith when compared to the monastic life. If so, it

² John Chrysostom, "On the Priesthood," *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Philip Schaff, Volume 9, 1st series. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994, 33-83.

³ *Ibid.*, 60.

seems his observation of the difference between the parish priest and the monk fits the conditions one encounters in another important and representative figure of the age, St. Augustine.

St. Augustine (354-430), of Hippo in North Africa, was an outstanding preacher, able administrator (bishop), a pastoral counselor of note and a seminal theologian who, in the future, would, along with the Apostle Paul, influence the course of the Reformation of the 16th century. Like the Apostle Paul, Augustine knew the trials of serving Churches and troubled congregations.

Peter Brown writes in *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*,⁴ the congregation that Augustine served in a small African town of the fourth century could "be narrow, puritanical" and tightly knit in which the mother played a dominant role.⁵

Brown observes that

the congregations who heard Augustine preach were not exceptionally sinful. Rather, they were firmly rooted in long-established attitude, in the way of life and ideas, to which Christianity was peripheral. Among such men, the all-demanding message of Augustine merely suffered the fate of a river flowing into a complex system of irrigation: it lost its power, in the minds of its hearers, by meeting innumerable little ditches, by being broken up into a network of neat little compartments.⁶

Brown contends that in this period, also, the religious imagination of Augustine's hearers was rigidly compartmentalized. That is, there were two spheres, two worlds in which they lived. The two worlds were -- and-- are this world and the next.

Each of the two worlds had a ruler, and while the Creeds might affirm "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," the worshipers held that a different ruler governed this world.

Augustine did not have to contend with some pagan gods, as those who were thought to reside on sacred mountains, Mt. Olympus in Ancient Greece or the sacred precincts of Rome, but other gods that were less entrenched.

Rather than worship strange deities or idols, Augustine's hearers were captive to "faceless" powers, the daily concerns of a man. The daily concerns of a man included "his illnesses, his anxieties, his ambitions, his acute sense of the object of malign influences -- a supreme God, whom pagan and Christian philosophers alike had

⁴ Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.

⁵ Ibid., 247.

⁶ Ibid., 247.

conspired to make too grandiose and too remote from the humble business of living at peace in this world."⁷

Furthermore, Brown contends,

Augustine found himself checkmated by this split in the imagination of his hearers. Christianity, they had been told, was otherworldly. They would keep it so. Christ was eminently suitable as a god of the next world: He was to be worshipped for eternal life; His rites and emblems -- baptism and the sign of the Cross -- would be infallible pass-words to open the next world to the believer. But this world had to be controlled by traditional and well-tried means: by astrologers, by soothsayers and by amulets.⁸

⁷ Ibid., 247.

⁸ Ibid., 247. Browns' observation regarding the otherworldly aspect of Christianity finds support in E.R. Dodds, *Pagan & Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of the Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965. But Dodd's expands the agenda of the Church in many ways, and these ways are appropriate for our study of preaching and worship during the Reformation.

Dodds' account ends with Constantine the Great (274 or 288-337). Yet his observations about the time Christianity emerged from her status as a persecuted sect to the religion of the empire merits thoughtful consideration, because, in a strange way, the world of pagan antiquity and the triumph of Christianity as the religion of the empire relates to the Middle Ages. During the High Middle Ages, issues of church and state were closely intertwined, and this observation holds true even for the Reformation of the 16th century in Germany, though the world of the Middle Ages is drawing to a close by then.

Back to the early Christians, however, Dodds identifies pagan and Christian issues that periodically flare up time and again or emerge from a once thought dormant past and suddenly cast a shadow across the late Middle Ages on the eve of the Reformation. In a sense, one may call the reemergence of old issues as the seed of renewal of the Church.

Therefore, if renewal is the case, it is salutary to recite Dodds five reasons for the "success" of Christianity in the ancient world in order to see how these surface in the late Middle Ages and compare them with what occurs during the early years of the Reformation in Germany and Northern Europe.

First, the exclusiveness and distinctiveness of its worship, now thought to be a weakness by some, was a source of strength in a world that was filled with strong competitors like Mithra, the cult of the Roman army. "The religious tolerance which was the normal Greek and Roman practice had resulted by accumulation in a bewildering mass of alternatives" (133). Too many cults, too many mysteries, too many philosophies of life from which to choose in this early period of the Church's history.

The early Christians, though often not unanimous or in agreement on doctrinal matters, nevertheless sorted the issues out and did not budge on their doctrines or the content of their worship. In retrospect though they argue mightily with each other over issues we may refer to as orthodoxy and heresy, there was greater unity than disunity during the crisis times. One recommends consultation of Harold O.J. Brown, *Heresies: Heresy and Orthodoxy in the History of the Church*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1998. Originally published in 1984, 1988.

Chrysostom's and Brown's observations (about the tasks of ministry facing St. Augustine) regarding the challenges facing a minister in the late Patristic period are invaluable for our task as one anticipates the Reformation of the 16th century.

Unfortunately and reluctantly and belatedly, I acknowledge the same frustrations and challenges continually are at work in the conduct and performance of ministry in almost every period we study, and this is true of the 21st century, too.

This unanticipated course of action should not be surprising if one remembers the chaotic career of St. Paul of the New Testament. And based on 40-years' experience in the parish ministry, the issues we encounter seem so strangely relevant and so fresh and so frustrating. But it has always been that way because we live east of Eden.

Life for people, living in the age of early Church -- an age of anxiety at Dodd's calls it -- through the Patristic period and extending throughout most of the Middle Ages and at the time of the 16th century Reformation, was often harsh, rigorous and uncompromising.

Added to the uncompromising demands to keep body and soul together, whether monk, priest, parish minister, pastor or lay member, or whatever role one held in society, Martin Luther's *Ein feste Berg* speaks of "a world with devils filled."⁹ The Devil intruded and invaded

Second, "Christianity was open to all," but one may assert that catechumen training, often lasting three years before baptism was administered, created an environment in which "no social distinctions were made. [Christianity] accepted the manual worker, the slave, the outcast, the ex-criminal" to name a few who found themselves in the Body of Christ (134).

Third, "in a period when earthly life was increasingly devalued and guilt-feelings were widely prevalent, Christianity held out to the disinherited the conditional promise of a better inheritance in another world. . . [Christianity] was also a religion of lively hope . . . [and as] Porphyry remarked, as other have done since, that only sick souls stand in need of Christianity" (135).

Fourth, "the benefits of becoming a Christian were not confined to this world. A Christian congregation was from the first a community in a much fuller sense than any corresponding group of Isiac or Mithraist devotees... Love of one's neighbor is not an exclusively Christian virtue, but in our period the Christians appear to have practiced it much more effectively than any other group. [Christianity's] members were bound together not only by common rites but a common way of life and, as Celsus shrewdly perceived, by their common danger" (135-36).

Of pertinence to our issues of ministry, preaching and worship, Dodds quotes Arthur Nock who wisely notes, "Pass and Honours standards in the service of God was originally foreign to the spirit of Christianity, and on the whole remained so," but changes were afoot as St. John Chrysostom's essay suggests.

⁹In this connection, see Johannes Nohl, *The Black Death: A Chronicle of the Plague*. Translated by C.H. Clarke. New York: Ballantine Books, 1960. Nohl, drawing for contemporary sources of the time, records the arrival of the Plague in 1348 on three cargo ships filled with spices and rats that arrive in Genoa. The rats scurried down the gangplanks and disappeared into the city. Shortly thereafter, the residents of the city

every sphere of life of clergy and lay, and the demoniac was equally alive in the desert with the fathers and with the people who live in the Patristic period, the Middle Ages, the age of the Reformation and in our time, too.

Threats were perceived everywhere: some were divine, some were earthly. What were his indispensable functions? Desert monks wrestled with demons and devils. Some monks confessed that if they thought they could escape the demons of sexual lust by living in the desert. But they soon learned the great temptations, including lust, were merely heightened and greatly enhanced in the solitude and loneliness of the desert wastes of North Africa, the Holy Land and elsewhere. There was simply no escape from being a fallen human being, an ancestor of Adam or Eve, or living East of Eden.

For reasons that will become clear later in this presentation, the life of a solitary monk gave rise to monastic communities that dotted the landscape of Europe. In the process of change in the early 3rd century, the office of monk or priest was transformed as new duties called forth new responsibilities, some of which we thrust on the clergy from necessity.

II. Functions of the Priest and the Influence of the Environment in which he lived.

If the monk had a code or a rule for living, so did priests of local parishes. Property becomes an issue that requires rules, too. And

noticed an unusually large number of dead rats in city streets, but few people gave it much thought or took much notice. As the rats died by the thousands in the beginning, in a matter of time, people began to die and soon the bubonic plague spread across the Europe. By the early 16th century, the plague continued to flare up from time to time and the Reformers in Wittenberg stood helplessly as citizens died from the periodic reoccurrence of an outbreak of the plague.

Not only was the Black Death to be feared but "stars, dreams, and omens," as Clyde Manschreck notes in *Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer*, were commonplace. As Melanchthon consulted astrology charts, "records show that a large circle of the best scholars of the time were directly associated with Melanchthon in pursuing astrology. The belief that the heavenly bodies prophesied fate, and that one's destiny could be known through a study of celestial movements, was probably the most widely accepted form of *der Aberglaube* [superstition]" (103).

"The eternal struggle between good and evil was objectified during the sixteenth century in demonology. Devils appear everywhere in countless disguises to work demonic evil in men's lives. Melanchthon warned his students about bathing in the Elbe on account of the evil spirits that attacked the bathers. He believed the devil caused nightmares whenever an angel failed to guard one's bedroom, that the devil inspired evil thoughts, brought despair into the heart, used hexes and magic, and might use a man's goodness to take over completely" (107).

A source for the Faust legend is recorded in Manschreck's book. See Clyde Leonard Manschreck, *Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer*. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958.

though property was held in the name of the bishop¹⁰, that is, a corporation, priests "should not meddle in business and if they did, they were shunned" (83). Apparently, the rule of shunning a brother became a necessity because of temptation to spend too much time with property or goods. And the Church will quickly become very wealthy with land, serfs, and animals.

Thus, a priest was not expected to be a merchant or a magistrate or a military warrior. And, of course, exceptions were made but rarely so. But that too will change.

Meanwhile, the monk, to demonstrate the difference between the monk and parish priest, moved toward scholarship and cloistered monastic life, which will play a major role in the preservation and transmission of culture. The cultural artifacts, including manuscripts and arts of several kinds, become precious tools for learning and become the basis for recovery of learning after the so-called Dark Ages of Europe begins to draw to a close. So how and why did this later stage occur?

First of all, the monk who had received high praise by Chrysostom acquired new duties, enlarged obligations and a score of new functions. In St. Jerome of Bible translation fame and a monk himself, the worlds of scholarship and monasticism combined naturally.

The of the Benedictine Order, founded by St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c.550), surfaced in a niche of time, as the world was in convulsion or soon to be. The monastic movement was in position to salvage human beings, preserve and cultivate learning. Meanwhile, other issues confronted the Church and, in the process, reshaped her ministry. In the absence of the authority of the state, the Church stepped into the breach.

Clearly, the known world was in flux and into that void the Church stepped perhaps not with confidence, but resolutely with a sense of administration provided by leadership of Pope Gregory I (590-604). Pope Gregory the Great is remembered for his ability as an administrator or CEO, who developed a business plan for administering the Church's vast holdings, the ones the Lombards¹¹ let remain in the hands of the Church.

¹⁰Bainton notes that while the bishop was the responsible agent of the goods of the Church before the time of Constantine, he, too, must shun any business activity and abstain from all commercial transactions. Furthermore, the bishop must not serve as a magistrate (judge), for if he were in a position to pass a sentence of death or torture, it put the office of bishop in a compromised position. Ambrose, so Bainton observes, was forcibly made a bishop even though he was "a Praetorian perfect, held an impromptu court and passed a severe sentence to show that one who so acted according to the law was disqualified for service of the gospel. The throng as a matter of fact was not deterred, and that in itself was a step toward the Middle Ages" (83-84).

¹¹The Lombard was a member of a Germanic people who occupied Northern Italy in 586 AD.

Suddenly the Pope becomes the quartermaster of his domain, supplying lumber and lead, and supplying the inhabitants of Rome with grain, and supporting a great concourse of nuns who, too, are refugees to the Eternal City. In order to manage this vast estate in the hands of the Church required development of a bureaucracy and a hierarchy of managers.

Bainton writes that reading the correspondence of Augustine and the correspondence of Gregory is striking in the contrasts. The latter reads like a business administrator or a dean of a university, for every letter from the pen of Gregory renders a decision. On the other hand, the correspondence of Augustine deals with the cure of souls. A major shift in the emphasis of the ministry surfaces.

Earlier, the development of monastic life¹² was in keeping with the spirit of the time -- when the world was thought to be falling apart long before it did. And, of course, safety in a time of turmoil was thought to be found in the desert and away from the great cities with their cesspools of corruption! -- and this retreat to the desert naturally drew men and women to communities or to the solitary life.

With the sacking of Rome in 453 AD, streams of high-born Roman matrons embraced the monastic life, dedicating themselves to ministering in hospital to sufferers of the most loathsome diseases (84). Consequently, with a dependable supply of monks and nuns, the monastic cell, once a place of desert solitude, now became expanded to "encompass the study, the hostel, and the hospital" (84).

¹² Kenneth Scott Latourette in his monumental *A History of Christianity* most helpfully reminds reader of the rise of monasticism when he notes that Christianity "prepared a fertile seed bed of monasticism. On the one hand, the level of morality of the average Christian appeared to be sinking and the ardent, their consciences quickened by the high standards of the New Testament, were not content. On the other hand, Christians had long honoured and many of them had practised voluntary poverty, fasting, and celibacy" (224). But why the rise of the monastic movement?

"Political and economic disorders in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries may have bred a sense of insecurity which impelled many to seek escape from the world... The most famous of the early monks was Anthony" (225).

"Anthony represented two types of monasticism. One of these was that of the hermit, the eremetical life, where each monk lived in solitude. The other was a modification of the way of the hermit, in which monks had individual dwellings - a cell, a cave, a hut, or some other shelter -- yet sufficiently near to one another to make fellowship possible. They might even have over them a fellow-monk as a kind of director" (226).

"A third type of monasticism was the cenobitic, in which monks lived in a community or monastery, governed by a head monk and by rules" (227). The pioneer of this kind of life was Pachomius, who was born c. 285 or c. 292 and died in 346. At the age of 20, Pachomius was in the imperial army for a short period of time. While serving in the military, "he was impressed with the thoughtful kindness of Christians in bringing food and drink to the soldiers. Leaving the army, he was given instruction in the faith, was baptized, and joined himself to an ascetic. Some time afterwards he began a monastery, and it became so popular that several others arose. Pachomius ruled over them from a central monastery" (227).

It was during this time and earlier during the decline of Rome that the Church throughout the crumbling Empire acquired enlarged functions, based on a high degree of universality and centralization, which became the model for the high Middle Ages, Bainton suggests.

Suddenly, as it were, the Bishop of Rome, the successor to Peter and Paul, was deemed by the middle of the fourth century to become the perpetual successor to Peter, the first pope of the Roman Catholic Church. The apostle Peter was no longer simply leader of the disciples but was the first bishop of Rome or the Holy Father of the Roman Catholic Church.

Each papal successor after the middle of the fourth century "wielded the power of the keys,"¹³ a concept that surfaces in the discussion on forgiveness, confession, repentance, penance and the issues of pastoral care in the 16th century.

As a result of the barbarian invasions in the West, the traditional functions of the priest continued, of course, but once forbidden tasks now fell into his lap, as if by default. The default occurred when there was no one to fill the gap between state administration, however so humble the task, and the priest's relentless spiritual duties, functions and obligations.

It was at this point that the lines between laity and clergy diverge precipitously and accentuate. The laity assumed a larger role in founding, supplying, and reforming of churches. The monks extended their functions when they became priests.

Meanwhile, the priests became celibate¹⁴ and thus the regular and secular clergy were less to be distinguished. The term "regular" was

¹³ The "power of the keys" will surface again during the Lutheran Reformation of the 16th century but with a decidedly different understanding as presented by Luther and Melancthon. In Luther's *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church or Pagan Servitude of the Church*, Luther explains his theological understanding of the keys in contrast to the Roman Catholic Church's teaching. Speaking of Matthew 16:19, "Whatsoever ye shall bind" , etc.; in 18:18, "Whatsoever ye shall have bound" etc.; and in John 20:23, "Whose so ever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto them", etc. These words evoke the faith of the penitents, and make them fit to receive forgiveness of sins. But in none of their books, teaching or sermons, do the Romanists explain that these words of Scripture contain promises made to Christians; nor do they explain what thing are to be believed, and what great comfort may be gained by doing so. Rather, their object has been to extend their own dictatorship by force and violence as far, as widely, and as deeply as possible. At length, some of begun to command the angels in heaven; they give themselves airs, in their incredibly rampant impiety, as if they had received in these words the right of ruling in heaven and earth, and of possessing the power of 'binding' even in heaven. They say nothing about saving faith required of the people, but are garrulous about the absolute powers of the pope. Christ, however, said nothing at all about power, but spoke only of faith." *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, edited by John Dillenberger. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney and Auckland: Doubleday, 1962, 317.

¹⁴ According to *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, celibacy of the clergy in the West was gradually reached. The earliest canonical enactment was of the Council of Elvira (c. 306). In 386, a decretal of Pope Siricius ordered celibacy for

applied to the monastic because they followed a *regula* or rule. The term "secular" applied to parish clergy because they served *in saeculo*, in the world. The word "secular" had not acquired the connotation of secular in the sense of worldly as we have come to think of it.

priests and levites. Pope Innocent I (402-17) repeated this decretal. Leo the Great (440-61) forbade the higher clergy to put away their wives on the occasion of ordination, but husband and wife were to live as brother and sister. This course drew obvious objections, and eventually councils refused to ordain married men before mutual vows of continuance had been exchanged between the married clergy and their wives. The wives retired to the monastery, or were enrolled in orders of widows or deaconesses.

Practice, however, has not always kept pace with legislation in the matter. There were period in the Western Church between the 10th and 15th century when clerical concubinage has been rife. It was a matter of debate among the Schoolmen whether celibacy was by law of God or the law of the Church. The law of the Church triumphed, but the issue of the concubine did not go away. (*The Oxford History of the Christian Church*, 255-56).

By the time of the pre-Reformation and Reformation, Ozment reports, the issue of women, wives, concubines, multiple female sex opportunities for priests has not gone away. At the outset of the Reformation in Constance, it is estimated that "some 1,500 children were born annually to priests in the diocese . . . for which the bishop received a cradle fee of four gulden - - a yearly take of 6,000 (or 7,500) gulden. Required additionally to concubinage fees and special payments to legitimate children born of such unions."

One occasion a schoolmaster left his wife to become a priest, only to find he could not live in continuance, and so procured a concubine. His wife, discovering the arrangement, returned to her husband and soon took the place of the concubine. When the Church learned of this situation, the priest was ordered to separate from his wife or forfeit his benefice. Choosing the former course of action, he returned to his concubine, paid the fine for concubinage, and continued in his benefice" (Ozment, *op. cit.*, 58).

It becomes immediately apparent that the bishop of Constance had a financial stake in the concubine trade and risked a large loss of income if his ecclesiastical position deteriorated and wives replaced concubines.

Furthermore, Ozment notes, "the prohibition of clerical marriage is supported by many priests because it permits them to have a variety of women. 'It would be too hard for them to live contentedly with one legitimate spouse'" (*Ibid.*, 59).

According to canon law, "clergy were punishable by fine for five sexual crimes: simple concubinage, rape, fornication, adultery, and incest. The basic concubinage fee was one and one-half to two gulden a year, with the relationship permitted to continue as the fee was paid. When a priest who lived in concubinage contracted another relationship (adultery or incest), additional fees were involved for absolution. Conscientiously confessed clerical philandering could be very expensive, and there is much evidence of such conduct among priests, bring them into conflict with the laity and causing many even to carry weapons for their protection. Legitimization of children born in concubinage normally cost one gulden. Bishops, however, also held a 'right of spoils' over the children of priests, which could also be purchased at a negotiated price. Understandably, priests did not take king to the prospects of a bishop becoming their heir through their children" (60).

Seen in this light, then, it is not surprising that "the right and the duty of clerical marriage was accompanied in the Swiss Reformation by the end to the sacramental status of marriage and the rewriting of marriage laws" (61).

The invasion of barbarians altered the social structure and effectively destroyed public order. Goods and life were menaced. The Norsemen continued their major thrusts; the Danes in the West and the Magyars in the East conquered lands and established barbarian kingdoms, and proceeded to wage war against each other, that is, baron fought baron for territory.

These disorders, as Bainton calls them, demanded the building of some walled promontory. The irruption of Islam in the sixth century commenced and made the Mediterranean an Islamic sea.

Commerce declined with the result of a return to an agriculture economy with a system of exchange and barter rather than in coin (85).

In Gaul and later in Northern Germany, secular clergy soon became endowed with large estates, that is, as much as one-third to one-half of the kingdom. Rulers like Charles Martel (c. 690-741)¹⁵ frequently expropriated lands he conquered and passed along the spoils as donations to the bishop. Bishops became obscenely wealthy, and the bishop waved away any conflict of interest between the kingdom of good and wealth and the kingdom of gospel and poverty with the claims that he was acting for the Church. Interestingly enough, large blocks of time were needed to oversee and manage the Church's growing property acquisitions.

Into such a world, a world of change, the Benedictine order that had begun as a regime of manual labor for each of the brothers now acquired lands, too, and the serfs now worked for the monks.

The monks, to their credit, did not throw them off the newly acquired lands, but this shift in the social structure of the early Middle Ages will portend grave consequences for the monk and his ministry in the future.

Now, the monk might become a squire, or if so inclined, the monk might become a scholar with a white hand, indicating no manual labor was part of his monastic vocation any longer, but the monastic vocation had become an exercise of the mind and perhaps enriching and refreshing the soul.

Furthermore, it was during the high Middle Ages, when the new monastic orders "produced wine, wool and grain beyond their needs" and began to dispose of the surplus in the trade channels that opened. The monks outfitted convoys on the roads and organized flotillas of

¹⁵Frankish ruler. An illegitimate son of Pepin, Mayor of the Palace of the Merovingian kings. He showed marked vigor and martial ardor from early years. The greatest event of his career was his victory over the Saracens, who were invading France, at Tours in 732 AD, which, even if its significance has been overestimated, was of decisive importance for the future of Christendom. In his latter years, he penetrated into Germany and Frisia, compelling many of the tribes to pay allegiance to him. He corresponded with St. Boniface and other Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and established friendly relations with the Roman see. Many of his characteristics have been inherited by his grandson, Charlemagne" (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 267-268).

goods on the rivers. Altogether they were the most enterprising businessmen of their day (87).

It was at this time also that the functions of government slowly became the functions of the Church.

Bainton explains,

If Roman citizens were captured by barbarians who had gold if not the bishop of Rome? And if he thus dealt with the barbarians, how inevitable that he should make arrangements and [sign] treaties with their rulers? Little wonder that Pippin, the king of the Franks in 754, recognized the actual conditions when he conferred upon the pope the keys to ten cities that over them he might exercise civil rule. This date is commonly taken to mark the beginning of the estates of the Church over which the people was temporal lord until 1870. His authority was restored in 1929 over the diminished area of Vatican City.¹⁶

In the north, churchmen likewise assumed the functions of government. Since the clergy were the only literate class available, the kings of the Franks drafted them as civil servants. As civil servants, clergy soon began to function in a combined role, namely, a high ecclesiastic and a prime minister or chancellor of the realm. Bainton mentions King Henry II was simply amazed that his favorite Thomas a Becket¹⁷ refused to conform to the king's wishes.

¹⁶ Bainton, op. cit., 87.

¹⁷ St. Thomas Becket (?1118-70), Archbishop of Canterbury. Son of Norman settlers, studied in Paris. About 1141, he became a member of the household of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, who sent Thomas to study law at Bologna and Auxerre, and afterward ordained him deacon, appointed him Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1154. In 1155, King Henry II made him chancellor, and his influence was enhanced by an intimate friendship with the King. Thomas liked hunting and the pomp of the court. During a military expedition to France, he participated in the fighting. As chancellor, his policy was generally in accord with the King's wishes and, unfortunately, sometimes against the interests of the Church. In 1162, Thomas was elected Archbishop of Canterbury at the instigation of the King. Thomas, wise to the way of the world, reluctantly accepted but knew a break between him and the King was inevitable.

Once consecrated to the office of Archbishop, Thomas adopted an austere style of life and resigned as chancellor. Soon he found himself opposed to the King on matters of taxation. The dispute arose over the jurisdiction over criminous or criminal clerks, who were reserved to the ecclesiastical courts.

In 1163, Henry required the bishops to sanction beforehand his so-called 'grandfather's customs', a set of articles shortly to be drawn up, one of its objects being to transfer the trial of criminous [criminal] clerks to secular courts. When the articles were made public in 1164 under the name "Constitutions of Clarendon," Becket firmly refused his acceptance and was immediately subjected to a series of

But

bishops and abbots became rulers in their own domains when the feudal system became established and taxes, military levies, and the administration of justice devolved on the holders of the land. So long as the churchmen held vast estates they could not escape obedience and service to their overlords and protection of their underlings. They had become prince-bishops and prince-abbots.¹⁸

About the year 1000 AD, deflection from the Christian ideal become endemic throughout Christendom, as the Church, through its ecclesiastical leadership, now engaged in warfare.

In the days of invasion, which happened during this frightful period, abbots removed their cassocks and donned armor to repel raiders and barbarians.

Monasteries were circled with walls. Sometimes nuns entered the fray, and in the conflict of baron with baron the churchmen behaved like his neighbor.

reprisals culminating in the demand for a large sum of money in settlement of the accounts during his chancellorship.

When Thomas refused, the King summons the bishops and barons to a council at Northampton to pass sentence on Thomas a Becket. He fled to France and appealed to Pope Alexander III at Sens. During negotiations between the Pope, Henry and Thomas, Thomas stayed at the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny in Burgundy and when the King threatened to expel all the Cistercians from his dominions (1166), Thomas moved to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Colombe at Sens, where he came under the protection of the King of France.

Acting in the office of Archbishop, Thomas excommunicated two of his disobedient bishops and threatened England with the interdict of 1169. In due course, reconciliation was reached between him and the King. The King promised to make amends for the coronation of his son by the Archbishop of York, a flagrant infringement of the prerogatives of Canterbury while Thomas sent Papal letters of suspension to the bishops who had assisted at the ceremony.

Becket crossed to England on 30 November where he was received with popular enthusiasm. He refused, however, to absolve the bishops, unless they swore allegiance to the Pope. Henry, naturally, was furious and uttered some words in a fit of rage which were enough to inspire four knights (Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse, Richard le Breton) to make their way to Canterbury in revenge. Becket was assassinated in his cathedral in the later afternoon of 29 December 1170.

The murder provoked great indignation throughout Europe. Miracles were soon recorded at Becket's tomb and a wide spread cultus developed. On 21 February 1173, Pope Alexander III canonized him and on 12 July 1174 Henry did public penance at the shrine. Becket's remains were translated to their place in the choir (the Trinity Chapel) in 1220 and until the destruction of the shrine under Henry VIII (1538), it remained one of the principal pilgrimage centers of Christendom. Feast day, 29 December (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 146-147).

¹⁸ Ibid., 88.

Illustration of this is found in the action of King Henry II in Germany. A robber baron so devastated the archdiocese of Treves that the archbishop fled. The Emperor selected a hardfisted noble, raced him through the grades of the Church's hierarchy until he became the "new" archbishop of Treves. The newly minted archbishop promptly distributed the goods of the Church to the knights who formed a standing army and repulsed the marauder.

This illustration is not unique, because the aversion of monasticism to war collapsed, Bainton notes, with the founding of the Hospitaliers, Knights of St. John, and the Templers with the enthusiastic blessing of Saint Bernard (1090-1153),¹⁹ Abbot of Clairvaux.

Why did war replace the holiness sought by the monastic orders? Bainton writes, it was seen as the will of God.

The Church was fired with zeal to Christianize every fabric of society and to accomplish this end first of all by emancipating and purifying the Church herself.

The Gregorian reformers were deeply aware of all of the corruptions inherent in the very processes of Christianization. The Church had to be of people in order to win the people and in so doing all too readily became like the people. The warring of bishops and abbots was understandable enough in a disorderly society and might be condoned as self-defense. Yet all too often it became predatory. The immense episcopal baronies had originated innocently out of the very necessities of the situation. Then they had become so lucrative as to tempt the avaricious and the ambitious. The manning of churches by lay patrons, at first a boon, had become a bane, when though their power of lay investiture they consecrated superfluous sons in order to enlarge their domains. The centralizing of political authority in the hands of the emperor was stabilizing but if to this end he determined episcopal appointments his eye might be less directed to saintliness than to amenability. The marriage of clergy was supported by the sanction of eminent churchmen such as St. Ambrose but introduced the possibility of a hereditary episcopacy.

¹⁹ In spite of his advocacy for cause of arms, Bernard remained a devout monk. In one of his treatises Bernard writes, "Remove free-will, and there is nothing to be saved; remove grace and there is left no means of saving. The work of salvation cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of the two," that is, free-will and grace. See *The Oxford History of the Christian Church*, 160.

To cure all of these ills two drastic reforms were launched. The one aimed at the independence, the other at the purity of the church. The clergy were to be emancipated from lay control. They were not to be subject to the civil courts. The Church should administer justice for churchmen. The tonsured were to be exempt from lay authority, and even though guilty of theft, rape, and murder should enjoy the benefit of clergy. The practice of assigning all ecclesiastics to the bishop's court is discernible in England only after the conquest and was a result of the Gregorian reform. Popular sentiment supported this exemption because the secular courts were so severe. On a single gallows one might see twenty men hanging for trivial offenses. The bishop could not impose the death penalty. He might adjudge the accused guilty and turn him over for punishment to the civil power. Commonly, however, he extracted only purgation. He might condemn the culprit to an ecclesiastical prison, but still, there would be no taking of life.²⁰

If the clergy had been willing to surrender the considerable land holdings, which amounted to one-half of the land, the Church would have been free from lay interference completely but, unfortunately, the Church lands had been donated in strips and patches. A king might enjoy a title but his kingdom was an unmanageable domain. While the Church might be free from lay interference, the Church was not entirely independent. The Church have been, of course, if the Church had been willing to renounce its considerable endowments of land and property. The Church was not willing to trust her future to temperamental sovereigns and petty kings. He who owns the gold makes the rules!

But the Church had a unique problem. If bishops were not to be appointed by lay patrons nor swear allegiance to rulers and the Crown, by whom then were they appointed, inducted and invested with the office of bishop?

The Church's unique problem was solved with the introduction of the College of Cardinals. This new ecclesiastical organization had been urged in the 9th century when the clergy of France, who desired a central organization of Church government and the enhancement of the papacy as a defense against kings

²⁰ Bainton, op. cit., 89-90.

and the high-mindedness of overlords, lay and clerical, presented a Decretal.²¹

Not until the 11th century, however, was the idea implemented, and the Cardinals established with the function of choosing popes quite independently of lay directives, so Bainton writes.²²

By this time, the Church hierarchy is not only elaborated but also levels or graduations of clergy are accentuated. It was at this time also that the altar was moved to the rear of the apse, so

²¹ The Donation of Constantine, probably written in the 8th century, was purported to be from the early 4th century and from the Emperor Constantine. In gratitude for his conversion to Christianity, the Donation allegedly given by him, described his conversion, baptism and miraculous healing from leprosy through Pope Sylvester I. It is said that out of gratitude he was making over to the Pope and his successors his palace in Rome and "the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts of Italy and of the Western regions" (Latourette, 341).

From the 8th century onward, it appeared that "the authority of the Papacy in Western Europe was in danger of falling apart into a welter of tribal, royal, and feudal churches, dominated by secular princes, and when the unity provided by the See of Peter afforded cohesion" to the Church and erected a wall against a rising tide of dissolution throughout Western Europe (341).

In the 9th century, the *Decretals of Isidore* appeared. These materials, including the Donation of Constantine, were genuine and some were spurious, but the *Decretals* depicted the popes as claiming supreme authority from the beginning, permitted all bishops to appeal directly to the Pope, thus limiting the authority of archbishops, and regarded all bishops and Popes as free from secular control. In an uncritical age these materials and claims went unchallenged, because they had a ring of authenticity (342).

The ring of authenticity was provided by one Isidore Mecantor, who lived near Rheims, and is said to have collected decisions of councils and Popes from the time of Clement of Rome (c.96), quite likely the third bishop of Rome, and other popes in the late 1st or 2nd century to the 8th century (342).

According to Latourette, "The Papal cause was handicapped [during the 15th century] by the disclosure during the Papacy of Eugene IV that the Donation of Constantine which had so long been important in the foundation on which claims for Papal civil sovereignty had been a forgery. The spuriousness of the document was demonstrated independently by the critical acumen of two scholars of the new age, Nicholas of Cusa in 1433 and Laurentius Valla in 1440" (633-634).

For purposes of our study of ministry and ecclesiastical organization, it is important that we examine the life and teachings of Clement of Rome, an early Church figure. In a genuine epistle, I Clement, written about 96 AD in the name of the Roman Church to deal with a fierce strife in the Church at Corinth, where certain presbyters had been deposed, Clement issued a call to repentance. "He insisted that God required due order in all things and that the deposed presbytery must be reinstated and legitimate superiors obeyed. The Apostles 'appointed bishops and deacons' in every place, Clement writes, and it was they who gave directions how ministry should perpetuate itself. Clement calls the higher class of ministers indifferently 'bishops' [episkopoi] and 'presbyters' [presbuterio]. He refers to 'the offering of gifts' [Eucharist] as one of their functions, and to some or all of them as 'rulers' of the Church. In I Clement and elsewhere in his writing, he offers valuable evidence of the state of ministry in his time and (it has been held) the martyrdoms of Saints Peter and Paul. His epistle was highly regarded, so that it was read in the Church at Corinth along with the scriptures in c. 170" (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 296-297).

²²Bainton, op. cit., 90-91.

that the bishop, who presided, no longer stood behind the communion table or altar but took his place with the other clergy in the choir stall. Though he retained a throne, reminding one that he was essentially a king within an ecclesiastical kingdom, his diocese, he was now seated with the other clergy.

The bishop being seated with the clergy also heightened the distinction between the clergy and the laity. This was done, in part, with gestures, that is, two postures at communion. The bishop or priest stood; the people kneeled. And there came to be two positions. The priest at the altar or communion table; and the people behind the altar rail. Only the priest partook of both elements, the bread and wine. The laity had access only to the bread.

The imposition of celibacy did not occur until nearly 1000 AD. The Bishop of Mans, for example, married and his wife's name was *Episcopissa*. In 966, Rutherius²³, a bishop, declared that

all clergy in his area were married and some of them more than once. If the decree prohibiting repeated marriages were enforced only boys would be left in the Church. He endeavored to institute a reform but was driven to seek the sanctuary of an abbey. At the same time, for centuries an incompatibility had been sensed between sexual relations and ministry at the altar and the married priest was enjoined to abstain during the period of his ministrations.

The Gregorian reform, partly for practical reasons to break up the system of hereditary bishoprics and partly for ascetic reasons because virginity was rated higher than marriage, undertook to make the reform universal. Opposition was intense but the rule became canon law.²⁴

While celibacy was being enforced for reasons of the superiority of virginity and practically to break-up hereditary bishoprics, clergy adopted special dress to demark them as a special class. The purpose of the dress was to enhance their prestige and standing in the community and to guard their morals

²³ Neither Bainton nor Latourette tell us much about this obscure figure.

²⁴ Bainton, op. cit., 91. Canon law is defined, according to *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian History*, as "the body of ecclesiastical rules or laws imposed by authority in matters of faith, morals, and discipline" (228-229, emphasis mine). Sources of canon law include laws promulgated by councils, bishops and, most definitively, the Middle Ages achieved a decisive stage when Gratian issued his *Decretum*. Canon law accumulates and accumulates and is binding on the whole of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Middle Ages in England, canon law was supplemented by local provincial decrees of Canterbury.

by setting them apart. Some complaint was registered, however, "of those clad in scarlet, wearing rings, 'with short tunics, ornamentally trimmed, with knives and basilards hanging from their girdles. The rules prescribed that the head must be tonsured, the beard closely trimming, sleeves must be short, coats long, and colors somber."²⁵ While no specific uniform was mandated as street attire, the most distinguishing characteristic of clergy was the tonsure.

It may surprise modern readers that the civil authorities registered the strongest objections to one of these reforms. On the one hand, civil authorities were not too concerned with dress, unmarried clergy, though some loss of revenue was noted. On the other hand, the strongest objection of the civil authorities was the abolition of lay investiture.

Plainly stated, the objection was: "How can the king be sovereign in his own domain if he could not count on unqualified obedience from subordinates who controlled one-half of the land?"²⁶

To grasp the enormous amount of land under the control of the Church, the See of Peter would rule France, Germany, England and Spain and from Rome!

Further implications were drawn from these reforms. Clergy were exempt from the civil courts. This exemption of clergy constituted a serious threat to the equal administration of justice throughout the realm where the ratio of clergy to laity was estimated as somewhere between 1 to 50 and 1 to 25.²⁷

Opposition was cowed into submission, but only for a few centuries.

Henry II of England (1133-1189), king of England, founder of the Plantagenet dynasty and of the Angevin Empire, who resisted clerical immunities and had the Archbishop killed²⁸, did penance at the Archbishop's tomb to obtain the blessings of the Pope and get into the Holy Father's good graces once more.

Henry IV, king in Germany and Roman emperor (1050-1106), hurled defiance at Pope Gregory VII when the pope categorically insisted on the imposition of clerical celibacy and the abolition of lay investiture²⁹.

For being unwilling to submit graciously, the emperor was excommunicated and his subjects were released from oaths of obedience. Suddenly, the king had no subjects. In order to

²⁵ Ibid., 91.

²⁶ Ibid., 92.

²⁷ Ibid. 92. See footnote 16 of this paper.

²⁸ See page 13, footnote 17 for the murder of Archbishop Becket.

²⁹ Ibid., 92. Lay investiture enabled rulers to appoint to the highest ecclesiastical offices those who were devoted to Imperial interests.

recover his scepter, he had to stand as a supplicant in the snow at Canossa.

From the 13th century triumph of Pope Innocent III (1160-1216),³⁰ the success of the Gregorian reform was accomplished. A culture had emerged properly designated as Christendom.

Bainton identifies the fashioning of Christendom's first stage as the conversion of the north peoples. Example abound from Druids who scarcely beyond human sacrifice and Teutons, worshipping Thor within the sacred oak. These examples have been introduced earlier but are repeated as a reminder of the extent of Christian claims in Europe.

An especially moving sermon by Paulinus is recorded when "he pointed to a swallow flitting through the Saxon banqueting hall from darkness to darkness as a parable of the life of a man, were it not that Christ has shed light and hope on the darkness beyond."³¹

At the opposite end of the Empire, St. Cyril (826-869) and St. Methodius (c. 815-885), The "Apostles to the Slavs,"³² were brothers who came from a Greek senatorial family in Thessalonica. The younger brother, originally Constantine, did not assume the name Cyril until he became a monk in 868.

³⁰ Spaniard by birth, trained in Paris where he studied canon law, rising rapidly in papal service, became a cardinal in 1190 and in 1198 when not yet in priest's orders, was elected Pope in succession to the aged Celestine III (1191-1196).

Lohario de' Conti di Segni, as Pope Innocent III, was businesslike and legal minded. He was sincere, diplomatic but opportunistic, liable to fits of depression, and singularly determined to enforce, extend and define the 'plenitudo potestatis' of the Roman See. Under this papal guidance, he thought it was Rome's duty to infer in secular affairs to control the moral conduct of rulers. The hypothesis for intervention was Innocent thought the papacy was overlord of the earth and its kingdoms.

During his reign, the Lateran Council of 1215 was convened. The council dealt with heresy, especially the Albigensians, and additional reform decrees were passed, encouraging the foundation of schools and a higher standard of conduct for the clergy.

"His pontificate may be considered as marking the climax of the medieval Papacy. He thought of his office in a semi-Divine light, 'set in the midst of God and man, below God but above man.'"

Innocent III was the first to employ the term, "Vicar of Christ." "No king can reign rightly unless he devoutly serve as Christ's vicar." "Princes have power on earth, priests over the soul. As much as the soul is worthier than the body, so much worthier is the priesthood than the monarchy." Innocent III was, as he affirmed, "Melchisedech, the priest-king, who would bring a centralized Christian society into being, and such was his genius, that alone of all the Popes, he was able to convert theory into short-lived but nevertheless active reality." (These quotations are taken from *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 692-693).

³¹ Bainton, op. cit., 93. Cited from *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, II, xiii, tr. L. Gidley, (Oxford, 1870), 150.

³² *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 366.

In 862, the Emperor Michael III sent the two brothers as missionaries to what is now Moravia, where they taught in the language of the people. Almost immediately, the brothers immersed themselves in the language of the people, and Cyril invented an alphabet call Glagolitic or Cyrillic and became the founder of Slavonic literature, adopting Slavonic also for the celebration of the Liturgy and circulating al Slavonic version of the Scriptures. A few years later they journeyed to Rome. In Rome, Cyril died in a monastery shortly after taking monastic vows and was solemnly buried in the church of San Clemente.

St. Methodius was then consecrated bishop and returned to Moravia. But though he was given full Papal authority, he was defied by the German bishops and imprisoned for two years. Pope John VIII secured his release, but he deemed it expedient to withdraw the permission to use Slavonic as the regular language, though the alphabet used by the Slavonic peoples of the Eastern Church was a treasure and a lasting gift of these missionaries to the Slavs.³³

In Prague, July 5 is a public holiday in honor of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. There is a baroque Church (Resslova 9) with a pilastered façade and a small central tower that was built in the 1730s. During World War II, in May 1942 specifically, parachutists who assassinated Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazi governor of Czechoslovakia, hid in the Church's crypt along with members of the Czech Resistance. Their hiding place revealed and rather than surrender to the Germans, the men took their own lives. Some of the outer structure still shows the evidence of bullet holes made by German machine guns during the siege. On the outer wall of the crypt, one may find a memorial plaque recalling this bit of 20th century history.³⁴

The following day, July 6, there is a public holiday to commemorate the death of Jan Hus or Huss,³⁵ an important

³³ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 366. I owe this entire section to the material found in this marvelous dictionary and commend its use frequently and warmly.

³⁴ *Prague*. London, New York, Sydney, Moscow, Delhi: Dorling Kindersley, 2000, 51, 152.

³⁵ The English spelling of his name is John Huss (c. 1369-1415). A Bohemian Reformer, Huss was born to a peasant family at Husinec (whence 'Huss'). He entered Prague University about 1390 and took his Master's Degree in 1396. In 1401, he was elected dean of the Philosophical Faculty and in 1042 Rector of the university. Having been ordained a priest in 1400, he soon became a well-known priest in Czech at Bethlehem Chapel at Prague (Praha). This was a time when he had knowledge of the writings of Wycliffe, for the works of Wycliffe had made it to Bohemia. The connection between Bohemia and England followed the marriage of Anne, sister of King Wenceslaus IV (d. 1419), to Richard II, King of England. In reading Wycliffe's works, Huss was especially attracted to the political doctrines (rejection of the right to property and of the hierarchical organization of society), which had been

Reformer and a predecessor of Luther and the other Reformers of the 16th century.

St. Cyril and St. Methodius, part of the extensive missionary outreach of the Christian Church, spoke eloquently and effectively regarding the death-conquering Christ. In a barbaric and pagan culture, the message of the death-conquering Christ was effectively reinforced by the intercession of saints whose relics were part of the missionary's equipment. Among polytheistic people the saints became successors of the gods.

The missionary enterprise adapted to the needs of this wild and unpredictable frontier mentality long before the American West came into view, as the missionaries brought with them, in addition to the scripture (St. Boniface) and relics, the demands of the Gospel.

The demands of the Gospel were laid on this unbridled people through the use of the penitentials of varying kinds but essential ways to get a grip on the people and get them to conform, as nearly as possible, to the ethical demands of the Gospel.

As Bainton remarks, "Not only were penalties imposed on earth but punishments and rewards offered in the life to come. The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith apart from works was too precarious a word to commit to these undisciplined hordes."³⁶

Students of Christian history recognize that conversion was by peoples and tribes rather than individuals. This practice may strike modern hearers or readers as odd, especially since we are more accustomed to the "demand for a personal commitment" to the Gospel and, in adults, an understanding of faith as a prerequisite to baptism³⁷.

In this context and linked to the missionary enterprise of the time, however, the sage wisdom of the eminent historian of

independently advocated by Jerome of Prague, and was also sympathetic to the teachings on Predestination and the Church of the Elect.

In spite of the condemnation of Wycliffe's writings by Rome, Huss translated the "Trialogue" into Czech. He soon began to preach violent sermons on the morals, or lack of, of the clergy. The Archbishop soon forbade Huss to preach. Finally, Huss was excommunicated and eventually condemned. While in exile before his execution, he wrote his famous "*De Ecclesia*" (1413), the first ten chapters were taken over bodily from Wycliffe's works. He was executed in 1415.

In connection with Wycliffe and his influence, consult K.B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity*. London: English Universities Press Ltd at St. Paul's House, 1952.

³⁶Bainton, op. cit., 93.

³⁷ I do not want to get into a discussion about infant baptism v. adult or believer's baptism at this point, because these issues will likely appear during the course of other lectures during this time. The point that is made is simply this one: tribes and peoples were brought in mass into the Christian camp.

the Christian Church, Kenneth Scott Latourette speaks to this issue and other issues in *A History of Christianity*.³⁸

Latourette writes,

The conversion of the bulk of the Saxons was through the vigorous use of armed force by Charlemagne. Charlemagne was determined to bring the Saxons into his realm and in 772 reduced much of the region to ostensible submission. As part of the process of integration under his rule he insisted upon baptism. He could not always be in the Saxon territories and during his absences repeated revolts broke out. As often as these occurred he returned with fire and sword. He did not depend entire upon armed force. Many of the recalcitrant he moved into the Rhineland among a professed Christian population, thus to facilitate assimilation. He encouraged missionaries, many of them Anglo-Saxons, to come to these kinfolk of theirs and baptize and instruct them. He divided the land into dioceses and had bishops set over them, thus giving the area a comprehensive ecclesiastical organization.

.....

Whether by force or by quiet instruction by missionaries, the Saxons became staunch adherents of their Christian profession. In the next period they were to become the bulwarks of the faith. Before the year 950 beginnings had been made in the conversion of the Scandinavians, the last wave of pagan invasion which was to scourge Western Europe. Willibrord³⁹ made an effort to plan the faith in Denmark, but without success.

³⁸ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, 350-351.

³⁹ St. Willibrord (658-739 AD), 'Apostle of Frisca'. A native of Northumbria, he was educated by the monks at Ripon under the direction of St. Wilfrid. In 678 he went to the Irish abbey of Rathmelsigi (probably Mellifont, Co. Louth), where he remained for 12 years and was ordained a priest. In 690, on a visit to Rome, he secured Papal support for his mission, and on the second visit to Rome, in 695, was consecrated Archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius. On his return Pepin granted him a seat for his cathedral just outside Utrecht, and in 698 he founded the monastery of Echternach in Luxembourg which became an important missionary center. In 714, he was temporarily driven from Utrecht by Duke Radbod, But despite this and other difficulties

.....

Before 950 some of the Scandinavians who settled within "Christendom" accepted baptism. This was the case in England.

.....

From the preceding summary, all too brief, of the conversions of peoples of Western Europe, it will be seen how largely it was by mass movements of entire tribes or peoples, lead by the chieftains or kings. As the numerical triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire had been completed by mass conversion encouraged and latterly enforced by the Emperors, so that in these much small units which made up Western Europe in this period, that faith was adopted as the religion of the community, usually at the command or at least with the energetic assistance of the prince.

We must note the contrast between the theology officially held in the Church in the West and the practice, a contrast which was to continue down to our own day, not only in the Catholic Church of the West, but also in the large wings of its major offshoot, Protestantism. The theology was Augustinian and in theory held that only through God's grace could any one be saved, that the recipients of grace were predestined and that presumably, as Augustine had held, their number was infallibly fixed. As a corollary of predestination all chosen by God would be saved through irresistible grace and the perseverance of the saints. Those not chosen would not be saved, regardless of what they or others, such as missionaries, might attempt to do. In apparent contradiction of that conviction, whole tribes and peoples were baptized and given Christian instruction and the other ministries of the Church.

There seems to be no evidence that any of the missionaries were troubled by this paradox. If they

Willibrord continued his mission work with success, receiving at one stage the cooperation of St. Boniface, and making his way as far as Denmark, Heligoland and Thuringia. This citation is taken from *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1467.

were, they might have taken refuge in the finds of the Synod of Orange⁴⁰ in 529, findings which had Papal approval and which held that by the grace transmitted through baptism all who had received that rite can, if they labor faithfully, do those things which "belong to the salvation of the soul." Since through mass conversions baptism was practically universal and was given in infancy to successive generations, it followed that all might be saved if they worked together with God, performing those things which were held to be commanded by Him through the Church.⁴¹

As Bainton points out, conversion of individuals, rather than by tribe or peoples creates a problem for individuals, who suffer "a complete social dislocation and, disowned by their own people, have had to find a home within a European or Europeanized community. This was not the course adopted in the winning of the West. Commonly kings and queens were converted and at their behest whole peoples received the waters of baptism. Such was of necessity highly superficial and genuine Christianization had to come forward."⁴²

It was now the real work of ministry begins. For instance, the monks and the monasteries, long adapted to rural life and the rural economy, ministered to people in simple ways, from draining swamps to training their children. In some instances, monks served parish churches.

⁴⁰ There were two Councils of Orange. Orange in the south of France was the site of the Synods or Councils in 441 and 529. Our interest lies in the Synod of Orange in 529 when 25 dogmatic *capitula* were issued. These *capitula* upheld many of St. Augustine's doctrines of the nature of grace against the Semi-Pelagianism advocated by one Fautus of Riez, though the Synod of Orange repudiated any predestination of man to evil. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 985.

In order to complete this story, however, some mentioned of Fautus of Riez is in order. St. Fautus (c. 408- c. 490) was a Semi-Pelagian teacher. Probably of British origin or Breton origin, he entered the monastery of Lerins and in 433 succeeded Maximus as abbot. About 459 he became bishop of Riez (Rhegium in Provence), but was later driven from his see by a time by a Visigothic king, Euric, on account of his opposition of Arianizing policy. Requested by Leontius, archbishop of Arles, to refute the predestination doctrines of a certain Lucidus, he wrote his 'De Gracia', a book, which was, approved by the Council of Arles (472 or 473). In 'De Gracia' he adopted a semi-Pelagian position, insisting even more emphatically than J. Cassian on the necessity of human co-operation with Divine Grace, and on the initial free will of men, even when in sin, for the acceptance of that grace. Though his teachings were condemned by the Second of Orange in 529, he is revered as a saint in the South of France. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 496-497.

⁴¹ Latourette, op. cit., 351.

⁴² Bainton, op. cit., 95.

While the monks cherish and even prize seclusion and the solitary life and even prize contemplation, the monk was not withdrawn entirely from the social fabric of community or society.

There was no pope in the 12th century as influential as the monk St. Bernard (1190-1153 AD), Abbot of Clairvaux.⁴³ Surviving letters and sermons of St. Bernard show him rebuking monks for their foibles with an itch of singularity, who enjoy better the singing of one psalm alone in the choir when the other brothers of the monastery are asleep than an entire Psalter in the company of the brothers. These "critical" issues indicate, however, the world is settling-down and society is becoming more stable, but the needs of ordinary people are increasing whether in cities, towns, villages, or hamlets.

Whereas the urban centers often had a cathedral and corps of responsible clergy for the cure of souls, the majority of the population lived in villages or in ecclesiastical terms, vicarages.⁴⁴ The term vicarages arose because the incumbent was commonly a substitute for a more permanent minister or priest. Change was afoot, though.

In the early Middle Ages, a landlord frequently built a chapel and appointed a rector, assigning certain lands for his support. From this arrangement grew the tithe system. But the incumbent was often expected to be the landlord's private chaplain, hunting and hawking companion, and sometimes did not reside on the housing provided and may have even not resided on the property but delegated any ministerial functions to a vicar.⁴⁵ The vicar was the one who did the work of ministry.

Bishops, recognizing the problems, attempted to emancipate the rural churches from lay control. Bainton observes,

One expedient was to assign [vicars] to monasteries, which became themselves, the rectors and the recipients of the revenues. Sometimes they undertook to provide for the cure of souls from their own ranks, but of this arrangement there was grievous complaint inasmuch as the only baptismal font was located at the monastery, and the

⁴³Consult *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 160-161, and Latourette, 424-425 for a brief but adequate introduction to St. Bernard.

⁴⁴Bainton, op. cit., 95.

⁴⁵The term vicar goes back to medieval times when the church or chapels were appropriated to a monastery, which receive revenues from the lands, and employed one of their monks to perform the duties of rector. Later a secular priest, the vicar, who frequently acted as a substitute for the religious house, the monastery, and was a substitute for the often absentee rector was legally a 'Permanent Curate.'

To support the vicar, about one-third of the tithes were set apart as 'small tithes'. The remainder "the great tithes" or two-thirds went to the monastery. One can see why the Reformers' and the citizens of the 16th century came to object to the monastery system, for many of monasteries were wealthy beyond belief, the accumulation of years and years of income with little expenditure. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1417.

villages might be a dozen miles away. In case of extremity an infant might die on the road. Therefore a substitute for the rector, the vicar, was assigned to the parish. His living [however] was precarious since the monastery continued to appropriate approximately two-thirds of the income [for its own purposes whatever they might be] . . . The bishops fought the monasteries on behalf of the vicars and themselves, and if there was no monastery in the picture, the bishop made his own levy.

.....

On the Continent the bishop [himself] often took one-fourth or one-third of the income.⁴⁶

There was an effort to restrict a bishop to not more than a bushel of barley, a keg of wine, and a pig worth sixpence. To thwart this enterprise in his personal fortunes, the bishop pled obligations, for bishops had heavy obligations and social responsibilities.

One bishop reported that he had to entertain three hundred guests on a single day, not to mention 60 to 80 beggars. The expense of defraying the costs of scholars could not be undertaken through an ordinary church living. Since the average vicarage apparently comprised, in England, 4000 acres, one asks, "Why could not this support a vicar?" He had to cultivate his own glebe⁴⁷, the cultivated land he used that was expected to yield one-half of his support. There are reports that some vicars were reduced to theft in order to survive.

If the vicar is a farmer with only crude tools for cultivation, it is little wonder any scholarship time was available for high quality sermons and there was little time for study and learning. Quite likely, there were some bright fellows around but their energy was devoted to survival.

Yet, compared to the villagers, the parish priest or vicar was the most instructed person in the community. To him, his flock turned as counselor, teacher, lawyer, doctor and friend. His major ministerial practice was administration of the sacraments and especially the Latin Mass. If he found it difficult to parse the Latin of the Mass, he nevertheless knew enough to instruct his little flock in the rudiments of faith and conduct.

Speaking of the sacraments as central to his ministering tasks, of course, the administration of baptism was though essential to salvation. If a priest was not present to administer the sacrament to a newly born child, a midwife might administer the sacrament using

⁴⁶ Bainton, op. cit., 95.

⁴⁷ A "glebe" is defined as land belonging to a parsonage. No measure is given.

Latin, good or bad, or even English or some other vernacular if the intent was to baptism.⁴⁸

For the adults, however, the sacrament of great importance was the Mass. Latin was the language, so the laity did not understand the lines or words of the Mass. So went the liturgy, intoned by the priest, and the words of the service were simply inaudible, and especially so the Canon of the Mass.⁴⁹

While the priest was performing the liturgy ('the work of the people'), a congregation was urged to spend time with private devotion. In effect, two parallel services were underway

⁴⁸ Bainton, op. cit., 96

⁴⁹ The Canon ['measuring rod, rule'] of the Mass is "that part of the office of the Mass which immediately follows the Preface and Sanctus and begins with the words 'Te igitur'; it is a succession of short prayers forming the consecratory prayer. Its history and origin are uncertain; it contains ancient parts, which seem to show two streams of derivation. It is generally assumed that he had received its present form by the time of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) to whose work it owes much." J.S. Purvis, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*. London, Edinburgh, Paris, Melbourne, Johannesburg, Toronto and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962, 31.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church goes into detail regarding the Canon of the Mass. The Canon of the Mass is found in all Eucharistic liturgies, Greek and Latin, and is known to have existed in the early 4th century. Ambrose (d. 397) quotes the canon in his 'De Sacramentis.' Its greatest modifications occur under the guidance of Pope Gregory the Great, mentioned above. Early occurrences of the Canon of the Mass may be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, a common but purely conjectural ascription of Pope Gelasius (492-496 AD). Though there are variations to the Canon of the Mass, it soon became a settled and unchanging prayer and achieved almost universal acceptance in the Western Church.

In the Eucharistic rite, the position of the Canon of the Mass is immediately after the Preface and the Sanctus. A Preface may involve "a praise to the Creator in union with the whole company of heaven, with archangels and angels in worship." The Preface varies with the feast observed. The "Proper Prefaces" in the BCP include a Preface for Christmas, Easter, etc. The oldest surviving Roman Sacramentary, the Leonine had a separate Preface for every Mass, the Gelasian had 54 Prefaces, but in the Gregorian Sacramentary, the number had fallen to 10. In the Eastern or Greek Churches, the Preface does not change with the season. Historically, the Preface is the first part of the prayer of consecration or canon; but in the Roman Mass (1961), it is now a separate part and in the BCP it is divided from the prayer of consecrations by the Prayer of Humble Access. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1100.

On the other hand, the Sanctus is the hymn of adoration which follows the Preface in the Eucharist and begins with the words, "Holy, Holy, Holy." It is probably referred to St. Clement of Rome (I Cor. 34.6f) and Origin (Homily in Isaiah 1.2). Based on the Latin of the medieval rite, in the BCP, the Sanctus runs like this:

Holy, Holy Holy,
Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory;
Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Most High.

In a High Mass, the deacon and subdeacon commonly go up to the altar for the Sanctus and, standing respectively on the right and left of the altar, say the Sanctus with low voice while the choir are engaged in singing these magnificent words, "Holy, Holy, Holy . . ." See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1213.

simultaneously: the priest conducting the Mass, the laity doing their devotions.

At dramatic moments, little bells rang to draw attention to the liturgy, such as the Elevation of the Host, and the little dramatic acts were readily intelligible in spite of the fact the spoken words by the priest often were not. Yet if one were observant or simply alert through years of repetition and memory, the medieval Christian could think about the sanctuary, richly endowed with symbolism, candles, incense, gold, silver, precious jewels, relics, and these visual and sensory symbols became "a book to the lewd [ignorant] people that they may read in the imagery and painture that clerks read in books."⁵⁰

Thus, as one tours medieval Churches and pauses to observe and read the stained glass windows, the rose windows, the elaborate carving and sculpture, one senses that importance of imagery and rich symbolism directed, in part, toward the ordinary and simple Christian. These artifacts were the chalkboard, books, television and other contemporary media of the Middle Ages, and will continue to serve in the Reformation of the 16th century but with changes.

Close examination of the scenes in the windows and ornamentation in medieval Roman Catholic Churches engages the observant modern visitor. The 21st century visitor and perhaps worshipper is grasped by the central focus of the sanctuary and standing in the nave recognizes his or her eyes are directed toward the theology of the Medieval Roman Catholic Church: the Passion, the continuing sacrifice of Christ.

With the Passion of Christ placed at the center of worship and the liturgy, the sacramental life of the Roman Church takes visible and audible shape. As Bainton explains,

[the ordinary Christians] knew the Mass arose from the [Lord's] Supper, which the Lord shared with his disciples before he suffered. They knew that it re-enacted the suffering of the Lord. On the altar the cross of Calvary was again set up. If he who there suffered was God then the Incarnation had to be repeated. The very bread and wine change not to the sight of the eye, the touch of the hand, or the taste of the mouth but in substance into the very flesh and blood of God.⁵¹

As Bainton explains,

⁵⁰ Ibid., 96. Quoted from Bernard Lord Manning, *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Eng, 1919), 13.

⁵¹ Bainton, op. cit., 96.

the Passion meant the forgiveness of sins [and] communion with the ever-dying and ever-risen Lord. The Mass was celebrated not simply on behalf of those attending but also for the souls departed whose bodies lay beneath the stones in the cathedral floor. Here the Church Militant met with the Church Triumphant and earthly pilgrims were rapt into the company of the saints in heaven.⁵²

If one understands the rationale of the Roman Catholic Church its elaborate sacramental system and recognizes the enormous influence the Mass held throughout the Middle Ages, then, one begins to grasp the role the sacrament of penance played, as it involved contrition, confession and satisfaction. Penance precedes communion and thus the private confession invites potential problems.⁵³

As we observed in the lecture on pastoral care, the priest met the parishioner in the confessional and subjected the man or woman to a detailed spiritual examination in faith and morals.

Bainton translates, modernizes the language and quotes from John R.H. Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* with respect to the confessional office.

The clergy were taught to probe into the secret places of a man's life so that his confession might be full and nothing kept back from God. Some of the questions which he [the priest] was told to put to the penitent were very searching. "Have you taught your children the [Apostles'] Creed and the Lord's Prayer?" "Have you without devotion heard any predicacion?"⁵⁴ "If your children are 'shrewes' have you tried to teach them good manners?"⁵⁵ "Have you ridden over growing corn?" "Have you left the churchyard open so that beasts go in?" "Have you

⁵² Ibid., 97.

⁵³ The reader is invited to study Steven E. Ozment's *The Reformation of the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*. A recent study by Joy A. Schroeder, "Marguerite of Navarre Breaks Silence about Sixteenth-Century Clergy Sexual Violence," *Lutheran Quarterly* VII:2 [Summer, 1993], 171-190 is compelling reading regarding the sexual violence of some priests toward women, including nuns. Rape, attempted rape, coerced sexual contact, fondling, sexual propositions, and verbal sexual harassment appear to often in the literature to the time to omit or neglect. Both Ozment and Schroeder make compelling cases for the reasons that Protestants, clergy and lay, demanded the private confession be abandoned. Women were not safe from sexual predators when in the confessional booth.

⁵⁴ The definition of "predicacion" is

⁵⁵ A 'screwe' is

eaten with such main that you have cast it up again?" This indeed was a searching cross-examination, from which no one could hope to emerge faultless.⁵⁶

Confession, Bainton argues, expunged sins. And the sacramental life of the Roman Catholic Church, some practices reaching into the pagan past and remote pagan antiquity, were now invested with Christian symbolism and teaching the faithful the meaning of the seasonal round, what we know as the Church or Christian year.

An example of the seasonal round may be observed in how Christmas (Christ-mass) was observed. At Christmas,

Children stole into the church to see the crib . . . At Candlemas⁵⁷ the congregation marched around the church with lighted candles. All received ashes [made from the previous year's Palm branches if such existed or perhaps ashes from some other source] on Ash Wednesday⁵⁸ that they might understand the defilement of sin. On Maundy Thursday, great men washed the feet of the poor. On Good Friday men crept to the Cross in humble adoration of Him who had died for them. On Easter Eve the new fire was hallowed from which the Pascal candle was lighted. At Rogationtide the fields were blessed and religion consecrated daily toil. At Whitsuntide the dove descended from the roof of the church, while clouds of incense perfumed the air. At Corpus Christi time were the glad processions of those rejoicing in Emmanuel, God with us. At Lammas the loaf . . . was presented as an act of thanksgiving. On All Hallows⁵⁹ five boys in surplices

⁵⁶ Ibid., 97. The Moorman quotation is found in *Church Life in England in the Thirteen Century*. Cambridge, England, 1945, 87.

⁵⁷ Candlemas is a festival honoring the Virgin Mary and occurs on February 2, in honor of the presentation of Jesus in the Temple and the purification of the Virgin Mary.

⁵⁸ Ash Wednesday marks the first day of Lent. Lent is an annual season of the Christian year and a season of fasting and penitence in preparation for Easter. The length of Lent is 40 weekdays, not including the six Sundays. Passion or Holy Week begins on Palm Sunday, the Sunday immediately preceding Easter.

⁵⁹ Another name is All Saints' Day. In the Western Church, the first recorded observance is 377. The day of celebration is November 1. The day commemorates all the saints, known and unknown. On November 2, All Souls' Day commemorates the souls of the faithful departed. The observance of this day became universal through the influence of Odilo of Cluny, one of the major monastic and influential Christian communities in the West. Upon Odilo's order, the annual celebration began in 998 in the Benedictine houses of his congregations. Priests, who use the Latin rite, are permitted celebrated three Masses on All Soul's Day (a privilege confined to this day

changed "*Veniti omnes virgines sapientissimae*" in honor of those who had gone in to the marriage supper of the Lamb. On St. Nicholas Day or Holy Innocents [Day] a boy pontificated, reminding all of the command to turn and become as little children.⁶⁰

In discussing the Christian year and before passing to other ecclesiastical pursuits it is appropriate mention carnival, "a period of feasting and merry-making immediately preceding Lent."⁶¹

The carnival served as a break from the labor and routine that encompassed so much of medieval life. The history of carnival begins in pre-Christian Greece and Rome and in Babylonia and Egypt.

The festivals that began the carnival tradition include the Roman Saturnalia.

The pagan Roman Saturnalia was held in honor of Saturn, who in one of his many forms was the god of sowing. His wife, Ops, was also honored as the goddess of crops and the harvest. This festival in honor of the sowing of seed for the coming year and commemorating the happy, classless reign of Saturn was celebrated December 17, and lasted seven days. Social rank was temporarily forgotten, and slaves dined with masters.

and Christmas). The Mass on All Souls' Day contains the famous sequence, *Dies Irae*. *Dies Irae* (Latin for 'Day of Wrath'), the opening words and hence the name, of the sequence of the Mass for the Dead in the Western Church. Its author appears to be a 13th Franciscan, but the author's name is a source of speculation but cannot be ascertained definitively. Originally, it was not intended for liturgical use, as the text is written in first person singular. The first printed Missal containing it as the sequence of the Roman Mass was for a Requiem Mass in Venice in 1493. A Missal is a book containing the necessary words to be said or sung with ceremonial instructions for, the celebration of the Mass. The origin of the Missal as a liturgical book makes its appearance with the 10th century publication of a combination of several parts of the Mass.

In *Dies Irae: The Sequence of the Mass for the Dead Dogmatically and Ascetically Interpreted for Devotional Reading and Meditation*, Rev. Doctor Nicolaus Gohr, provides a Latin and English translation of the text, and then proceeds to expound on "That day of wrath, that dreadful day When heaven and earth shall pass away, Both David and Sibyl say." St. Louis and London: B. Herder, 1927, 10.

A Requiem Mass is offered for the dead, so named for the first word of the opening 'antiphon' of the Roman rite: *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine*. The Requiem Mass has four classes of Requiems: (1) All Soul's Day (November 2), (2) for the death or burial (with modifications for the 3rd, 7th, and 30th day after burial), (3) on the anniversary of the death of a believer and (4) for daily Masses for the dead. This footnote is attributed to several entries in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 97-98. Bainton takes this extensive quotation from R.S. Arrow-Smith, *The Prelude to the Reformation*. London, 1923, 14-15.

⁶¹ See the article "Carnival" in *The Encyclopedia Americana*. International edition, Volume 5 "Burma to Cathay." Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier, 1994, 685-688.

Gifts were exchanged between people of different social positions, and feasting, drinking, and sexual activity were unrestricted. Over the Saturnalia reigned a king chosen by lot, who was burned in effigy at the conclusion of the festivities.⁶²

These agriculture festivals were quite popular in antiquity, and festivals continued during the early medieval period. As with many pagan traditions, the Roman Catholic Church, rather than attempted to eradicate them, permitted their continuance but endowed with Christian meanings.

As example of reinterpretation of a pagan tradition is that the Saturnalia became carnival (from *caro vale*, "good-bye flesh").⁶³ However, the more probable derivation of carnival comes from *carnem levare*, "to put away flesh-meat." Hence, in the Roman Catholic Church calendar, Lent was a time when fasting and abstinence from meat was enjoined on the people.

Pope Paul II (1464-1471AD) ordered a variety of race be held in Rome and introduced masked balls. The Church attempted to curb the pagan excesses that naturally carried over into the festival observance. But, as *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, explains, "Such seasons of feasting and dancing early degenerated into riots, hence the transference of the word to secular festive occasions" was undertaken.⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid. 685. The Greek festival followed the same pattern in most instances. In the Greek festival, Saturn became Cronus, the god of the harvest. The Greek and Roman festivals looked back to a golden age when Cronus reigned. In Cronus's honor, master and slaves shared a common meal during the celebration of the festival.

⁶³ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 239.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 239. W.H. Auden in the Introduction to Loren Eiseley's *The Star Thrower* expressed the idea that Carnival "celebrates the unity of our human race as mortal creatures, who come into the world and depart from it without our consent, who must eat, drink, defecate, belch, and break wind in order to live, and procreate if our species is to survive. Our feelings about this are ambiguous. To as individuals, it is a cause for rejoicing to know that we are not alone, that all of us, irrespective of age or sex or rank or talent, are in the same boat. As unique persons, on the one hand, all of us are resentful that an exception cannot be made in our own case. We oscillate between wishing we were unreflective animals and wishing we were disembodied spirits, for in either case we should not be problematic to ourselves. The Carnival solution of this ambiguity is to laugh, for laughter is simultaneously a protest and an acceptance. During Carnival, all social distinctions are suspended, even that of sex. Young men dress up as girls, young girls dress up as boys. The escape from social personality is symbolized by wearing masks. The oddity of the human animal [being] expresses itself through the grotesque -- false noses, huge bellies and buttocks, farcical imitations of childbirth and copulation. The protest element in laughter takes the form of mock aggression: people pelt each other with small, harmless objects, draw cardboard daggers, and abuse each other verbally [often playfully and with high jest].

"Traditionally, Carnival, the days of feasting and fun, immediately precede Lent. In medieval carnivals, parodies of the rituals of the [Roman Catholic] Church were common, but what Lewis Carroll said of literary parody -- 'One can only parody a poem one admires' -- is true of all parody. One can only blaspheme if one believes. The

The art of preaching in the Middle Ages has drawn attention from a variety of scholars and has produced an equal variety of interpretations. Pope Gregory the Great's *The Pastoral Rule* instructs the parish priest or friar in their pastoral office on how to behave themselves. The pastor

is to be discreet in keeping silence, profitable in speech, a near neighbor to everyone in sympathy, exalted above all in contemplation; a familiar friend of good lives through humility, unbending against vice of evil doers through zeal for righteousness; not relaxing in his care for what is inward from being occupied in outward things, not neglecting to provide for outward things in his solicitude for what is inward.⁶⁵

A pastor is counseled to adapt the Word to the hearer in the pew. But the medieval preacher in most parishes was not able to live up to Gregory's admonitions regarding preaching. Jacob of Voragine, a

world of Laughter is much more related to the world of Worship and Prayer than either is to the everyday, secular world of Work, for both are worlds in which we are all equal, in the first as individual members of our species, in the latter as unique persons. In the world of Work, on the other hand, we are not and cannot be equal, only diverse and interdependent each of us, whether as a scientist, artist, cook, cabdriver, or what has to do 'our thing.' So long as we thought of Nature in polytheistic terms as the abode of gods, our efficacy and success as workers were hampered by a false humility which tried to make Nature responsible for looking at the Garden of Eden on His behalf, and it now seems as if he expects us to be responsible for the whole natural university, which means that, as workers, we have to regard the universe *etsi deus non daretur*: God must be a hidden deity, veiled by His creation.

"A satisfactory human life, individually or collectively, is possible only if proper respect is paid to all three worlds. Without Prayer and Work, the Carnival laughter turns ugly, the comic obscenities grubby and pornographic, the mock aggression into real hatred and cruelty. [The hippies, it appears to me, are trying to recover the sense of Carnival, which is so conspicuously absent in this age, but so long as they reject Work they are unlikely to succeed.] Without Laughter and Work, Prayer turns Gnostic, cranky, Pharisaic, while those who try to live by Work alone, without Laughter or Prayer, turn into insane lovers of power, tyrants who would enslave Nature to their immediate desires -- an attempt which can only end in utter catastrophe, shipwreck on the Isle of Sirens." The context of Auden's remarks may be read in Loren Eiseley, *The Star Thrower*. San Diego, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Janovovich, 1978, 21-23. I find myself in disagreement with Auden at certain points, but for our purposes, his understanding of the complex but essential relationship among Prayer, Work and Laughter seems indispensable in understanding ourselves as human beings and in the context of the medieval or modern world.

It strikes me also that Luther's raunchy and scatological language, while offensive to modern ears (or once was), is an expression of genuine earthiness that takes into account the necessity of Laughter, Work, and Prayer in order to be human. As some of the woodcuts demonstrate there is a measure of truth in raw humor: It gets the point across!

⁶⁵Bainton, op. cit., 98.

prominent figure in 13th century Italy, recognized times had changed from the lofty aspirations for ministry under Pope Gregory the Great.

Indeed, the problem might be with the fishermen, who has been reduced to the role of hunter. In the early days of the Church, he observed, the preacher threw a net and drew in a multitude. Now, the preacher is more like a hunter, who with much labor and outcry, catches a single fish. If in fishing the catch is not large, the reason may lie with the fish, for the fish avoid the net of preaching.

Jacob of Voragine notes,

**They fish at the wrong time, they fish too deep with poor tackle or broken nets, or they fish in the
the
Wrong place. Those who fish among riches, pleasures, and honor, are fishing in the wrong place. Those who look for death-bed repentances, or try to instruct others when they themselves are ignorant are fishing in the wrong time. They who look for money or honor throw their hooks too low, and those who preach in word while their lives do not correspond, fish with broken nets.⁶⁶**

The office of ministry appears to be in the midst of swift transition during the late Middle Ages. Latourette remarks investigations of parish clergy and their ministry by archbishops and bishops

showed substantial numbers of the parish priests did not understand the Latin of the service which they conducted, not even that of the Mass. Very few were familiar with the Bible. The rise and multiplication of universities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries might have been supposed to bring improvement, especially since in some of them the major subject was theology. However, canon law seems to have been more studied than theology, for it was a better road to preferment. Then, too, not many parish priests were university graduates. University men tended to go into the higher ranks of clergy or into teaching, or to be absorbed in the central administrative structure of dioceses and the Papacy. Not all metropolitan cathedrals had occupants for chairs of theology, which were required in principle.⁶⁷

⁶⁶Ibid., 98-99. The quotation is taken from *Materials from the Life of Jacopo da Varagine*, edited by Ernest Cushing Richardson (New York, 1935), 102-103.

⁶⁷Latourette, op. cit., 526.

Based on the evaluation of ministry in the late Middle Ages by several historians of the period, the verdict is clear. Ministry is a high calling indeed, but it just as easily become a haven for the morally lax, the greedy, the scoundrel, the sexual predator and the incompetent occupant in the office of ministry.

John Cyrc (Mirk), a 15th century author in England, issued a booklet, *Instructions for Parish Priests*. It is a marvelous summary of the desirability of a morally secure priest, who life and living matches the words he utters from the pulpit.

The opening section of the booklet is a reminder to the priest that his preaching will be in vain if his life is evil.

*For little of worth is the preaching
If thou be of evil living.*

The priest and preacher must be morally pure, avoid untrue oaths and do not get drunk.

*Taverns also thou must forsake
And merchandise thou shalt not take.
Wrestling and shooting and such manner game
Thou must not use without blame.
Hawking, hunting and dancing
Thou must forgo for anything
Cutted clothes and peaked schoon [shoes]
Thy fame they will for-done
Markets and fairs I thee forbid
But it be for more need.
In honest clothes thou must gone [go]
Basilard and baudrick wear thou none.
Beard and crown thou must be shave
If thou would thy order save.
Of meat and drink thou must be free
To poor and rich by thy degree.
Gladly thou must thy Psalter read
And of the day of doom have dread.
And ever do good against evil
Or else thou might not live well.*

*Women's service thou must forsake
Of evil fame lest they thee make.
. . . Thus this world thou must despise
And holy virtues have in vise [view]
If thou do thus, thou shalt be dear*

*To all men that seen and hear.
Thus thou must also preach
And thy parish gladly teach
When one hath done a sin
Look he lie not long therein
But anyone that he him shrive
Be it husband, be it wife
Lest he forget by Lenten's day
And out mind it go away.⁶⁸*

The poem then goes on to discuss excommunication, baptism, the Mass, behavior in church and worship, payment of tithes, articles of belief and how to conduct confession. Bainton expresses the thought that one may "infer from these instructions that although preaching was enjoined, it was either not too highly regarded or else considered too simple to elaborate."⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Bainton, op. cit., 100. Quoted from John Myrc, "Instructions for Parish Priests," *Early English Tract Society*, 1868, 1-3, modernized English.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 100. The subject of preaching and its quality during the Middle Ages is a matter of debate among scholars. The literature of complaint and denunciation suggests that, at least, some people during the Middle Ages were despondently aware that the quality of the sermons they were hearing were beset with deficiencies.

It make sense to conclude that the activity of the friars in invading parishes in order to supplement the work of the parish priest, particularly at the point of preaching, offers proof of the deficiency of preaching in the typical parish, or else why the need of friars. Who were the friars? Some of them were Dominicans.

The Dominican Order (Ordo Praedicatorum, O.P.) are known as Friars Preachers or, in England, Black Friars (from the black mantle worn over a white habit) or, in France, Jacobins (from their first house in Parish under the patronage of St. James, or St. Jacobus).

The Order began in Bologna in 1220 and 1221 AD. The Order is specifically devoted to preaching and study, and was the first religious order to abandon manual labor and put intellectual work to the forefront. Under the direction of St. Dominic, the Order took definite shape. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans vowed to practice individual and corporate poverty other than their houses and churches and live by begging.

The Order spread rapidly throughout Europe and Asia. In the 14th and 15th centuries, a relaxation of discipline within the Order was agitated by constitutional and disciplinary controversies. After the introduction of the Black Death to Europe, the Dominicans farmed out their exclusive rights to the preaching office and to hearing confessions to individual friars, who retained surplus revenue resulting from emoluments. Such friars lived in luxury and rarely came to the convents.

Nevertheless, from the outset, the Dominicans were mainly interested in education. Every friary was a center of teaching activity, primarily by members of the Order, and they organized a teaching system, "Studia Generalia," and their teaching system usually located in connection with a university. One result is they supplied many of the leaders of European thought of the time. Their specialty was the adaptation of Aristotle to Christian philosophy. Their educational program produced two prominent figures of the age, St. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 413.

The practice of ministry itself was complicated and confused during this time, as one or more wandering priests, ordained, but not adequately controlled by bishops, intruded in parishes, administered the sacraments in disregard for the parish priest. Then, there were, as Latourette observes,

assistant clergy, deacons or sub-deacons. There were parish clerks. There were chantry priests. These last said masses on behalf of the souls of the dead and were supported by endowments left by pious benefactors for that purpose. Frequently they had other duties and were really assistants to the *rector*. All too often their time outside that spend in saying mass was flittered away in idleness or worship. In some parishes there were also chaplains in charge of the chapels which were erected to serve those who lived at inconvenient distances from the parish church. Again and again members of the mendicant orders disregarded parish boundaries and conflicts ensued with the secular clergy. However, by their preaching and example, especially during the flush of devotion in the early days of the orders, the friars helped to raise the level of intelligence and living of the rank and file if the laity. This they did both as a result of their direct impact upon them and indirectly by stimulating the seculars to be more faithful in their ministry.⁷⁰

In the course of time, instruction of the great body of laity appears to have increased over the centuries. Much of this improvement appears to have been done through preaching.

Preaching, once the responsibility of bishops, was now done by parish priests, the mendicant friars and, in some dioceses, energetic bishops were given tangible encouragement in the conduct of their office and carrying out their responsibilities.

In 1281, John Peckham, a highly educated Franciscan, Archbishop of Canterbury, had his provincial synod command the priests to preach each quarter, instructing their parishioners in the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins⁷¹, the seven principle virtues⁷² and the

⁷⁰ Latourette, op. cit., 527.

⁷¹ The seven deadly sins are: (1) pride, (2) covetousness, (3) lust, (4) envy, (5) gluttony, (6) anger and (7) sloth ('Accidie').

⁷² The seven principle virtues are: (1) faith, (2) hope, (3) charity, (4) justice, (5) prudence, (6) temperance and (7) fortitude. The first three are the "Theological Virtues." The remaining four are the "Cardinal Virtues." The definition of cardinal means of prime importance.

seven sacraments⁷³. In more than one country books of sermons were prepared and circulated to assist the priests in their preaching. Instruction also came through religious plays that were given in churches and churchyards. It was further through paintings on the walls of churches, sculpture, and stained-glass windows.⁷⁴

Finally, a word about the use of Church buildings and the congregation in worship and between times. Given the fact that the cathedral or Church building was the only large covered building in the community, it was used for a variety of purposes, including buying and selling. The deportment of the ordinary folk seems to have been uniform whether in worship or in the marketplace set up inside the sanctuary.

Even during the services gallants ogled the ladies, women gossiped, pickpockets stole and prostitutes solicited. The preacher was driven to meretricious devices for attracting attention such as suspending eggs of ostriches in the churches. When the congregation dozed, a preacher cried, "There was a king named Arthur," and as the ears pricked up, he castigated the hearers for listening only when titillated by tales.⁷⁵

Tales indeed if one appreciates the staging of the sermon and the role the participants in the sermon were expected to play. Gibes at

⁷³ From the 12th century onward, the Roman Catholic Church has held there number of sacraments to be seven. They are: (1) baptism, (2) confirmation, (3) Eucharist, (4) absolution, (5) extreme unction, (6) ordination and (7) matrimony.

Though the Roman Catholic Church claims these sacraments have an ancient place in the life of the early Church, it was through the teaching of Peter Lombard in his *Sentences* (c. 1150 AD) that belief in the existence of seven sacraments gained general credence and were different from the other so-called *Sacramentals*.

The *Sacramentals* are certain religious practices, unlike the seven sacraments, were not instituted or commanded by Christ and therefore of relatively much less importance. Their number is undetermined, however, but they are sometimes classified under six heads of praying, anointing, eating, confessing, giving and blessing ('orans,' 'tinctus,' 'edens,' 'confessus,' 'dans,' 'benedicens').

Furthermore, they include the sign of the cross, the saying of grace before meals, the Confiteor recited at Mass and in the Divine Office, vestments, lights, palms and ashes, the Stations of the Cross, litanies, the Angelus, the rosary, the Solemnization of Matrimony (as contrasted to Matrimony itself), the Churching of women and so on.

Roman Catholic theologians hold these acts do not convey grace *ex opere operato*, but assist the soul in the removal of venial sin, mitigate (if rightly used) the temporal punishment due to sin and convey in certain circumstances temporal benefits. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, "Sacramentals," 1199.

⁷⁴ Latourette, op. cit., 527.

⁷⁵ Bainton, op. cit., 101. Moorman, op. cit., 79.

women were especially relished, but the woman had their revenge if they so chose, because they outnumbered the men in worship rather substantially in numbers.

One manual for preachers relates a story that remains interesting to modern hearers. It seems a man wished to dispose of his wife without bring guilt upon his head. He left on a journey and left instructions for two boxes of candy. He instructed his wife under no conditions was she to touch the box which he knew was poisoned and she did not. On his return, as expectantly hoped for, he found she had died.

How this story fit the sermon of the day is unknown but certainly it, and similar stories, must have gripped the listeners for a few seconds, and with varying degrees of appreciation.

If the women were subjected to too much of this sort of story, their revenge was relieved by castigating the men for gluttony, drunkenness, swearing and the like.⁷⁶

As Western Christianity in the late Middle Ages came to a close, Bainton offers a summary that merits masterful reading that merits thoughtful attention. Though he mentions movements that I have not covered, he anticipates issues that surface in the early stages of the Reformation of the 16th century.

I summarize the main points of Bainton's essay, which serve as a masterful and artful summary of the changing role of ministry and church order during the Middle Ages, but not forgetting Chyrsostom and Augustine in the process.

1. The great Gregorian reforms achieved much success at the price of dilution.
2. The peace campaign ended in crusades and crusades fell into disrepute when the very dregs of Europe enlisted for the Holy Land, when Christian princes were willing to sell Christian slaves to the Turks, when financing the crusades

⁷⁶ Ibid., 101. G.W. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, England, 1933), 389-390.

Latourette adds significantly to our understanding of the late medieval period in Western Europe, when he notes that during the 14th and 15th centuries the friars, for example, not only traveled widely and not only preaching dogma, but attacking the amusements and frivolities of both the noble and the commoner.

The friars could be found pillorying the oppression by the lords, the extortions of the merchants, the corruption of the law, and the exactions of the retainers of the mighty. Drunkenness, gluttony, and profanity were denounced, and the saints were praised. Latourette, op. cit., 653.

was a racket, and when disasters made men doubt whether after all *Dieu le Veult*.⁷⁷

3. The imposition of clerical celibacy in the Middle Ages met only restricted success. Many of the clergy refused to abandon their wives but this gallant gesture degenerated into a system of clerical concubinage condoned and even taxed by the [Roman Catholic] Church.

4. A medieval prince-bishop frivolously remarked that as a bishop he was celibate but as a prince he was the father of a large family.⁷⁸

5. The Papacy was invaded by laxity, witness the license of the Renaissance Popes. Nothing happened outside Rome that did not occur inside Rome.

6. The prevalence of irregularities is revealed in the story that word reached a concubinous vicar of the impending visit from the bishop to terminate the relationship. The vicar's lady, carrying a basket, intercepted the bishop on the way, who inquired where she was going. She replied that she was taken a present to the bishop's lady at her lying in.⁷⁹ The bishop paid his call without raising the question.

On another occasion when after a revival in Wales when the clergy resolved to put away their concubines, the bishop actually forbade them because he would lose the revenue derived from the tax on such infractions of the canon law.⁸⁰

5. Though the high watermark of the Papacy was the 13th century, it was a time when sectarian movements began to surface. For instance, a group known as the Cathari⁸¹ came

⁷⁷ Quoted from Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (Amsterdam, 1940).

⁷⁸ Quoted from J.P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays* (Cambridge, England, 1932), 16.

⁷⁹ Quoted Moorman, op. cit., 64.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Smith, op. cit., 46.

⁸¹ The name has been applied to several sects, including the Novatinists of St. Epiphanius and other Greek fathers, and according to St. Augustine, in the form of 'Catharistae' to a group of Manichaeans. The name means "pure" ("katharos") from the Greek.

Most generally, however, the name Cathari is used for several medieval sects, especially in Germany in the 2nd half of the 12th century. From the 11th to the 13th century, there greatest concentration was in Italy and most especially in the district of Milan, the south of France and the Champagne. Pope Innocent III and his successors worked hard to suppress the Cathari. One of their chief opponents was a Dominican, St. Peter Martyr, who was murdered by them. By the 14th century, the Cathari

in contact with another Gnostic group the Bogomili of Bulgaria. The crusades brought them into contact with each other. The Cathari thought of themselves as Christian, employed the Gospels and outdid the most monkish of monks in their austerities.

6. Then there is the case of Peter Waldo, the product of a rising mercantile class in southern France in the 12th century. He sold his goods, gave to the poor and dedicated himself to a life of poverty. He was doing well in the eyes of Mother Church, but he felt the urge to acquaint himself with the Scriptures and began to preach. Since he was an unauthorized layman, he was subjected to theological examination. Contemporary records show he was asked a series of questions. "Do you believe in God the Father Almighty?" "Yes," he replied. "Do you believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord?" "Yes," he responded. "Do you believe in the Virgin Mary?" "Yes" was the answer. "Do you believe in the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God?" "Yes," Waldo responded. A cry of consternation went up, for the expression "the Mother of God" meant Waldo was a Nestorian heretic.⁸² He was refused permission to preach

disappeared from Italy. In Germany they were less important, and confined to the region of the Rhine. Consult *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 247.

⁸² Nestorianism, the doctrine that there were two separate Persons in the Incarnate Christ, the one Divine and the other Human, was opposed by Orthodox doctrine that the Incarnate Christ was a single Person, at once God and man. N. is characterized by rejection of the term "Theotokos," the "Bearer of God". The word was used of the Virgin Mary by the Greek Fathers from Origen onward and increasingly became a popular term in devotion. In 429, it was attacked by Nestorius and his supporters as incompatible with the full humanity of Christ, and the work "Christotokos" as proposed in its place. However, "Theotokos" found a zealous champion in St. Cyril of Alexandria and was formally upheld at the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). After these two councils, "Theotokos" was henceforward held an undisputed place in the Church. In the Western Church, the usual equivalent was not *Deipar* but *Dei Genitrix* ('Mother of God'), with its somewhat difference emphasis.

In light of the foregoing description of the controversy between the Nestorians and the Greek theologians and in the Western Church the idea of "Mother of God," it seems almost natural that from a few scattered references in scripture Matthew 1:2 and Luke 1:2 and then in John 19:25 and in Acts 1:14 that a cult might develop later in the early Church. Both her Divine maternity and her virginity are clearly stated in the Gospels, as noted above. Mary really conceived and gave birth to Jesus, the Son of God (Luke 1:31-33) without losing her virginity (Matthew 1:20, 23 and Luke 1:34f.)

These few references became sufficient for a series of theological statements to be issued on the one hand and the development of devotion to Mary on the other.

Ambrose (c. 390) defended the teaching among others. In the West, Anselm and other formulated their belief in the dignity of Our Lady on the principle that Mary must possess all privileges possible to a creature which are in harmony with her office as Mother of God, the Western term.

but he defied the order and thus became the founder of a schismatic sect.⁸³

This, in turn, eventually led to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as formulated by Dun Scotus and ultimately defined for Roman Catholics by Pope Pius IX in 1854.

According to RC teaching a further consequence of her Divine maternity is her secondary mediatorship. Hence the antitheses between Eve, the cause of our death (Genesis 3) and Mary, cause of our salvation. Mary as the cause of our salvation was drawn out by an impressive list of theologians of the early Church, including Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyril of Jerusalem.

In the 8th century and in the East, John of Damascus calls her mediatrix and Andrew of Crete speaks of her a mediatrix of grace. In the West a few centuries later, Bernard formally teaches a certain subordinate co-operation of Mary in our redemption.

While this development may strike as odd and foreign, it appears that devotion to Mary and belief in the efficacy of her intercession on behalf of sinners is probably very old. Gregory Nazianzus mentions recourse to her protection as of common usage, and her pictures in the catacombs may indicate an even earlier cult. This cult received considerable impetus from the definition of the Council of Ephesus (431), especially in the East. There devotion to the Theotokos became so strong that her name was even placed as a substitute in the official Service Books (Worship Books) in the place of our Lord at the end of liturgical prayers.

In the West or Latin Church, St. Thomas Aquinas formulated the doctrine of the 'hyperdulia' properly honor her. The term 'hyperdulia' means 'more than' 'servitude' or veneration. Stated in simple and practical terms, the special veneration paid to BVM is on account of her eminent dignity as Mother of God. Any veneration of BVM is less than the worship of God but it is higher than 'dulia,' the honor paid to angels and saints. (672). Consult the listings in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

For a pre-Vatican II account of *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism*, I commend Jaroslav Pelikan's volume bearing that name. He writes well and has an intriguing chapter on "Ave Maria." Pelikan explains the RC reasoning like this: "If Christ was holy, he must have been born, without the aid of a human father, of a holy virgin mother; and if the virgin mother was truly holy, she must have remained a virgin all her life." Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism*. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1959, pp. 128-142. Quotation found on p. 131.

⁸³ The Waldenses are a story worth reading. Briefly, the founder of the group is Waldo and was organized as the "poor men of Lyons" in the 12th century. They rapidly grew in numbers and by the 15th century their center was Savoy, where they suffered severe persecution from the ruling House.

In the 16th century, contact was made with the Reformers. In 1522 the Bohemian Hussites (then often known as 'Waldeses') made overtures to Martin Luther. A little later the Waldenses approached the Southern Germany and Swiss Reformers. In 1532, a synod was held at Chanforans in the valley of Angrogne which was attended by Protestant representatives, including G. Farel and Olivetan. The synod adopted a new Confession of Faith which included the doctrine of predestination, and formally renounced all recognition of the RCC, accepted clerical marriage, and ordered communal worship to be open and public.

They enjoyed a brief peace but were subjected to fierce attack under Charles Emmanuel II, Duke of Savoy. Milton's sonnet *Paradise Lost* (1665) aroused much feeling in England, and led to Oliver Cromwell's proclamation of a solemn fast and active intervention on behalf of fellow Protestants. The outcome was twenty years of liberty, but that proved short-lived as the Edict of Nantes (1685) compelled many of them to cross the mountains under terrible conditions to Switzerland. In the 18th century, their lot improved. Napoleon granted them a Constitution in May 1805, which

7. A generation after the Waldo affair, St. Francis found himself in an identical position, but Pope Innocent III, perhaps mindful of the blunder of his predecessor, granted a *quasi* permission, and Francis became a saint in the RCC and the father of a great preaching order.

8. The veritable symbol of the late Middle Ages is Dante Alighieri who even better than the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, conveyed the mood of life lived *sub specie aeternitatis*. Dante, a layman, was an imperialist, not a papist. That is, he favored the emperor rather than the Pope. As such, he was exiled from Florence but his political theory expressed desire to restrict the RCC severely to the political sphere. Highly versed in the universal language of the RCC, the Latin, nevertheless, he composed his great poem of medieval faith in the language of common folk. The *Divina Commedia*, written in the Italian vernacular, expressed Dante's mind, for he desires to see the continuance of the great Christian society under two luminaries, the Church and the State. Yet Dante is critical of particular Popes as were the pre-Reformation prophetic reformers and their movements. In the tradition of the Spiritual Franciscans, Dante portrays Christ upon the Cross, deserted by all save *La Donna Poverta*.⁸⁴

was abolished by Victor Emmanuel in 1814. It was not until 1848, however, when Charles Albert gave them real political and religious freedom. Meanwhile, they received active encouragement from non-RCC Churches. In 1960, their membership numbered about 20,000. Their ministers are trained in a theological school near Rome. The move to Rome from Turin occurred in 1920. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 14341436.

⁸⁴Bainton, op. cit., 109.