Lecture Thirty-Seven
Medieval Political Traditions II

Scope: France and England built powerful centralized governments and have long been taken as the "norm" for European political development. People ask why Germany and Italy are "different." We'll ask that question, too, partly to understand these two areas on their own terms and partly to compare them to England an4 France. What we'll learn is that Western Europe produced a flourishing political variety. Then, we'll ask why Spain has been comparatively neglected. Castile, after all, was as institutionally precocious as England and more tightly unified than France. Aragon/Cataloma was as economically sophisticated as most of Italy. This lecture will, at its core, challenge the Anglo- and Franco-centrism of much historical writing.

Outline

In this lecture, we will consider some areas that did not follow the kinds of patterns evident in England and France.

A. We must avoid the temptation to suppose that centralization was the normal pattern in Europe and that, therefore, such places as Italy and Germany were retrograde.
B. The borders and regimes of European countries have changed repeatedly since late Roman times. Consider, only recently, Germany and Yugoslavia.
C. We must understand that there are individual historical circumstances that defy handy generalizations.

II. Iberia presents an interesting case that, all by itself, reveals several significant themes in European development.
A. As noted in an earlier lecture, an Islamic state based on Cordoba followed the creation of the Abbasid caliphate in the East.
B. The Cordoban regime failed to attain central control, and a series of taifa~—small, autonomous regions—emerged, especially after 1000.

C. Late in the eighth century, the realm of Asturias, in the northwest, launched the Reconquista. But the war began in earnest under Sancho I of Navarre (1000-1035).
1. This long war of reconquest by the Christian realms of Spain-—it ended in 1492—was one of the great dynamics in medieval Spanish history.
2. The second great dynamic was the extraordinarily rich blend of cultural traditions in Spain: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish.

D. Sancho divided his realm between his two sons, laying the foundation for two kingdoms: Castile and Aragon.

E. Castile led the Reconquista and took Toledo in 1085, a great moral victory.
1. Military success was advancedby Rodrigo Dias de Vivar, known in myth and fact as "El Cid."
2. Christian successes led to a Muslim call for reinforcements from North Africa.
3. The Reconquista was halted for a time, but a crusading army landed near what became Lisbon in 1139 and opened a new reconquest front and laid the foundations for Portugal.

F. In the early thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III stirred the Spanish to renewed efforts, and at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the Castilian forces won a great victory. From this point, the outcome of the Reconquista was never again in doubt.

G. Portugal grew more slowly than Aragon and Castile.
1. Aragon became a major Mediterranean power with wide-ranging commercial interests.
2. Castile developed into a significant territorial monarchy.

H. The open question in Iberia was what shape any final settlement might take. This would not begin to be clarified until the end of the fifteenth century.

III. Ireland represents a different case.

A. The Viking attacks in Ireland were initially disruptive, but gradually, the Irish began to unite in the face of a common foe.

B. Brian Boru (976-1014) began to exert some real influence over the island and, after 1100, Church reformers began to create a national Church organized on a strict territorial basis.

C. In the twelfth century, Rory O'Connor turned to England for mercenaries to help him expand his authority. This move awakened the interest of Henry II, who invaded Ireland in 1171.

D. The English are still there! Irish political development was retarded.

IV. In Eastern Europe, promising beginnings always seemed to encounter crushing difficulties.

A. The Polish kingdom waxed on Germany's eastern frontier. It was well governed and firmly anchored in the Western orbit by its decision to embrace Roman Catholicism. But King Boleslav III divided the realm among his three sons in 1138, and for more than two centuries, Poland was disunited and weaker than its neighbors.

B. As another example, we look at Rus, the remote ancestor of Russia.

1. Vikings established a combination trading base and military camp at Kiev in 862.
2. Gradually, this state expanded and entered into commercial and cultural relations with Byzantium, from which it accepted Orthodox Christianity.
3. Yet weak leaders, aristocratic factionalism, repeated attacks by Steppe peoples, and finally, the Móngol invasions destroyed this state.

V. Italy offers yet another set of examples.

A. First of all, we need to recognize that Italy per se did not exist. There were three main zones.

1. The south was a land of constant external intervention: Byzantines first, then Muslims from North Africa, followed by Normans, followed in turn by the Germans and French, who were succeeded by the Aragonese. In spite of this turmoil, the region was prosperous and culturally precocious.

2. The center of the peninsula was, for long periods, dominated by the popes, but the papal state expanded and contracted many times.
3. The north was dominated by the Carolingians, then, after 962, by the Germans. This domination was resisted, sometimes effectively, but the region never approached a coherent, unitary political growth.

B. The dominant development in Italy was the emergence of the communes, one of the most creative of all medieval political experiments.

1. Roots of the communes were in>the rising agricultural prosperity of the Italian countryside and the burgeoning wealth of the towns.

2. Townsfolk sought ways to avoid the domination of the popes, or local bishops, or German-introduced counts.
3. Groups of prominent townsmen formed sworn associations called *communes;* the goal was to act in common and to represent their interests effectively.
4. The leaders called themselves the *popolo—the* people—but the communes were not democratic. In fact, they were intensely volatile.
5. Repeated and sometimes violent civil disturbances led to a sharing of power among merchant elites, leading manufacturers and artisans, and the upper echelons of the workers.
6. Ironically, Italian towns began as communities dominated by German or ecclesiastical lords, shifted power to local economic elites, and shared power more widely among townspeople, only to wind up in most cases as despotisms.
7. In Italy, remember, one can talk about Florence, or Milan, or Venice, but not of "Italy."

VI. Germany is yet another case with its own variations.

A. The German lands were outside the Roman Empire. They had no heritage of towns, roads, or institutions. The area was overwhelmingly rural, even by medieval standards. The Carolingians had had only a brief time to introduce some semblance of authority.
B. When the Carolingians died out in 911, the various German dukes turned to the most powerful of their number, the duke of Saxony. The Saxons (or "Ottonians" after Otto I, II, III) built the strongest state in the tenth century.
   1. They fought successful wars against their Viking, Slavic, and Magyar neighbors.
   2. They tightly controlled the Church, believing, in the best Carolingian tradition, that the king was the special agent of God.
   3. They gained immense prestige by becoming emperors in 962.
   4. The used marriage alliances, diplomacy, and intimidation to attempt to control the dukes elsewhere in Germany.
C. Yet the promising Ottoman system failed.
   1. Military expansion ended.
   2. The dynasty died out in 1002. This would happen again in 1024, 1125, and *1250*. England shows that dynastic continuity is not critical all by itself, but Germany lacked England's other stabilizing resources.
   3. The rulers never found a formula that let them exert control over more than one or two of Germany's five main duchies.
   4. The Italian entanglements brought some financial resources and prestige but were also costly.
   5. The gravest problem was the struggle with the popes, sometimes called the "investiture controversy."
   6. In the middle of the eleventh century, the German kings and emperors ran into a reformed papacy that believed that lay control of Church affairs was the chief impediment to moral reform in Europe.
   7. German rulers believed themselves, not the popes, to be the heads of the earthly hierarchy and a reflection of the heavenly realm.
   8. Finally, in a society that defined its ends and purposes in religious terms, the ecclesiastical authorities were bound to win an ideological battle over authority.

VII. Speaking of the Roman Church, one of the most remarkable state-like entities of the High Middle Ages was the Roman Catholic Church.

A. As we will see in more detail in the next lecture, it developed the most sophisticated legal system in Europe.
B. The *curia*, the central court of the Church, expanded significantly.
   1. The College of Cardinals emerged as a kind of "senate" of the Church.
   2. Lateran Councils became Church-wide parliaments; the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 exerted more influence on the lives of ordinary people than any council since antiquity or before Trent in the sixteenth century.
   3. Legal and financial machinery was elaborated to collect fees and revenues and to adjudicate controversies from the Church.
   4. The system of legates put the popes into regular touch with peoples and governments.
C. Disciplinary mechanisms were more widely applied by the popes.
   1. Excommunication, exclusion of an individual from the sacraments, was a form of social death and highly persuasive as a corrective measure.
   2. Interdict was the denial of most sacramental services in a specified region for the purpose of inducing local authorities to behave in a particular way.
   3. Inquisition was a formal judicial procedure developed to identify and correct heresy.
D. Scholars speak of the "papal monarchy." Certainly, the popes led the Church more fully and effectively than ever before. Even so, their leadership in European society was on the verge of severe challenges.

VIII. The great lesson of high medieval political development is that an astonishing array of entities all drawing on Roman, Christian, and ethnic traditions created a bewildering spectrum of political possibilities. In this world, one must not look for winners and losers. Rather, one must stand gape-jawed before their creativity.

Essential Reading:

Reilly, *The Medieval Spains.*

Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*.

Martin, *Medieval Russia*.

Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany.*

Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*.
Recommended Reading:
The Poem of the Cid.

Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid*.

Questions to Consider:
1. What are the greatest similarities and differences you see in the political development of European states?
2. What are some of the roles, both positive and negative, played by religion in the formation of medieval states?

Lecture Thirty-Eight
Scholastic Culture

Scope: Scholasticism is a convenient name for an intellectual tradition based on dialectic, for the teaching methods of the medieval schools, and for the philosophy and theology of the medieval universities. We'll begin with a survey of the Latin culture of the medieval schools and Church. We'll ask why dialectic (logic) came to predominate among the liberal arts and with what consequences. We will also encounter brilliant and eccentric figures, such as Anselm, Peter Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas, and study the origins and early history of Europe's universities.

Outline

Scholasticism is a convenient catchall term for the dominant Latin intellectual culture of high medieval Europe. A few preliminary considerations will help to place scholastic culture in perspective.

A. Some Latin literature was not "scholastic."
   1. The commonest form of Latin writing was letters. Some of these were elegant literary compositions—the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise, for example, but most correspondence was bureaucratic and governmental, such as thousands of papal letters, or letters written by scholars, such as

Hildegard of Bingen or John of Salisbury, keeping up with their friends.

2. Mystical writers, such as Bernard of Clairvaux or the members of the school of St. Victor in Paris, wrote learned but deeply affective treatises that were, in important respects, conceived in opposition to scholasticism.
3. Satire was revived as a literary form for the first time since late antiquity. *The Gospel According to the Silver Marks* was a devastating twelfth-century critique of clerical wealth and excess.
4. There was a vast corpus of poetry, too. Most of it was religious but not all. Here is a sample of one of the "Goliard" poems --medieval student ditties:

In the public house to die
Is my resolution:
Let wine to my lips be nigh
At life's dissolution:
That will make the angels cry,
With glad elocution
"Grant this drunkard God on high,
Grace and Absolution."

5. A figure such as Peter Abelard can reveal the cross-currents of the age in his poems, for example, "David's Lament for Jonathan." Anyone who read this poem knew of Abelard's ill-fated love affair with Heloise:

Low in thy grave with thee
Happy to lie,
Since there's no greater thing left Love to do;
And to live after thee
Is but to die,
For with but half a soul what can life do?
So share thy victory,
Or else thy grave,
Either to rescue thee, or with thee lie:
Ending that life for thee,
That thou didst save
So Death that sundereth might bring more nigh.
Peace, 0 my stricken lute!
Thy strings are sleeping
Would that my heart could still Its bitter weeping!

B. The culture of high medieval Europe would be inconceivable without the economic and geographic expansion of the age. People went farther and encountered more than ever before.
C. In such places as Sicily, the Crusader states in the eastern Mediterranean (we'll talk of them in the next lecture), and Spain, there were rich encounters of Latins with the learning of the Arab and Jewish worlds, and scholars from those traditions brought renewed acquaintance with ancient Greek works.

1. Between 750 and 900, Christians in Persia translated much of Aristotle and many co mmentaries on him into Arabic.
2. This led brilliant thinkers, such as Ibn Sina (980—1037, called Avicenna in the West), to explore the old questions about the relationships between things that actually exist in the world and things that exist in the mind. At the same time, Ibn Rushd (1126— 1198, called Averroes in the West) tried to understand the kinds of truths that could be acquired by human reason and those that depended on divine revelation. He wrote at least thirty-eight commentaries on Aristotle. In Spain, some of these were translated into Latin, then circulated widely.
3. Jewish scholars were also asking fundamental questions. Solomon ibn Gebirol (1021—1070, called Avicebron) tried to reconcile Aristotle with the Jewish faith while Moses hen Maimon (1135—
   1204, called Maimonides), rather like Averroes, tried to reconcile the competing claims of faith and reason.
   4. Solomon hen Isaac (1040-1105, called Rashi) was one of the greatest Talmudic scholars of all time (the Talmud was a commentary on the scriptural studies of the ancient rabbis; two versions circulated, one prepared in Palestine and one in Babylon). He and his sons and successors taught in Troyes in France and were sometimes consulted by Christians.

II. The first great change in Western intellectual life has to do with the elevation of logic to paramount status among the disciplines.
   A. Why did this happen?
      1. Certain writers began to use logic to attack controverted issues.
      2. Lanfranc (1010-1089) used both patristic authorities and dialectical reasoning to rebut the teachings of Berengar (1010-1088) on the subject of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.
      3. Anselm of Canterbury (1033—1109), probably the most gifted logician since antiquity, devised an ingenious logical proof for the existence of God.
      4. Peter Abelard (1079—1142) used dialectical reasoning in his *Sic et Non* to show in more than 100 cases that seeming contradictions in the Bible or the Church fathers could be reconciled.
   B. What were the consequences?
      1. Logical reasoning came to be seen as equal or even superior to authorities when settling a controverted issue.
      2. The respective spheres of faith and reason began to be a subject of serious debate.
      3. Logic had an impact on teaching methods and scholarship.

III. The enhanced status of logic gave rise to what has been called *scholasticism.* This word can have several distinct, although related, meanings.
   A. It can be a name for a period of time, especially the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the competing claims of faith and reason were explored.
      1. We have already seen this in connection with Arab, Jewish, and Latin thinkers. We will return to this question in connection with Thomas Aquinas.
      2. The great logicians were not rationalists in the modern sense:
         Anselm's motto was "Faith seeking understanding."
      3. Some thinkers, such as St. Bernard and the Paris mystics, objected to the wide application of logic.
   B. In a sense, scholasticism can mean "schoolism," referring to the masters, books, curricula, and attitudes of the medieval schools.
      1. The twelfth century saw a progression from the great monastic schools, to the great cathedral schools, to the dawning universities.
      2. Certain teachers, such as Peter Abelard, attracted followers no matter where they were.
      3. The scholastic method involved the close reading of set texts coupled with commentaries on those texts. This turned the *gloss,* the standard way of commenting on texts in monasteries, into a regular means of instruction.

   C. Scholasticism can also refer to a particular method of formal reasoning based on dialectical analysis.
      1. Several scholars began to tackle whole fields of knowledge in a systematic way. They either arranged their material according to systematic

principles or asked a series of questions and argued out possible answers.

2. The Bolognese monk Gratian, for example, around 1140, produced his *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, usually called the *Decretum.* This was a rational, topical presentation of the law of the Church that sought to reconcile contradictions and other issues that were unclear. It founded the science of canon law.
3. Peter Lombard (1100—1160) taught in Paris and wrote the *Four Books of Sentences*. A "sentence" *(sententia)* is a conclusion reached at the end of a process of logical reasoning. One first poses a problem *(quaestio);* then argues through the problem, making cases for and against various propositions *(disputatio);* and finally, one reaches a conclusion *(sententia).* This conclusion can then serve as a new *quaestio*. Lombard's four books treated (1) the Trinity, (2) creation and sin, (3) the incarnation and the virtues, and (4) the "*Last Things.*" This was the first systematic treatment of the theology of the Catholic faith.
4. In the thirteenth century, the large-scale treatments of whole realms of knowledge came to be called *summas.* The greatest of these were prepared by Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274). His *Summa Contra Gentiles* was an assessment of all the knowledge of the pagans, of all the things that had been learned by the use of human reason. His *Summa Theologiae* was a presentation of the major doctrines of the Catholic Church.

IV. Scholasticism, urbanization, and the increasing sophistication of life in general gave rise to a new and distinctive institution: the university.

A. The medieval name for this institution was *studium generale,* that is, a place where all studies could be pursued.
B. The name *universitas* applies more particularly to the legal status of the "whole," the "totality" of the scholars who made up the university.
C. In northern and southern Europe, certain common forces combined to create the university, but with different outcomes.
   I. In the north, first at Paris in the late twelfth century, the teaching masters in the schools banded together into a guild to regulate admission to their ranks; to set courses, examinations, and fees for students; and to make common representation to the bishop's chancellor, who was the nominal head of all the schools.
   2. In the south, law and medicine were the key subjects, and the students tended to he older. In these circumstances, the students banded together to make certain claims on the masters in the areas of fees and teaching.
D. In the normal pattern, a university would have four faculties: arts, theology, law, and medicine.
   1. The arts faculty—that of Paris was the most famous—prepared students to teach in schools, to take positions in the Church, and to advance to one of the higher faculties.
   2. Theology was the "queen of the sciences" and considered the highest faculty, the highest area of study. Paris was the greatest of the theology faculties, but Cologne and Oxford were important, as well.
   3. The study of law involved both civil (Roman) and canon (ecclesiastical) law. Bologna was the greatest of the law schools.
   4. Medicine, based on the close study of the ancient medical writers more than on experimental science or clinical practice, was taught in many places, most famously at Montpellier in the south of France and Salerno in Italy.

E. Student life was difficult in many respects.
   1. Students were always technically foreigners and were preyed upon by unscrupulous landlords, innkeepers, prostitutes, and sometimes, even masters.
   2. The period of study was very long—the precise length, at least in arts, depended somewhat on a student's preparation.
   3. Degrees were awarded by public examination, not by the accumulation of credits, as today.
F. The university has proved to be one of the most flexible and durable of all Western institutions.

V. To get a sharper sense of Latin learning in the age of scholasticism, let's take a closer look at Thomas Aquinas.

A. Thomas (1225—1274) was born in a small town south of Rome and sent, at age five, to Monte Cassino, where his noble father expected him one day to become abbot.
   1. In 1240, Thomas was sent to Naples to study arts. While there, he was attracted by the intellectual apostolate of the Dominicans, but his parents strongly opposed this pursuit. Nevertheless, he joined the order in 1244.
   2. In 1245, he went to Paris, where he studied for three years. He came under the influence of Albert the Great and the newly emerging texts of Aristotle. Heihen followed Albert to the new *Studium generale* in Cologne. In 1252, Thomas returned to Paris, where he taught until 1259, when he departed for a decade of teaching in Italy. In 1269, he returned to Paris and taught there until his untimely death in 1274.
   3. Thomas was a prolific writer who made contributions to many of the great philosophical and theological questions of his day. His ideas were formed by his travels and experience in several schools; by the burgeoning contemporary interest in Aristotle, as well as in his Arab and Jewish commentators; and by the practical needs of teaching.

B. Central to Thomas's thought was the problem of the relation between faith and reason.
   1. On the one hand, Thomas explored the respective roles of the will and the intellect. Faith, for example, is a matter of the will: In consciously granting assent to something, I do not commit an act that is contrary to reason; nevertheless, I agree to something that is not demonstrable by reason,
   2. On the other hand, Thomas spoke of natural and revealed truths. Many things can be known by the unaided use of human reason. Some "religious" things can be known by reason, too: the existence of God, for example. But other things can be known only by faith: the Trinity, the incarnation, creation out of nothing.

C. Thomas's systematic exposition of Catholic teaching was always influential to a degree, but in the nineteenth century, it was made the basis of official Catholic theology (called "Thomism"), a position it held until Vatican 11(1962—1965).

VI. The intellectual culture of scholastic Europe laid the groundwork for subsequent intellectual revivals by vastly increasing the number and locations of schools, expanding the curriculum, and opening whole new areas of inquiry. Not surprisingly, scholars have spoken of a "renaissance of the twelfth century.~~

Essential Reading:

Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition.*

Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels.*

Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe.*

Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bin gen.*
Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino.*

Recommended Reading:

The Letters of Abelard and Heloise.

Questions to Consider:

1. The competing claims of reason and faith were at the heart of medieval intellectual life. To what degree is this still true today?

2. How would you compare a medieval university with a modern one?

Lecture Thirty-Nine
Vernacular Culture

Scope: A medieval motto said "*Clericus, id est litteratus*" ("a member of the clergy, that is, a literate person"). In this reckoning, Dante Alighieri or the poets who wrote *Beowulf* and *Roland* were illiterate. Nevertheless, the years after about 900 witnessed a veritable explosion of vernacular (that is, non-Latin) writings. The Irish corpus is the oldest, then come the Old English and Old High German, followed quickly by French, Italian, and Spanish. This vernacular tradition culminated in medieval Europe's single greatest work of art, Dante's *Divine Comedy*. We'll ask why people began to communicate in their native languages and what implications that communication had for the learned Latin culture of the age. We'll discuss some of the major authors and their books, compare male and female writers, and explore the variety of genres in which people wrote. We will conclude by asking whether or not vernacular literature brings us close to the people of medieval Europe.

Outline

A medieval motto ran "*Clericus, id est, litteratus.*" This means, "a member of the clergy, that is, a literate person." In this reckoning, the person who wrote *Beowulf* or *The Song of Roland* was illiterate. In this lecture, we'll explore this paradox, even as we look at the explosion of vernacular culture in high medieval Europe.

A. *Vernacular* is a slightly difficult term to define. Normally, when one uses it of the Middle Ages, it means non-Latin, hence, English, French, German, and so on. It can also mean popular as opposed to elite and, sometimes, it connotes lay as opposed to ecclesiastical or secular as opposed to religious. Apart from the Latin/non-Latin divide, all these possible meanings can be argued.
B. It is important to note that *vernacular* applies to poetry, both brief and epic; letters; legal materials; historical works; and devotional texts.
C. Why did some people begin to use the vernacular instead of Latin?
    1. This is a matter of perspective: We could turn the question around and ask why people were so devoted to Latin, a foreign language. The answer is that government and the Church preserved Latin.
    2. The vast majority of people spoke their own native languages, and elite members of society were bilingual, at least.
    3. Latin was old and rich and had long developed the vocabulary and forms necessary to the production of great literature. It took a long time for the vernaculars to achieve that level of development.
    4. We must also acknowledge the complex issue of the undoubtedly long period when what we know as texts were circulating orally.

II. The oldest bodies of vernacular writings emerged in areas that were outside the historical frontiers of the Roman world: the British Isles, the German-speaking lands, Slavic realms, and Scandinavia.

A. The British Isles present us with two distinct bodies of material, one in Celtic and one in English.

1. Among the British (we might say Welsh), we find poets, such as Aneirin (fl. c. 600), who wrote the *Gododdin,* an epic account of the slaughter of the British by the Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Catterick. It has a wonderful freshness and vigor, as this extract shows:

> Wearing a brooch, in the front rank, bearing weapons in battle, a mighty man in the fight before his death-day, a champion in the charge of the van of the armie~; there fell five times fifty before his blades, of the men of Deira and of Bernicia a hundred score fell and were destroyed in a single hour. He would sooner the wolves had his flesh than go to his own wedding, and he would rather be prey for ravens than go to the altar; he would sooner his blood flowed to the ground than get due burial, making return for his mead with the hosts in the hall. Hyfeidd the Tall should be honored as long as there is a minstrel...

2. Of Irish material, there is an abundance. It comes in the forms of long and short poems, saints' lives, law codes, and fantasies, to mention just a few examples. This brief ninth-century poem gives a good feel for the Irish sense of nature:

> I have news for you; the stag bell, winter snows, summer
> Has gone.
> Wind high and cold, the sun low, short its course, the sea
> Running high.
> Deep red the bracken, its shape is lost; the wild goose has
> Raised its accustomed cry.
> Cold has seized the birds' wings; season of ice.
> This is my news.

3. Anglo-Saxon England produced a substantial corpus of poetry, sermons, histories, laws, and documents. The most famous work is the epic *Beowulf,* probably composed around 900. Yet our feel for the immediacy, simplicity, and vigor of the Saxon world is well conveyed by this seventh-century poem, " Caedmon's Hymn":

> Now we must praise the guardian of heaven
> The might of the Lord and his purpose of mind,
> The work of the glorious father; for He
> God Eternal, established each wonder,
> He Holy Creator, first fashioned
> Heaven as a roof for the sons of men.
> Then the Guardian of Mankind adorned
> This middle-earth below, the world for men, Everlasting Lord, Almighty King.

B. The German-speaking lands produced, once again, a large amount of poetry but also chronicles and laws.

1. By the thirteenth century, Germa n could produce a masterwork, such as the *Nibelungenlied,* a romantic telling of myths about the origins of the Germanic peoples. In this poem, we actually encounter real people, such as Attila the Hun and the Ostrogothic King Theodoric.
2. The *minnesdnger* were German-style troubadours of the twelfth century who wrote love poems influenced by the current fashions in French poetry

(see below).

3. But we can go back to the ninth century to glimpse the origins. In Saxony, someone created a powerful German retelling of the life of Christ called the *Heliand* (the "Savior"). In this story, Jerusalem becomes a hill-fort, Christ turns into the leader of a war band made up of his apostles, and the details are Nordic, not Mediterranean.

C. The earliest Slavic materials date from the ninth and tenth centuries and are connected with the ninth-century missions of Saints Cyril and Methodius to the region of Bohemia. Initially, Christian texts were translated, then original works were composed.

D. Scandinavia produced its vernacular literature in two waves and kinds. First, there were narratives of the settlement of Iceland and law books. Then came epics, called *sagas* (= "things said"), which treated, in blends of fact and fantasy, the early history of the settlements and the families responsible for them.

III. The largest outpouring of vernacular material came from France, beginning in the twelfth century.

A. The oldest single work is the anonymous *Song of Roland*, assembled in its present form in about 1100. This form of poem is called a *chanson des gestes—a* tale of great deeds.

1. The poem recounts a single event in the life of Charlemagne but revises it to fit the context of its own time: Crusades, expansion, the peace of God, and so on.
2. The poem takes up great themes of honor and betrayal—just the themes that would have interested men of that age.
3. The poem shows us chivalry as an affair of men; women are all but invisible in the poem.

B. As the twelfth century wore on, French writers began to produce *lais* and romances.

1. *Lais* were short stories about encounters between a woman and her lover. The greatest writer of *lais* was Marie de France in the 1 170s.
2. Romances were longer works that, often from a woman's point of view, narrated a whole story about the relationships between a man and a woman. These stories are rich in human emotions and conflicting loyalties. The greatest writer of romances was Chretien de Troyes (1135—1183).

C. The most influential vernacular poetry of the twelfth century was that of the troubadours.

1. Taking their rise in southern France, the troubadours were influenced by social currents in the age of chivalry; the love poetry of the ancients, especially Ovid; and the love lyrics of Muslim Spain.
2. They produced poems of unusual feeling and frankness. Late in the twelfth century, Bernart de Ventadorh was among the finest troubadours:

> Alas! How much I knew of love,
> I thought, but so little know of it!
> For now I cannot check my love
> For her, who'll give me little profit.
> She has my heart and all of me,
> Herself and all the world; and nothing
> Leaves to me, when thus she takes me,
> Except desire and heartfelt longing.

3. Not all troubadours were men. Here are a few lines from Castelozza (b. c. 1200):

> Friend, if you had shown consideration, meekness, candor and humanity, I'd have loved you without hesitation, but you were mean, and sly, and villainous.

D. The troubadours, and to a degree the romancers, gave rise to a set of writings and feelings that scholars have labeled "courtly love."
   1. On one level, this means only literature of the medieval court, literature by writers who were patronized.
   2. On another level, it means literature that takes a certain view of love: It cannot truly happen in a marriage; it is usually unrequited; it is normally from afar; it is an ideal—fin *amour*—*as* opposed to the lust of the masses.
      3. Some scholars say that the idea of courtly love is a modern invention imposed on the Middle Ages, while others agree that it is medieval but argue over its content and significance.

IV. The greatest vernacular writer of the Middle Ages, and one of the greatest of all Western writers, was Dante Alighieri (1265—1321).

   A. Dante is best known for the *Commedia,* but this was his last work and he wrote many others.
      1. His *Vita Nuova* (1290-1294) is a series of thirty-one love poems woven together by a prose narrative that, taken together, treats love allegorically as the force that brought Dante spiritual salvation.
      2. *De vulgari elioquentia* is a learned work in Latin that explores the suitability of the vernacular as a vehicle for poetic composition. It is a very early and masterful essay in literary theory.
      3. *De monarchia* is a Latin treatise on the struggles between the popes and the emperors that upholds the independence and legitimacy of the empire.

   B. The *Commedia* (usually called *The Divine Comedy* in English) is an unqualified masterpiece.
      1. Nevertheless, its greatness cannot be taken for granted.
      2. It is some 14,000 lines long arranged into 140 *canti* (we say "cantos" in English; a *canto* is a song).
      3. Its structure is *terza nina* (ababcbcdc), a form difficult to achieve in such a long poem and hard to render in translation.
      4. The poem deals with numerous of Dante's contemporaries with whom we are not familiar today and—rather like Milton's *Paradise Lost* later on—is full of literary allusions than can elude almost any reader (or listener!).
   C. The poem is a tale of a journey. The travelers are Dante himself, the reader (or listener), all the figures mentioned in the poem, all the cultural artifacts and phenomena alluded to in the poem, and finally, the whole human race.
      1. The poem is an exploration of morality and religion, of their roles in forming human character, and of the failure of the individual human to rise to the challenge of humanity's possible greatness.
      2. Finally, the poem returns to themes introduced in *Vita Nuova*. Love becomes the central metaphor in the poem. The referents of the metaphor are the love that humans have, or fail to have, for one another; the spiritually uplifting power of the love one man and one woman can feel for each other; and above all else, the glorious but mysterious love of God.

V. To the degree that *vernacular* implies the activities of lay people, we can also refer to the great social movements of the high Middle Ages.

   A. The first of these lay movements was, paradoxically, religious. Sometimes, it resulted in perfectly acceptable new forms of religious expression, but sometimes, it resulted in heresy.

1. Many people were caught up in the currents of religious reform that we discussed in an earlier lecture.
2. To some, the ideal of the *vita apostolica* was a clear call to live a life of poverty and preaching.
3. We have seen that the mendicants were one response to this call.
4. There were others, the Waldensians, for example, who formed lay movements that took on Church roles, such as preaching and communal living, and who fell afoul of ecclesiastical authorities.
5. There were other movements, such as the Cathars, who were especially prominent in southern France.
6. These were people who embraced ancient dualist forms of religion. The commonest name for them is~Albigensians, and they were ruthlessly suppressed.

B. The second great movement was the Crusades. Again, it is paradoxical that the popes called the Crusades, such great figures as St. Bernard stirred up enthusiasm for them, and their underlying justification was religious, but it was lay people who, for reasons of their own, fueled the movement.
   1. There were important background issues in the Byzantine and Islamic worlds.
   2. Europe had already seen Muslim-Christian violence in Spain.
   3. Commerce had brought renewed contacts across the Mediterranean.
   4. Chivalry fired an ideal of the "Christian knight" who struggled against God's enemies.
   5. Still, for some two centuries, ordinary soldiers and great nobles, the vast majority of them French, set off on these armed pilgrimages.

C. The novelty in the heretical and crusading movements was the mobilization of vast numbers of lay people.

VI. The various manifestations of lay culture in high medieval Europe reveal the growing complexity and sophistication of society in this age of expansion.

Essential Reading:

Jackson, *The Literature of the Middle Ages.*

Zink, *Medieval French Literature*.

Bemrose, *A New Life of Dante*.

Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*.
Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*.

Recommended Reading:

Beowulf.

The Song of Roland.

Dante, *The Divine Comedy*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Compare and contrast the Latin and vernacular cultures of high medieval Europe.
2. Today, we sometimes speak of pop culture. Does such a term bear any relationship to the vernacular culture of medieval Europe? Do troubadours remind you at all of folk singers?

Lecture Forty
The Crisis of Renaissance Europe

Scope: The next three lectures explore the phenomenon we call the Renaissance. This lecture will look at Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to get a clear sense of the historical context of the Renaissance. The great political fact of the age was the Hundred Years War between France and England. This war was disruptive far beyond the confines of the two kingdoms. The great religious facts of the age were the "Babylonian captivity" of the papacy and the Great Schism. In *1305*, the pope settled in Avignon to sort out some quarrels with the king of France. His successors stayed there until 1378, to the astonishment and displeasure of contemporaries. Then, for nearly a half century, rivals claimed the papal office and the Church was rent by schism. The great economic and social f~acts of the age center on the economic dislocations of the early fourteenth century and the Black Death, which struck between 1347 and 1350 and recurred often enough to be devastating. The population declined dramatically. Wages and prices fluctuated wildly. Social rebellions popped up everywhere. Whatever we take the Renaissance to be, it happened in what Dickens might have called "the worst of times."

Outline

The period after about 1300 may be viewed in several quite different ways.

A. Is this the "waning of the Middle Ages"? Should our interpretive categories emphasize decline, disruption, and despair?
B. Is this the "dawn of a new era"? Should we see initiative, originality, and creativity?
C. In fact, both views have long been prevalent. In this lecture, we must try to understand the basic contours of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries so that, in the next two lectures, we will have context and perspective for understanding the Renaissance (a phenome non that we will try to define in the next lecture).

II. Certain broad trends are clearly visible in this era.

A. In political and institutional history, the basic trends evident in 1300 persisted through the period.
   1. Where centralization or fragmentation were present, they did not change much.
   2. The single great fact of the age was the Hundred Years War between France and England.
B. This was, on the whole, a period of disastrous problems for the Church.
   1. The great facts of the period were the "Babylonian captivity" of the papacy and the Great Schism.
   2. There was also anticlericalism and limited efforts at reform.
   3. At the same time, ordinary people showed signs of deep religious faith.
C. The most dramatic developments of the period were the demographic and economic problems associated with the Black Death.

III. Let us first look at the overall political shape of Europe.

A. The Hundred Years War was the all-but-inevitable outcome of the longstanding enmity between France and England occasioned by the Continental interests of the English kings.
   1. In 1340, Edward III of England claimed the throne of France (through his wife) and opened a war that lasted until 1453.
   2. It was an odd war: There were only three major campaigns; bands of freebooters rampaged in France; and Jeanne d'Arc rallied the French in 1429—1431 after the Treaty of Troyes nearly gave France to England.
   3. The English won all the great battles and, at times, held much of France but finally lost the war and retained only a little area near Calais.
   4. The war had importance consequences for both France and England.
   5. For the French, the war heightened the sense of national consciousness, professionalized the military, generalized several fonns of taxation, and restored royal prestige.
   6. For England, the war enhanced the role of Parliament through the principle of "redress before supply," diverted royal attention from pressing problems at home, and created deep factional divides in the aristocracy that culminated in a civil war, the War of the Roses *(1455—1489).*
   7. Much of Europe was drawn into war in one way or another, and trade was seriously disrupted.

B. In Iberia, we may take 1492 as a vantage point on developments in the late Middle Ages.
   1. In January, a crusading army entered Granada, and the last Muslim stronghold fell to the centuries-long Reconquista.
   2. In March, Ferdinand and Isabella issued a decree requiring the Jews of Castile and Aragon to convert or depart. This ended centuries of rich Jewish-Muslim-Christian interaction in Spain.
   3. In April, Isabella commissioned Cristoforo Colombo "to discover and acquire islands and mainlands in the Ocean Sea," a development that initiated the globalization of Western civilization.
   4. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469 laid the foundation for a unification of Iberia, a realm where crown and nobility, abetted by the Church, had been building effective government for three centuries.

C. In Italy, the basic tripartite scheme remained in place.
   1. German control in the north grew progressively weaker, and in 1494, the French invaded, albeit without lasting consequences.
   2. The great development in the north was the rise of Milan, Florence, and Venice as key, and competing, powers.
   3. The papacy's control of the center was severely compromised by the papal absence in Avignon.
   4. The south was hotly contested by France an4 Spain but not effectively controlled by either.

D. German development is riddled with paradoxes.
   1. The Golden Bull of 1356 might have created a stable federal regime. Instead, it built a framework for continuing fragmentation.
   2. Individual territories in Germany were often prosperous, peaceful, and well governed. There simply was no effective central government.

E. Along Europe's eastern frontier, there were three major developments.
   1. Lithuania and Poland coalesced into a powerful, stable kingdom.
   2. Russians, centered on the Grand Duchy of Moscow, threw off the Mongols and began to unite a huge swathe of lands.
   3. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople. This consolidated their position as the dominant power in the eastern Mediterranean.

IV. Ecclesiastical affairs may be more briefly summarized.

A. In 1305, a Frenchman, Clement V, was elected pope in the hope that he might settle the long-running dispute with the king of France. He settled on papal property in Avignon, and his successors remained there until 1378.
   1. Europe was divided in allegiance.
   2. The absence of the popes from Rome scandalized many—writers spoke of the "Babylonian captivity."

B. Attempts to restore the papacy to Rome resulted in the Great Schism: a period from 1378 to 1417 when two, and sometimes three, men claimed to be the legitimate pope.

C. Scholars began to define *conciliarism*, a doctrine that claimed that ultimate authority in the Church resided in council% not in the papacy. Some churchmen called for frequent councils while popes tried to subvert them.

D. Challenges for the official Church did not bespeak a decline of religious sentiment.
   1. Such writers as Chaucer were humorously anticlerical but still conventionally pious.
   2. The Modern Devotion, which arose in the Netherlands, was a powerful movement of spiritual renewal for lay people that produced "bestsellers," such as Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ.*
   3. There were large-scale heretical movements, too, that challenged both the authority and the teachings of the Church. The most powerful were the Lollards in England, who took their rise from John Wyclif and the Hussites in Bohemia, the followers of Jan Hus (we will talk more of these figures in a later lecture).
   4. Records indicate huge numbers of pilgrims and many examples of lay piety, such as the rosary.

V. The most devastating crisis of the age was caused by plague.

A. A series of seasons of bad weather, poor harvests, and famine between 1315 and 1322 weakened Europe severely and put an end to the expansion of the preceding centuries.

B. The Black Death was a savage outbreak of bubonic plague—the first in 600 years--brought to Europe from the Black Sea region by Genoese merchants.

C. The 1348—1349 outbreak was serious, but the plague kept coming back, beginning in 1363 and lasting until the eighteenth century.

D. The consequences of the plague were many and complex.
   1. Mortality rates were tremendous—25 percent to 35 percent overall—with young and productive urbanites most vulnerable.
   2. There was widespread anxiety, hysteria, and depression. These conditions manifested themselves in appalling attacks on Jews.
   3. Trade and finance were disrupted; prices and wages fluctuated wildly.
   4. Social insurrections occurred in England, France, and Florence.

E. Recovery did not come until the age of European imperial expansion.

VI. "Renaissance" Europe was a difficult place and time. What, then, was this Renaissance?

Essential Reading:
Allmand, *The Hundred Years War.*
Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe.*

Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages.*
Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Considering Europe's political, ecclesiastical, and economic history in the period from 1300 to 1500, do you see any positive signs?

2. In recent decades, scholars have been interested in the high levels of mortality caused by the plague because they seem to offer hints about what would happen in the event of nuclear war. What do you think would happen if a third of the population vanished abruptly?

Lecture Forty-One
The Renaissance Problem

Scope: What is the "Renaissance problem"? First, the term itself. *Renaissance* is a French word meaning rebirth. But the word was first used in Italian *(rinascità)* with reference to painters that everyone today would call "medieval." Second, if one thinks of the Renaissance as an efflorescence of originality and creativity, why do we associate it with the *rebirth* of something older and long gone: Greece and Rome. Third, even if some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers thought of themselves as utterly different from the people between themselves and the ancients (the people in the middle, the *medievals,* whence the name), must we believe them? Was there a break of some kind? Fourth, what does *Renaissance* mean? Styles in painting and sculpture? New architecture? New or different literary forms? An original lifestyle? We'll take up these questions as a way of thinking back over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We will also identify some stages in the historical evolution of the Renaissance movement, talk about why that movement began in Italy, and ask how it spread from Italy.

Outline

What is the "Renaissance problem"? Doesn't everyone know that after a millennium of darkness and despair, Europe awakened in a blaze of glory?
A.

B.
As always, the answer is not quite so simple.
Our three-pan division of Western civilization—ancient, medieval, and modem—is itself a product of a particular time and place, not an eternal verity.
1. As we saw in discussing the transformation of the Roman world, people were unaware of any abrupt change.
2. Charlemagne's friend Alcuin spoke of a new Rome rising in Francia that was finer than the Rome of old because the old one had absorbed Athens, but the new one had added Jerusalem. This interpretation, first of all, does not yield pride of place to the ancients and, second, evinces continuity.

3. In the twelfth century, Bernard of Chartres said, "We are as dwarfs seated on the shoulders of giants that we might see more further than they. Yet not in virtue of the keenness of our eyesight, nor the breadth of our vision, but alone because we are raised aloft on that giant mass." Note, again, the sense of superiority to the ancients and the sense of continuity.

C. The idea was that there had been a serious change somewhere in what we might call the late Middle Ages (that label goes back to a seventeenth-century figure, Christoph Kelder). Consider these words of Matteo Palmieri (c. 1430):

> Where was the painter's art until Giotto restored it? A caricature of the art of human delineation! Sculpture and architecture, for long years sunk to the mere travesty of art, are only today in the process of the rescue from obscurity; only now are they being brought to a new pitch of perfection by men of genius and erudition. Of letters and liberal studies it would be better to be silent altogether. For these, the real guides to distinction in all the arts, the solid foundation of all civilization, have been lo~t to mankind for 800 years and more. It is but in our own day that men dare to boast that they see the dawn of better things. For example, we owe it to our Leonardo Bruni that Latin, so long a byword for its uncouthness, has begun to shine forth in its ancient purity, its beauty, its majestic rhythm. Now indeed may every thoughtful spirit thank God that it has been permitted to him to be born in this new age so full of hope and promise, which already rejoices in a greater array of nobly gifted souls than the world has seen in the thousand years that have preceded it.

D. Far to the north, in France, François Rabelias agreed: "Out of the thick gothic night our eyes were awakened to the glorious light of the sun."

E. Such views tell us a lot about the men who held them but not necessarily much at all about history.

F. Erwin Panofsky, the great art historian, said that in the fourteenth century, people "looked back as from a fixed point in time."

G. The word *rinascità* was first used by Giorgio Vasari in the middle of the sixteenth century in his history of painters.

H. The very word *Renaissance* has had somewhat varied fortunes.

1. Protestant reformers applauded Renaissance attacks on the Catholic Church but disliked what they saw as hedonism and rationalism.
2. In the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment, there was a tendency to draw lines too sharply between "medieval" superstition and "Renaissance" rationalism.
3. For the Romantics, there was an aesthetic appreciation of Renaissance art but also a certain regret at the perceived rationalism that supposedly suppressed the natural man.

The fist great modern attempt to capture a sense of the era came with Jacob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860).

IL It has not been much easier to say just what issues come under the heading "Renaissance." Usually, Renaissance is associated with humanism, but this term can mean several things:

A. Love and concern for human beings, as in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man.*

B. A preoccupation with this world and its concerns, as in Niccolj3 Machiavelli's *The Prince.*

C. A devotion to the humane disciplines—the liberal arts but not, presumably, theology.

D. A particular fascination with the literary culture of classical antiquity.

E. Civic humanism, either as "boosterism" or as republicanism.

III. Why did the Renaissance begin in Italy? Italy had been economically precocious in the Middle Ages, but otherwise, major developments occurred in the north.

A. One might have expected France to take the lead because it had been culturally dominant since the twelfth century.

B. There was a higher level of literacy and lay education in Italy.

C. Italians felt themselves more directly the heirs of the Romans than anyone else could or did.
D. There was greater wealth in Italy that provided for patronage and leisure to enjoy the arts.
E. Italian society was less bound to feudal and chivalric values than the north. One might compare Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* with Boccaccio's *Decameron.*

IV. Given that it began in Italy, how and why did the Renaissance spread?
A. Italians traveled in the north: They searched for manuscripts and sometimes hired out as teachers and courtiers.
B. Northerners traveled in Italy. By the late fifteenth century, scholars commonly made tours of Italy and, with the sixteenth century, painters began to follow.

C. The development of printing made it possible for ideas to circulate much more quickly, cheaply, and efficiently than ever before.
D. The Renaissance began as an urban, a communal, phenomenon but quickly became princely and courtly. Renaissance culture became fashionable. *Civilité*, defined in largely Italian terms, became prestigious.
V. Allowing for some correction at the edges, we can apply a rough chronology to the Renaissance.

A. Down to about 1370, we see individual geniuses but little that ties them together, little that looks like a movement.
B. Down to l470s, we have a Florentine period: Great things were done by Florentines and by outsiders resident in Florence.
C. Beginning in about the l450s, we can speak of the "reception" of the Renaissance in Rome, Milan, and Venice; after 1500, the Renaissance crossed the Alps and the movement became more decidedly courtly.

Essential Reading:

Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance.*

King, *Women of the Renaissance.*

Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art.*

Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art.*

Recommended Reading:

Machiavelli, *The Prince.*
Cellini, *Autobiography.*

Castiglione, *The Courtier.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Before you heard this lecture, what did the word *Renaissance* mean to you? What images did it conjure up in your mind?
2. Were Renaissance figures distinctive in defining themselves against, or in distinction to, the period that preceded them? Can you think of other examples of this phenomenon?

Lecture Forty-Two Renaissance Portraits

Scope: As a way of capturing a clearer sense of the Renaissance movement, this lecture offers a set of cultural biographies of Giovanni Boccaccio, Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, Guarino of Verona, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Pius II, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo.

Outline

In the previous lecture, we made some broad historical observations on the period of the Renaissance. This time, moving more or less chronologically, we will look at some of the people who made this movement.

A. From the earliest period, we can study two remarkable figures.
B. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313—1375) was a Florentine merchant's son who spent his formative years in Naples, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Angevin (French) court. He resisted his father's desire that he study law. He finally settled in Florence in 1340.
    1. Boccaccio made his reputation in Italian with the *Decameron:* A group of young men and women meet in a church in Florence and decide to go into the countryside to avoid the plague. To busy themselves, they told stories—ten a day for ten days (the title means "ten days" in Greek).
    2. Boccaccio also wrote important scholarly treatises, including *On the Genealogy of the Gentile Gods,* which was a handbook to facilitate the reading of classical texts.
    3. He was a great friend of Petrarch and wrote a life of Dante; indeed, in Florence, he delivered public lectures on the *Commedia,* the first person known to have done so.
C. Francesco Petracco, whom we know as Petrarch (1304—1374), was the giant of the early Renaissance. He was born at Arezzo because his father was in exile from Florence (a victim of the same troubles that had gotten Dante exiled). He grew up in the south of France, where his father got a job at the papal court in Avignon.
    1. Petrarch studied law for seven years but considered this time wasted because "I could not face making a merchandise of my mind."
    2. In 1327, he caught sigh of "Laura," the mysterious woman who inspired 366 poems in exquisite Italian. These poems first won him wide acclaim. In 1341, he was named poet laureate in Rome.
    3. On the death of his brother, he wrote, in Latin, his *Secret Book,* the most profound work of introspection since Augustine's *Confessions.* The work is cast as a dialogue between Petrarch

[

itt,

himself and Augustine, in the course of which Augustine exposes all the flaws in Petrarch's character.

4. After the plague, Petrarch returned to Florence in about 1353, but he did some work for the Sforza family in Milan.
5. He found works of Cicero, got Homer translated into Latin, and died with an unfinished life of Julius Caesar on his desk. He was friends with many of the great intellectual figures of the day. They admired him for his interest in classical literature.
6. His attitude toward books is indicative of his character:

> Books are welcome, assiduous cWmpanions, always ready to appear in public or to go back in their box at your command, always disposed to speak or to be silent, to stay at home or to make a visit to the woods, to travel or to abide in the country; to gossip, joke, encourage you, comfort you, advise you, reprove you, and take care of you~to teach you the world's secrets, the records of great deeds, the rules of life and the scorn of death, moderation in good fortune, fortitude in ill, calmness and constancy in behavior. These are learned, happy, useful, and ready spoken companions who will never bring you tedium, expense, lamentations, jealous murmurs, or deception.

7. He once said of himself:

> What am I? A scholar? No hardly that; a lover of woodlands, a solitary, in the habit of uttering disjointed words in the shadow of a beech tree and used to scribbling presumptuously under an immature laurel tree; fervent in toil but not happy with the results; a lover of letters but not fully versed in them; an adherent of no sect but very eager for truth; and because I am a clumsy searcher, often, out of self-distrust, I flee error and fall into doubt, which I hold in lieu of truth. Thus I have finally joined that humble band that knows nothing, holds nothing certain, doubts everything—outside of the things that it is sacrilege to doubt.

I I,

8. Yet Petrarch was by no means irreligious. He once said, "Theology is a poem that has God for its subject."
9. Petrarch gives us a good feel for the many currents of the early Renaissance.

II. In the generation after Petrarch, we see the foundations for the period of Florentine greatness and the consolidation of certain intellectual traditions that begin to look like a movement.
   A. The Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331—1406) founded and endowed many schools in Florence because the city had no university. He was a prolific correspondent and maintained connections with

scholars all over Italy and beyond. He attracted many significant cultural figures to Florence and secured them the means to lead lives of scholarly and artistic leisure.

1. Coluccio wrote letters, orations, and histories praising the past of the city.
2. He took Cicero as his ideal, arguing that family life and public service, not penance and retreat from the world, should be held up as exemplary.
3. He argued that the liberty of free citizens, basically republican government, created an environment in which people could flourish.
4. Thus, we see in Coluccio tw8 distinct faces of "civic humanism."

B. With Guarmno of Verona (1374-1460), we begin to discern a significant shift in educational theory. He stressed Latin and Greek in their classical purity as the keys to education, in distinction to the more practical uses of language conveyed by the notarial arts that had thrived in the cities.
   1. Guarino had certain concrete goals in mind. The first was to have people learn classical literature so well that they would, almost as if by habit, emulate the values found there.
   2. Second, he sought to put rhetoric in the preeminent place long occupied by logic (and, before that, by grammar). In his view, a republic of virtue could more easily be created in an environment of graceful language.

C. The great Florentine leader Lorenzo de' Medici "the Magnificent" (1449—1492) opens up further perspectives on the evolving Renaissance phenomenon. His family had risen from plebeian origins, through trade, to the banking industry. They were among the richest people in Europe and dominated Florentine politics.
   1. Lorenzo became head of state at twenty-one. He was young, lusty, and artistically astute. He retained close associations with the lower classes and posed as a popular leader.

2. He profited from the Peace of Lodi in 1454, which brought peace to Italy, and he himself was a hard-headed diplomat and politician who maintained the peace.
3. He diligently pursued the goal of making Florence the cultural capital of Italy—which meant of Europe. He spent half the state budget on books for the Medicean academy.
4. Lorenzo sustained the Florentine achievements of preceding decades, promoting civic humanism in all its respects and, through his princely patronage, inaugurating the courtly phase of the Renaissance.

III. We may illustrate the courtly phase of the Renaissance by means of three examples that, together, point in the directions that Lorenzo had signaled.

A. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405—1464) Latinized his name to Aeneas Silvius, a common phenomenon in Renaissance times. He was a Tuscan, the son of an impoverished country nobleman.
   1. Silvius went to Siena to study law but was soon attracted to classical studies in Florence.
   2. He went to the Council of Basel in the entourage of a cardinal—a typical path for ambitious, but not wealthy, young men.
   3. He spent twenty years wandering all over Europe and writing poetry, scurrilous tales, satires, treatises on education, and histories. Again, it is typical that he was both a popular writer and a scholar.
   4. He returned to Rome in 1445 and, in 1447, took holy orders. In 1448, he was consecrated a bishop. He became a cardinal in 1456 and, in 1458, was elected pope: *"Aeneam reiicite; pium suscipite."*
   5. Silvius now took on a life of sober living, industry, and scholarship. "My spirit is an enquiring one," he once said.
   6. He spent much of his papal career trying to launch a Crusade and wrote a comprehensive refutation of the Quran.

B. Leonardo da Vinci (1452—15 19) was the illegitimate son of a lawyer and a servant.
   1. He was apprenticed at fourteen to an accomplished artist, Verocchio, and stayed with him six years before going on to nine or ten years in Florence. He was handsome, versatile, graceful, a fine singer, and interested in almost everything, but he did not have the humanist education that many of his contemporaries did. His Latin was imperfect and he had no Greek at all.
   2. In 1482, da Vinci went to Milan to work as a military engineer for the Sforza. While there, he painted portraits, designed stage sets and costumes, drew maps, proposed irrigation plans, created a central heating system in the Sforza palace, and drew some of the sketches, more than 5,000 of which survive in his notebooks.
   3. In 1499, the Sforza fell from power and cia Vinci spent the rest of his life wandering. He ended up in France.
   4. His artistic remains are intriguing: not one finished statue, some dozen finished paintings, but thousands of drawings and sketches. His restlessness and lack of focus are evident. This may also explain the enigmatic nature of his work.
   5. Perhaps his greatest achievements were not artistic: He raised interest in the structure and function of nature. Consider his comments on a bird:

A bird is an instrument working according to mathematical law which it is entirely within the capacity of man to reproduce with all its movements but not with a corresponding degree of strength, though it is deficient only in the power of maintaining equilibrium. We may therefore say that such an instrument constructed by man is lacking nothing except the life of the bird which must needs be supplied by that of man.

C. Michelangelo Buonoratti (1475—1564) was a Florentine of high birth whose family opposed his desire to be an artist. He was fantastically famous and wealthy in his own lifetime.
   1. He won the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici and was supported in the Medicean academy. At this time, Greek art was being recovered in great quantities and held up as *the* model. Michelangelo did much sculpture that studies the Greek models, but in the end, he surpassed them.
   2. He lived in times of tremendous political and religious turmoil; to the composed aspect of Greek art, he added the power of human drama.

3. In Michelangelo's time, medical advances were charting the human body more precisely than ever before, and Michelangelo was fascinated by the opportunity to study the body in various poses and under different tensions. There is, thus, an unprecedented realism in his work. But he never stopped there.
4. In 1496, he went to Rome and got a commission from a French cardinal to do a *Pietà.* His work is an astonishing synthesis of Gothic, Greek, and Christian art that surpasses anything previously accomplished.
5. In 1501, he returned to Florence and, in this period, sculpted his David. This work was clearly a study, but it shows Michelangelo trying to capture the heroic.
6. In 1505, he returned to Rome to do a set of tomb sculptures for Pope Julius II. Only parts of this work were ever finished, but the Moses shows the lineage of David.
7. Meanwhile, Julius had a new task for him: to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo protested that he was not a painter, but he accepted because the work gave him the opportunity to combine form and philosophy. He was given the opportunity to work out the program for himself.
8. On October 31, 1512, his ceiling was unveiled and the history of art changed forever. Michelangelo was only thirty-seven and lived to be eighty-nine.

Mann, *Petrarch.*

Barolsky, *Why Mona Lisa Smiles.*
Mallet and Mann, *Lorenzo the Magnificent.*

Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What changes and continuities do you detect as you move from Boccaccio to Michelangelo?
2. In what ways are these Renaissance figures like, and in what ways are they unlike, the medieval figures you heard about in earlier lectures?

IN. In all these figures, we can see certain common themes: versatility, originality, and classical influences.

Recommended Reading:

Lecture Forty-Three
The Northern Renaissance

Scope: What happened when the "new learning," as it was called, crossed the Alps and settled into the courts and schools of northern Europe? To answer this question, we will explore how the classical humanism of Italy changed into the Christian humanism of the north. Essentially, we must examine why northern scholars turned to the Bible and the Church fathers more than to the "classics" of Greece and Rome. To gain an understanding of the northern movement, we will again develop a set of cultural pictures, this time of John~Colet, Thomas More, Jacques Lef~vre d'Etaples, and Desiderius Erasmus.

Outline

There are two fundamental reasons for exploring the "northern"

Renaissance.

A.

It is a matter of considerable interest to see what happened to the Renaissance movement when it crossed the Alps.

B. The northern Renaissance also stands, in crucial respects, as the intellectual background to the religious reformations of the sixteenth century.

II. The so-called "new learning" struck deep roots in the north of Europe but looked quite different from its Italian manifestations.

A. It is important to see that lay culture was different in the north: less urban, literate, and affluent.

B. It is also important to recognize that the Church was more influential in intellectual life in the north and that the scholastic tradition was more deeply rooted and persistent.

C. In the north we speak of "Christian humanism," a movement that had much in common with Italian humanism but also some important differences.

1. As in Italy, the clarion cry was *"ad fontes"—' 'to* the sources"—but the sources were more likely to be the Bible and the Church fathers than the Greek and Latin classics.
2. Northern, or Christian, humanists shared the Italians' conviction that reading and study were paths to improvement; that one could become like the persons one read or read about.
3. There was a psychological parallel between the north and south: Man was a flawed creature but perfectible by effort. Protestants and Catholics would eventually divide on this point.
4. Both north and south laid great stress on free will: Humans were free to choose the path of improvement or to reject it. Here, again, Protestants and Catholics would eventually disagree on this issue.

III. Once again, let's use a series of portraits to sketch some of the main themes and issues in the northern Renaissance.

A. Jacques Lef~vre d'Etaples (1455—1536) was the most important of the French Christian humanists (he sometimes used the Latin form of his name, Jacobus Faber). He took a doctorate in Paris in the traditional learning, then traveled widely, including a stint in Florence in 149 1— 1492.

1. On his return to Paris, he lectured on Plato and Aristotle and began devoting to philosophical texts the kind of scholarly scrutiny that he encountered in Italy but that had previously been applied to literary works.
2. Soon, Lefevre turned to the texts of the Church fathers, especially the Greeks.
3. In 1505, he published a translation of the works of John of Damascus.
4. In 1512, he published commentaries on Paul's epistles and brought out, in stages, a French translation of the Bible.
5. In 1521, some of his teachings were condemned by the Sorbonne, and he fled to Strasbourg.
6. The Reformers claimed Lefevre as one of their own, but he never accepted their central doctrines.

B. John Colet (1466—1519), from a wealthy London family, received a fairly traditional education at Oxford but was unusual in his day for having spent a period in Florence studying with Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, the great Platonists.

1. From 1496 to 1504, Colet lectured on St. Paul's epistles in Oxford and began to apply to them the textual, critical, and philosophical tools of the humanists. In the process, he cultivated a deep dislike for scholasticism.
2. In 1505, he founded St. Paul's school in London, which quickly became influential (it remains a very good school to this day).

3. Colet was not only a devot~ of the new learning, but he was also critical of the abuses and corruption of the Church in his times and spoke out on a variety of issues.
4. Colet was friends with great figures, such as Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, and his teaching and writing had a significant impact on the English reformers under Henry VIII.

C. Thomas More (1478—1535) has been so much romanticized that it is difficult to get at the historical figure. He came from a solid middleclass London family. He entered the household of Cardinal Morton at thirteen and began a lifelong study of the classics.

1. His father desired him to study law and he did so, brilliantly. He was called to the bar in 1501 and even taught law for a time.
2. In 1504, More entered Parliament, but his political career began in earnest when Henry VIII became king in 1509. More held a series of increasingly distinguished positions until, in 1529, he was appointed Lord Chancellor of England.
3. He was in touch with, indeed, friends with, most of the great intellectual figures of the day.
4. In 1516, he published his most famous work, *Utopia,* a semi-satirical account of an imaginary place run according to natural law and simple logic. The book parodied many contemporary situations.
5. When Henry VIII initially opposed Luther, More prepared the theological treatises that issued in the king's name.
6. He was current with the best Christian humanist scholarship and defended it against both scholasticism and obscurantis m. For example, he wrote to the Oxford authorities who wished to prevent the teaching of Hebrew to say that all learning was useful and important and that only the small-minded could claim that teaching Hebrew was "Judaizing."
7. Finally, More broke with the king over the matter of the royal divorce and was executed for refusing to compromise.

D. Desiderius Erasmus (1469—1536) of Rotterdam was the "Prince of Humanists." He was of obscure origins and educated in modest schools, then by the Brethren of the Co mmon Life, among whom he became acquainted with humanism.

1. Erasmus became an Augustinian canon and was ordained a priest but got permission to leave his monastery to study. For many years, he was an itinerant scholar, studying in Paris, Louvain, Oxford, and Italy. He was taught by Colet, influenced by the Italians, and befriended by More.
2. His early serious work was on the Greek text of the New Testament, of which he prepared a Latin translation and eventually a new Greek edition.
3. Like Lefrvre, Erasmus wished to make the Church fathers more widely known and prepared editions of Jerome, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom, among others.
4. His humanist leanings are clear in his *Aadges* (1503), a collection of Greek and Latin proverbs and pithy sayings designed to serve as guides to right conduct.
5. In 1503, Erasmus published his *Enchiridion,* a handbook (literally) to instruct those in power in how to reconcile Christian ethics and the exigencies of office.
6. Erasmus became a master of satire; his two greatest works were the *Praise of Folly* and *Julius Excluded.* In the former, Lady Folly naively speaks on behalf of many contemporary ecclesiastical abuses. In the latter, Pope Julius II arrives at the Pearly Gates, where St. Peter does not recognize him and will not let him in.
7. In his later years, Erasmus had a battle with Martin Luther on the human will. Erasmus held to the freedom of the will and the Christian humanist ideal of improvement.
8. Although he contributed to the Protestant movement, Erasmus would not join it. Even so, the Catholic Church for a long time suspected some of his teachings and rejected others.

IV. Bearing in mind that such men as John Wyclif and Jon Hus had already challenged Church teachings, that the Babylonian captivity and the Great Schism had damaged the papacy's reputation, and that conciliarism had emerged as a new way of thinking about Church organization, one can see how the northern

Renaissance paved the way for a potential religious upheaval. But the people we met here would not cross the line into rebellion. Others would do that.

Essential Reading:
Burke, *The European Renaissance.*

Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change.*

Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom.*

Marius, *Thomas More.*

Recommended Reading:
Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly.*

More, *Utopia*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Where can you see influences of the Italian Renaissance on the key figures of the northern Renaissance?
2. What evidence do you find for calling the Renaissance a movement, rather than a phenomenon marked by a few isolated geniuses?

Lecture Forty-Four
The Protestant Reformation: Martin Luther

Scope: This lecture will begin by discussing how we might understand the Reformation as a historical phenomenon. Then, we will turn to the life of Martin Luther: Who was he? Where and what did he study? What motivated him? What did he write? What were his central ideas? Whom did he influence? How did he fit into the political and diplomatic situation of his time? In the end, we will ask why Luther provoked a new and durable movement, whereas the Christian humanists and medieval "heretics" had not done so.

Outline

The Protestant Reformation constitutes one of the watershed moments in Western civilization. But how are we to understand it? What are the central issues that we need to explain? How do we seek to assess its significance?

A. We must acknowledge that there were many religious movements in the sixteenth century that can all legitimately be called "reformations." Is it possible to choose, or to differentiate, among these?
B. One polemical tradition sees only the opposition of Protestants and Catholics, but this view fails to do justice to anybody.
    1. Orthodox Christians—or Muslims !—have never understood what the fuss was about.
    2. Protestants disagreed as sharply with one another as they did with Catholics.
    3. The Protestant "reformers" did not see themselves as anti-Catholic. They advanced positive teachings of their own.

C. The very word *reformation* is ambiguous: It can mean "make better" or "make over." We will see it used in both senses.

II. The first of the "magisterial" reformers was Martin Luther (1483—1546).

A. Born of modest family—his father was a miner—in a small town, Luther had a local education, then attended the new University of Erfurt. He joined the Augustinians, was ordained a priest, rose in the administration of his order, visited Rome, and began teaching in the University of Wittenberg.

B. Luther's path to "reform" had at least two branches.
   1. He was influenced by Christian humanism, shared the humanist dislike for scholasticism, and accepted much of the specific, objective criticism of the Church then circulating.
   2. He also had a highly sensitive personality that was prone to deep doubts and pessimism. Try though he might, he could not convince himself of his own worthiness in the eyes of God, nor could he accept that any actions on his part aught be of great benefit to him.

C. In 1516, Johan Tetzel was successfully preaching an indulgence in Germany designed to raise money to rebuild St. Peter's.
   1. The indulgence was a fairly typical aspect of medieval Catholicism that had become bloated in late medieval usage.
   2. For Luther, the indulgence rankled in two ways. First, it smacked of the "good works" that he did not believe efficacious and, second, it transferred lots of German money to Vienna bankers and to Rome.

D. In October 1517, Luther posted Ninety-five Theses against indulgences on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg. This was a fairly regular academic practice for a professor, not yet a decisively defiant act.

E. Many humanists greeted the Theses warmly, and when the Church authorities tried to discipline Luther, they did so at first through his religious order.

F. In a disputation—an academic debate-in 1519, Luther was drawn to reject the authority of popes and general councils. Now he was on a path to separation from Rome.

G. In 1520, Luther published three great treatises.
   1. His *Address to the German Nobility* called on noblemen to reform the Church in their territories by abolishing payments to Rome and banning clerical celibacy, masses for the dead, pilgrimages, and religious orders.
   2. His *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* argued that the "captivity" of the Church consisted of the denial of communion in both kinds (bread and wine) to the laity and in imposing the doctrine of transubstantiation. Luther maintained that only baptism and the Eucharist were valid sacraments.
   3. His *On the Freedom of a Christian Man* argued that salvation depended on faith and grace and that the ordinary person was, therefore, completely free of any need to do good works.

H. In June of 1520, Rome condemned forty-one of Luther's theses, and in January of 1521, Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther. At the imperial Diet of Worms in *1521,* Luther refused to recant. His safe conduct was honored and he was permitted to go to Saxony, where the Elector Frederick III protected him.

J. Before looking more closely at Luther's teachings, we may note just a few more significant dates in his life.
   1. In 1522, Luther intervened in Wittenberg to control what he saw as the damage of persons more radical than himself. By 1529 in the Colloquy of Marburg, Luther and his supporters made what

overtures they could to Rome while holding the line against other reformers, particularly the Swiss.

2. In 1524, Luther married a former Cistercian nun, Catherine von Bora, and in the same year, he provided support for the destruction of the German peasants' rebellion by the nobility. Most of rural Germany, especially in the south, remained Catholic.
3. These years also saw his magnificent translation of the Bible into German, his Greater and Lesser Catechisms, his writings on the human will, numerous theological treatises and biblical commentaries, and a wealth of hymns. Some of his work was in Latin and some in German, depending on the audience he had in mind.

III. Luther laid down some of the basic doctrines of what came to be called Protestantism.
   A. The word *Protestant* is a simple Latin verb meaning "they protest," and it was the first word of a remonstrance issued in 1529.
   B. The core of Luther's teaching turns around the three "alones" or "onlys."
      1. Salvation is "by faith alone" *(solaflde).* Faith is a free, mysterious, and unmerited (unearned) gift of God. Humanists, such as Erasmus, said that humans could exercise their will, could choose to believe. Luther believed that man was too corrupted by sin to make this choice. Therefore, the presence of faith is attributable to God alone and people cannot take credit for it.
      2. Salvation depends on "grace alone" *(sola gratia).* The grace of God that makes man just in the eyes of God is a free gift wholly independent of human actions. Grace was made available once and for all in the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ on the cross.
      3. The "Bible alone" *(sola scriptura)* teaches what many need to know and is the single source of authority in matters of religion; popes, councils, traditions-all these things were sinful human inventions.
   C. Luther had a more comprehensive alternative to Roman Catholicism than anyone before him. He also prepared crucial texts and did so in German. The new printing technology helped his ideas to circulate.

   D. He was a forceful and gifted writer. In many ways, he was seen as a German patriot.
   E. Luther was protected politically by the Elector of Saxony, and the Holy Roman Emperor simply could not risk trying to suppress him. This situation was very different than the past.

V. For the first time in a millennium, "Christendom," always more of an ideal than a reality, was riven. Europe was still Christian, but now, more than one form of Christianity would exist. How many forms, and where they would exist, was not clear even at Luther's death in 1546.

Essential Reading:
Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400—1 700.*

Cameron, *The European Reformation.*

Bainton, *Here 1 Stand: A Life of Martin Luther.*

Oberman, *Luther.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Where can you see Luther's debts to Christian humanism?

2. What precisely did the Catholic Church object to in Luther's three "alones"?

IV. Luther's teachings eventually took hold in most of northern Germany and spread directly to Scandinavia and indirectly to England through some of the key reformers there. It then spread to North America with German immigrants.

A. The question naturally arises: Why was Luther successful? One reason is that some of what he taught had been anticipated by Wyclif and Hus and even by high medieval "heretics."

B. Luther was also very much in step with his times on scholarly grounds and on the need for reform of the Church. But Erasmus, Lefevre, and others stayed with Rome.

Lecture Forty-Five
The Protestant Reformation: John Calvin

Scope: For some religious thinkers in the sixteenth century, Luther had either gone wrong or not gone far enough. We'll begin with Huldreich Zwingli in Switzerland, then turn in much more detail to John Calvin. Again, we'll ask who he was, where he studied, what he wrote, and what his key ideas were. Because Calvin was, in fact, more influential than Luther, we'll trace his influence with some care. But we will also examine such movements such Anglicanism that blended Lutheranism and Calvinism and the Mennonites and related groups who went far beyond their religious progenitors.

Outline

In this lecture, we will explore the reformation within the Reformation or, perhaps, the reasons why it is best to speak of reformations. We will turn to the so-called "Reformed tradition," which means the form of Protestantism that derives from John Calvin.

A. We will look at forms of the Protestant experience and how they differed from one another.

B. We will also consider two more "masters" of the "Magisterial Reformation."

II. Even though the reformation in Switzerland owes most to John Calvin, it got its start with Huldreich Zwingli *(1484—153* 1).

A. Zwingli came from German Switzerland, got a traditional education, and became a priest in 1506, serving as a parish pastor until 1516.

B. He pursued humanistic studies, secured a copy of Erasmus's Greek New Testament, and began studying, in particular, Paul's epistles (which he memorized!).

C. His concerns about contemporary practices—he was particularly struck by what he regarded as the superstitious folly of pilgrims -and his close reading of Paul began to lead Zwingli in a "reformed" direction.

D. He began calling publicly for reform and was elected "People's Preacher" in Zurich in 1518.

1. He began lecturing on Paul and calling for reform, winning a great deal of support.
2. He soon attacked purgatory, saints, monasticism, clerical celibacy, the mass, the authority of the pope, and fasting. In 1524, he married.

E. Zwingli seems to have owed little to Luther; at Marburg in 1529, he refused to compromise.
F. The eastern cantons of Switzerland split badly over matters of religion, and in the ensuing turmoil, Zwingli was killed in battle.

III. The Swiss reform now fell somewhat by accident to the Frenchman John Calvin (1509—1564).

A. Calvin was born in Noyon in modest circumstances, but the parish priest noted his unusual intelligence and provided for his education. He then went to study theology at Paris in 1523.
B. Within a few years, Calvin had grave doubts about his priestly vocation and left Paris and began to study law in Orleans. There, he encountered Protestants for the first time. Not until *1533,* however, did he declare his break from the Roman Church.
C. In *1532,* Calvin published a Latin commentary on one of Seneca's works; we see again the influence of humanism.
D. Fearing that he would be captured in King Francis I's roundup of Protestants, Calvin fled to BasIc. There, in *1536,* he published the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*
E. Guillaume Farel (1489—1565) was in the process of reforming Geneva and invited Calvin to join him. Calvin was reluctant at first, preferring a life of retreat and scholarship.
    1. With the *Articles of Church Government,* Calvin and Farel (note the difference in their ages!) imposed a strict regime on the city.
    2. All citizens were required to make a profession of the reformed faith before the public authorities.
    3. Calvin and Farel were chased out, and Calvin went to Strasbourg, where he was munch influenced by Martin Bucer (1491—155 1), a former Dominican who became the leader of the Swiss reformed communities in the years right after Zwingli's death.
F. In 1541, Farel and Calvin were called back to Geneva and instituted their "Holy Commonwealth."
    1. Four groups—pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons—had power. Supervision of public morality was effected by the Consistory, made up of ministers and laymen.
    2. A severe regime was instituted over a period of some ten years, during which time Calvin became a virtual dictator. Harsh penalties were imposed for skipping church services or talking in church. One could be executed for saying that the pope was a good man. All pleasures, such as singing and dancing, were forbidden.

IV. What, then, was the Calvinist faith?
A. Calvin began with the absolute sovereignty of God and the radical depravity of man. He treated the former even before the primacy of Scripture in his *Institutes.*
B. Calvin's mature formulation of his reformed faith may be found in the 1539 and later editions of his *Institutes,* a book that gave at least one Protestant tradition something like Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences* had long given Catholicism.
C. The *institutes* was built up systematically as a series of biblically grounded reflections on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed.
D. Teachers have long depended on a mnemonic device to present Calvin's teaching: TULIP.

T—Total depravity: Man is utterly sinful and incapable of taking steps to merit his own redemption.
U—Unconditional election: Those whom God elects to salvation are elected unconditionally, that is, their election is not conditional on their mode of life, on their works.

L—Limited atonement: Christ died for the elect, not for all humankind.
I—Irresistible grace: God's grace is irresistible for the elect, who have, therefore, no claim to merit grace as a reward for their conduct.
P—Persistence in grace: Grace cannot be lost or rejected by the elect.

E. Calvin's system depended fundamentally on his doctrine of absolute predestination: From before time, all people were predestined to salvation or damnation. Nothing that a human being did in his or her lifetime mattered in this scheme.

F. To fight off the possibility of hedonism, Calvin taught about the "signs of election."
   1. Calvin said that salvation was absolutely assured for the elect, but there was the problem that no one could know for sure who was elect.
   2. The "signs" *might* be an indication: public profession of faith; regular attendance at services; a godly life.
   3. Interestingly, the signs forced a kind of uniformity: No one wanted to appear *not* to be among the elect.

V. Let's conclude by comparing Luther and Calvin.
   A.
      2. The certitude of salvation.
      3. Absolute predestination.
      4. The presence of Christ in the Eucharist.
      5. A theocratic polity (for Calvin, the church was supreme; for Luther, the state was).

VI. The Reformation shows a deep break with the old Western tradition of the essential goodness of humans and their capacity for improvement.

   A. We also see that Christendom was riven, but Catholicism did not have a single alternative.
   B. In addition, there were more alternatives than just Lutheranism and Calvinism. In the next lecture, we'll speak of the Catholic reforms and sketch the religious situation at the end of the sixteenth century.

Essential Reading:
Bouwsma, *John Calvin.*

McGrath, *John Calvin.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Calvinism seems a cold and austere faith, yet it was immensely popular. Why do you think that was the case? To whom might Calvinism have especially appealed?
2. Can you think of other people, or traditions, we have encountered in these lectures who share Calvin's gloomy view of human potentiality?

They agreed on three fundamental points.
1. The primacy of Scripture *(sola scriptura).*
2. Justification by faith and faith as a free, undeserved gift of God.
3. Free will did not truly exist for humans because of the bondage of sin.

B. They disagreed on five basicpoints.
   1. That grace was persistent and irresistible.

Lecture Forty-Six
Catholic Reforms and "Confessionalization"

Scope: This lecture begins with various reform measures taken by the Catholic Church to put its own house in order, from the founding of new universities and seminaries in the late fifteenth century, to the creation of new religious orders, such as the Ursulines and the Jesuits. Then, we will look at the Council of Trent (1545—1563), which responded to the challenge of Protestantism and set the norms for the Catholic Church until the Second Vatican Council *(1962—1965).* We'll end with a consideration of "confessionalization": the hardening of lines on the religious map of a permanently divided Europe.

Outline

In the older polemical tradition, it was common to divide the religious history of the sixteenth century into the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. This way of viewing things warps our perspectives badly.

A. The Catholic Church began a wide-ranging program of reform before the magisterial reformers began their work.

B. Catholic and Protestant reforms both drew on humanist scholarship and widely expressed critiques of the late medieval Church.

C. There was a Counter-Reformation, but it was a limited project and had its heyday in the period of about 1550 to 1650.

II. We have already encountered the humanist element in the Catholic reforms in Erasmus and More. Another example is Spain's Francisco Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros (1436-1517).

A.

Ximdnes had in interesting career with several turns. He studied in
Rome, then returned to Spain to serve in a series of ecclesiastical posts.
He then entered a strict monastery and won a reputation for great
sanctity. In 1492, he reluctantly agreed to become personal confessor to Queen Isabella.

B. Isabella soon charged him to reform monastic orders in Spain, particularly the Franciscans. then appointed him Archbishop of Toledo and chancellor of Castile, which gave him a platform for wider reforms.

C. In 1500, largely out of his own funds, Ximénes founded the University of Alcalá to promote the new learning in Spain as a basis for reforms of
the clergy and the Church.

1. He invited important scholars from all over Europe to join the new university.
2. Its greatest scholarly project was the Complutensian *(Complutum* = Alcalá) Polyglot (multi-language) Bible: an edition in six volumes with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in parallel columns, plus an elaborate scholarly apparatus at the foot of the page.

D. The work of Ximénes shows the characteristic Catholic confidence that personal sanctity, along with great learning, could produce genuine improvement.

III. The Catholic Church's fundamental belief that reform in the institutional Church would lead inevitably to reforms in the wider society produced a number of new religious orders in the sixteenth century.

A. St. Filippo Neri *(15* 15—1595) is a good example ofareformer who worked from the Church to the wider world.

1. He was a Florentine who moved to Rome, studied, then adopted a deeply austere religious life.
2. He was ordained a priest in 1551 and served at San Girolamo in Rome, where he began to gather a community of young men around himself.
3. In 1564, the men who had been praying and studying together became the Congregation of the Oratory (usually called "Oratorians"), who were dedicated to good preaching; inspiring worship, including music (we owe to them the "Oratorio"); and service to ordinary laypeople.
4. The ideal, then, was blameless life for the clergy and authentic service to the people.
5. The order spread all over Europe and even into the Spanish overseas empire.

B. The most famous of all the new orders was the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (1491—1556).
   1. Ignatius was a Spanish nobleman who was wounded in battle and, while recovering, read the Bible repeatedly, along with the lives of the saints. He resolved to take on a new life.
   2. For a time after his recuperation, he lived the life of a virtual hermit and began to write his *Spiritual Exercises,* a series of daily meditations and exercises patterned on the life of Christ, designed to make the person following them more Christ-like.
   3. He studied for a while in Alcalá and later, for seven years, in Paris. In some respects, then, Ignatius was like his Spanish predecessor, St. Dominic, in believing that a holy life and deep learning would serve the Church.
   4. In 1534, he and a few companions, including Francis Xavier *(1506-1552),* formed the Society of Jesus, dedicating themselves to poverty, chastity, and pilgrimage to Jerusalem (the last vow later changed into obedience to the pope).
   5. Ignatius and his followers went to Rome, where their devotion and loyalty to the Church overcame papal suspicions of new religious ideas. Pope Paul III approved the new order in 1540.
   6. Ignatius spent the rest of his life developing and improving the constitutions of the order.
   7. The Jesuits became renowned for austere lives, great learning, and missionary work far beyond the confines of Europe. Francis Xavier, for example, worked in India and Japan.

C. Catholic women also participated in the movement. Angela Merici (1474-1540) created the Ursulines, an order of teaching women dedicated to St. Ursula (a legendary British Christian said to have been slaughtered by the Huns along with 11,000 virgins).
   1. Angela was a Franciscan "tertiary," a laywoman who adopted some aspects of the life of the Franciscans.
   2. She spent some years teaching girls and attending to sick older women, then formed a plan to create a school for girls.
   3. In 1535, she created a school in Brescia and staffed it with women who led a life that was common but not cloistered. Thus, the Ursuline order was founded.
   4. Paul III approved this order in 1544, but Church authorities gradually cloistered the women, even though their convents remained important schools until recent times.

D. The most famous Catholic woman reformer of the sixteenth century did not found a new order. Teresa of Avila (1515—1582) revitalized the Carmelites.
   1. Teresa led a reform in the Carmelite order that led to an upsurge in the number of houses following the strict, primitive rules of the order. She had to overcome considerable opposition from those who enjoyed a somewhat relaxed lifestyle.
   2. Teresa was also a prolific author of spiritual treatises, including an autobiography. She has come to be recognized as one of the greatest theologians of prayer. Pope Paul VI named her a "Doctor" of the Church in 1970.

IV. As a central institution, why did the Catholic Church not respond earlier to the age's calls for reform or to the specific challenge of the Protestants?
   A. There was a natural hesitation to discern among all the calls for reform those that seemed most salutary.
   B. Popes had been stung by the challenges to their authority in the conciliar epoch and were leery of new calls to curtail papal power.
   C. Yet Paul III did sanction the Jesuits and the Ursulines, and there were some attempts at dialogue with the Protestants.

D. The political situation in Europe was severely contentious.
E. When a program of reform emerged, it took the traditional form of a great Church council.
   1. The Council of Trent met in three major sessions between 1545 and 1563.
   2. The council was always comp licated by political situations in Europe and by rivalries among various Catholic groups.
   3. Still, it accomplished a great deal, responded to the Protestant Reformation, and set the agenda for the Catholic Church until Vatican 11(1962—1965).
   4. Although older teachings were sometimes refined, Trent mainly affirmed customary positions: the Nicene Creed; equality of Scripture and tradition; the Church's authority to interpret the Bible; sacraments; traditional Catholic practices in the areas of pilgrimages, relics, and saints; and so on.
   5. The council also laid the foundations for better training of priests, created a catechism for teaching and reference, and reformed the liturgy.
F. From Trent onward, one can legitimately speak of a "CounterReformation." The greatest gains came in southern Germany and Poland, where whole regions were won back from Protestantism, especially through the work of the Jesuits.

V. In surveying the religious situation at the end of the sixteenth century, historians speak of "confessionalization."
A. The century had opened with a dominant Catholic Church that was almost everywhere under sharp criticism. Throughout the century, a variety of religious positions emerged. By the end of the century, the religious situation had hardened sufficiently that the future could be perceived.
B. Roman Catholicism took definitive shape with Trent, and that shape was largely an affirmation of historic Catholicism.
C. Lutheranism, in the form of the Augsburg Confession (1540), became dominant in many parts of Germany.
   1. The Peace of Augsburg *(1555)* set the notion of "*cuius regio, eius religio"* ("whose rule, his religion"), meaning that princes would choose whether their areas would be Protestant or Catholic.
   2. This solution ignored the 'Reformed" and "Radical" movements.
   3. Still, Augsburg represented the first official toleration of religious diversity among Christians in Europe since Roman times.
   4. Lutheramsm spread to Scandinavia and was theologically influential elsewhere, particularly in England.

D. The Reformed tradition arose around Calvin's *Institutes*.
   1. Calvinism became the major form of Protestantism in the pans of Switzerland that did not remain Catholic.
   2. Calvinism also dominated the Christian experience in the northern Netherlands (what we think of as Holland, as opposed to the southern Netherlands, or Belgium, that remained Catholic).
   3. The French Protestants, or Huguenots, were Calvinist in orientation. So were those in Scotland.
E. The Reformation in England was, in the first pla ce, a royal project occasioned by Henry VIII's need for a divorce in order to secure an heir.
   1. Initially, Henry wanted essentially a Catholic Church without the pope.
   2. After his death (1547), more committed Protestants moved the English church decidedly away from Roman Catholic positions.
   3. Queen Mary (1553—1558) tried but failed to re-Catholicize England.
   4. When Elizabeth (1558—1603) came to the throne, she was sure she did not want Roman Catholicism, but she faced Protestants of both the Lutheran and Calvinist variety.
   5. With the Book of Common Prayer of 1569, Elizabeth promoted an "Anglican" compromise.
F. There were, finally, the "radicals." This was not necessarily a term of abuse. It meant that these people really got to the "root" **(=** *radix)* of things.
   1. The dominant stream in the radical Reformation came to be called Anabaptists, or "re-baptizers."
   2. They felt that all the other reformers were still tainted with papism, that they had not gone far enough.

3. Among their distinctive teachings were a rejection of infant baptism, a congregational concept of church polity, and often, the idea of complete separation from the world (hence, the Mennonites, for example).
4. The Anabaptists at first tended to collect on the frontiers and in remote rural districts, where they were less likely to be harried by their opponents.

G. We can see at least five broad patterns of Christian experience, each of which would go on evolving until our own days.

Essential Reading:
Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout.*

Lindberg, *The European Reformations.*

Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What common threads do you seen in the work of the Catholic reformers?
2. Why do you suppose that, in the age of "confessionalization," there did not emerge a single coherent alternative to Roman Catholicism?

Lecture Forty-Seven
Exploration and Empire

Scope: In the last decades of the fifteenth century and across the sixteenth, the European world extended its horizons as never before. Portugal and Spain created vast overseas empires, the former in the Indian Ocean basin and the latter in the Americas. These empires changed the shape of European politics and diplomacy, exported European contentions to the rest of the globe, altered Europe's economic mechanisms, and decisively influenced people all over the earth. We'll look at why the Europeans involved themselves in the rest of the world, how they did so, and what the consequences were. This topic has evoked heated controversy in recent years.

Outline

Voyages of exploration, commerce, and conquest, initially by the Portuguese and Spanish, globalized Western civilization in ways that no one can have foreseen. But why did this happen? Europe was not more powerful, populous, or better situated.

A. Bear in mind that Europe had, largely through Muslim traders, maintained indirect commercial relations with Africa and Asia for centuries.
B. Several new factors emerged in the late medieval and Renaissance period.
   1. Ancient geographical writings were recovered and contributed to a clearer understanding of the shape of the world.
   2. Genuine or fantastic accounts of travels by Marco Polo (1254/1255—1324) and John Mandeville (1356/1357) were widely read and stirred up much interest.
   3. Legends about Prester John circulated and heightened awareness of alleged Christian communities living in either India or Africa.
   4. There was an Italian merchant community in China from about 1300.
   5. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, much better maps were created.

6. There were technological innovations, including the needle compass, better astrolabes (for determining latitude), and new ships (the caravel).

C. The diplomatic/political scene changed, as well.
   1. The Mongol Empire at first offered unprecedented opportunities for overland travel and trade between the Mediterranean world and China.
   2. Then, the Mongols chose Islam (despite tremendous efforts to convert them to Christianity), their empire disintegrated, and the Ottoman Turks rose to power and shut off the trade routes.
   3. Because Italians, particularly Venetians, had a near-monopoly on Mediterranean trade, there were powerful incentives to find new routes to the Orient.

D. Europeans may still have felt some vestiges of the old crusading ideology, as Pius II and Ignatius Loyola show.

E. Still, the question remains: Why was this globalization begun by Portugal and Spain (and not, let us say, France or England)?

II. Portugal led the way in the great era of European overseas expansion.

A. Rulers and adventurers wished to bring succor to Christians and to find access to the gold of the Niger River basin, long cut off from direct access by Berber tribesmen of North Africa.

B. Already in the fourteenth century, some sailors had been going down the west coast of Africa and exploring the islands, such as the Azores and Canaries.

C. In the early fifteenth century, Ceuta on the Moroccan coast was captured, providing a secure base for voyages down the African coast.
   1. The Portuguese crown began to colonize the islands.
   2. The introduction of sugar into Madeira in the 1440s led to the introduction of slavery.

D. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese had secured their control of the west African coastal regions.

E. Now the crown began to dream of reaching Asia by going east.
   1. In 1487, Bartolommeo Dias (c. 1450-1500) pushed farther along the western coast and used his knowledge of prevailing winds to catch favorable breezes and round the cape of Africa.
   2. In a voyage lasting from 1497 to 1499, Vasco da Gama (c. 1460— 1524) sailed to Calicut in India. He had four ships and some 170 men. He returned with only some of his seamen and one ship but with a cargo of spices worth fifty to sixty times the cost of the venture.
   3. Alfonso da Alburquerque (1453—1515) armed his ships, captured bases, and developed the Portuguese strategy of a string of armed trading posts in the Indian Ocean basin.
   4. Because only a few Portuguese settled in the region, they were not resented too much, and trade was eagerly promoted by many rulers.

F. The Portuguese government built elaborate institutions to manage and control trade with the "Indies."

III. The Spanish had many of the same incentives as the Portuguese but were, for decades, distracted from overseas ventures by the completion of the Reconquista.

A. Granada fell in 1492, and by then, there was some concern in Spain, occasioned by Portugal's successes along the African coast.

B. Ferdinand and, especially, Isabella financed the Genoese Cristoforo Colombo *(1451—1506)* but did so somewhat reluctantly and stingily.
   1. Columbus was a brilliant sailor, a successful self-promoter, and a keen, but we might say selective, student of geography.
   2. We need to avoid romanticizing his voyages.
   3. He got three small vessels and some ninety men.

C. Columbus's first voyage was promising enough that he made three more in 1493, 1498, and 1502. He died wealthy and famous but far short of his own

dreams.

1. The difference in scale of his later voyages is striking. On the second, he had seventeen ships and 1,700 men.
2. He always believed that he had discovered islands lying just off the coast of Japan.
3. In 1501, Amerigo Vespucci, sailing along the coast of Brazil, realized that Columbus had discovered a "New World."
4. In 1507, Martin Waldseemüller published a map on which he labeled two new continents "America."

D. Exploration did not stop with Columbus.
   1. In 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa crossed Central America at the isthmus of Panama and viewed the Pacific Ocean.
   2. In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan set out to circumnavigate the globe. He died in 1521 in the Philippines, but one of his ships returned in 1522.

E. Spurred on by the Iberian example, north Europeans began to make voyages, too. With the southern routes to Asia cut *off,* the French and English went north.
   1. John Cabot (1450-1499) sighted Newfoundland in 1497, but serious English exploration and colonization did not begin for another century, largely because the country was distracted by the religious and political convulsions of the Reformation.
   2. In 1534, the French explorer Jacques Cartier (1491—1557) sailed up the St. Lawrence River. France, too, was distracted and did not begin its overseas adventures for almost another century.

F. In Columbus's wake, Hernán Cortds (1485—1546) initiated the conquest of Mexico, and Francisco Pizarro (1470-1541), the conquest of Peru.
   1. Between 1492 and 1600, perhaps 200,000 Spaniards settled in the New World.
   2. Gradually, a sophisticated imperial administration—the most complex since Roman times-was created to govern and exploit the Spanish Empire in the Americas.
   3. The Spanish experience was different from the Portuguese in that the latter created trade stations (except in Brazil), whereas the former conquered land, introduced settlers, dominated natives, promoted agriculture, and extracted raw materials, not least bullion.

IV. In an attempt to understand the dynamics and consequences of this era, historians have come to talk of the "Columbian exchange."

A.

B.

Diseases were moved in both directions across the Atlantic. Syphilis, most notably from the Americas to Europe, while smallpox, diphtheria, measles, whooping cough, chicken pox, malaria, typhoid, yellow and scarlet fever, flu, tuberculosis, and even bubonic plague were carried by Europeans to the New World. Perhaps ninety percent of the native population of the Indies died as a result.

Large numbers of animals were imported to the New World, including cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, chickens, donkeys, and even dogs and cats.

C. Numerous Old World plants came to the new: oats, barley, and wheat, most notably, but also dandelions! Maize, potatoes, and sweet potatoes were the primary plants that traveled eastward.

V. That it was Europeans who reached out to explore, conquer, and colonize the rest of the world is a fact with consequences that reach right to our own days.
   A. Much of what we call the Third World, or developing world, is made up of former European colonies.
   B. With the age of exploration and discovery, Western civilization and world history merge.

Essential Reading:
Scammel, *The First imperial Age*.

Crosby, *Ecological imperialism.*

Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Given the background factors that we discussed in this lecture, why was it the Iberian, rather than northern European, powers that commenced the age of exploration?
2. Where and with what consequences do you see the role of technology in the process of exploration and colonization?

Lecture Forty-Eight
What Challenges Remain?

Scope: This lecture will be like the Roman god Janus. First, we'll take a peek into the future. We'll look at the diplomatic situation at the end of the sixteenth century. We'll see that England and France are about to build overseas empires; that Spain's Golden Age is nearly over; that the Scientific Revolution is becoming dimly visible; that Protestant Christianity will go on evolving; and that Catholic Christianity will assert its aesthetic identity through the complex novelty of the baroque. Second, we'll cast a glance back at those mud-walled villages of Mesopotamia to see how far we have come in creating a civilization and bringing it to the threshold of its modern era. We'll recapitulate some of the most salient geographical factors, the wide range of political possibilities, the enduring importance of religion, and the evolving sense of "the good, the true, and the beautiful."

Outline

L Across the sixteenth century, we can see the emergence of the kind of "great power" politics and diplomacy that would dominate the West until the end of the twentieth century.
- A. This "system" (it was not a system in the sense that someone sat down and thought it up) consisted of shifting patterns of alliances among the greatest European powers, with the smaller powers aligning themselves, or being forced to align themselves, with their more powerful neighbors.
- B. The first fundamental aspect of this system was the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry, that is, the struggle between the Valois rulers of France and the Hapsburg rulers of the Spanish Empire and the Holy Roman Empire.
  1. A series of dynastic marriages effected two great unions that then culminated in one stupendous dynastic arrangement.
  2. Maximilian of Austria, the Holy Roman Emperor, married Mary of Burgundy, who was the heiress to both Burgundy and the Netherlands. They had a son, Philip.
  3. Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile married, unifying the Spanish crowns, and had a daughter, Johanna.
  4. Johanna and Philip married, creating a Hapsburg sphere of influence that reached all over Europe and extended to the Americas.
  5. Under Philip II of Spain, a huge imperial realm existed, but he divided his holdings in 1556 such that his brother Ferdinand took the Austrian lands, while Charles V took Spain, its overseas possessions, and its Italian interests.

C. These Hapsburg lands surrounded France, and much French policy was addressed to eluding domination.
1. In the seventeenth century, French policy is most evident in support given to Protestant Sweden and north German states against the Austrian Hapsburgs, despite France's Catholic faith.
2. Likewise, when the Netherlands rebelled against Spain (the southern Netherlands were Catholic and generally loyal, but the northern Netherlands were

Calvinist and chafed under Spanish Catholic authority), the French lent aid of various kinds to the Dutch.

The Spanish saw themselves as, in some way, the protectors and saviors of Catholic Europe, even though Catholic France opposed them mightily.

1. For this reason, the Spanish led the naval forces that fought and defeated the Turks at Lepanto in 1571.

2. In 1588, the Spanish launched the "invincible armada" against England. It was defeated, and for the next several decades, the English and Spanish navies were in combat all over the world.

E. This period also saw an escalation of colonial rivalries.

1. France and England both began to build overseas empires in North America. Partly they were looking for the Northwest Passage to Asia; partly they were entering lands left free by the Spanish; partly they were combating each other as religious rivals.

2. The Dutch, once freed of Spanish dominance, began to build a colonial regime, too. This regime was more like the Portuguese than the Spanish in that the Dutch created trading stations in the Indian Ocean basin and the South China Sea, but also in the Americas.

3. The Dutch and English, although Protestant states with "natural" foes in France and Spain, actually fought a bloody series of wars.

F. At the very end of the seventeenth century, the Russia of Peter the Great entered the picture as another key player.

G. Thus, by let us say 1700, two great patterns were evident.

1. Shifting combinations of England, Holland, France, Spain, German states, Austria, Russia, and Turkey would dominate the European scene.
2. As these states consolidated and even expanded their overseas holdings, Europe's struggles were globalized.
3. Simultaneously, problems on the world frontier became at once problems in Europe.
4. Likewise, the European economy became dependent on raw materials from, and commerce with, overseas realms.

II. The dawning modern world also manifested itself in a second important way: the Scientific Revolution.

A. The word *revolution* is appropriate becauta there was a dramatic change in worldview between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries.

B. Usually, the process is associated with a series of discoveries in astronomy.

1. In *1543,* Nicholas Copernicus (1473—1543) published his *On the Revolutions of Heavenly Bodies.* In this book, which was dedicated to the pope, he carefully advanced the heliocentric theory—the idea that the earth and all the planets revolve around the sun. He was not the first to argue this, and his views did not yet win immediate assent.
2. In 1576, the king of Denmark financed the construction of an observatory for Tycho Brahe (1546-1601). Brahe's contribution was the collection of an immense amount of data on the movements of the stars and the planets. Before him, virtually everyone had relied on the imprecise data of the ancients.
3. Brahe's greatest pupil was the German Johannes Kepler (157 1— 1630), who discovered that neither Copernicus nor anyone else had ever adequately accounted for the peculiarities in planetary motion. He realized that only by means of sophisticated mathematical models would it be possible to explain the movement of the planets through their elliptical orbits.
4. Galileo Galilei (1564—1642) built on the work of his predecessors and proved—mathematically-—that the earth moves.

C. It is easy to misunderstand what was at stake here.

1. People have probably heard about Galileo's struggles with the Church; natural instinct leads us to see wisdom and truth being crushed by superstition and coercion.
2. In fact, Galileo's views were not yet dominant and the whole Western tradition was against him.
3. At issue was whether precise observation and mathematical demonstration were to be permitted to trump centuries of accumulated wisdom.
4. Was it the role of science to confirm both revealed truths and common sense, or was science itself superior?

D. It is fascinating to reflect on the fact that the earliest manifestations of what we might think of as science occurred as Mesopotamians stared inquisitively

at the heavens arrayed above themselves and that, nearly five millennia later, a tradition already thousands of years old was overturned when new people gazed at those same stars.

D.

E. We noted that in Hellenistic times, there was already some hint of the eventual split between the "two cultures": the cultures of art and science.
   1. Yet the medieval, and to a degree even the Renaissance, curriculum of the arts urged an integrated view of knowledge.
   2. A biblical worldview held that the world was created by God and that science was God's gift to those humans who wished to explore God's purposes. This, too, was an integrative view.
   3. From the seventeenth century, science came to be seen as a distinct and highly specialized way of knowing. Aristotle thought poets capable of apprehending and telling the highest truths. This is harder to believe after the Scientific Revolution.
   4. Science also became professionalized, in addition to specialized. Think of the vast array of learned societies today that carefully guard the information in their fields and the credentialing of those who wish to practice one or another scientific craft. No Mesopotamian, no Greek, carried a membership card!

III. We began with tiny cities in Sumer, and cities have been a constant concern throughout these lectures.
   A. Yet the world was profoundly rural: The first British census that showed more people living in cities than in small towns or rural communities was collected in 1850. That point was not reached in the United States until 1920.
   B. In the period from about 1500 to 1750, cities anchored themselves as the decisive elements in the demographic and, thus, in the economic and political landscape. Initially, the greatest growth was in medium-sized cities: in the British midlands, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland.

   C. The faint beginnings of urban industrialization were apparent, with all the social and political problems that process has entailed.

IV. The psalmist had asked, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" By the seventeenth century, a wide array of answers had been given to that question, and the great political upheavals of the eighteenth century would test almost every one of them.
   A. A skeptic might have said, "There is no God; that is a foolish way of putting the question." But there are more skeptics now than there were then.
   B. Thomas Hobbes, following in the tracks St. Augustine and John Calvin, said that man was a wretched creature, sinful, monstrous, criminal, and always to be restrained as much as possible for fear of what he might do to himself or others.
   C. The last defenders of monarchy said that man was a creature most happy when he submitted willingly to those in authority and recognized the God-given order of the state and the universe.
   D. "Liberal" thinkers said that man was endowed with rights and that he needed to use those rights to their fullest in free and open societies in order to be fully human. This line of thought reached back over the Renaissance to Cicero and to Aristotle. Lofty in theory, this view has been hard to implement in practice.

V. Western civilization has been one long test of human ingenuity in the face of the natural world.

   A. Mesopotamians and Egyptians learned to harness the power of rivers to tame the challenges of the desert.
   B. For millennia, the Mediterranean provided food, linked peoples, and transmitted ideas. "Our Sea," as the Romans called it, was the center of the earth as far as people were concerned.

   C. Continental Europeans and their island neighbors spread in every direction and applied ever-new technologies to the problems involved in eking out a living.

D. Europeans finally crossed the oceans and made the world a smaller, more interesting, and more interdependent place.

E. One great scholar said that history was a process of challenge and response. Surely we must ask what challenges remain. What responses will they evoke?

Essential Reading:
Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence.*

Fermlndez-Armesto, *Millennium.*

Question to Consiclen

1. Imagine yourself in a strange sort of time -travel theme park. You observe various groups of people sitting on benches. Unnoticed, you walk up behind various benches and eavesdrop on conversations. You saw Aristotle and Galileo talking on one bench. On another, you observed Constantine, Charlemagne, and Charles V. On still another, you found Plato, Jesus, and Thomas More. Yet again, you noticed Augustine, Erasmus, and Calvin. Tell us what you overheard in each conversation.