Foundations

HISTORY OF
CHRISTIANITY

Compiled by
the Center for
Biblical Leadership

Foundations

◆

History of Christianity

John M. Duncan
for the Center for Biblical Leadership

All Scripture quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the King James Version of the Bible (KJV). Other Scripture references are from the Holy Bible, New International Version (NIV). Copyright © 1973, 1978, 1984 by International Bible Society. Used by permission of Zondervan Publishing House. All rights reserved.

Table of Contents

Unit Four: The Era of Reform (c. 1500– 1700)

Acknowledgements

spiritual development. Being far from you during the writing of this book has been extraordinarily difficult, but you have held me up through your prayers and kind words, and the bonds of love that unite us have only grown stronger as a result of our separation.

Finally, I would like to express my undying love and boundless gratitude to my beautiful wife, Leia. God has blessed me extravagantly by giving me you as my wife, friend, partner, and companion for life. You have been my biggest supporter, my greatest comfort, my closest confidant, and my most faithful ally throughout this entire process, at great cost to yourself. Words cannot adequately express the depths of my love for you or my appreciation for your continual encouragement and helpful input regarding this book.

All praise and glory are due to the One who gives us life, strengthens our faith, kindles our hope, and lavishes His love upon us. May this exploration of the history of His people draw our hearts to Him.

John M. Duncan

Introduction to the Foundations Courses

The *Foundations* courses, developed by the Center for Biblical Leadership, are designed to provide believers with a broad understanding of fundamental issues related to both the Christian life in general and membership in the Church of God of Prophecy specifically.

COURSE LISTING

Foundations consists of the following four courses:

Introduction to the Bible—This course is designed to give the student a thorough introduction to the nature, history, context, and content of the Bible.

Spiritual Formation—This course explores biblical principles and practices that are essential for personal spiritual growth and maturity, including many of the classic Christian spiritual disciplines.

History of Christianity—This course provides an overview of some of the major developments, significant movements, and important personalities in Christian history.

Fitly Joined Together—This course serves as an introduction to the history, beliefs, practices, and organizational structure of the Church of God of Prophecy.

Though studying these courses in the order listed above may prove most beneficial, this is not mandatory and may not always be possible. There is no official order to the four courses.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR USE

There are a variety of ways in which *Foundations* courses may be used:

Personal Enrichment—Most basically, the courses may be read by an individual who simply wishes to increase his or her knowledge and understanding of the subject matter. In this case, the student is not required to register or to complete the examination.

Options for Credit/Certification—Any student who wishes to receive official credit or certification of any kind for the completion of a *Foundations* course must take an open-book examination on the subject matter and submit it, along with the accompanying registration form, to his or her state/regional/national office, where the exam will be graded. The registration form and examination can be found in the back of this course book. A score of 90 percent is needed to pass the examination. (See exception below under *Group Study.*)

Simple LDU Credit/Certificate of Completion—Students who pass the examination will receive one Leadership Development Unit (LDU) credit, as well as a certificate indicating that they have successfully met the requirements for that particular course. Once all four *Foundations* courses have been completed, a formal Certificate of Completion will also be issued.

Leadership Certificate—The Leadership Certificate is issued by the Center for Biblical Leadership to students who earn a total of 21 LDU credits through a prescribed course of study, including all four *Foundations* courses. Those students who complete a *Foundations* course in pursuit of their Leadership Certificate should specify this on their Foundations registration form to ensure proper credit. A brochure detailing the requirements for the Leadership Certificate is available from the Center for Biblical Leadership.

Teacher's Certificate—The Teacher's Certificate (which replaces the former Authorized Teacher's License and Certified Teacher's License) is issued by the Sunday School Ministries Department to Christian education workers who complete a prescribed course of study, including all four *Foundations* courses. Those students who complete a *Foundations* course in pursuit of their Teacher's Certificate should specify this on their *Foundations* registration form to ensure proper credit. A brochure detailing the requirements for the Teacher's Certificate is available from the Sunday School Ministries Department.

State/Regional/National Credit—At the discretion of each individual state, region, or nation, students who complete a *Foundations* course may receive state/regional/national credit toward certificates or other forms of acknowledgement that are unique to that state, region, or nation. Students should contact their individual state/regional/national office for more information.

Ministerial Licensure and Upgrading—Presently, completion of all four *Foundations* courses, along with the Ministerial Exam found in the *Ministry Policy Manual* portion of the *General Assembly Minutes,* is a prerequisite for acquiring ministerial licensure in the Church of God of Prophecy. Any person intending to pursue licensure should first contact his or her pastor and state/regional/national overseer in order to learn the complete requirements for licensure that may apply in his or her local church, state, region, and/or nation, and to receive approval as a potential ministerial candidate.

Once approved, the ministerial candidate may take the *Foundations* courses at any time. The same requirements concerning registration and completion of the examination apply to a ministerial candidate as to any student. Those students who complete a *Foundations* course in pursuit of their ministerial license should specify this on their *Foundations* registration form to ensure proper credit. Once all four *Foundations* courses and the Ministerial Exam from the *Ministry Policy Manual* have been successfully completed, a numbered Certificate of Completion will be issued.

Additionally, those ministers who were licensed before the *Foundations* courses became mandatory may choose to upgrade their license by completing the *Foundations* courses. This should be undertaken with the prior approval of the minister's state/regional/national overseer, and may be specified on the *Foundations* registration form.

Group Study—Any of these options for use of the *Foundations* courses—personal enrichment, simple LDU credit, credit toward a Leadership Certificate, Teacher's Certificate, or state/regional/national acknowledgment, ministerial licensure, or ministerial upgrading—may be undertaken in either an individual setting or a group study setting. Group studies may be offered in the context of a local church class led by the pastor or another qualified instructor, or in the context of a Leadership Development Institute led by CBL faculty. In the case of a group study, the instructor is responsible for collecting registration forms and examinations from those students who are pursuing credit/certification/licensure, grading the exams, and submitting the proper paperwork to the appropriate state/regional/national office. At the discretion of the instructor, group study examinations may be conducted on a closed-book basis, in which case the score needed to pass is 70 percent.

Finally, it should be noted that credit obtained by completing the *Foundations* courses may be applied in more than one way. Thus it is possible for a student who is taking a *Foundations* course as a requirement for licensure to simultaneously have his or her LDU credit applied toward the requirements for a Leadership Certificate and/or a Teacher's Certificate. All such overlapping requests for credit should be noted on the student's registration form.

Foreword

Attempting to set out in brief a comprehensible and credible history of Christianity is an impossibly complicated task. First, there is the question of where to start. Did Christianity begin with the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost? Or did it begin with the risen Christ's appearances to the disciples? Or with Jesus' baptism and the beginning of His public ministry? Or maybe, paradoxically, the true roots of Christianity actually predate the earthly life of Jesus altogether. After all, the story of Christianity is in reality an extension and reshaping of the story of Israel, which is itself incomprehensible apart from an understanding of the whole story of God and humanity. So perhaps, in the end, it is best to begin at the Beginning.

Second, there is the inescapable problem of what to include and what to leave out. The two millennia that have passed since the death and resurrection of Jesus have been filled with significant events, notable movements, colorful personalities, important writings, piercing questions, and surprising answers, and it is simply impossible to do justice to the depth and breadth of the material in a volume such as this. Inevitably, the author is called upon to simplify, streamline, summarize, and synthesize—and to hope that nothing of vital importance gets lost in the process.

In grappling with this task, I have allowed the narrative to retain some fluidity, to shift from a strictly chronological structure to a thematic one or from an event-driven summary to a series of character sketches when it seems beneficial to do so. I have also attempted to balance out as best as possible the coverage of different Christian movements and of distinct periods in history. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the post-Reformation portion of the book focuses heavily on developments within Protestantism, largely because the history of Protestant Christianity in the last 500 years is much less monolithic than that of Catholic Christianity and much more well-attested than that of Eastern Orthodoxy.

This admission raises a third potential pitfall that faces historians of Christianity, one that has been referred to by N. T. Wright as the tendency to see our own face at the bottom of the historical well. That is to say that, having set out to record the history of Christianity, many authors are unable to resist the temptation of portraying that history as culminating, inevitably and irresistibly, in their own particular denomination, tradition, or scholarly viewpoint. Such an approach invariably results in pieces of work that exchange open-minded historical inquiry for arrogant polemics against fellow Christians, past and present, who have dared to hold different beliefs.

If left unchecked, this mindset can be a crippling hindrance not only to a balanced understanding of Christian history, but to our ability to embrace Jesus' vision of His church as one body. So although this book has been written to serve the needs of an audience that is primarily composed of Pentecostal Protestants, the story it tells is not

the story of Protestantism's glorious revolution against the "dead religion" of Rome, nor the story of Pentecostalism's emergence as the heir apparent to the "true Christianity" that had lain dormant for 16 centuries. Rather, it is the story of God and humanity, and more narrowly, of Jesus and His followers—followers who are portrayed in all their diversity of belief and praxis, with all of their mixed messages and ambiguous motives intact, and in full recognition of the fact that they are all far from perfect. But followers, too, who are recognized as valuable members of the body of Christ, and who collectively possess the multi-faceted good news that offers hope to a desperate and dying world.

This book, then, is an honest attempt to present an introduction to the history of Christianity that places the ongoing story of Jesus and His followers within its broader context, that offers a concise yet thorough examination of Christianity in all its historical, social, and theological diversity, and that issues an invitation to believers to unite around those things that we all share—one story, one body, one mission, one kingdom, one Lord.

Unit One

The material contained in Unit One lays the historical and theological foundation upon which the rest of this book will be built. Its three chapters trace the story of Christianity from the creation of the world to the death of the apostle Paul shortly before AD 70. In other words, this unit presents the history (and pre-history) of Christianity as it is set out in the Old and New Testaments.

Chapter One explores the broad context for the development of Christianity by examining the faith's relationship to the Greco-Roman cultural milieu in which it was birthed, the Jewish story and worldview out of which it grew, and, most fundamentally, the eternal drama of God and humanity of which it forms a vital part.

Chapter Two examines the life, ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus, focusing on the nature of His mission, the content of His teaching, and the ways in which His ministry served to challenge pagan Greco-Roman culture, subvert traditional Jewish expectations, and fulfill God's eternal purposes.

Chapter Three discusses the character and mission of the early disciples and recounts in brief the history contained in the Book of Acts, including the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, the persecution and expansion of the early church, the opening of the Christian community to Gentile believers, and the conversion and subsequent career of the apostle Paul.

Chapter One
The Contexts for Christianity

Every story has a beginning. If the story is fictional, the beginning is generally easily located: "Once upon a time . . ." something happened, and a chain of events was set in motion. If the story is true, things get a bit more complicated. Where exactly does the story of World War II begin, for instance? The closer you get to what you imagined was the starting point, the further into the distance the root causes retreat.

Likewise, the story of Christianity does not begin with Jesus' resurrection, or His baptism, or even His birth. To insist that any of these events represents a fixed point from which the investigation of Christianity can proceed without a backward glance is to give a breathtakingly beautiful and complex true story a fairy-tale beginning: "Once upon a time, a woman had a baby in a stable . . ." and 2,000 years later, here we are. That is not to say, of course, that what happened in that stable was not a critical part of the story. It is merely to insist that the story did not begin there, any more than the full story of World War II began with the birth of Hitler or Mussolini or Churchill or Roosevelt.

Where, then, does the story of Christianity truly begin? Not "once upon a time," but before time. Not with the birth of a child, but with the birth of the cosmos. Not on the cross or in the Jordan or even in the manger, but "in the beginning."

The Eternal Context

The history of Christianity is, in reality, a subset of a larger, ongoing, and never-ending story: the story of God's relationship with humanity. While it could be truthfully stated that the origins of this grand drama reside in the eternal mind of its Author, the story's visible, tangible beginning was the creation of the universe as recorded in the Book of Genesis.[1] Beginning with an empty cosmic canvas, God unleashed His boundless creativity. He spoke into existence light and darkness; land, sea, and sky; trees and plants; sun, moon, and stars; birds, fish, and animals; and finally, His crowning achievement—humanity.

The first humans, Adam and Eve, were created in the very image of God. They lived in perfect harmony with their Creator, with one another, and with the rest of creation. They were entrusted with the care of a beautiful garden, and were sustained by its bounty. God thus provided them with an idyllic existence and placed upon them only a single restriction: they were not to eat of the fruit of one tree, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

But here the story takes a drastic and tragic turn. Satan, the accuser, appeared in the Garden in the guise of a serpent, and persuaded Eve to disobey God by eating the fruit, assuring her that she would become like God in the process. Eve relented and convinced

Adam to try the fruit as well. This act of disobedience led to Adam and Eve's expulsion from the garden, the introduction of pain, hardship, and mortality into the human experience, and the creation of a rift between God and humanity as a result of sin. The web of reciprocal, loving relationships among God, humanity, and creation that had been the centerpiece of the Creator's work was severely damaged.

Predictably, once humans had become aware of the difference between good and evil, it did not take long for them to begin choosing the latter. Adam and Eve's firstborn son Cain murdered his brother Abel out of jealousy, thus shedding the first human blood on the earth. As generations passed, man's wickedness only increased. Finally, God became so grieved by the evil in men's hearts that He decided to destroy all that He had created with a great flood. However, He elected to spare one righteous man, Noah, along with his family. They escaped the flood's destruction in a wooden ark, taking with them pairs of animals by which the earth might be repopulated. After bringing Noah and his family safely out of the ark, God made a covenant with them, promising that He would never again destroy the world with a flood.

Centuries then passed as mankind slowly recovered from the brink of annihilation. It quickly became clear, however, that the descendants of Noah were no more faithful to God than the descendants of Adam and Eve had been, and humankind soon began to demonstrate its self-reliance once again. They decided to build a great city and a tower that would reach to the heavens so that they might gain fame for themselves. Having promised Noah that He would not destroy humanity again, God instead caused the people to speak different languages and scattered them across the earth.

Thus, the early chapters of the larger story within which the history of Christianity must be situated tell of God's creative work and of how His original plan for creation was disrupted by humanity's desires for power, independence, and fame. Having dealt with their rebellion through expulsion, destruction, and dispersion, God set in motion a plan for redemption and renewal.

THE JEWISH CONTEXT

The Book of Genesis records that, several generations after the scattering of the nations from Babel, God summoned a man named Abram and told him to leave his ancestral home of Ur and to travel to a land that God would show him. With the call of Abram (later *Abraham*), the basis for a formal covenant relationship between God and humanity was established. God promised to bless Abram and his descendants, to make them a blessing to others, to give them the land of Canaan, and to make of them a great nation.[2]

This nation would become known as Israel, and it is with its history that the remainder of the Old Testament is concerned. The Book of Exodus records how God used a man

named Moses to lead Israel out of slavery in Egypt, and how He formalized and codified His covenant relationship with the Israelites at Mount Sinai by giving them a detailed set of instructions regarding how they were to live. These instructions included the Ten Commandments (which established the framework for the maintenance of proper relationships with both God and one another), a set of specifications for the building of the tabernacle that was to serve as God's symbolic dwelling place among His people (until its eventual replacement by the temple in Jerusalem), detailed directions regarding the establishment of a priesthood whose members would serve as mediators between God and the people, and various other laws touching on such diverse matters as dietary restrictions, animal sacrifices, the celebration of religious festivals, and rituals of purification.

This broad and varied content of God's covenant with Israel eventually coalesced around a set of shared structures, symbols, and practices, including common ancestry, Promised Land, Law, Sabbath, circumcision, purity, and tabernacle/temple. Together, these things functioned as markers, identifying Israel as God's unique, chosen people and distinguishing them from all other nations. It is important to recognize, however, that God's ultimate intention was not to set apart one nation in order to bless it to the exclusion of all other nations. Rather, He called Israel to be faithful to Him in order that all other nations might thereby be blessed.[3] In other words, the intended result of God's covenant relationship with Israel (with all of its legal requirements and symbolic trappings) was that the nation might become not a walled fortress, but "a city on a hill."[4]

Unfortunately, as the Old Testament accounts make abundantly clear, the Israelites constantly struggled to live up to their vocation. Their entrance into Canaan was delayed by 40 years because of their disobedience. Their recurrent worship of false gods led to military defeat and oppression during the period of the judges. They rejected God's rule and demanded that He give them earthly kings, the vast majority of whom led the nation into spiritual ruin. They downplayed or ignored the warnings of God's messengers, the prophets.[5] In short, the people of Israel seem to have consistently taken for granted their privileged status among the nations, while largely failing both to maintain a proper relationship with the God who had granted them that status and to embrace and pursue the calling that He had placed before them.

The eventual results of Israel's ongoing spiritual negligence and disobedience were military defeat and enslavement at the hands of the pagan nations of Assyria and Babylonia.[6] Most of the people of Israel became exiles, forced to leave behind the land that had been promised to their ancestors and the temple in which they had performed the sacrifices and other rituals of worship that were prescribed by the Law.

Though a remnant of the Jewish people were eventually allowed to return to their homeland, they remained under the rule of foreign powers, being subjugated in turn by the Persian Empire, the Greek Empire of Alexander and its successor states, and the

Roman Empire, with only a brief period of quasi-independence following the Maccabean revolt.[7] The nadir came during the rule of the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 215–164 B.C.), who forbade circumcision, sacrifices, and Sabbath-keeping, outlawed the possession and reading of the Law, and desecrated the temple, thus forcing the Jews to surrender most of the crucial markers of their collective identity as God's chosen people.

This entire state of affairs created a great deal of disquiet and confusion among the Jews as they struggled to come to grips with the complex realities of the new situation in which they found themselves.[8] Soon distinct sub-groups within Judaism began to appear on the scene, each espousing different answers to the key spiritual questions that the Jews were wrestling with during this period, including questions about how and when restoration would finally come. The Pharisees insisted that the Jews should maintain their unique identity through strict observance of the Law and avoidance of pagan culture, believing that such faithfulness would bring about God's deliverance. The Sadducees, an aristocratic and priestly group, focused more on the rites of temple worship than on the study of the Law, and were also more willing to adopt some of the culture of their foreign masters than were the Pharisees. The Essenes withdrew from society into the wilderness, there to await God's decisive action in isolation, while the Zealots felt that the Jews must initiate their own deliverance through violent rebellion against their oppressors.

It thus becomes clear that, although they had returned to the Promised Land, in a very important sense the people of Israel remained in exile, awaiting their true homecoming. The great hope of the Jews, regardless of their particular affiliation, was that, somehow, God would act powerfully on behalf of His chosen people to make sense of the madness and to restore all that had been lost. It was within this context that there would soon appear One who promised to do precisely that, though not necessarily in the way that any of them had expected.

THE GRECO-ROMAN CONTEXT

The story of Israel as we have just rehearsed it constitutes a second important section of the backdrop against which the history of Christianity becomes comprehensible. We must now examine the third and final piece of the puzzle: the Greco-Roman cultural milieu within which Jesus and His disciples lived and ministered.

Perhaps no extra-biblical character played as important and decisive a role in shaping the course of biblical events as did Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.).[9] Upon ascending to the throne of Macedonia in 334 B.C., Alexander established a vast empire through his military exploits. At its furthest extent, this empire stretched from Greece through Asia Minor, around the shores of the Mediterranean to Egypt (including Palestine), eastward through Mesopotamia, Media, and Persia, and as far as the borders of India.

Though this empire splintered politically upon Alexander's death, it remained largely united culturally. The Greek language permeated the entire region, becoming an important, unifying cultural force. Along with the language itself came the ideas of influential Greek thinkers in fields such as biology, physics, astronomy, geography, mathematics, medicine, logic, rhetoric, and philosophy. Greek art, architecture, music, drama, poetry, and literature also became widespread and highly regarded. This vast array of Greek knowledge and cultural forms, in combination with other ideas that were indigenous to the Middle East and other parts of Alexander's empire, provided the foundation for what became known as Hellenistic civilization. A climate of profound intellectual and cultural ferment was created throughout the Mediterranean world, and great centers of learning were established in places such as Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamon, and Rhodes.

Gradually, the Greek successor-states of Alexander's empire began to weaken, clearing the way for the emergence of Rome as the dominant world power. Roman forces conquered Macedonia by the mid-second century B.C., and had extended their control as far as Syria, Palestine, and Egypt by the latter part of the first century B.C. This transition from Greek to Roman hegemony did not involve a thorough cultural shift, as Rome had adopted and adapted many elements of Hellenistic civilization. Indeed, Roman science, art, architecture, and even religion were largely derived from their Greek counterparts. The Romans did make notable advancements, however, in the areas of governmental organization, military discipline, and transportation infrastructure, all of which contributed to the development of an empire that was marked by order and efficiency.

Thus, by the time of the birth of Jesus, the land of Palestine and the surrounding Mediterranean world looked far different than they had in the days of Daniel. The spread of the Greek language had, for the first time since Babel, made it possible for people from many different nations to communicate easily. The pervasive influence of Greek science and art had created a common culture that shaped the sensibilities of many groups, and that proved capable of leaving its mark even within a highly self-contained culture such as Judaism. Local, tribal expressions of religion had begun giving way both to the worship of the Greco-Roman pantheon of gods and to a fascination with emerging systems of rational philosophy as embodied by groups such as the Cynics and Stoics. All of these cultural developments contributed to the development of a society in which people had an ever-increasing thirst for knowledge and the advancements that came with it, where men met in the streets to discuss new ideas and expound fresh theories (including, of course, ideas and theories about religion). Finally, with the dawn of the Roman Empire and the establishment of the Roman system of roads, diverse groups of people (along with their cultures) were better-connected than ever before.

In all of these ways, then, the world that Jesus and His disciples knew was smaller, more unified, more complex, culturally richer, and (most important for our purposes) better-conditioned to receive the Gospel than it had ever been before. By the middle of the first century AD, the apostle Paul could speak of his desire to travel from Palestine to Spain

for the purpose of sharing the Gospel, a feat that would have been unthinkable for a Jew in Ezra and Nehemiah's day.[10] Separated from this Greco-Roman context, Jesus' followers might perhaps have been able to effect a small renewal movement within Judaism, but it is highly unlikely that they could have even envisioned the possibility of initiating a spiritual revolution that was capable of spreading throughout the known world, let alone that they could have carried such a plan through to fruition—which, of course, is exactly what they did.

This, then, is the full context within which we may begin our examination of the history of Christianity proper. The story of God's ongoing and eternal relationship with humanity that was set in motion by His initial work of creation forms the seed from which the history of Christianity (and indeed all history) subsequently emerged. The story of God's unique covenant relationship with the nation of Israel—with all of its attendant riches in terms of tradition, literature, and symbolism—comprises the complex root structure that lends depth to the history of Christianity and anchors it to what came before. The Greco-Roman socio-cultural context, in all its diversity, makes up the soil in which Christianity was able to sprout and grow rapidly. Take away any one of these three elements, and you have a different plant, a different story. Combine the three, and you have the necessary conditions for the birth and growth of the Christian story, a story that would subsequently shape the course of human history—and the contours of human hearts—in profound and remarkable ways.

Chapter One Review

Abraham	Moses
Adam and Eve	Noah
Alexander the Great	Pharisees
Antiochus Epiphanes	Roman Empire
Essenes	Sadducees
Greek Empire	Zealots
Israel	

CHAPTER ONE NOTES

[1]For what follows in the remainder of this section, cf. Genesis 1–11.

[2]On the advent of the covenant, along with its subsequent development and reaffirmation, see Genesis 12:1–7 (the initial call of Abram); 15:1–21 (reaffirmation of the covenant with Abram); 17:1–27 (Abram is renamed *Abraham*); 22:15–18 (God confirms the covenant after seeing Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac); 26:24 (the reiteration of the covenant to Isaac); 28:10–15 (the reiteration of the covenant to Jacob at Bethel); 35:1–15 (Jacob and his family rededicate themselves to the Lord; God tells Jacob that his name will now be *Israel*).

[3]Cf. Genesis 12:1–3; 28:13–15.

[4]Cf. Matthew 5:14–16; Isaiah 60:1–3.

[5]See Numbers 14; Judges 2; 1 Samuel 8; 1 and 2 Kings passim.

[6]See 2 Kings 17:1–23; 24:10–25:21.

[7]For more on this succession of empires and the broader history of the Intertestamental period, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), pp. 155–160.

[8]For an exhaustive and illuminating examination of the beliefs and hopes of the Jews between the first century B.C. and the first century AD, see N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1992), pp. 147–338.

[9]Extra-biblical, that is, with regard to the Protestant canon. Alexander is mentioned in the Book of 1 Maccabees.

[10]See Romans 15:23–28.

Chapter Two
The Life, Ministry, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus

We saw in the previous chapter that a full account of the history of Christianity cannot begin with the birth of Jesus of Nazareth in the same way that an account of the history of Islam can begin with the birth of Mohammed, or an account of the history of Buddhism with the birth of Siddhartha Gotama. Yet it is undeniable that the life, ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus were catalytic for the development of a community that, though it had important precedents, was substantially new and different from all that had come before.

The purpose of the present chapter is not to set out in detail a chronological narrative of the events of Jesus' life. There are many other sources for such information, including, most obviously, the Gospels themselves.[1] Rather, the intent of this chapter within the larger scope of this volume is to present Jesus as the crucial and defining link between the tri-part context we explored in the previous chapter and the new community, the church, that developed and flourished following the Resurrection. An inhabitant of Palestine who fell asleep in the year AD 25 and woke up in AD 100 would have undoubtedly been baffled by the existence of a large and unified community whose teachings had spread throughout the known world in spite of the fact that its members were shunned by the Jews and frequently persecuted by the secular powers. There would simply be no satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of such a radical socio-cultural shift in such a short period of time—no explanation, that is, apart from Jesus.

THE LIFE OF JESUS

Most of the information we possess about Jesus of Nazareth is contained in the four canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and setting out a sketch of the biographical facts that they provide is simple enough. Jesus was born in the city of Bethlehem, which was located in the region of Judea, part of the Roman province that eventually came to be known as Palestine. His birth occurred during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–AD 14) and shortly before the death of Herod the Great, a combination of facts that allows us to date the event to the year that we now refer to as 4 B.C., or perhaps slightly earlier.[2]

After approximately 30 years, the events of which are almost entirely unknown to us, His public career was inaugurated by His baptism at the hands of His cousin John. He gathered around Himself a group of followers, 12 of whom in particular became His close disciples, and began an itinerant public ministry that led Him throughout Galilee and the surrounding regions. This ministry lasted for approximately three years, during which Jesus experienced first obscurity, then popularity, and finally fierce opposition,

culminating in His arrest by the Jewish authorities, His trial under the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate, and His execution by crucifixion.

This, in brief, is what a traditional biographical entry on Jesus of Nazareth might look like. The story of Jesus' life, however, cannot properly be reduced to the usual sorts of facts concerning dates, places, and times. The manner of His birth was utterly unique: He was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of a virgin, and ushered into the world by an angelic choir. The circumstances surrounding His death were equally remarkable: The sky went dark in the middle of the day as He hung on the cross, and the earth shook at the moment of His death. Most wondrous of all, He rose from the grave on the third day after His death and later ascended into heaven. Clearly, Jesus of Nazareth was different in profound ways from every other human being who has ever lived. In order to fully comprehend this difference, we must first take a closer look at the nature and significance of Jesus' ministry.

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS

Jesus taught great crowds of people through both eloquent sermons and pithy parables. He healed the sick, delivered the oppressed, and raised the dead. He welcomed the company of the most marginal people of society, while clashing with the established political and religious hierarchies. Through all of this characteristic praxis, He proclaimed the coming of the "kingdom of God." This phrase alludes to several interconnected spiritual themes, including the fulfillment of the Father's eternal promises and purposes, the redefinition of the people of God as those who accept and follow after Jesus, the ultimate defeat of evil, and the advent of God's just and peaceful reign both on earth and in heaven. Jesus' kingdom-announcements, whether voiced explicitly in the context of a sermon or parable or enacted symbolically through a healing or a meal, served as both predictions and foretastes of this new spiritual reality.

Some people responded enthusiastically to this kingdom-oriented program of ministry, embracing Jesus' teachings, marveling at His miraculous acts, and following wherever He led. Others vehemently objected to both the content of Jesus' message and the means by which He advanced it, leading them to view Him through the lenses of suspicion, fear, and hatred. In order to understand why Jesus' words and deeds elicited such strong reactions (both positive and negative), it is necessary for us to consider the continuities and discontinuities between His ministry and the three contexts that we explored in the previous chapter, each of which played a substantial role in shaping the worldviews of Jesus' contemporaries.

Jesus and the Greco-Roman Worldview

To begin with, it is clear that the life and teachings of Jesus subverted the Greco-Roman worldview. The ancient Greeks sought to master the world around them by attaining

ever-increasing levels of cultural sophistication and philosophical wisdom. The Romans attempted to conquer the world through brute strength and cold efficiency. These strategies were, in reality, two sides of the same coin. The Greek and Roman Empires were built by those who had supreme confidence in their ability to master both the physical environment and anyone who stood in their way by means of their superiority, whether they defined this advantage in terms of intellectual capacity, cultural supremacy, or military might.

In contrast, Jesus spoke of God hiding things from the wise and learned and revealing them to children, promised blessings to the meek and the peacemakers, and insisted that being great required being a servant.[3] Thus, one important function of Jesus' ministry was to insist that the methods that had led to earthly success for the Greeks and Romans were not to be embraced by those who chose to become God's new people, precisely because the kingdom for which they were working would not be built by human achievement, but by divine grace.

Jesus and the Jewish Hope

Second, Jesus' ministry drastically redefined the Jewish hope. As we discussed previously, the great hope of Jews during the Intertestamental period was that the God of Israel would overthrow their pagan oppressors, restore the Promised Land to them, and return to dwell in their midst as He had in the time of their forefathers. The various Jewish factions had different opinions about what they should be doing to help bring about this great restoration, but none of them doubted that it was coming. The Old Testament prophecies concerning the coming Messiah only intensified this expectation. In the mind of the Jews, the Messiah would be the true heir to the Davidic throne, a righteous priest-king who would conquer the Romans and re-establish the kingdom of Israel with Himself as Yahweh's divine representative.

Jesus' messianic and kingdom-driven program, however, was quite different from that which the Jews had imagined. To begin with, His methods did not conform to those of any of the major Jewish sects, and He refused to align Himself with the agenda of any particular group. The Pharisees, who were sure that God's deliverance would arrive only if Israel held strictly to the tenets of the Law, were puzzled and upset by Jesus' seeming indifference toward Sabbath-keeping and His frequent fellowship with "sinners." The Zealots, who advocated violent rebellion against the Romans (and assumed that the Messiah would lead the charge) were surely horrified by Jesus' talk of turning the other cheek, going the second mile, and loving one's enemies.[4] Both the Sadducees, who had embraced many elements of secular culture, and the Essenes, who had withdrawn from society completely to await God's deliverance, would have (for opposite reasons) found it difficult to come to terms with Jesus' admonition that His followers remain "in the world" yet not become "of the world."[5] In all these ways and more, Jesus subverted the Jews' traditional expectations about how their deliverance would come to pass.

But Jesus' redefinition of Jewish hopes went deeper still. His agenda differed from that of the Jews not only in terms of the **means** of deliverance, but in terms of the **nature** of deliverance as well. Jesus had no intention of overthrowing the Roman authorities in Palestine, nor did He ever envision Himself becoming the king of a newly independent nation of Israel. Pagans would continue to control the Promised Land for many centuries, the Davidic throne would remain empty, and even the Temple itself would eventually be destroyed. The kingdom of God would not be defined by geography, monarchy, and priesthood, but by the presence of God in human hearts. Jesus did not come to offer deliverance from socio-political circumstances, but rather from spiritual malaise.

This insight points us toward the most radical aspect of Jesus' systematic program of redefinition: Not only were both the means and the nature of restoration significantly different from what had been expected, but, most shockingly, the very **object** of God's anticipated deliverance was redefined. New life in the coming kingdom was not reserved for the Children of Israel alone, but was extended to all who would become children of God. The mark of inclusion in this new community would no longer be descent from Abraham, but allegiance to Jesus.

Jesus and the Eternal Plan of God

This redefinition of God's people hints at the significance of Jesus in relation to the final (and most basic) piece of our contextual framework: Jesus' life and ministry served to reaffirm God's eternal plan and to advance it in a new way. Neither Adam and Eve, nor Noah and his descendants, nor the Children of Israel had fully lived up to the calling that God had entrusted to them, and all creation had suffered as a result. The coming of Jesus can be seen in part as a reaction to these failures, the initial sign of a fresh attempt at the redemption of humanity and creation on the part of the Father. The new sign of loyalty to God's purposes (as well as the means of advancing them) would not be strict adherence to the Law of Moses, but the embodiment of the teachings of Jesus.

Yet the Christian story insists that Jesus cannot properly be viewed as simply another link in the chain of God's redemptive efforts, a successor to Adam, Noah, and Abraham who just happened to be more successful in living out God's commands. For Jesus was not merely a man called by God, but God-become-man. His ministry did not represent a hastily conceived reaction to Israel's failures, but the bringing to fruition of a plan that had been laid before the creation of the world.

This is the conviction that lies at the heart of Christian faith and Christian history: that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah, the anointed servant of God whom the Jews had awaited, and, more than that, that He was God Himself. This staggering claim cannot be adequately explained by the examination of Jesus' ministry that we have undertaken so far. It requires that we move from a description of His life to a consideration of His death.

THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS

Given the degree to which Jesus' life and ministry represented a subversion of and threat to the worldviews of both the Jews and the Romans, it was perhaps inevitable that He would eventually come into conflict with both groups. The Jewish leadership saw Him as a dangerous and deceptive heretic, while the Romans were persuaded that He was a potentially seditious revolutionary. After standing trial before both the Jewish ruling council and the Roman procurator, Jesus was sentenced to be executed. He was crucified on a hill called Golgotha outside of Jerusalem and buried in a nearby tomb.

Had the story ended there, Jesus would, no doubt, have been viewed as just another in the long succession of prophets from God who had met an untimely end at the hands of the wicked. But Jesus' biography has one further chapter. The Gospel writers all tell us that, on the third day after His death, Jesus rose from the grave. The risen Jesus then interacted with His disciples and other followers over a period of 40 days before ascending to heaven.

It is impossible to separate these bare historical facts about Jesus' death and resurrection from their profound theological implications, which were recognized by the very earliest Christians. In dying on the cross, Jesus offered Himself as a sacrifice for the sins of all humanity, thus superseding all of the sacrifices and rituals prescribed by the Jewish Law and offering forgiveness and restoration to people of every nation. In rising from the grave, Jesus displayed His divine nature, confirmed His victory over the power of sin and death, and offered the world an initial foretaste of God's new creation.

Together, Jesus' death and resurrection served to throw open wide the doors to the kingdom of God. All humanity was offered unrestricted access to the presence and promises of God through the risen Jesus, and invited to partner with Christ in fulfilling the Father's purposes for humanity and for all creation. Those who accepted this offer and invitation became the earliest Christian community, and it is to them that we must now turn our attention.

Chapter Two Review

Greco-Roman Worldview	Kingdom of God
Jesus of Nazareth	Messiah

CHAPTER TWO NOTES

[1]For a more thorough treatment of the events of Jesus' life as part of a broader survey of the contents of the New Testament, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), pp. 169–206.

[2]Cf. Matthew 1:18–2:20; Luke 2:1–7. 4 B.C. is the year of Herod the Great's death.

[3]Matthew 11:25; 5:5, 9; Mark 10:43.

[4]See Matthew 5:38–48.

[5]See John 17:11–19.

Chapter Three
The Beginnings of the Church
and the Spread of the Gospel

JESUS' DISCIPLES

Having now described the nature of Jesus' ministry and mission, we must move to an examination of those who were witnesses to the ministry and into whose hands the continuation of the mission was entrusted. Jesus' closest companions during His three-year public career were 12 men: Simon Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, Thaddaeus, Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot.[1] It was a motley group, composed of a few fishermen, a tax collector, a revolutionary, a traitorous treasurer, and several other seemingly unremarkable characters. Nevertheless, these were the men who were chosen to become Jesus' disciples, His students and followers. Scripture records that Jesus called them in order that they might be with Him and that He might send them out to proclaim the good news of the kingdom.[2] From that point on, they lived alongside Him, witnessing His mighty acts and learning from both His teaching and His example.

In particular, Jesus gave the disciples certain promises and instructions concerning the task that would face them following His departure. He told them that their belief in Him would form the foundation upon which the church would be built. He emphasized that their love for one another would be the mark that identified them as His followers. He commissioned them as apostles, urging them to carry His message to every nation, baptize, make disciples, and teach others all that He had taught them. Most crucially, He promised that they would be aided in their charge by the coming of the Holy Spirit, who would dwell within them, guide them, and remind them of all that Jesus had said, thus enabling them to carry on His work of proclaiming the kingdom.[3]

Believe. Love. Share. These were the essential elements of the apostles' mandate and the characteristic practices that were to define the community of those who followed Jesus. Yet throughout Jesus' ministry, His disciples had shown themselves to be incapable of consistently embodying even these simple principles. A radical transformation was necessary if the small and beleaguered band of believers was to successfully carry out its mission—a transformation that would be initiated and energized by the arrival of the Holy Spirit.

The Day of Pentecost and the Coming of the Holy Spirit

Following Jesus' ascension, the disciples remained in Jerusalem, awaiting the fulfillment of His promise that He would send the Holy Spirit among them. On the Day of Pentecost, a Jewish holy day, the believers were gathered together in one place. The Spirit came among them, accompanied by the sound of wind blowing and by the appearance of tongues of fire, which rested on each person present. As the Spirit indwelt the believers, they began to speak in several different languages.

Because it was a holy day, Jerusalem was filled with Jews from throughout the Roman Empire. When these crowds heard the group of believers speaking in their native tongues, they were amazed and perplexed. Peter addressed the throng, telling them that the believers' strange behavior was a result of the work of the Holy Spirit. He went on to assert the divinity of Jesus, explaining that the arrival of the Spirit was made possible only by the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. He urged the crowds to repent of their sins and be baptized, and approximately 3,000 people accepted his words and became believers.[4]

This striking incident marked the true and visible beginning of the Christian church, and the subsequent behavior of the believing community bore witness to the presence and activity of the Spirit among them as they sought to fulfill their calling. They met together regularly, both in the courts of the temple and in their homes. They prayed, worshipped, and received the teaching of the apostles, as well as simply fellowshipping and sharing meals. They lived communally, sold many of their personal possessions, and divided their resources so that the needs of all were met. This example of devotion to God coupled with selfless care for one another, undoubtedly made a profound impression on those around them, and unbelievers continued to be saved and baptized on a daily basis.[5]

Persecution and Expansion

Unsurprisingly, the swelling ranks and growing acclaim of the believers were sources of frustration and fear for the priests and other leaders of the Jews. The Sanhedrin confronted some of the disciples, insisting that they cease teaching in the name of Jesus. But the apostles, newly emboldened by the presence of the Spirit, refused.

Infuriated, the members of the Sanhedrin planned to put them to death. They were dissuaded by a Pharisee named Gamaliel, who argued that if the believers were not allied with God, they would soon be scattered and rendered powerless, but that if they were, they should not be hindered.[6]

Despite Gamaliel's advice, this incident ushered in a period during which the fledgling church faced increased opposition. In particular, a disciple named Stephen drew the

wrath of many of the Jews by speaking powerfully about Jesus and performing a number of miracles. He was brought to trial before the Sanhedrin, where he was falsely accused of blaspheming against God. Stephen gave an impassioned defense, but his words only incensed the crowd further, and they stoned him to death, thus making him the first Christian martyr.[7]

One of the men present at the stoning of Stephen was a young Jew named Saul. He quickly became a key leader in a greatly intensified, systematic program of anti-Christian persecution in and around Jerusalem. After terrorizing believers there for some time, Saul set out for Damascus, in the Roman province of Syria, with the intention of arresting any followers of Jesus he found and transporting them back to Jerusalem for imprisonment. As he was traveling, a bright light suddenly shone around him, blinding him and causing him to fall to the ground. He then heard the voice of Jesus, who asked Saul why he was persecuting Him.

This dramatic encounter led to Saul's conversion, and he immediately began preaching the Gospel in Damascus, astonishing those who knew of his past. Though many of the believers were understandably skeptical about the genuineness of Saul's abrupt transformation, their fears were quickly assuaged, and Saul joined the company of the apostles, ministering first in Jerusalem and then in his birthplace of Tarsus, where he remained for several years.[8]

The church then enjoyed a period of relative peace, during which it grew in strength and numbers. Having been deprived of Saul's leadership, the persecution movement quickly lost momentum and no longer posed an imminent threat. Ironically, its most significant result had been to facilitate the geographic expansion of the infant Christian community. Many believers had fled Jerusalem in order to avoid imprisonment, and they scattered throughout Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, thus spreading the message of the kingdom across the entire region.

Christianity and the Gentiles

The rapid geographic dissemination of Christianity soon raised the highly contentious issue of cultural diversification within the church. At the time of Saul's encounter with Jesus, the church's membership consisted almost exclusively of converted Jews. Indeed, Christianity was often considered by outsiders to be simply another sect within Judaism. The explanation for this initial demographic imbalance is closely connected to the nature of the Jewish worldview that we discussed previously. As we have seen, the Israelites had enjoyed a unique standing as God's chosen people ever since the time of Abraham. As a result, even those Jews who embraced the fresh revelation of Jesus had a difficult time accepting the idea that this privileged status before God no longer applied, that Jesus had fully redefined all of the requirements for membership in the people of God, including the ethnic one.

In order to address the church's lack of understanding on this matter, the Lord sent an angel to a man named Cornelius, a God-fearing Roman centurion who was stationed at Caesarea. The angel told Cornelius that he had found favor with God, and that he was to send messengers to Joppa to bring back the apostle Peter. The next day, Peter had a vision in which the Lord instructed him to eat unclean animals. Peter protested, saying that he had never eaten anything impure. The Lord replied that Peter should not label anything "impure" that He had made clean. As Peter was pondering the meaning of this vision, the messengers from Cornelius arrived. The Lord instructed Peter to go with them, in spite of the fact that the Jewish Law forbade him from associating with Gentiles.[9] Correctly assuming that this was the situation for which his vision had been intended to prepare him, Peter accompanied the men back to Caesarea.

When Peter arrived at Cornelius' home, Cornelius described to him what the angel had told him. Peter then told Cornelius that he had come to realize that God did not show favoritism, but accepted all those who feared Him and did what was right, regardless of whether they were Jews or Gentiles. The apostle gave a brief presentation of the Gospel, at which point Cornelius and all the members of his household were filled with the Holy Spirit. Peter then baptized them in water, making Cornelius and his family the first recorded Gentile converts to the Christian faith.[10]

By this time, Christianity had reached as far as Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Antioch, the capital of the Roman province of Syria. Following the conversion of Cornelius, Jewish believers from Cyprus and Cyrene returned to Antioch to evangelize the Gentile populations there, and a great number of people became believers. This new faith community was eventually placed under the joint leadership of Saul (who became known among the Gentiles by his Roman name, Paul) and an apostle named Barnabas. Antioch became an important hub for the further spread of the Gospel, and it was there that the believers were first given the name "Christians."[11]

As the number of Gentile converts continued to grow, some Jewish Christians, still unwilling to relinquish all the key elements of the Jewish worldview, began teaching that Gentile believers could not truly receive salvation unless they were first circumcised in accordance with the Law of Moses. Others strongly opposed this teaching, insisting that salvation was a free gift of grace for both Jews and Gentiles. Eventually, a council was assembled in Jerusalem for the purposes of discussing this controversy. After a lengthy discussion among the group, Peter addressed the rest of the apostles, emphasizing the truths that the Lord had revealed to him through his encounter with Cornelius. James, the brother of Jesus and an important leader of the Christian community in Jerusalem, concurred with Peter and stated his belief that the church should not create unnecessary obstacles (such as requiring circumcision) for Gentiles who wished to become believers. This ruling would prove to be a decisive moment in the history of Christianity, as it opened the door for the proclamation of the faith throughout the Mediterranean world, a task that would be pursued tirelessly by the most outstanding figure of the New Testament church, the apostle Paul.

THE MINISTRY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

It is one of the great ironies of history that Saul of Tarsus, the most merciless early opponent of the Christian faith, became perhaps its greatest missionary and theologian. It is impossible to overstate the influence of the apostle Paul on the spread of the Gospel and the development of Christian thought.

Following his stay at Antioch, Paul undertook three lengthy missionary journeys to the Gentile nations of the Mediterranean. He preached the Gospel in Syria, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Achaia, and Macedonia, establishing new communities of believers and encouraging existing ones. As a result of these efforts, Christianity was well-established throughout the region by the latter third of the first century AD, barely 30 years after the death of Jesus.

Paul's missionary calling prevented him from staying in any one place for very long. So as a means of providing continued encouragement and instruction to the believers that he encountered on his journeys, the apostle began writing letters, both to individuals and to entire churches. Several of these letters began to circulate among the early Christians, and their contents helped give shape to the developing web of beliefs concerning God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, and the church. Among the important theological contributions of Paul's epistles were discussions of the divinity of Jesus, the concept of justification by grace through faith, the nature of life in the Spirit, the unity of all believers, and the return of Jesus.

The far-flung churches that Paul planted provided Christianity with multiple outposts from which the message of Jesus could penetrate further into the surrounding cultures. The teachings that Paul presented in his letters gave the young church a firm core of beliefs around which they could unite. These twin legacies ensured that the Christian faith would flourish and endure long after Paul's own life and ministry had ended.[12]

As it happened, that ending came much sooner than the apostle might have expected. Upon arriving in Jerusalem at the conclusion of his third missionary journey, Paul came into conflict with a group of angry Jews who accused him of teaching against the Law of Moses and profaning the temple by bringing Gentiles there. The Roman commander of the city, seeking to avoid a riot, had Paul taken into custody. Following two years of imprisonment at Caesarea and appearances before two successive governors of Judea, Paul was sent to stand trial before Caesar himself.

After spending three months on Malta following a shipwreck, Paul arrived in Rome. He was permitted to live under guard in his own house, from which he continued to preach the Gospel and write letters to the churches. It would appear from his epistles that Paul enjoyed a period of freedom following this first imprisonment, but he was eventually incarcerated at Rome once more, and it is believed that he was executed there during the reign of the Emperor Nero (reigned 54–68).[13] With the end of Paul's career, the

historical narrative contained in the Book of Acts falls silent. We must therefore now begin our exploration of the vast expanse of Christian history that lies beyond the pages of the New Testament.

Chapter Three Review

Antioch	James, Brother of Jesus
Barnabas	Jerusalem Council
Cornelius	Paul/Saul
Day of Pentecost	Peter
Gentiles	Stephen
Holy Spirit	Twelve Disciples

CHAPTER THREE NOTES

[1]This list corresponds to those given in Matthew 10:2–4 and Mark 3:16–19. Luke 6:13–16 and Acts 1:13 have "Judas son of James" in place of Thaddeus, though this is most likely a different way of denoting the same person. John 14:22, which has "Judas (not Judas Iscariot)," also appears to refer to this disciple. It is often assumed that "Levi" (Mark 2:13–17; Luke 5:27–31) is another name for Matthew and that "Nathanael" (John 1:45–51; 21:2) is another name for Bartholomew, though neither of these identifications is certain.

[2]Mark 3:13–15.

[3]Belief in Jesus as the foundation of the church: Matthew 16:13–19. Love as the mark of Jesus' followers: John 13:34, 35. The commission to share the Gospel: Matthew 28:19, 20. The coming and work of the Spirit: John 14:15–17, 26; 16:13–15; Acts 1:4–8.

[4]The full account of the events of the Day of Pentecost is found in Acts 2:1–41.

[5]On the praxis of the early Christians, see Acts 2:42–47; 4:32–35.

[6]For the story of the disciples before the Sanhedrin, see Acts 5:17–42, and for the full context, cf. 3:1–4:22.

[7]For the story of Stephen's martyrdom and the resulting persecution of believers, see Acts 6:8–8:3.

[8]For the full account of Saul's conversion and subsequent ministry, see Acts 9:1–30, and cf. his later re-tellings of his conversion story in Acts 22:3–21; 26:4–23.

[9]The New Testament term "Gentiles" is used as an inclusive way of referring to all non-Jews.

[10]For the story of Peter and Cornelius, see Acts 10:1–11:18.

[11]See Acts 11:19–26.

[12]For a more full account of the events of Paul's missionary journeys, as well as summaries of the contents of his epistles, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), pp. 214–237.

[13]For the events surrounding Paul's arrest, trials, transport to Rome, and imprisonment, see Acts 21:27–28:31.

Unit Two

The Church and the Empire
(c. 70–500)

The six chapters contained in Unit Two trace the development of Christianity from the end of the New Testament to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, a period of just over 400 years.

Chapter Four describes in brief the evolution of the Christian community during the first three centuries AD, highlighting issues such as imperial persecution, the threat of heresy, developments in the church's leadership structure, and the clarification of doctrine.

Chapter Five profiles several of the Ante-Nicene Fathers—church leaders, apologists, and theologians who contributed significantly to the development of Christianity during the period prior to 325.

Chapter Six covers the events of the fourth and fifth centuries, including the actions of the Roman Emperor Constantine (who granted Christianity legal toleration and supported it throughout his reign) and the activities of the early ecumenical councils (which sought to address various heresies that threatened the church).

Chapter Seven provides profiles of some of the influential Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, including Augustine of Hippo, one of the most significant figures in Christian history.

Chapter Eight offers a look at an important parallel development in Christianity during the imperial period: the rise of monasticism.

Chapter Nine presents a summary of the character of Christianity on the eve of the Medieval Period and highlights both the shift in the balance of power between the church and the empire and the growing tension between Eastern and Western believers.

Chapter Four
Opposition and Advance

The nearly two-and-a-half centuries between the death of the apostle Paul sometime in the late 60's AD and the accession of Constantine as emperor of Rome in the year 312 constitute an important era in the history of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the events of this period is frustratingly fragmentary. There is no extant equivalent to the Book of Acts for the second and third centuries, no large-scale narrative of the activities of the generation that succeeded Jesus' disciples. Nor did any of these believers leave behind a literary legacy to compare with Paul's letters. Yet the limited information we do possess (in the form of the writings of the Church Fathers and the occasional reference in the works of pagan historians) is sufficient to allow us to construct a picture of the Christianity of the period that, while admittedly unfinished, is still quite striking.

The story that emerges tells of harsh persecution and ongoing expansion, of the organization and administration of the burgeoning Christian community and the solidification of doctrine in the face of heresy. It is a story populated by colorful (if often mysterious) characters, several of whom made contributions to Christian thought and practice that would prove to be influential for centuries to come. Most of all, it is a story of courage and obedience and the faithfulness of God, an improbable tale of a small band of ordinary men and women who persevered against overwhelming odds, thus setting the stage for the eventual transformation of the entire world by means of the message that they proclaimed.

THE CLIMATE OF PERSECUTION

If the apostle Paul met his end during the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero (as is traditionally assumed), he was certainly not alone. Nero inaugurated a program of fierce anti-Christian persecution in Rome in AD 64, during which believers were executed in cruel and macabre ways, including being hung on crosses and set on fire to provide illumination for a circus performance in the emperor's gardens.[1] Tragically, Nero's example was followed by many of his successors, and, apart from a few brief respites, the early Christians endured imperially sponsored persecutions for the next two-and-a-half centuries.

The reasons for this persistent attitude of hatred toward Christians on the part of the empire are not immediately apparent. Certainly the pagan Romans were not driven by the same kind of righteous anger that motivated the Jewish persecutors of the first century, who saw the teachings of Jesus as a blasphemous perversion of their own traditions. Nevertheless, Christianity did undermine the Greco-Roman worldview in significant

ways. By refusing to worship the traditional gods or to take part in the popular (and licentious) public festivals and amusements, Christians isolated themselves from the rest of Roman society. Simultaneously, they pointed out the glaring flaws in the Greco-Roman way of life, whether by denouncing immorality, deriding the superstitions of pagan worship, or disputing the theories of the secular philosophers. Most significantly from the point of view of the emperor, they continually convinced previously loyal citizens of the empire to join their ranks and to recognize Jesus, not Caesar, as their true Lord. It was undoubtedly this combination of non-conformity and subversion that led the Romans to view Christianity as a significant threat.

Before AD 250, opposition to the faith tended to be sporadic and localized, focusing either on Rome and its environs or on other centers of Christian activity such as Antioch and Alexandria. But during the reigns of Decius (reigned 249–251) and Valerian (reigned 253–260), systematic, empire-wide persecutions took place. Laws requiring sacrifices to pagan gods were promulgated, forcing believers to choose between apostasy and death. Officials within the church were specifically targeted for execution, with the rationale that the Christian movement would crumble if it was deprived of its leadership. As a result, prominent bishops throughout the empire were martyred.

But the worst was yet to come. In the year 303, the Emperor Diocletian (reigned 284–305) issued a series of edicts ordering the destruction of church buildings, the burning of all copies of sacred books, the removal of believers from public office, and the arrest and torture of any Christians who refused to renounce their faith and worship the pagan gods of Rome. This wave of persecution swept throughout the empire, from the British Isles to the Arabian Peninsula, and was particularly devastating in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where it continued to wreak havoc for two decades.

In addition to exacting a terrible toll in terms of human life, these imperial persecutions birthed significant tensions within the church. A number of believers publicly renounced their faith in order to avoid martyrdom, and some among their fellow Christians refused to forgive such an offense. In the wake of the Decian persecution, a group known as the Novatianists strongly opposed the reacceptance of such lapsed Christians into fellowship with the church. A similar group, known as the Donatists, emerged in North Africa following the persecution under Diocletian. Both movements proved unwilling to reconcile with their contrite brethren, and both remained estranged from the larger body of believers.

In light of all these challenges, it is a testimony to the faith and resolve of the early Christians (and, of course, the providence of God) that nearly two-and-a-half centuries of imperially sanctioned opposition did not eradicate the infant movement. Indeed, though the church suffered tremendous hardships during this time, it could also boast of considerable advances. The Roman programs of persecution were unable to halt the rapid geographic spread of the faith that had begun through Paul's ministry, and Christianity continued to expand its borders throughout the second and third centuries. Strong faith communities were established in major cities such as Antioch in Syria,

Ephesus in Asia Minor, Corinth in Greece, Alexandria in Egypt, Carthage in North Africa, and, of course, Rome itself. By shortly after AD 300, Christianity had made its way westward to Gaul (modern-day France), southern Spain, and Britain, and eastward to Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Armenia, which became the first officially Christian nation in 301. It is even likely that there was some Christian contact with India during this period. Thus, like the Jewish-led opposition to Christianity that had preceded them, the Roman persecutions ultimately proved to be counterproductive, serving mainly to strengthen the early church and extend its influence. Imperial edicts, however, did not constitute the only threat to Christianity during this period. Far more serious, in fact, were the theological disputes that began to arise among the believers themselves.

THE THREAT OF HERESY

During the second century, as Christianity came into increasing contact with the Gentile world, several new movements began promoting doctrines that represented a clear break from the teachings of Jesus and the theology of Paul, thus threatening to lure believers away from the true faith.[2] Chief among these was Gnosticism, a highly diverse system of thought incorporating elements of various religious traditions, including Christianity. The Gnostics promoted a sharply dualistic view of the universe, insisting that pure spirit was good, while all matter (including the human body) was inherently evil. They thus reasoned that the true god of the universe had created a purely spiritual world, and that the physical world was the handiwork of a rebellious subordinate deity (whom the Gnostics often associated with the Creator God of the Hebrew scriptures).

In Gnostic teaching, the great crisis of human existence was the imprisonment of the spirit in corrupt matter. The liberation of the spirit from the flesh was only possible through the acquisition of *gnosis* (secret spiritual knowledge), which was revealed to a select few spiritually sensitive humans through various channels, including the teachings of Jesus, whom the Gnostics viewed as the redeemer of the spirit. However, in keeping with their dualistic view of reality, the Gnostics insisted that Jesus was a purely spiritual being and that He had only appeared to be human, a doctrine which became known as Docetism.

Gnosticism thus managed to deny the reality of the Incarnation and to largely divorce Jesus' ethical teachings from the historical events of His birth, life, death, and resurrection, while still acknowledging His divinity and promising salvation to those who received wisdom from Him. This complex blend of pagan philosophy and orthodox Christianity proved enticing to many, including some within the church. Particularly notable and successful as a prophet of Gnosticism was an Egyptian theologian named Valentinus (c. 100–153).[3]

A movement that was similar to Gnosticism in some respects was Marcionism. Its founder, Marcion (c. 110–160), was apparently raised as a Christian, and was a member of the church at Rome around the year 140. Shortly thereafter, Marcion's teachings brought him into conflict with others in the community, and he left to form his own congregation.

Like the Gnostics, Marcion was a dualist and a Docetist, but his teachings also differed from Gnosticism in important ways. He claimed that the God of the Jews was a cruel, vindictive, and malevolent entity, and that the present world, with all its evils, was His creation. Marcion also believed that in contrast to the God of the Hebrew scriptures (whom he referred to as the *Demiurge*), there existed a God of love, who had remained completely unknown to humanity until He revealed Himself in Jesus. According to Marcion, Jesus' teachings were intended to subvert the claims of the God of the Hebrew scriptures, and His crucifixion delivered humans from the oppressive rule of the Demiurge and enabled them to enter the kingdom of the God of love through faith.

Marcion believed that these teachings were consistent with the true Gospel that had been proclaimed by both Jesus and Paul, and that the early church was guilty of distorting the authentic Christian message by combining it with other things, particularly elements of Judaism. His claims convinced many, and he organized his followers into churches throughout the eastern part of the empire.

A third movement that gained prominence during this period was Montanism. Its founder, Montanus (?–c. 175), styled himself as a prophet and believed that the Holy Spirit spoke through him and his disciples in a unique way. While the Montanists valued the teachings of Jesus and the apostles, they placed equal importance on the prophecies that they continued to receive and the accompanying ecstatic experiences of the Spirit. They came to believe that the apocalyptic end of the world was imminent, and consequently emphasized strict moralism and asceticism, including celibacy and fasting. Itinerant preachers spread the tenants of Montanism throughout the Mediterranean world, and it, like Gnosticism and Marcionism, quickly gained many adherents.

Thus, even as the early Christians were resisting the formidable attacks of the empire from without, they were facing increasing dissension and controversy from within. The competing teachings of the new sects served to fragment and weaken the church, a task that even the swords and crosses of Rome had been unable to achieve. Yet by the middle of the third century, the Gnostics, Marcionites, and Montanists had all ceased to pose a major threat and were largely on the decline. To understand the means by which orthodox faith triumphed over these rival belief systems, we must now move from our discussion of the actions of the church's various opponents to an exploration of concurrent developments within the Christian community.

THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE

During the period immediately following the death of Paul, the early Christians presumably continued to carry out the characteristic praxis that is described in the New Testament: praying and worshipping corporately, receiving spiritual instruction, participating in the Eucharist, sharing meals, extending hospitality, giving compassionately, proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and baptizing converts. Early on, it was these shared practices

and relationships (rather than any explicit organizational structure or formally codified system of belief) that bound the followers of Jesus together. But as the Christian community grew larger, more diverse, and more decentralized through geographic expansion, and as groups like the Gnostics, Marcionites, and Montanists began advancing their competing truth-claims, the lack of clearly defined leadership and well-articulated doctrine within the church became increasingly problematic. Over the course of the period we are currently examining, these two pressing needs began to be addressed.

Leadership and Organization

Originally, the apostles functioned as the leaders and teachers within the Christian community by virtue of the fact that they were the ones who had been witnesses to the ministry of Jesus. But as the number of believers continued to grow, it became necessary for the apostles to delegate certain responsibilities to others, beginning with the seven men who were assigned the task of overseeing the distribution of food to the needy.[4] It also seems that some of the early Christians who were not considered to be apostles were nonetheless recognized as having special callings (prophet, evangelist, pastor, teacher), though it is not clear whether there was any notion of hierarchy associated with these designations.[5]

The epistles of 1 Timothy and Titus (both of which were probably written in the early 60s) contain evidence of further refinements to the church's leadership structure. In these letters, Paul speaks of the offices of *diakonos* (our source for the term "deacon"), *presbyteros* (often translated as "elder," and from which are derived both "presbyter" and "priest"), and *episkopos* ("bishop" or "overseer").[6] The precise functions of these positions are not entirely clear, nor is it known whether they were in a strict hierarchical relationship to one another. The deacons were traditionally associated with a role of servanthood in the affairs of the church, while the elders and bishops were seen as the spiritual leaders of local congregations. It is likely that there was initially some overlap between the functions of these two offices, but the bishops steadily increased in prominence and became distinct from the other elders.

By the early second century, the general pattern was for a single bishop to preside over all the believers in a city, with the bishops of major centers of the faith (such as Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome) being especially prominent. Tradition holds that the earliest bishops to oversee entire cities in this manner were apostles of Jesus, and subsequent bishops thus came to be regarded as the rightful ecclesiastical successors of the apostles, the heirs to their spiritual authority, and the guardians of their firsthand accounts of Jesus' ministry.

This principle of apostolic succession was emphasized and made more explicit in reaction to the emergence of Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Montanism, all of which were considered by the church's leaders to be perversions of the true faith. The only way to

avoid spiritual error, these leaders reasoned, was to test the claims of rival sects against the authoritative teachings of the bishops, which stood in a direct line with those of the apostles and of Jesus Himself. Thus, while it is inarguable that the privileged position of the bishops led to extreme abuses of power in later centuries, the notion of apostolic succession was originally intended to serve as a safeguard against heresy.

However, ensuring the integrity of Christianity in the face of the diverse and complex challenges it encountered during this period required more than strong central leadership. It also demanded the clear articulation of orthodox doctrine—the basic and unchanging beliefs that should be common to and comprehensible to all believers. This, in turn, necessitated broad agreement concerning the authentic words and deeds of Jesus and the apostles. It is to these crucial issues that we now turn our attention.

Scripture and Doctrine

Any account of the development of coherent Christian doctrine must begin with an examination of the emergence of the body of Scripture which gave that doctrine its shape. In its earliest days, Christianity (in contrast to the Judaism from which it emerged) was not a Scripture-centered religion. Rather than relying primarily on a body of written material for spiritual guidance, the early church instead practiced oral transmission, recounting the words and deeds of Jesus and the apostles to others as a means of passing on the faith. But as the years passed, it became necessary to ensure the long-term preservation of this communal knowledge, and people soon began to record Christian teachings in written form.

During the late-first and early-second centuries, such writings proliferated rapidly. The letters of Paul (though originally intended for specific audiences) quickly became widely known and embraced, and the epistles of other apostles and elders were likewise valued highly by many. Multiple Gospels (biographies of Jesus) were produced, each claiming to provide believers with a definitive grounding text for the extensive oral tradition that had developed concerning Jesus' life and teachings. Apocalyptic works, such as the Book of Revelation, were also prevalent.

Once such writings began to appear, the early church quickly found itself overwhelmed by the bewildering variety of documents that claimed to represent the authentic Christian tradition. There was no real consensus among the prominent Gospels of the period concerning what Jesus had actually said, what He had done, or what it all meant. He was variously presented as a mere human, a disembodied phantom, a political revolutionary, a social reformer, a Jewish prophet, a Gnostic teacher, and a Cynic philosopher, among other things. The other forms of early Christian literature (epistles, apocalypses, homilies, and so forth) proved equally diverse in their presentations of the "true Gospel." Even those works that were consistent with apostolic tradition did not exist in any standardized form, and so were subject to manipulation. Marcion, for example, championed a collection

of the epistles of Paul and the Gospel of Luke, from which he had carefully removed any passages that contradicted his own theology. In light of this confused state of affairs, it soon became clear that steps had to be taken to prevent the early church from becoming hopelessly lost amid the scores of contradictory accounts.

Unsurprisingly (particularly in light of the parallel developments in the leadership structure of the church), the chief criterion that came to be applied in determining the value of these writings was apostolic authorship. As firsthand witnesses to the ministry of Jesus (or at least to the ministry of His disciples), the apostles were considered to be trustworthy sources. Thus, if it could be demonstrated that a document was the work of a disciple who had enjoyed close fellowship with Jesus (such as Peter, Matthew, or John), an apostle of the early church (such as James or Paul), or, at the least, a family member or close personal associate of one of the apostles (such as Mark, Luke, or Jude), then the material was judged to be inspired by God and beneficial to the church.[7]

Thus, over a period of time, the church gradually came to embrace the books that would eventually make up the New Testament, and rejected other early writings as heretical, spurious, or otherwise lacking in divine inspiration.[8] This newly defined body of Scripture became the basis for the formulation of orthodox Christian doctrine concerning God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, sin and justification, the nature and mission of the church, and God's ultimate plan of redemption and judgment.

The essential beliefs that thus emerged were soon arranged into short statements of faith that could be easily memorized by all Christians, regardless of age or literacy. One early example of such a summary is what has come to be known as the Apostles' Creed. Traditionally attributed to the 12 disciples, the creed was actually a later innovation and probably did not reach its final form until the sixth or seventh century. A more primitive version, however, was extant by the end of the second century, and the creed is thus considered broadly representative of the central beliefs of Christianity that solidified during this period. A modern-English translation of the Apostles' Creed is as follows:

> I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord. He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. He descended into hell. On the third day, He rose again. He ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. He will come again to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.[9]

In addition to providing a simple overview of Christian doctrine, the Apostles' Creed also clearly undermined the teachings of the Gnostics and Marcionites by asserting that the God whom Jesus called Father (not a mysterious superior deity or a malevolent Demiurge)

was the true Creator of heaven and earth, by insisting on the full humanity of Jesus (who is said to have experienced birth, death, burial, and resurrection), and by expressing the eternal hope of believers in terms of "the resurrection of the body," rather than the liberation of eternal spirits from prisons of corrupt flesh.

Thus, through the interrelated strategies of centralizing its leadership, beginning to define its canon of Scripture, and articulating its basic, non-negotiable beliefs (appealing in each case to the authority that Jesus had bestowed to the apostles), the early church succeeded in defending itself against the threat of heresy. In the process, it established markers of its own identity that would prove to be important and enduring.

The two-and-a-half centuries from Paul to Constantine, then, constitute a period during which the church faced formidable opposition from all sides, but from which it emerged strengthened and determined. Constantine's accession to the throne, however, would set in motion seismic changes that the early Christians could hardly have envisioned. But before exploring those events, we must examine the lives and works of some of the notable Christian figures of the first three centuries AD—believers who both battled tirelessly against heresy and submitted willingly to martyrdom.

Chapter Four Review

Apostles' Creed	Dualism
Apostolic Succession	Gnostics/Gnosis/Gnosticism
Bishop	Marcion/Marcionism
Deacon	Montanus/Montanism
Elder	Nero
Decius	Novatianists
Diocletian	Valerian
Docetism	Valentinus
Donatists	

CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

[1]Details of Nero's persecution are found in the *Annals* of the Roman historian Tacitus, quoted in Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity Volume 1: Beginnings to 1500* (revised edition) (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 85.

[2]Throughout this unit (and part of the next), this "true faith" is referred to in various ways. One way of speaking about it is to use the language of "orthodox belief," "orthodox faith," or "orthodox Christianity." In this context, *orthodox* merely means "adhering to traditionally accepted norms" (as defined by the content of Scripture and the teachings of the apostles), and should not be confused with *Orthodox*, which would refer specifically to the traditions of Eastern Orthodoxy. Likewise, another way of speaking about the early believers is to refer to "the catholic church," where the word *catholic* means "universal" and also implies adherence to orthodox belief. This terminology is found in several early church creeds. Again, this should not be mistaken for a reference to Roman Catholic Christianity.

[3]Simon the sorcerer, who appears in Acts 8:9–24, is also often considered to have been an early proponent of a form of Gnosticism.

[4]See Acts 6:1–7.

[5]See Ephesians 4:11–13, and cp. 1 Corinthians 12:27–31.

[6]See 1 Timothy 3:1–13; 5:17–20; Titus 1:5–9.

[7]The one possible exception to this principle of apostolic authorship among the books of the New Testament is the Book of Hebrews, whose author is unknown. At the time of its acceptance by the early church, Hebrews was commonly attributed to Paul.

[8]The final New Testament canon, however, would not emerge until the mid-fourth century. For more on the canonization of the New Testament, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), pp. 48–50.

[9]This is the Roman Catholic text, which is the most widely known and which derives from the medieval Latin version. The Anglican and Methodist forms of the creed omit the statement, "He descended into hell." The Eastern Orthodox Churches do not use the Apostles' Creed. It should again be noted that the phrase "holy catholic Church" merely refers to the universal body of believers, and is not an affirmation of Roman Catholicism as opposed to Eastern Orthodoxy or Protestantism. Indeed, none of these designations even existed at the time of the creed's completion.

Chapter Five
The Ante-Nicene Fathers

Having examined some of the broad historical and ecclesiological developments during the years from AD 70–312, we turn now to a survey of the lives and teachings of some of the important Christian figures of the period. Before undertaking this task, however, a brief note on terminology and classification is in order. It has become customary to use the designation *Church Fathers* to refer collectively to the significant Christian thinkers and writers who emerged during the centuries immediately following the New Testament period, beginning with Clement of Rome (who served as bishop of Rome in the 90s AD) and usually ending with John of Damascus (who flourished in the early eighth century). This group is often divided chronologically into the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (those who lived and ministered during the first three centuries AD) and the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (those who took part in the seminal Council of Nicaea in AD 325 and those who lived thereafter). It is also sometimes divided between those who wrote in Latin (the *Latin Fathers* or *Western Fathers*) and those who wrote in Greek (the *Greek Fathers* or *Eastern Fathers*). Finally, the designation *Apostolic Fathers* is often used to denote the earliest of the Church Fathers, those who are believed to have had firsthand contact with the New Testament apostles. In this chapter, we will profile several of the Ante-Nicene Fathers (including the Apostolic Fathers). The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers will be covered in Chapter Seven.[1]

CLEMENT OF ROME

The earliest Ante-Nicene Father for whom we have any significant evidence is Clement, who served as bishop of Rome during the last decade of the first century.[2] The year of his birth is unknown, but it would appear that he died about AD 100, possibly as a martyr. It is probable that he was a firsthand witness to the ministry of Jesus' disciples, and he is thus counted among the Apostolic Fathers.[3]

Clement is known to us mostly through a letter that he wrote to the church at Corinth during his episcopacy. This epistle, known as *1 Clement,* was widely read and highly valued by the early Christians.[4] It was written (at least in part) to address a controversy among the Corinthian believers concerning complaints against some of the church leaders there. The epistle discusses the various orders of the ministry (bishops, presbyters, deacons, and so forth) that were beginning to become prominent in the lives of believing communities, and also contains significant early reflections on Christians' future hope of resurrection.[5]

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH

Like Clement, Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35–107) is numbered among the Apostolic Fathers. Tradition holds that he was a pupil of the apostle John, but there is no clear evidence of this. Indeed, we have little firm knowledge about any of the events of Ignatius' life. What we do know is that he served as bishop of Antioch near the end of the first century, and that he was arrested during a period of persecution under the Emperor Trajan (reigned 98–117) and taken from Antioch to Rome, where he was executed. During this final journey, Ignatius wrote a series of epistles, seven of which have survived. Six of these were addressed to churches (the Ephesians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Romans, Smyrneans, and Trallians), while the seventh was a letter to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

These writings offer a great deal of insight into both the thinking of Ignatius and the issues facing the early church. Three major themes emerge from them. The first is an insistence on the full humanity of Jesus and the reality of the Incarnation, against the claims of the Gnostics and others who embraced Docetism. The second is an exhortation to believers to demonstrate proper respect and deference to those who had been designated as bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The third is an emphasis on the unity of the body of Christ. Indeed, Ignatius' *Epistle to the Smyrneans* marks the first recorded use of the phrase "catholic church" in reference to the universal body of believers.

POLYCARP

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, (c. 69–155) is often reckoned as the final Apostolic Father, the last surviving witness of the New Testament apostles' ministry. It is often asserted that he was a disciple of the apostle John, and his one surviving letter, an epistle to the church at Philippi, reflects a theology that is quite similar to John's in some ways. In particular, Polycarp (like Ignatius) insists that Jesus was both fully divine and fully human, a paradox that is clearly highlighted in John's Gospel.

Polycarp's martyrdom became legendary through the circulation of a letter that recounted the supposed circumstances of his death, complete with reports of supernatural events. Though the veracity of some parts of this account is questionable, it would appear that Polycarp was executed at Rome (probably by burning at the stake) during the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (reigned 138–161).

JUSTIN MARTYR

Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) was one of the earliest apologists for the Christian faith and one of the church's first theologians. He was raised as a pagan in Samaria and became an avid student of Stoic and Platonic philosophy at an early age. Following his conversion, however, Justin became convinced that Christianity itself was the full expression of the

truth that he had sought after, that its claims were fully consistent with reason, and that it made sense of the mysteries that remained obscure to secular philosophers. He also came to believe that history itself was only comprehensible in light of God's eternal activity and purposes, culminating in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus.

Justin traveled from place to place espousing these views, often engaging in debate with other learned men of his day. He also vigorously defended the early church against charges that it was an immoral or treasonous cult. He was arrested and martyred at Rome following a debate with a Cynic philosopher during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180). Among the writings Justin left behind are a complex consideration of the nature of the Incarnation and detailed descriptions of the practice of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist within the early church.

IRENAEUS

Irenaeus (c. 130–200) served as bishop of Lyons in Gaul and was one of the leading theologians of the second century. His chief work, A*dversus haereses* ("Against Heresies"), was intended to describe and refute the teachings of the various heretical movements that were threatening to divide the church during this period, notably Gnosticism and Marcionism.

Irenaeus defended the validity of the Hebrew scriptures and argued (against the Gnostics) that the Creator God of Genesis was the same God whose kingdom was proclaimed by Jesus. He also emphasized the idea that the bishops were the rightful successors of the apostles, and that it was necessary for Christians to submit to their leadership in order to remain faithful to the authentic teachings of Jesus as transmitted by His disciples, a notion that would be much more fully developed in later centuries.

TERTULLIAN

Tertullian (c. 160–225) is often considered to be the father of Western Christian theology, as he was instrumental in establishing a vocabulary of ecclesiological and doctrinal concepts in Latin, the predominant language of Europe for centuries to come. He was born in Carthage in North Africa, one of the great centers of learning in the empire, and received a strong classical education that equipped him well for his later work as a theologian.

Tertullian wrote prolifically, producing polemics against Gnosticism and Marcionism, theological treatises on topics such as resurrection, baptism, and the nature of the soul, and a variety of works addressing practical matters of moral behavior. Perhaps his most notable legacy, however, is his systematic formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity, which helped shape the conceptions of later thinkers such as Augustine. Though his legalistic bent later led him to abandon orthodox Christianity for the more rigidly moral Montanism,

Tertullian's positive influence on the early development of Christian thought should not be underestimated.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Roughly contemporaneous with Tertullian was Clement (c. 150–215), who headed a prominent catechetical school in Alexandria. In addition to instructing new Christians in the basics of the faith, Clement also served as an apologist for Christianity among the philosophers and intellectuals of the Hellenistic world. He argued that philosophy could function as a means of drawing pagans toward faith and preparing their minds and hearts for Christianity, in much the same way that the Hebrew scriptures could point thoughtful Jews to Jesus. Clement was also an early proponent of the belief that all humanity had free will and could thus choose whether to respond to God or refuse Him.

In the year 202, the Emperor Septimius Severus (reigned 193–211) launched a program of persecution against the Christian community in Alexandria, and Clement fled the city. He was succeeded as head of the catechetical school by his former pupil Origen, who would go on to surpass his mentor in both fame and lasting influence.

ORIGEN

Origen (c. 185–254) was one of the last of the significant Ante-Nicene Fathers, and one of the most brilliant and important thinkers of the period. Like Clement and other early Greek theologians, Origen was highly conversant with the world of secular philosophy, and spent much time exploring the intersection of reason and faith. In his chief apologetic work, *Contra Celsus*, he used his rhetorical skill and knowledge of philosophy to ably defend Christianity against one of its most vocal opponents. This work is illuminating not only in terms of Origen's thought, but also because it provides us with an unusually full description of pagan intellectuals' perception and critiques of Christianity.

Origen was not merely a skilled apologist, however. He was also a dedicated student and exegete of Scripture. He produced many expository commentaries, including one on the Gospel of John that was intended to combat Gnostic doctrine. He also labored for years to complete the *Hexapla*, a six-column parallel Old Testament containing the Hebrew text, a transliteration in Greek of the Hebrew characters, the text of the Septuagint (a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures that was produced between the third and first centuries B.C. for the benefit of exiled Jews in Egypt who no longer remembered the Hebrew of their ancestors, and that subsequently became the standard version used by Greek-speaking Christians), and three other contemporary Greek translations.[6]

Origen's most significant theological work, *De Principiis* ("On First Principles"), is among the earliest attempts at a systematic Christian theology. It is based on a Trinitarian

understanding of God, and its chief emphases are on the goodness of the Creator and the freedom of humanity to respond to Him. While these beliefs were basic to early Christian understanding, Origen developed them in new and surprising ways. He believed that the love and mercy of God ensured that all humanity would, through free choice, ultimately be reconciled to Him (although an intermediate period of post-mortem punishment might be necessary for some until such time as they chose to repent). This obviously represented a major diversion from orthodox belief and foreshadowed the later development of Universalism.[7]

There are also strong hints of Platonic philosophy in Origen's work, notably in his assertion that all human souls have existed from eternity and that conception simply marks the point when a pre-existent soul inhabits its corresponding body. Eventually, careful consideration of Origen's writings led to a great deal of controversy within the early church between those who extolled the virtues of his work and those who wanted to condemn him as a heretic. Though the latter group eventually won out, Origen's thought would prove to have a profound and lasting influence not only on the subsequent development of Christian theology, but (as we will see in the next chapter) on the entire course of Christian history.

Chapter Five Review

Ante-Nicene Fathers	Irenaeus
Apostolic Fathers	Justin Martyr
Church Fathers	Origen
Clement of Alexandria	Polycarp
Clement of Rome	Septuagint
Ignatius of Antioch	Tertullian

CHAPTER FIVE NOTES

[1]Throughout this book, in referring to the Church Fathers (as well as later figures), I have generally avoided employing the title of "Saint." Some Protestant traditions object to the use of this title to set apart certain individuals from the larger priesthood of believers, while those traditions that do celebrate saints (including Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Oriental Orthodoxy, and Anglicanism) each have different lists of those whom they thus honor. It therefore seemed better to avoid the title altogether rather than risking offense to some and constantly having to clarify which particular groups consider an individual to be a saint. This should not be viewed as an intentional disparagement of any of the Church Fathers themselves.

[2]Clement of Rome is referred to within Roman Catholic tradition as Pope Clement I, a retrospective designation that reflects his tenure as bishop of Rome. According to Catholic reckoning, Clement was the third successor of Peter. He is not to be confused with Clement of Alexandria, the teacher of Origen.

[3]This is suggested by references in both Irenaeus and Tertullian, cited in *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*, ed. Wendy Doniger (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1999), p. 243. There is also some speculation that Clement of Rome may have known Paul, if he is to be identified with the "Clement" mentioned in Philippians 4:3.

[4]Indeed, some later Christians would argue that *1 Clement* was worthy of inclusion in the developing New Testament canon. Other writings traditionally attributed to Clement of Rome, including the homily often referred to as *2 Clement* and the *Ordinances of the Holy Apostles through Clement* (or *Apostolic Constitutions*), are now thought by most scholars to be the work of later authors writing pseudonymously.

[5]For the latter, see N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), pp. 481–483.

[6]For a fuller account of the history and significance of the Septuagint, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), p. 53.

[7]For more on Universalism, see Chapter Twenty-Seven.

Chapter Six
Toleration and Controversy

CONSTANTINE AND THE EDICT OF MILAN

In the year 305, the Emperor Diocletian (who had overseen the most systematic program of anti-Christian persecution to date) abdicated, leaving the imperial throne vacant. The Roman Empire then fell into a period of political turmoil, as competing claimants to the emperorship battled for supremacy. One such figure was Constantius Chlorus, who had governed Britain, Spain, and Gaul under Diocletian. Upon Constantius' death in 306, his son Constantine was declared emperor by his troops and began gradually consolidating his power.

By 312, Constantine had grown strong enough to advance on Rome itself. According to his own later accounts, as he neared the city, he saw a vision of a great cross of light in the sky, bearing the inscription, "Conquer by this." That night as he slept, God instructed him in a dream to use the cross as his emblem as he battled his opponents.[1] Constantine went on to defeat his chief rival, Maxentius, thus assuming full control of the western portion of the Roman Empire.

This unique spiritual experience would prove to have a profound impact on the course of Constantine's life and on his actions as emperor. In 313, Constantine and his counterpart Licinius (who had established control of the eastern part of the empire) met at Milan and, in a stunning reversal of the policies of their predecessors, issued an edict that assured the toleration of Christianity throughout the empire. The Edict of Milan granted all citizens the right to practice any religion they chose, guaranteed that Christians would possess full legal rights, and restored confiscated property to the church, among other things. With this act, the long history of the imperial persecution of Christians, which had begun during the days of Nero, largely came to an end (though sporadic violence continued in the east until Constantine reunified the empire following his defeat of Licinius in 323).

As Constantine's reign continued, he proved to be increasingly sympathetic to the Christian cause. He passed several new laws that favored the Christian community, including one allowing citizens to bequeath their assets to the church and one freeing Christian clergy from the burden of state taxation. He contributed resources to the building and renovation of numerous churches, particularly in his newly established capital city of Constantinople (formerly Byzantium) in Asia Minor, which quickly became an important center of Christianity in the eastern part of the empire. He forbade Jews from stoning new Jewish converts to Christianity and ordered his pagan subjects not to attempt to force Christians to participate in their immoral festivals. On a personal level, he observed

Sunday, kept bishops in his royal entourage, and even had his children educated in the principles of Christianity.

In initiating these reforms, it is not clear whether Constantine was motivated by genuine spiritual fervor, political expediency, or (as seems most likely) a mixture of the two. Though he proved himself to be a great patron of Christianity, he did not make it the official religion of the empire (though it would eventually become so under his successors). He continued to support the pagan cults, and apparently had no qualms about being venerated as a deity himself (as was customary for all Roman emperors). He also appears to have been a rather violent man, and not a particularly virtuous one, and it is perhaps telling that he delayed being baptized as a believer until shortly before his death. Nevertheless, regardless of his motives and sincerity, Constantine remains a pivotal figure in the history of Christianity, chiefly because his actions served to revolutionize the relationship between church and state in a way that would continue to produce religious and political upheaval for centuries to come.

CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES

While Constantine's accession marked the end of the state-sponsored persecutions that had plagued the believers of the first three centuries, the other critical threat facing the early church—that posed by theological controversies—steadily increased in gravity. Though the Gnostics, Marcionites, and Montanists had ceased to wield significant influence by the end of the third century, new disputes soon began arising within the church itself. These debates largely concerned matters related to the relationship between the Father and the Son, the nature of the Incarnation, and the person of Jesus—what we would today define as issues of Christology.

The heightened consideration of this topic during the early fourth century largely grew out of reflection on the thought of Origen. His major work of systematic theology, *De Principiis*, contained a great deal of speculation regarding Jesus. In particular, Origen claimed that the Son was co-eternal with the Father (and was therefore a divine being rather than a created one), but also insisted that the Son was dependent upon and subordinate to the Father.

While Origen was apparently able to hold these two beliefs in dynamic tension with one another, later church officials and scholars tended to adopt one or the other, and to modify them in ways that made them more contradictory. By the time of Constantine, some were insisting that the Son was co-eternal with the Father *and therefore equal to Him,* while others countered that the Son was subordinate to the *Father and therefore must have been created by Him*. Thus, both schools of thought could claim descent from Origen, even as each altered his theology in significant ways.

This doctrinal controversy was brought to prominence by a dispute that arose between Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria (?–326), and Arius (c. 256–336), one of the

church's presbyters, shortly after 320. Arius was a strong proponent of the view that the Son was subordinate to the Father. He interpreted this to mean that the Son was a created being, and that He therefore did not possess the same divine nature as the Father. Thus, in Arius' view, Jesus was a unique, heavenly agent of God, but was not God Himself in the way normally supposed by orthodox Christianity.

Alexander, who insisted on the co-eternality and equality of the Son with the Father, deposed Arius and condemned his teachings, which he viewed as heretical. Arius, in turn, accused Alexander of holding to the controversial doctrine of Sabellianism, which maintained that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were merely three aspects of a single God.[2] Both men had numerous supporters, and theological battle-lines were quickly drawn. The debate raged throughout the eastern portion of the empire, and the churches in that region faced the very real threat of schism.

The Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople

At this point, Constantine intervened. Having defeated Licinius in 323, thus securing at last the uncontested political hegemony that he had sought for nearly two decades, the emperor had no intention of allowing a religious controversy to jeopardize the stability of his domain. After attempting unsuccessfully to initiate conciliatory dialogue between Alexander and Arius, Constantine called for a council of all the bishops of the church, which convened at Nicaea in Asia Minor in 325. The emperor presided over the opening of the council and was an active participant in its proceedings, though it seems clear that his chief interest was in restoring order to the church (and by extension the empire) rather than championing any particular theological position.

Provision was made for both parties to present their respective positions to the assembled council, but the proceedings were marred by violence and controversy. In the end, a large majority of the bishops voiced their opposition to the Arian faction. The council prohibited leaders within the church from claiming that Jesus was a created (non-eternal) being, or that He did not possess the same divine substance and essence as the Father. Constantine upheld the decision of the bishops by exiling Arius, ordering the destruction of the books he had authored, and deposing some of the bishops who were vocal in their support for his position.

Although local and regional councils were common throughout early Christian history (dating back at least as far as the Jerusalem Council described in Acts 15), the Council of Nicaea came to be designated as the First Ecumenical Council of the church. It thus served to establish an important precedent whereby the decision of difficult issues that had import for believers throughout the empire was entrusted to similar periodic general councils of the assembled bishops.

In spite of this important legacy, however, the decision of the Council of Nicaea concerning Arianism proved difficult to uphold. Following Constantine's death in 337, his realm

was divided among his three sons, the eldest of whom died soon thereafter. The two remaining sons, Constans and Constantius, each took half of the empire, with Constans ruling the west and Constantius the east. Constans supported the theology of the majority of the church, as embodied in the decision of the Council of Nicaea, while Constantius proved sympathetic to those bishops in the east who still favored Arianism. This group was apparently quite large, and included Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had been one of Arius' most vocal supporters at Nicaea and who had subsequently been made bishop of Constantinople, thus becoming one of the most influential church officials in the eastern part of the empire.

In 353, following the death of Constans, the pro-Arian Constantius became ruler of the entire empire. During the remainder of his reign, the Arians continued to grow in influence. In a reversal of the decision made at Nicaea, it was decreed by the pro-Arian bishops (with the backing of the emperor) that Jesus was not of the same substance as God, and those who had embraced the Council of Nicaea's decision were pressured to submit to the Arian position.

This seeming turn of the theological tide, however, would prove to be short-lived. With the death of Constantius in 361, the Arians' position of influence was greatly weakened. His successor, Julian (reigned 361–363), briefly (and unsuccessfully) attempted to revive paganism, and the next few emperors proved to be largely disinterested in taking sides in the ongoing theological dispute. Then, in the year 379, Theodosius I (reigned 379–395) came to the throne. Having been born in Spain, the new emperor proved loyal to the orthodoxy of the western churches and to the rulings of the Council of Nicaea. In 381, he summoned the bishops to Constantinople for the Second Ecumenical Council, during which the rulings of the Council of Nicaea were reaffirmed and the teachings of the Arians were specifically denounced, thus assuring their permanent defeat.

The Nicene Creed

Perhaps the greatest legacy of the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople is the statement of orthodox faith that they developed and refined, and which subsequently became known as the Nicene Creed. Like the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed presumably had roots in pre-existing baptismal creeds and catechisms. The version issued by the Council of Nicaea was clearly intended to emphasize the majority opinion concerning the eternality and full divinity of the Son, while the expanded version produced by the Council of Constantinople made the same assertions regarding the nature of the Holy Spirit.[3]

After the Council of Constantinople, the Nicene Creed came into widespread use and became a standard test for orthodox belief. Further minor modifications were occasionally made to it in order to address fine points of theology, but the modern creed is largely the same as that produced by the Second Ecumenical Council. It is used by Roman Catholic,

Eastern Orthodox, Anglican, and many mainline Protestant believers, with slight variations.[4] A modern-English translation of the Nicene Creed is as follows:

> We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of all that is seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, one in Being with the Father. Through Him, all things were made. For us and for our salvation, He came down from heaven: by the power of the Holy Spirit, He was born of the Virgin Mary, and became man. For our sake, He was crucified under Pontius Pilate; He suffered, died, and was buried. On the third day, He rose again in fulfillment of the Scriptures. He ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, and His kingdom will have no end. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father. With the Father and the Son, He is worshipped and glorified. He has spoken through the Prophets. We believe in one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Subsequent Controversies and Councils

Though the widespread adoption of the Nicene Creed and the resultant discrediting of Arian belief largely settled the issue of the Son's relationship to the Father, a variety of additional Christological controversies soon arose. During the period between the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, Apollinaris (?–390), bishop of Laodicea, began advancing the view that Jesus possessed a human body and emotions but a purely divine, rational mind. Apollinaris apparently believed that his arguments constituted a defense of the unity and divinity of Jesus against the claims of Arianism, but his opponents accused him of implying that Jesus was less than fully human. Consequently, Apollinarianism was condemned as a heresy by the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople.

Thus, in the decisions of the first two ecumenical councils, the church had clearly asserted that Jesus was both truly divine (against Arius) and truly human (against Apollinaris). While these basic principles were largely accepted, disagreements continued to abound regarding the precise relationship between Jesus' divinity and humanity. In the fifth century, two controversial viewpoints on the matter emerged. The first of these was ascribed to Nestorius (c. 386–451), bishop of Constantinople, though it is not entirely clear that he actually advanced the claims that have become associated with his name. According to this view, divinity and humanity could never be fully united in a single individual, and thus the divine and human natures within Jesus must have been independent of one another to some degree. Nestorius' chief opponent, Cyril (378–444), bishop of Alexandria, protested that these teachings essentially amounted to

claiming that Jesus was two separate beings. The dispute between the two grew so heated that the Third Ecumenical Council was convened at Ephesus in 431 to address the issue. Though the council was marred by controversy and political ploys, the end result was the condemnation of Nestorianism as a heresy.

The Council of Ephesus was also notable for its ruling that Mary was *Theotokos*, or "God-bearer." This designation was originally intended to counter Nestorian doctrine (which insisted that Mary was only the mother of the human "person" in Jesus, not the divine one) by conveying the truth that Mary had indeed carried within her body Jesus in His full divinity. However, the usage of the term *Theotokos* also contributed to an increasing tendency among many in the church to view Mary herself as possessing divine qualities.

The second view concerning Christ's nature that emerged during this period was advanced by a monk named Eutyches (c. 380–456) and supported by Dioscurus, bishop of Alexandria, and was in some ways the antithesis of the Nestorian position. According to Eutyches, the divine and human elements in Jesus were so blended as to become a single nature. This claim had the effect of distancing Jesus from genuine humanity, since His divinity was believed to be the driving force within this unified nature. This system of thought, which came to be known as Monophysitism, was condemned as a heresy by the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which was held at Chalcedon in 451.

The Council of Chalcedon also issued a creed asserting that Jesus was the following:

> . . . perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, of rational soul and body, of the same substance with the Father according to the Godhead, and of the same substance with us according to the manhood, like to us in all respects, without sin, begotten of the Father before all time . . . born of the Virgin Mary . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, in two natures, inconfusedly, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably, the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the peculiarity of each nature being preserved and concurring in one person and one substance, not parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten, divine word, the Lord Jesus Christ.

It is clear that this statement was not only designed to more clearly define the church's own official position on the issues of Jesus' nature, substance, and person, but also to further repudiate a variety of heretical teachings. By asserting that Jesus was perfectly and truly God, it guarded against Arianism. By insisting that He was also perfectly and truly man, it countered the claims of Apollinarianism. The creed's description of Jesus' two natures as indivisible and inseparable served to refute Nestorianism, while its declaration that the two natures were also unconfused and unchanging acted as a rejection of Monophysitism. Though significant minorities in the eastern part of the empire continued to cling tenaciously to Nestorianism and Monophysitism, the Chalcedonian

Creed was widely embraced by the vast majority of Christians and became the standard by which orthodox Christology was measured.

The ramifications of this period in the history of Christianity, which was marked by both the increasing ties between church and empire and the activity of the ecumenical councils, are somewhat difficult to assess. To be sure, it was a time of increasing strength and influence for the early believers, an era when persecution gave way to patronage and the Roman Empire became a Christian kingdom. It was also a period during which the threat of heretical teachings was neutralized through the efforts of the united leadership of the church. Thus, the two major dangers that had faced the church of the first three centuries were largely eliminated.

But these victories did not come without a price. The Edict of Milan may have marked the end of imperial persecution, but it also signaled the beginning of increased involvement in the affairs of the church on the part of the Roman emperors and the blurring of the line between religion and politics. The ecumenical councils may have served to safeguard orthodox doctrine, but they also led to the increasing fragmentation and factionalizing of the body of Christ and contributed to the growing desire for power and fame on the part of many of the bishops. This disturbing set of precedents would eventually yield disastrous consequences for the church during the Medieval Period. But before moving to an examination of that era, we must give consideration to the lives and works of the significant figures who shaped the course of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries: the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.

Chapter Six Review

Alexander of Alexandria	Cyril of Alexandria
Apollinaris/Apollinarianism	Ecumenical Councils
Arius/Arianism	Edict of Milan (313)
Chalcedonian Creed	Eutyches
Constantine	Monophysitism
Council of Chalcedon (451)	Nestorius/Nestorianism
Council of Constantinople (381)	Nicene Creed
Council of Ephesus (431)	Sabellianism
Council of Nicaea (325)	*Theotokos*

CHAPTER SIX NOTES

[1]The accounts of this event are contained in Eusebius of Caesarea's Life of Constantine, which can be found in various collections of the writings of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. For more on Eusebius himself, see Chapter Seven.

[2]Sabellianism is also sometimes referred to as Modalistic Monarchianism.

[3]This clarification was intended to combat the assertions of a man named Macedonius, who claimed that the Spirit was a creation of the Son.

[4]The most notable of which, of course, is the filioque clause, on which see Chapter Eleven.

Chapter Seven
The Nicene and
Post-Nicene Fathers

As we saw earlier, the designation "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" refers to a group of influential thinkers and writers within the church who lived between the early fourth century and the mid-eighth century. In this chapter, however, we will limit our focus to those figures who flourished during the interval between the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451—those, in other words, who championed orthodoxy during the period of imperial patronage and doctrinal controversy that we examined in the previous chapter.[1]

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 275–339) was a prominent bishop of the Nicene era and one of the earliest historians of Christianity.[2] His greatest work, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*Church History*), records the story of the Christian church from the days of the apostles through the early years of Constantine's reign, ending just before the Council of Nicaea. While the *Historia's* plentiful quotations and paraphrases from other authors cast doubt on Eusebius' own abilities as a historian, they also provide us with a great deal of text from early Christian works that would otherwise have been lost.

In addition to his work as a historian, Eusebius also played a significant role in the theological deliberations of the Council of Nicaea. Though he did not fully side with either Alexander or Arius, Eusebius appears to have had Arian sympathies, and worried that the teachings of Alexander amounted to Sabellianism (as Arius himself had claimed). Some traditions indicate that it was Eusebius who proposed to the council the adoption of a statement of faith that was being used to instruct new believers in his episcopate of Caesarea, and that this statement became the basis of the Nicene Creed.[3] In his later years, Eusebius appears to have served as a sort of court theologian for Constantine. His last major work was a highly stylized biography of the emperor, which he produced as a eulogy upon Constantine's death in 337. Eusebius himself died shortly thereafter.

ATHANASIUS

Athanasius (c. 295–373) is one of the comparatively few Church Fathers to be highly esteemed by Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant believers alike. He was a close associate of Alexander, the chief opponent of Arius, and accompanied him to the Council of Nicaea in 325. Following Alexander's death, Athanasius succeeded him as bishop of Alexandria. He spent most of the rest of his life opposing Arianism, which

(as we have seen) enjoyed several resurgences during the mid-fourth century. Because of the pro-Arian leanings of several of Constantine's successors, Athanasius was exiled on five separate occasions. Nevertheless, the Nicene position, which he ardently and tenaciously upheld, would finally prevail, though Athanasius himself did not live to see the final defeat of the Arians at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

As might be expected, many of Athanasius' surviving works consist of defenses of the Nicene position and refutations of Arian teachings. These include *On the Incarnation, Apology against the Arians, History of the Arians, Discourses against the Arians,* and On the *Decrees of the Nicene Synod*. But perhaps the most famous of Athanasius' writings is his 39th Festal Letter, issued at Easter in 367, which contains the earliest extant list of the books of the New Testament that corresponds exactly to the present-day canon.

THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS

The pro-Nicene cause championed by Athanasius was soon taken up by Basil of Caesarea (c. 330–379), his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–395), and Basil's classmate Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330–389). The three are collectively referred to as the Cappadocian Fathers, after the region in Asia Minor from which they hailed. All of them received classical educations, and they were greatly influenced by the theology of Origen in particular.

During the mid-fourth century, the Cappadocian Fathers sought to achieve reconciliation between those who fully supported the decision of the Council of Nicaea and a number of bishops in the eastern part of the empire who, though not Arians in the strict sense, rejected Nicene theology as a form of Sabellianism. To this end, the Cappadocians expounded the view that the Trinity consisted of three persons (against Sabellianism) in one substance (against Arianism). This was the basis of the view that would eventually win the support of the majority of bishops throughout the empire. The Cappadocians were also among the chief opponents of Apollinarianism, which (like Arianism) was denounced by the Second Ecumenical Council.

In addition to their collective theological work, the Cappadocian Fathers each made important individual contributions to the life of the church. Basil authored an influential treatise on the nature of the Holy Spirit, and was an important figure in the early history of Eastern monasticism (which we will discuss further in the next chapter). Gregory of Nazianzus advocated a doctrine of the Trinity that presented Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three distinct, equal, and co-eternal persons, thus foreshadowing the orthodox consensus that would emerge from subsequent ecumenical councils. Gregory of Nyssa wrote extensively, and his *Life of Moses* is considered a seminal work in the development of the Christian mystical tradition. All three Cappadocian Fathers are held in particular esteem by the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Ambrose of Milan

Ambrose (c. 339–397) was a contemporary of the Cappadocian Fathers and was one of the most influential Church Fathers from the western part of the empire. He began his public career as a politician, and he was so highly respected by the citizens of Milan that, in an unprecedented move, he was made bishop of the city by popular acclaim—in spite of the fact that he was an unbaptized layman at the time. It seems that the church of Milan viewed Ambrose as a compromise candidate, a capable administrator who did not have strong theological ties to either the Nicene or Arian position.

Seeking to further his theological understanding in order to meet the demands of his new position, Ambrose began a program of rigorous study. His mastery of Greek (which was rare among inhabitants of the western part of the empire, most of whom spoke Latin) allowed him to study the writings of Origen, Athanasius, and Basil, among others, and Ambrose quickly became a competent theologian and preacher. His sermons were an important conduit for the transmission of Greek philosophy and theology to the Western Church, and they proved instrumental in the conversion of Augustine.

Ambrose's unique combination of political savvy and spiritual authority allowed him to exert great influence on the Roman emperors. On various occasions, he successfully dissuaded emperors from pursuing policies that promoted the interests of paganism and Judaism, and he went so far as to disfellowship Theodosius I in 390 until the emperor had repented for the massacre of thousands at Thessalonica. Ambrose thus proved himself to be a strong proponent of the idea that the emperor, as a member of the church, was subject to the authority of the bishop in spiritual matters. In this, he anticipated one of the most significant issues that would confront the church during the Medieval Period: the clarification of the nature of the relationship between church and state.

John Chrysostom

John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) is considered (along with Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzus) to be one of the greatest of the early Greek Fathers. As a young man, he intended to become a lawyer, and his studies in logic, philosophy, and rhetoric equipped him for his later life as a preacher. (Indeed, the name *Chrysostom*, meaning "golden-mouthed," was ascribed to him in recognition of his oratorical skill.) John eventually abandoned his secular ambitions, however, and embraced an extremely ascetic form of monastic life.

This punishing lifestyle eventually took a toll on John's health, and he returned to his birthplace of Antioch, where he became a presbyter. He was highly regarded for his sermons, which combined careful biblical exegesis with an emphasis on practical application and the social responsibilities of believers. Upon his promotion to the arch-

bishopric of Constantinople in 398, Chrysostom's preaching style brought him into conflict with many of the city's wealthy and influential figures, who chafed at his condemnation of the frivolous use of riches.

John faced further opposition from Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who disagreed with Chrysostom's Origen-influenced theological leanings, and who may also have been motivated by a desire to establish Alexandria (rather than Constantinople) as the preeminent center of Christianity in the eastern part of the empire. Theophilus formed an alliance with Arcadius (the ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire during this period) and his wife, Eudoxia, whom Chrysostom had publicly criticized, and the three conspired to have John deposed from his archbishopric and exiled to the Caucasus, where he eventually died.

Chrysostom's greatest literary legacy is his series of homilies on selected books of the New Testament, including Matthew, John, Acts, Hebrews, and the letters of Paul. In these writings (as in his sermons), John avoided allegorical interpretations of Scripture (which were common during this period), striving instead to discover the precise, literal meaning of each verse. This practice led him to be highly regarded by the Protestant Reformers. Chrysostom is likewise held in great esteem by Eastern Orthodox Christians. The most commonly used divine liturgy in the Eastern Orthodox Churches is named for him, and the traditional Easter homily is attributed to him.

JEROME

Jerome (c. 347–420), whose real name was Eusebius Hieronymous, is widely considered to be the most learned of the Latin Fathers. He received a classical education in Rome, where he studied grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and Greek. Following the completion of these studies, Jerome traveled throughout the empire for 20 years, during which he spent some time as an ascetic and began learning Hebrew. Upon returning from these journeys, he spent time in Antioch and Constantinople and studied Scripture under the tutelage of Gregory of Nazianzus. An enthusiastic student, Jerome soon began translating into Latin several of the Greek texts to which he was exposed, including some of the writings of Origen and Eusebius.

Jerome's most significant work, however, came following his return to Rome in 382. Damasus I (reigned 366–383), bishop of Rome, made Jerome his personal secretary and entrusted to him the task of producing a standardized Latin translation of the Scriptures from the original languages. (Up to this point, all Christian translations of the Old Testament had been based on the Greek Septuagint rather than Hebrew manuscripts.) Though he threw himself into this endeavor with great energy, Jerome came under criticism from some who saw him as tampering with Scripture, and he consequently left Rome in 385.

He eventually settled in Bethlehem, where he lived in a monastic settlement and devoted himself to writing until his death. During this time, he produced numerous commentaries on Scripture and polemics against heretical beliefs. In 405, he completed his Latin translation of the Bible, which became known as the Vulgate (meaning "common version") because it was written in popular (rather than scholarly) Latin. The *Vulgate* served as the standard Bible of the Western Church for centuries, and it was the translation through which the Gospel spread to Western Europe. Indeed, Roman Catholic Christians continued to exclusively use the Vulgate and its derivations until the 20th century.

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Augustine (c. 354–430) is one of the towering figures of Christian history. He is certainly the most significant of the Church Fathers, and a compelling case can be made that his thought influenced Christianity more profoundly than that of anyone else between the New Testament period and the Reformation.

Augustine was born in North Africa and studied at the great intellectual center of Carthage. In his early years, he was enamored with various secular philosophies, including a dualistic system of thought known as Manichaeism, with which he eventually grew frustrated. Upon accepting a prestigious teaching position in Milan, Augustine encountered the preaching of Ambrose, whom he came to greatly admire for his rhetorical skills. Augustine did not immediately become a believer, however, but instead became attracted to Neoplatonic philosophy.

By his own accounts, Augustine was plagued throughout his early life by lust and other immoral tendencies, which he found himself unable to overcome through his philosophical inquiries. In the year 386, during a period of emotional and spiritual turmoil, he felt compelled to read the Bible. He happened upon a passage in Romans that urged the abandonment of immorality and the "putting on of Christ."[4] This experience affected Augustine profoundly, and he underwent a dramatic conversion to Christianity. He was baptized at Milan by Ambrose on Easter Sunday, 387, and returned to North Africa shortly thereafter. In 396, he was made bishop of Hippo, a position he was to hold for the rest of his life.

Augustine soon proved himself to be a prolific writer and a penetrating thinker. His two most famous and enduring works are *Confessions* and *The City of God*. The former combined autobiographical material (including Augustine's account of his conversion to Christianity) with meditations on the nature of the relationship between God and humanity, focusing particularly on grace and redemption. The latter offered a philosophy of history that was firmly grounded in Christianity, and argued that history has a definite beginning, purpose, and point of culmination. This contrasted with the typical Greek view that history was merely an endlessly repeating series of cycles.

Augustine also exerted a profound influence on the ongoing development of Christian theology. He propounded the doctrine of original sin, arguing that there was no evil prior to the Fall and that Adam and Eve possessed free will, but that all of their descendants bore the stain of their sin and thus entered the world guilty before God. Freedom, according to Augustine, could come only through God's grace as revealed in Christ. Furthermore, Augustine insisted that this grace was only extended to some—that God predestined some for salvation and others for the damnation that all humanity deserved. According to Augustine, one could never be sure in this life whether one was predestined for salvation or not.

Augustine's theology soon led him into conflict with a British monk named Pelagius (c. 354–418) and his followers, who insisted that Adam's sin did not permanently stain humanity and that humans were free to choose between good and evil (and therefore capable of living moral lives without divine aid). The Pelagians thus promoted a form of works-based salvation, and viewed Jesus as merely providing humanity with the perfect example of how to live (rather than with the cancellation of the penalty of original sin). Augustine violently opposed Pelagian doctrine, and Pelagianism was condemned as a heresy by the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431.

The theological arguments of Augustine were largely consistent with those of earlier Latin Fathers, including Tertullian and Ambrose (though Augustine developed them to a much greater extent than did any of his predecessors), but clashed to some extent with the positions of many Greek Christians. John Chrysostom, for example, had argued that humans could choose to do what was good, and that God would then assist them by His grace. Thus, the victory of Augustine over the Pelagians, which assured the dominance of Augustinian theology in the subsequent life of the church, served to some extent to drive a wedge between Western and Eastern Christianity. This sense of division would tragically continue to grow over the next several centuries and would prove to be an ongoing threat to the life of the church.

CHAPTER SEVEN NOTES

[1]Other Post-Nicene Fathers—including John Cassian, Leo the Great, John of Damascus, and Gregory the Great—will be discussed in later chapters.

[2]Eusebius of Caesarea is also sometimes known as Eusebius Pamphili, after his teacher, Pamphilus. He is not to be confused with Eusebius of Nicomedia, the supporter of Arius who flourished around the same time.

[3]This claim was supported by 19th-century theologians like F. J. A. Hort and Adolf von Harnack, and is reflected in e.g. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity Volume 1: Beginnings to 1500* (revised edition) (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 154, 55.

[4]See Romans 13:13.

Chapter Eight
The Origins of Monasticism

In examining the life of the church during the period between the mid-third and mid-fifth centuries, we have given particular attention to the actions and interactions of emperors, ecumenical councils, bishops, and heretics. But we must now shift our focus to a parallel stream in Christian history which, though it emerged and flourished far from the centers of political and theological intrigue, would prove to have a profound impact on the subsequent life of the church as a whole: the monastic tradition.

It is impossible to date the birth of Christian monasticism with any precision. Indeed, the ascetic practices that constitute one of its defining elements can be traced back, through John the Baptist and the Old Testament prophets, into the pre-history of Christianity. Nevertheless, it is clear that it was in the late third and fourth centuries that the monastic life first began attracting large numbers of adherents and acquiring a more developed structure.

There were a number of factors that contributed to the emergence of monasticism during this period. Some believers originally fled to remote regions such as the Egyptian desert in order to escape the systematic persecutions that took place in the mid-third century under the Emperors Decius and Valerian. Others were troubled by the growing centralization of authority within the church and desired greater autonomy. Still others were disenchanted by what they perceived as the increasing degree to which Christians were compromising with pagan culture (both as a means of escaping persecution and as a result of moral laxity during the period when persecution was no longer a threat) and sought an environment in which they could pursue a more rigorously disciplined spiritual life. Such was the case with the most famous early monastic figure, Anthony.

ANTHONY OF EGYPT

The details of the life of Anthony of Egypt (c. 251–356) are known to us mainly through a biography written by Athanasius. According to this work, Anthony was born to a wealthy, Christian family in Egypt in the mid-third century. Both of Anthony's parents died while he was in his teens, and he was left to care for a younger sister.

Shortly thereafter, Anthony attended a church service during which he was profoundly affected by the reading of the passage from the Gospels concerning the rich ruler. Taking Jesus' injunction to the young man as a personal challenge, Anthony sold all of his possessions and, after making provisions for his sister's care, embarked upon a life of solitary asceticism. After approximately 15 years, Anthony began to crave even greater separation from the world; and in 285, he retreated to the desert to live as a hermit.

There Anthony undertook a life of stringent spiritual and physical discipline. He ate and slept sparingly (often fasting for several days and using only the hard ground for a bed) and devoted himself to prayer, meditation, and the study of Scripture. According to Athanasius' accounts, Anthony experienced intense spiritual warfare during this period and was forced to withstand the attacks of demons, who constantly tempted him to abandon his devotion and embrace immoral pleasures.

Anthony pursued this solitary wilderness existence for approximately 20 years. During this period, his notoriety grew in the surrounding areas, and others eventually made their way into the desert to follow his example. Upon his emergence from solitude, Anthony began to instruct and encourage several of these hermits, with whom he established an informal community. These early monastic pioneers would eventually come to be known as the Desert Fathers and Mothers.

Later, Anthony re-entered the wider world for a time and became highly regarded as both a teacher and a healer. He proved himself to be a defender of orthodoxy and a vocal opponent of Arianism, and Constantine himself is said to have sought Anthony's counsel during this period. Nevertheless, Anthony soon left his newfound acclaim behind him and spent the last years of his life alone in the desert once more.

PACHOMIUS

The monastic tradition represented by Anthony is often referred to as *eremitic* ("living in the desert") monasticism. Those who pursued this form of the monastic life completely withdrew from society and embraced a solitary existence centered on contemplation and spiritual disciplines. Eremitic monasticism was often characterized by extreme asceticism, as exemplified by Simeon Stylites, an early Syrian monk who lived atop a stone pillar near Antioch for 36 years.

Of course, not all eremitic monks practiced such shocking austerities. Nor did all of them forsake human companionship altogether. As we have seen, some of the monks of Anthony's day did share a loose sense of community. Nevertheless, they too represent a form of the eremitic tradition, as they maintained individual dwellings, were not subject to any particular authority, and were not bound by a coherent code of conduct.

In contrast to eremitic monasticism is *cenobitic* monasticism, which is characterized by communal life and a common rule. The forerunner of this type of monasticism was Pachomius (c. 290–346), who, like Anthony, was a native of Egypt. Although he began his monastic career in solitude, Pachomius quickly attached himself to a group of fellow hermits and set about organizing them into a formal community.

On the banks of the Nile River, Pachomius constructed the first monastery, which consisted of an outer wall surrounding a cluster of smaller buildings, including monk's

quarters, a chapel, a dining hall, a kitchen, and an infirmary. In order to govern the daily life of the monastery, Pachomius instituted a common rule marked by individual and group prayer, Scripture study and memorization, and manual labor. The monks practiced moderate asceticism, abstaining from meat and wine, fasting twice a week, sleeping in a sitting position, and dressing in plain, simple clothing. Chastity and poverty were also mandated, and conversation was restricted to spiritual matters.

The cenobitic life introduced by Pachomius attracted numerous followers, and a network of monasteries quickly developed under his leadership. Nunneries for female devotees were also founded under the direction of Pachomius' sister Mary. Pachomius himself governed the entire group from a central site, appointed resident monks to oversee each individual monastery, and entrusted the care of the community to a successor shortly before his death. Thus, through careful administration and systematization, Pachomius ensured that his monastic system would endure and flourish long beyond his own lifetime. Indeed, the rule he established would prove to be highly influential on the future course of Christian monasticism.[1]

BASIL OF CAESAREA

One of those upon whom Pachomius' methods made a profound impression was Basil of Caesarea (c. 330–379), whom we have already met as one of the Cappadocian Fathers. Upon completing his formal education in Athens, Basil returned home and began pursuing an ascetic lifestyle along with a small group of others. He later visited Egypt and witnessed the workings of the Pachomian monasteries, from which he drew great inspiration.

Although Basil would eventually abandon the ascetic life in order to take up the defense of orthodox theology for which he and the other Cappadocians are chiefly remembered, he left behind a substantial written legacy that contributed significantly to the developing monastic tradition. In particular, his complementary works *The Longer Rules* and *The Shorter Rules* drew from and expanded on the rule of Pachomius, providing a template for subsequent Eastern monasticism and laying the foundation for the eventual elaborations of later Western monastic founders such as Benedict of Nursia.[2] Basil also strongly promoted a fuller integration of the monastic communities into the wider life of the church as a whole, and many of the monks who followed his rule proved themselves to be staunch defenders of orthodoxy during the period of the Christological controversies.

MARTIN OF TOURS

As we have seen thus far, monasticism was originally a largely Eastern phenomenon, being most prevalent in Egypt (from whence it originally emerged), Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. But as the fourth century progressed, the tradition began rapidly expanding beyond these boundaries.

One of the earliest proponents of the monastic life in the West was Martin of Tours (c. 316–397). As a youth, Martin enlisted in the army, and tradition maintains that he had a profound spiritual experience while serving in Gaul. According to the story, Martin gave half of his coat to a beggar on a cold day. That night, Jesus appeared to him in a dream, clad in the missing half of his coat, and informed him that it was He whom Martin had clothed.[3]

Upon leaving the military, Martin returned to Gaul and became an eremitic monk. Sometime in the 360s, a community of hermits began to gather around him, and the group established a monastery at Ligugé, which is thought to have been the first in all of Gaul (and one of the earliest in the West).

In 371, Martin became bishop of Tours. But even while fulfilling these duties, he continued to live alone outside the city and pursue an ascetic life. He soon established another monastery, Marmoutier, which became an important center from which the Christian faith (and monasticism in particular) continued to spread throughout Gaul and the rest of Western Europe.

JOHN CASSIAN

Another important figure in the growth of monasticism in the West was John Cassian (c. 360–435), who was a contemporary of several of the notable Post-Nicene Fathers. Little is known of Cassian's early life; but at some time during the final quarter of the fourth century, he traveled to Egypt, where he spent more than a decade living among and learning from the monks. Shortly before the year 400, he journeyed to Constantinople, where he befriended John Chrysostom, who ordained him as a deacon.

Following Chrysostom's deposition and exile, Cassian left Constantinople, and nothing more is known of the events of his life until the year 415, when he founded a nunnery and monastery at Marseille in Gaul. These communities quickly grew until their combined membership numbered in the thousands. Like others before him, Cassian developed his own variation on earlier monastic rules, which was eventually published as *Institutes of the Monastic Life*. His other crucial written legacy, *Conferences of the Egyptian Monks*, preserved the collected wisdom of many of the Desert Fathers and Mothers, and it was one of the primary channels by which Eastern monastic thought made its way to the West.

In addition to his contributions to monasticism, John Cassian also played an important role in the ongoing theological debate regarding original sin, free will, and predestination that had produced sharp conflict between Augustine and the Pelagians. Cassian disagreed with Augustine's theology, arguing that God desires for all humanity (not a limited elect) to be saved and insisting that humans are able (with God's assistance) to will what is good and also to do it. Cassian's perspective would later become characterized as "Semi-Pelagianism."

A synod at Orange in Gaul in 529 eventually repudiated Cassian's views and affirmed Augustine's theology of original sin, but its rulings demonstrated a degree of compromise, as they did not completely endorse the doctrines of total depravity and irresistible grace that Augustine promoted. Thus, Cassian's arguments proved to be significant in that the discussions they generated led to a gradual weakening of the hegemony of Augustinian theology in the West and anticipated the future course of the debate surrounding these endlessly contested issues.

Having thus brought our account of monasticism's origins up through the mid-fifth century (in parallel with our discussions in the two previous chapters), we may pause to take stock of the movement's import and impact. During this formative period, monasticism proved itself to be a legitimate and vibrant expression of the Christian faith. Within 200 years of the first appearance of Christian hermits in the Egyptian desert, monasteries and nunneries had arisen throughout the empire, with devotees numbering in the tens of thousands. Indeed, many ardent, young believers soon came to view monasticism as the preferred way of seriously pursuing the Christian life.

Yet a closer examination reveals that the early monastic movement was riddled with disturbing paradoxes. Though monasticism summoned believers to avoid compromising with pagan culture and to pursue righteousness wholeheartedly, the path to holiness that it presented was often highly legalistic, focusing on individual effort and discipline at the expense of God's grace. This would seem to represent a tacit compromise with the Montanists or Pelagians rather than an adherence to orthodoxy. Similarly, while monastic tradition placed a great emphasis on purifying the mind, heart, and spirit through Scripture study, contemplation, prayer, and adoration of God, it also tended (particularly in its ascetic practices) to view the body as corrupt and evil, thus perpetrating the sort of dualism that had been a central characteristic of the Gnostic and Marcionite teachings that the early church had so vigorously opposed. Finally, although many monks took part in a communal life that was marked by the kind of selflessness and mutual support that we see demonstrated in the early chapters of the Book of Acts, their commitment to this community often distracted them from their responsibility to take the message of God's kingdom to the unbelieving world. Thus, several things that might be viewed as hallmarks of the spiritual superiority of the monastic way of life could also conceivably be seen as factors that served to distance monasticism from the beliefs and practices of the wider Christian community in potentially damaging ways.

As these underlying tensions suggest, the legacy of the monastic movement would ultimately prove to be a mixed one. Monasticism would continue to grow and flourish in the succeeding centuries, and it would serve at various times as both a preserver of key traditions and an agent of important reforms. But several of the problems that lurked beneath its surface would soon spread into the wider community of faith and contribute to the slow decline in the church's spiritual health that was soon to commence.

CHAPTER EIGHT NOTES

[1]Indeed, the rule of Pachomius is still extant in the form of a Latin translation by Jerome, who (as we have seen) was himself an admirer and practitioner of the ascetic life.

[2]On whom see Chapter Thirteen.

[3]Obviously, the story has strong echoes of Matthew 25:31–46.

Chapter Nine
Shifting Power and
Growing Discord

Throughout the course of this unit, we have traced the shifting dynamics of the relationship between the early Christian church and the Roman Empire. During most of its first three centuries of existence, the church consistently attracted the empire's disdain and frequently suffered its wrath. But following the accession of Constantine in 312, Christianity gradually secured the patronage and protection of the emperors. The resulting strengthening of the faith community during the ensuing century—the century that separated Eusebius from Augustine and Anthony from John Cassian—coincided with a slow but marked decline in the power and vitality of the empire so that, by the middle of the fifth century, the church appeared poised to complete the inversion of the relationship by asserting its authority over the state. However, the sense of success occasioned by this most improbable reversal would soon be tempered by increasing conflict within the church itself, and by the realization that absolute power, whether vested in emperors or bishops, retained its tendency to corrupt absolutely.

THE PROGRESS AND PRAXIS OF THE CHURCH

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, Christianity both experienced difficult challenges and enjoyed significant advances during the first four centuries following the Day of Pentecost. The church endured wave after wave of imperial opposition (including particularly fierce persecutions under Nero, Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian), but it managed to survive, and was eventually granted a privileged and protected status by Constantine and his successors. Likewise, the church waged a long series of theological battles against Gnosticism, Marcionism, Montanism, Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and Pelagianism, yet it emerged triumphant in the end, establishing in the process the fundamentals of Christian orthodoxy.

The victory over persecution enabled the church to continue increasing its numbers and expanding its borders. The victory over heresy made possible (in theory, at least) the emergence of communities of faith that were united by common belief and practice. Having brought our account of Christian history up through the Council of Chalcedon in 451—an event that marked the effectual end of the grave threat of heresy much as the Edict of Milan removed the imminent threat of persecution[1]—we must now appraise both the evangelical progress and the habitual praxis of the church as it stood on the brink of the Medieval Period.

The Spread of the Faith

As a result of the pro-Christian policies of Constantine and his successors, the vast majority of the citizens of the Roman Empire were professing Christians by the mid-fifth century. Of course, on a scale that large, the size of the minority communities was still quite significant. The Jews largely remained loyal to their ancestral faith. The pagan religions still had their adherents, although these cults were becoming increasingly marginalized. Secular schools of philosophy continued to prove attractive to many, particularly the young and well-educated, and flourished in large intellectual centers like Athens. In addition, it must be admitted that, in the fifth century as in every other, there was undoubtedly a striking discrepancy between the number of professing Christians and the number of practicing ones. Nevertheless, the strength and pervasiveness of the faith within the empire during this period cannot be denied.

Nor was the post-Constantinian advance of Christianity limited by the extent of the emperor's authority. Missionary efforts continued to yield fruit beyond the borders of the empire, notably among the Germanic nations that were beginning to pose a threat to Roman supremacy. By the mid-fourth century, Christianity had begun spreading among the Gothic peoples who lived to the north of the empire. The growth of faith among the Goths was largely the result of the efforts of Ulfilas (c. 311–380), a Goth who is believed to have encountered an Arian form of Christianity in Constantinople as a young man, and who quickly spread his newfound faith among his people. Because Gothic was not a written language at the time, Ulfilas created an alphabet for the purpose of translating the Scriptures into his native tongue. The conversion of other Teutonic peoples, including the Burgundians and Franks, followed in the fifth century.

The fifth century also saw the appearance of Christianity in Ireland, which lay just beyond the western border of the empire. By far, the most famous early missionary to Ireland was Patrick (c. 390–493), a native of Britain who was taken to Ireland as the captive of a group of pirates when he was a teen. After six years, Patrick made his way back to his homeland, but subsequently felt compelled to return to Ireland and minister there. Though the remainder of Patrick's life is shrouded in mystery and legend, he is said to have baptized thousands of converts and is credited with founding Irish monasticism.

Christianity continued to expand to the south and east as well. It was during this period that the roots of the Ethiopian Church were planted in northeast Africa. Converts were made among the peoples of the Caucasus and the Turks and Huns of Central Asia. A Nestorian strain of Christianity spread into Persia, where it maintained a presence in spite of great resistance from the proponents of Zoroastrianism, the official state religion, and from whence the faith would later be carried to both India and China. Thus, by the end of the fifth century, the Christian church, which had begun with a small group of people meeting together in Jerusalem, encompassed numerous individual communities of believers stretching from the fields of Ireland to the steppes of Central Asia, and from the northern lands of the Teutonic nations to the deserts of Africa.

The Life of the Community

What, then, were the beliefs and practices that bound together this diverse and far-flung group of Christians? What were the features that marked the corporate life of these faith communities? While admitting that there was a multiplicity of regional and local variations, we may make the following general observations about the praxis of the orthodox Christians.

To begin with, the early Christians distanced themselves from their Jewish roots by coming together for worship on Sunday rather than Saturday. This was a way of celebrating and acknowledging the central importance of Jesus' resurrection (which occurred "on the first day of the week").[2] These Sunday meetings originally took place in both public venues (such as the temple courts in Jerusalem) and in homes, but it is likely that the majority of them were conducted in private settings during the long period of imperial persecution.[3] By the time of Constantine, we begin to hear of buildings being constructed and consecrated specifically for Christian worship, and this, of course, quickly became the norm. It was within these new structures that the distinctive practices of the early church would find their full expression.

The key sacramental action that marked the entrance of new members into the Christian community was water baptism. Baptism functioned as a sign of spiritual purification, and it was also intended to signify death to one's former life and resurrection to new life in Christ. It appears that a majority of early Christian communities practiced baptism by immersion in order to highlight this symbolic link with burial and re-emergence. From a very early point, baptism was performed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," in accordance with Jesus' instructions to His disciples in the Gospel of Matthew.[4]

During the first few centuries of Christian history, disagreements began to arise concerning who should be baptized and when. Initially, it seems as though it was mostly adult converts from pagan religions who underwent the rite. But by the time of Tertullian, a number of congregations had begun to practice infant baptism, which came to be viewed by some (notably Augustine) as a means of removing the taint of original sin. Others insisted that baptism involved the forgiveness of all of one's prior sins, but that the rite could never be repeated. This led some to conclude that it was best to delay being baptized until one was close to death (or at least until one had weathered the temptation-filled years of one's youth). Yet despite these variant views, it is clear that baptism was one of the earliest and most widespread practices of the Christian community.

The other universal sacramental practice of the early church was the Eucharist, which is alternately known as the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. From very early on, the church partook of bread and wine symbolizing the body and blood of Jesus as a fixed part of its weekly worship. In this, they were following the example of Jesus during His final meal with the disciples.[5] Like baptism, the Eucharist was a ritual that was rich with

the symbolism of death and resurrection. In commemorating Christ's sacrificial death, the early Christians were also celebrating the new life that they had received through His crucifixion and resurrection. The Eucharist was viewed as the holiest ritual of early Christian worship, and only those who had undergone full entrance into the community through baptism were permitted to participate in it.

Closely related to both baptism and Eucharist was the practice of catechesis. As Christianity began to spread throughout Gentile nations whose inhabitants had no previous knowledge of the fundamentals of Christian faith (or indeed, of the Jewish tradition from which Christianity had emerged), and as the various heresies of the first five centuries began to gain wider followings, more extensive spiritual instruction for prospective believers became necessary. Such a course of instruction became referred to as catechesis, and those who underwent it were known as catechumens. Catechesis was seen as a means of preparing converts to undergo baptism by ensuring that they understood and accepted the basic tenets of orthodoxy. The catechumens participated in the regular life of the church, though they were not permitted to partake of the Eucharist until they had completed their course of instruction and received baptism.

In addition to the sacraments, the elements of common life and worship mentioned in the Book of Acts—instruction in the teachings of Scripture, fellowship, common meals, prayer—all remained central.[6] Singing also began to play a prominent role. It seems that from the very beginning, the Psalms were chanted as a part of corporate worship, and by the fifth century they were being supplemented by newly composed Christian hymns reflecting orthodox theology and devotion.

While worship gatherings were apparently marked by spontaneity and fluidity of content during the New Testament period, they increasingly became more explicitly structured, particularly once Christian communities began worshipping in buildings designed specifically for that purpose.[7] Standardized liturgies, or orders of worship, became the norm over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. Such liturgies typically included the corporate offering of specific prayers (including the Lord's Prayer), the chanting of Psalms or hymns, a short sermon or homily expounding Scripture, the recitation of a creedal statement of faith (such as the Apostles' Creed or, later, the Nicene Creed), and, as the central, climactic, and most sacred element of the worship gathering, the Eucharist. These liturgical services were conducted by a developing Christian priesthood, which was modeled to some extent on its Jewish counterpart and which increasingly distanced itself from the laity of the church.

It thus becomes clear that, in their fully developed forms, the characteristic practices of the early Christians were intended to both refute the claims of contemporary heretical groups and to safeguard orthodox belief against any future emergence of similarly deviant teaching. The catechetical instruction that was required for full admission into the community— and access to the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist—and the

public and corporate recitation of prayers, hymns, and creeds that reflected orthodox theology all served as ongoing means by which the church attempted to promote and preserve unity in both practice and belief.

Leo the Great and the Rise of the Papacy

As we have seen thus far, the church of the fifth century (having weathered the twin storms of persecution and heresy) continued to increase in numbers and extend its geographic boundaries, as well as grounding its corporate life more securely in orthodox beliefs and complementary, unifying practices. These simultaneous processes of expansion and consolidation contributed significantly to the growing strength of the church at the expense of the empire.

At the same time, a third important advancement was also taking place within early Christianity—the further evolution of the church's leadership structure. Though this development would shift the balance of power in the church–state relationship further in the church's favor, it would also, ironically, contribute to the subsequent geographic and theological fragmentation of the believing community, thus helping to undo much of Christianity's progress in the areas we have just considered.

In accordance with the principle of apostolic succession that had been advanced by several of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, the bishops had continued to play the dominant role in the governance of the church. But whereas the most vocal early proponent of apostolic succession, Cyprian (c. 200–258), bishop of Carthage, had maintained that all bishops possessed equal authority by virtue of their common spiritual descent from the apostles, it eventually became common practice for the bishop of the largest city in a given area to oversee the other bishops in the vicinity. Bishops who presided over a metropolis in this manner were referred to as archbishops.

By the late fourth century, the archbishops of five cities—Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Rome—were accorded particular respect and deference, and eventually came to be known as the patriarchs of the church. The bishops of Rome, in particular, had, from as early as the late first century, claimed a special place of privilege among the leadership of the church, justifying this both in terms of the city's standing as the capital of the empire and with reference to their supposed direct succession from the apostle Peter.

Rome's claims to ecclesiastical superiority did not go unchallenged. Leaders of the church in Constantinople, in particular, chafed at the suggestion that their authority was in any way subordinate to that of Rome, particularly since Constantine had shifted his imperial capital from the latter to the former. At the Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, it was asserted that the bishop of Constantinople was to be

second in eminence only to the bishop of Rome. The Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, went further still, passing a canon that gave Constantinople equal authority with Rome.

This apparent victory, however, was to be short-lived, as the bishop of Rome who was serving at the time of the Council of Chalcedon would prove to be the figure who permanently secured the ecclesiastical predominance of the Roman Church. This was Bishop Leo I (reigned 440–461), who is often referred to as Leo the Great. In securing a privileged status for Rome, Leo built on the claims and achievements of previous bishops of that city, including Damasus I, who had commissioned Jerome to translate the Scriptures, and Innocent I (reigned 402–417), who had supported John Chrysostom when the latter was exiled by the bishop of Alexandria. Leo's accomplishments, however, would far surpass those of his predecessors.

Leo first gained acclaim as a staunch defender of Nicene orthodoxy, and indeed it was one of his letters (which came to be known as the *Tome*) that provided the basis for the Council of Chalcedon's rejection of Monophysitism and the formulation of the Chalcedonian Creed. However, Leo rejected the council's ruling concerning the co-equality of Rome and Constantinople, and he forcefully asserted the primacy of the Roman Church. Leo insisted that Jesus' words in the Gospel of Matthew established Peter as the rock upon which the church was built, and that the bishops of Rome, as Peter's successors, continued to constitute this foundation.[8]

Ironically, the removal of the imperial capital to Constantinople proved to be an asset to Leo and his successors in establishing the supremacy of the episcopate of Rome. In the absence of the royal court, the bishops filled the existing power vacuum, and Leo himself used his diplomatic skill to dissuade both Attila the Hun and the Vandals from attacking Rome in the 450s. This combination of political ingenuity and religious authority gave Leo unmatched influence, and his reign set the tone for the full ascendance of the medieval papacy.[9]

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

As we have hinted throughout this chapter, the growing strength of the church (and, more specifically, the papacy) was paralleled by a corresponding weakening of the Roman Empire, a decline that was caused by both internal and external pressures. Internally, Greco-Roman civilization had been suffering from intellectual and cultural stagnation for centuries. The unifying civil structure imposed by Caesar Augustus and his successors had given the empire an appearance of stability and prosperity, but, as we saw in Chapter One, the Romans proved themselves to be imitators rather than innovators, and the advances in philosophy and the arts that had marked Greek culture during the last few centuries B.C. had largely ceased with the onset of Roman rule.

The integrity of the empire had been further weakened over the centuries by extreme immorality and the degradation of familial and social structures that inevitably followed from the selfish pursuit of personal pleasures. This state of increasing moral decadence may partially explain the willingness on the part of large portions of the population to embrace Christianity, but the conversion of the empire was not sufficient to undo the long-term negative effects on the fabric of society.

Even more pressing were the external threats to the empire that were posed by various foreign invaders. In 378, the Goths defeated the Roman legions and killed the Emperor Valens (reigned 364–378) at the Battle of Adrianople. In 410, the Visigothic leader Alaric won an even more spectacular victory, capturing the city of Rome itself (albeit briefly). As we saw earlier, Rome was further threatened by both the Vandals and the Huns in the days of Leo the Great. The growing might of these surrounding nations, coupled with increasing internal decay, left Rome clinging precariously to its power and prestige as the fifth century advanced.

Finally, in 476, the Emperor Romulus Augustulus (reigned 475–476) was defeated and deposed by a coalition of Germanic tribes under the leadership of a chieftain named Odoacer, an event that is commonly considered to mark the end of the Western Roman Empire. Over the succeeding centuries, the political landscape of Western Europe would be dominated not by a unified empire, but by a diversity of Germanic peoples. Imperial rule, however, did survive and endure in the eastern portions of the former empire, centered on Constantinople.

THE GROWING DIVIDE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

Both the actions of Leo the Great and the deposition of Romulus Augustulus served to accelerate a phenomenon that had been underway for at least two centuries: the increasing divergence—both socio-politically and religiously—of the eastern and western halves of the empire. It was during the reign of Diocletian that the empire was first divided in two for administrative purposes. Though Constantine re-unified the empire during his reign, he later reinforced this east-west split by establishing Constantinople as a rival capital to Rome and by allowing his sons to partition the empire amongst themselves. Following the reign of Theodosius I, the empire remained permanently divided politically. Cultural factors, notably the linguistic division created by the ascendance of Latin in the West, further contributed to a growing sense of disunity.

This tension was made more palpable following the Christianization of the empire, for a great many east-west disagreements in the fourth and fifth centuries centered on religious questions. It was among the Greek-speaking Eastern Churches, with their heavily Origen-influenced theology, that the early Christological controversies arose. The principal heretics—Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches,

Dioscurus—were all prominent Eastern churchmen. While it is true that the chief defenders of orthodoxy—Alexander, Athanasius, the Cappadocians, Cyril—were also from the East, and that the ecumenical councils that eventually denounced the heresies were all convened in Eastern cities and largely attended by Eastern bishops, it is also the case that many leaders in the Eastern Church were swayed by these deviant theological positions (particularly Arianism and Monophysitism). Thus, the integrity of the Christian community in the East was greatly threatened by doctrinal discord throughout much of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Church of Rome, in contrast, saw itself as the staunch supporter of Nicene orthodoxy, unwavering in its commitment to the true faith—a perception that it was able to perpetuate throughout much of the West, largely as a result of the increasing power of its bishops. Though this view was, of course, far from objective, it is inarguable that Western Christianity was much less affected than its Eastern counterpart by the shifting currents of Christology, a fact that reflected a broader theological difference between the two halves of the church. While Eastern Christianity had, from the time of Origen, focused much attention on the nature of God and the person of Christ, and had consequently developed a strong contemplative and mystical tradition, the Western Church largely concerned itself with more practical matters of the faith, including the condition of humanity and the ills of society. These concerns were reflected particularly in the thought of Augustine, as seen both in the theology of human history offered in *The City of God* and in his disputes with the Pelagians concerning original sin. Indeed, by the close of the fifth century, it was becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate Western Christianity from Augustinian Christianity, a fact that proved troubling to those Eastern Christians who, like John Chrysostom and John Cassian before them, disagreed sharply with major elements of Augustine's theology.

Thus, this confluence of factors—the shift of imperial power to Constantinople, the consolidation of ecclesiastical authority by the bishops of Rome, the linguistic divide, and the growing theological disunity—produced a situation in which East-West battle lines were increasingly drawn: Greek-speakers vs. Latin-speakers; the intellectual ferment of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople vs. the political machinations of the Church of Rome; mysticism and adoration of God vs. practical faith and concern with the problems of human society; Origen and the multiple variations on and derivations from his thought vs. Augustine and his increasingly monolithic theology. Though this gradual divorce between Eastern and Western Christianity would not reach its tragic climax for another five-and-a-half centuries, the tensions between the two would prove to be a defining characteristic of the life of the church throughout the Medieval Period.[10]

CHAPTER NINE NOTES

[1]As we will see in the next chapter, this excepts the later controversy surrounding Monothelitism, which was not settled until the late seventh century.

[2]Mark 16:2 and parallels. There is also a strong element of creation theology in the practice of Sunday worship. If the Sabbath commemorated the day on which God rested from His creative labors, Sunday came to be viewed as synonymous with the first day of the new creation.

[3]See Acts 2:46.

[4]Matthew 28:19, 20 NIV.

[5]See Mark 14:22–25 and parallels, and cf. 1 Corinthians 11:23–29.

[6]See Acts 2:42.

[7]For hints about the nature of New Testament worship gatherings, see 1 Corinthians 14:26–40.

[8]See Matthew 16:13–20. Of course, there is serious disagreement among Christians as to whether Peter himself is indeed the "rock" to which Jesus refers in this passage, or whether "rock" refers instead to the truth of Jesus' Messiahship as recognized by Peter.

[9]It is difficult to ascertain precisely when the term *pope* became the normal means of referring to the bishop of Rome. To be sure, it was applied in an informal way to various bishops as early as the third century. Gradually, it came to be associated more and more with the bishop of Rome in particular, but it does not appear to have become an official designation until at least the sixth century. Roman Catholics, however, retroactively

confer the title of *pope* to those bishops of Rome, such as Leo, who served in that office before the title was standardized.

[10]The term *Medieval Period* is used in a variety of different ways. In this book, I use it to refer to the period between roughly AD 500 and 1500, between the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the beginnings of the Reformation. I occasionally refer to the years 500–1000 as the "early Medieval Period," a usage that replaces the old terminology of "the Dark Ages" (a somewhat pejorative term based in part on incomplete understandings of history), and to the years 1000–1500 as the "late Medieval Period," a designation that encompasses both the High Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Unit Three

The Medieval Period
(c. 500–1500)

Unit Three surveys some of the important events of the Medieval Period, an incredibly tragic and tumultuous period in Christian history that nonetheless offered glimpses of vibrant life and hope.

Chapter Ten traces early developments in Byzantine Christianity and discusses the emergence of distinctly Eastern theology and praxis.

Chapter Eleven offers a parallel assessment of important developments in the Western Church and describes the climactic schism that separated Eastern and Western Christianity.

Chapter Twelve chronicles the birth and vigorous expansion of Islam and surveys the events of the *Reconquista* and the Crusades.

Chapter Thirteen explores the further growth of the monastic tradition, including the emergence of the four great medieval orders.

Chapter Fourteen examines the course of events in the Eastern Churches during the centuries following the Great Schism.

Chapter Fifteen describes the zenith of the Roman Catholic Church's power and influence and discusses the careers of the great medieval popes and the scholastic theologians.

Chapter Sixteen surveys the various socio-political and ecclesiastical factors that contributed to the gradual weakening of the Roman Catholic Church during the late Medieval Period.

Chapter Seventeen profiles various medieval figures and groups that embraced alternative expressions of faith and championed reform.

Chapter Ten
The Church in the East

While it may be argued with the benefit of hindsight that the deposition of Romulus in 476 marked the beginning of the end of the Roman Empire as a whole, it is quite likely that the majority of the contemporary populace of the empire, particularly in the East, did not foresee any such disaster. Indeed, during the late fifth and sixth centuries, the reshaped Roman Empire (now centered on Constantinople rather than Rome) enjoyed a period of growth and revitalization. Increasingly (and perhaps inevitably), the empire was shaped by Greek language and culture and by the expressions of Christianity that had historically been dominant in the East. Because of this discontinuity with the city, language, and church of Rome itself, the redefined Eastern Roman Empire is more commonly referred to as the Byzantine Empire, after Byzantium (the pre-Roman name of the city of Constantinople). The Byzantine period would prove to be an era during which the Eastern Church became both more divergent from its Western counterpart, in terms of its beliefs and practices, and more enmeshed in the affairs of the secular state.

THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN

It is emblematic of this increasing connection between church and empire in the East that the first great figure of Byzantine Christianity was neither a theologian nor a bishop, but an emperor—Justinian I (483–565). Born only seven years after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Justinian succeeded his uncle on the imperial throne in 527 and quickly proved himself to be a confident and capable ruler. He was driven by a desire to restore the empire to its former height of glory, and to this end he pursued a comprehensive program involving governmental legislation, civic improvements, military conquest, and religious reform.

Early in his reign, Justinian undertook a reorganization of the empire's governmental structure and issued a comprehensive code of law that became known as the *Codex Justinianus*. He also improved the empire's physical infrastructure by sponsoring the construction of new cities, military fortifications, roads, bridges, palaces, churches, and monasteries. The most notable product of this building program was the Hagia Sophia, an exquisite, domed cathedral erected in Constantinople. It, like much of the other architecture, reflected Justinian's taste for the lavish and opulent. Indeed, ornate aesthetics, along with the pomp and ceremony that such surroundings often engender, eventually became defining characteristics of both the Byzantine court and the Byzantine Church.

Even as these domestic developments were underway, Justinian turned his attention abroad. Desiring to recapture those portions of the former empire that had fallen under the control of the Germanic invaders, Justinian launched military campaigns against the

Vandals in North Africa and the Ostrogoths in Italy. By 540, these ventures had proved successful, and both regions were reincorporated into the empire.

In Justinian's eyes, these political triumphs also represented a victory for orthodox Christianity over the Arianism that the Vandals and Ostrogoths had attempted to impose on their subjects.[1] The further defense of orthodoxy against various heresies and pagan systems of thought proved to be a major theme of Justinian's subsequent rule. He effectively crushed the remnants of the Montanist movement, put many Manichaeans to death, denounced the teachings of the Nestorians, placed stringent regulations on the Jewish and Samaritan communities, and took the bold step of closing the famous schools of secular philosophy in Athens.

In addition to his efforts to protect orthodox doctrine, Justinian sought to institute practical reforms within the church itself. He issued decrees regarding the election of bishops and the ordination of other members of the clergy, and he outlawed the practice of simony (the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical offices). Under this new legislation, the emperors were given the right to nominate candidates for the patriarchate of Constantinople, an action that would eventually amount to direct appointment. These were the initial steps by which the Eastern Church increasingly came under the control of (and became inseparable from) the Byzantine Empire, creating the condition often referred to as *caesaropapism* (control of the church by the head of state). This blending of ecclesiastical and imperial authority would gradually shape Eastern Christianity in ways that distanced and distinguished it further from the increasingly autonomous Western Church.

The Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils

In spite of Justinian's efforts on behalf of orthodoxy, the sixth and seventh centuries saw the emergence of renewed conflicts regarding Christology within the Eastern Church. This was largely a result of Justinian's failure to effectively address one particular heresy—Monophysitism. During this period, the Monophysites remained quite numerous and influential in the East, particularly in Egypt, Ethiopia, Nubia, Syria, and Armenia. Justinian's empress, Theodora, was herself a Monophysite sympathizer, which may explain the emperor's reticence to deal as harshly with Monophysitism as he did with other unorthodox movements.

Instead, Justinian sought to bring about reconciliation between the orthodox and Monophysite communities by promoting a compromise position that was similar to that of Cyril of Alexandria, who had opposed the Nestorians at the Council of Ephesus. Perhaps because of his firm rejection of the Nestorian view that Christ's divine and human natures were completely separate and independent, Cyril came to believe that the human nature in Jesus was subordinated to the divine. This view represented a sort of halfway point between Chalcedonian orthodoxy and Monophysitism, and Justinian consequently adopted it as his own.

90

In 544, Justinian issued an edict in which he condemned the writings of three men—Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus—who espoused Nestorian doctrine. The emperor saw these men as common enemies of orthodox and Monophysite Christians, and hoped that by censuring their bodies of work (subsequently known as "the Three Chapters") and stating his own support for the position of Cyril, he could appeal to both parties.

This attempt at promoting unity, however, produced only controversy. While the patriarch of Constantinople supported the decree, many other bishops, particularly in the West, viewed Justinian's edict as an implicit endorsement of Monophysitism and an attempt to undermine the Chalcedonian Creed. Eventually, the continuing discord forced Justinian to convene the Fifth Ecumenical Council, which met at Constantinople in 553. Though the council eventually upheld Justinian's edict condemning "the Three Chapters," several Western bishops protested this decision, leading to a temporary schism that lasted into the next century. Moreover, Justinian's gambit proved unsuccessful at appeasing even the moderate Monophysites, and the fragmented nature of the Christian community in the East remained a major source of concern for subsequent emperors.

The next major attempt to bridge the gap between orthodox Christianity and Monophysitism was made in the seventh century by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople. While tacitly upholding the orthodox claim that Jesus had two natures, Sergius attempted to preserve the unity of Christ (and placate the Monophysites) by asserting that Jesus had only a single, divine will. Pope Honorius I (reigned 625–638) gave his assent to this view as well, and in 638 the Emperor Heraclius (reigned 610–641) issued an imperial edict supporting this position, which came to be known as Monothelitism.[2]

Shortly thereafter, however, a majority of Western bishops (including some of Honorius' papal successors) began to argue that if Jesus was truly human as well as divine, He must have had both a human and a divine will. Seeking to avoid any additional civil disturbance over the matter, the Emperor Constans II (reigned 641–668) issued a decree in 648 in which he forbade further discussion of the issue. In defiance of this order, Pope Martin I (reigned 649–655) held a synod at Rome in 649 during which he asserted that Christ had two wills. Infuriated by what he perceived as an act of insubordination, the emperor had Martin arrested and exiled.

The issue was finally settled by the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which met at Constantinople during 680 and 681 at the summons of the Emperor Constantine IV (reigned 668–685). By this time, many of the areas of the empire in which Monophysitism had enjoyed prominence had been conquered by Arab invaders, and the emperor sought primarily to restore unity within the orthodox church itself. The council denounced Monothelitism as a heresy, insisting that Jesus possessed both a divine and a human will and that the two operated in perfect harmony with one another. This proved to be the final major clarification of the church's Christology, and the view of Jesus that emerged from the collec-

tive convictions of the first six ecumenical councils remains definitive for the three major branches of Christianity—Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism.

THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY

Though the renewed Christological controversies were thus resolved before the turn of the eighth century, they would soon be overshadowed by a much more widespread and damaging conflict that threatened to tear both church and empire apart. This dispute concerned the use of religious images (icons) in worship and devotion. Such icons took various forms, including paintings on wood, sculptures, and mosaics, and typically depicted Jesus, Mary, the 12 disciples, other biblical figures or scenes, or one of the Church Fathers. They were displayed in many churches and homes and were used by Eastern Christians both as aids to prayer and contemplation and as a means of instructing new believers (particularly illiterate ones) in the stories of the faith. Some objected strenuously to these practices, arguing that the use of icons amounted to idolatry and was a direct violation of the Second Commandment.[3] Others insisted that forbidding the portrayal of Christ through iconic painting or sculpture amounted to a denial of His humanity.

Though local disagreements concerning the validity of icon usage had flared up occasionally during the sixth and seventh centuries, the issue did not create a major firestorm until 726. In that year, the Emperor Leo III (reigned 717–741), presumably with the backing of anti-icon bishops, denounced the use of icons and authorized the destruction of an image of Christ that was particularly prominent at the time. This act sparked a public riot and marked the beginning of a series of disputes that would not be finally settled for more than a century, and which have come to be known as the Iconoclastic Controversy (an *iconoclast* being one who favors the destruction of icons).

In 730, Leo III formally prohibited icon usage. Soon thereafter, he deposed the patriarch of Constantinople (who refused to concur with his policy) and replaced him with an iconoclastic sympathizer. These actions greatly angered many within both the Eastern and Western Churches, and Pope Gregory III (reigned 731–741) quickly convened a council that excommunicated the iconoclasts. In retaliation, the emperor removed some bishoprics from papal control, thus heightening east-west tensions.

Leo's program was continued by his immediate successors, Constantine V (reigned 741–775) and Leo IV (reigned 775–780). Constantine, in particular, pursued an iconoclastic policy that was both vigorous and vicious, destroying an untold number of icons and severely persecuting those who possessed them. But following the death of Leo IV in 780, his widow, Irene (acting as regent for their infant son), assumed the imperial throne. Irene favored the use of icons, and her accession marked the end of the first iconoclastic period.

In 787, Tarasius, whom Irene had made patriarch of Constantinople, summoned the church to the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in order to formally address the

icon question. The council approved the Christian usage of icons but was careful to distinguish between the acceptable *veneration* of icons (according them reverent honor and respect as symbols of the faith) and the idolatrous *worship* of icons. A further ruling of the council forbade the appointment of ecclesiastical officials by secular authorities, a clear attempt to regulate the Byzantine state's increasing involvement in church affairs. Though Pope Adrian I (reigned 772–795) supported the findings of the council, some Christians in the West continued to challenge their authority and validity until the 11th century. Eventually, however, the council's decision regarding icons was universally accepted, making the Seventh Ecumenical Council the last to be acknowledged as legitimate by both the Eastern and Western Churches.

A second iconoclastic period was initiated by the Emperor Leo V (reigned 813–820) in 814, though he was not as systematic or fierce in his enforcement of the ban on icons as his predecessors had been. The right to use icons was restored in 843 by decree of another regent empress, Theodora, the widow of the Emperor Theophilus (reigned 829–842), thus bringing the long iconoclastic struggle to an end.

SIGNIFICANT FIGURES IN BYZANTINE CHRISTIANITY

Having thus far discussed some of the general political and religious developments associated with the Byzantine Empire, as well as the chief controversies that threatened the unity of the Byzantine Church during the early centuries of the Medieval Period, we now move to a consideration of some of the key figures of the age. These monks, mystics, theologians, and missionaries all made important and lasting contributions to the ongoing development of a distinctly Eastern form of Christianity.

John Climacus and Maximus the Confessor

Two figures of the early Byzantine period whose writings proved to be important precursors to the works of later Eastern theologians were John Climacus (or John of the Ladder, c. 579–649) and Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662). John lived for a time as a hermit before becoming abbot of a monastery near Mount Sinai. His moniker is a reference to his best-known work, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, which has proven to be an enduring spiritual classic. In it, John extolled the virtues of the contemplative life and urged his readers to seek unceasing communion with God. The work thus served to reinforce and advance the mystical and experiential tendencies that were increasingly coming to define Eastern spirituality.

John's contemporary, Maximus, was likewise a monk and a mystic. He was also a vocal opponent of the Monothelite heresy, and (like Pope Martin I) he died in exile as a result of his refusal to comply with Constans II's decree on the matter. Maximus' numerous works included commentaries on the writings of the early Greek Fathers, treatises

expounding a Christ-centered, Trinitarian theology, and *Four Hundred Chapters on Charity*, in which he argued that the contemplative life must be balanced by compassionate action in the world—or, in other words, that the profound love for God that characterized Eastern Christianity was incomplete if it was not accompanied by practical expressions of love for others.

John of Damascus

John of Damascus (or John Damascene, c. 675–749) is often reckoned as the last of the Post-Nicene Fathers and the last great theologian of the Eastern Church. John was an outspoken defender of the veneration of icons during the early years of the first Iconoclastic Controversy, and he produced a treatise on the subject in 730 in which he argued that the creation of images of Jesus was a natural outgrowth of an incarnational theology. Shortly thereafter, he retired to a monastery near Jerusalem, where he remained until his death.

John wrote prolifically during the latter part of his life, producing theological and moral works, poetry, and liturgical hymns. His most important literary legacy was a three-part work entitled *The Fountain of Knowledge.* The first part of the book offered an assessment of various elements of Aristotle's philosophy that John incorporated into his theology, while the second consisted of a description of various heresies. But it was the third section, "An Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," that would have the most lasting impact. In it, John presented a uniquely Eastern systematic theology that synthesized the teachings of the Greek Fathers and the rulings of the ecumenical councils. This comprehensive account of the orthodox faith not only provided the Eastern Church with its standard theological work, but also proved greatly influential on later thinkers in the West, notably the scholastic theologians Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas.[4]

Theodore the Studite

Theodore the Studite (759–826) was one of the most important figures in the development of Byzantine monasticism. After serving as abbot of a monastery in northwest Asia Minor, Theodore and some of his monks took up residence in a large monastery in Constantinople that had been founded in the fifth century by a man named Studius, and they were thereafter known as the Studites. Using the writings of Basil of Caesarea as a foundation, Theodore constructed a highly detailed and rigorous community rule, which proved to be greatly influential in the further development of the Byzantine monastic tradition.

Like John of Damascus, Theodore and his monks vigorously opposed iconoclasm. Indeed, Theodore consistently demonstrated his willingness to protest against the Byzantine state's domination of the church, whether the issue at hand was icons or the politically motivated appointment of bishops. As a result of this confrontational approach, Theodore was exiled three times (by three different emperors) between 795 and 820, with the last of these being as a result of his stance on icon veneration.

Cyril and Methodius

In contrast to the other figures we have studied in this chapter, the brothers Cyril (also known as Constantine, c. 827–869) and Methodius (c. 825–884) are not remembered for their writings, nor for their involvement in either the monastic or the mystical tradition, but rather for their work as missionaries. Shortly after 860, they were sent by the Emperor Michael III (reigned 840–867) to minister among the newly converted Moravians, a Slavic people who lived along the Danube River.

In order to communicate the Gospel more effectively, Cyril devised an alphabet for the Slavonic language that was spoken by the Moravians and other Slavic groups, and soon began translating both the Scriptures and the liturgy of the church into that tongue.[5] This eventually brought the brothers into conflict with Germanic missionaries in the area, who insisted that the liturgy could be properly performed only in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. After summoning the brothers to Rome to discuss the issue, Pope Adrian II (reigned 867–872) approved the use of Slavonic in services, though his ruling would remain controversial in the West for decades to come.

The pioneering work of Cyril and Methodius laid the foundation for the further penetration of the Gospel into Slavonic-speaking regions, leading to their eventual acclaim as "apostles to the Slavs." In the latter half of the ninth century, Bulgaria and Serbia became Christian nations, and both benefited greatly from the Slavonic Scriptures and liturgies produced by the missionary brothers.[6] The Bulgarian Church thrived, and soon introduced an innovation that was to prove definitive for Eastern Christianity: While maintaining doctrinal unity with Constantinople, it declared its administrative independence, and in 917, promoted its own patriarch.

There was some historical precedent for this maneuver, as the Church of Cyprus had declared its independence from the patriarchate of Antioch in 434. Its officials had argued that the Church's founding by Paul and Barnabas on Paul's first missionary journey predated the establishment of the five historical patriarchates and thus that the Cypriot archbishops should be allowed to retain complete administrative control.[7] Similarly, the Orthodox Church in the nation of Georgia declared its independence from Antioch in 466. However, the action of the Bulgarian Church differed from those of the Cypriot and Georgian Churches in that the Bulgarian Church came into existence long after the preeminence of the historical patriarchates had been firmly established.

By declaring their independence in this manner, the Bulgarian believers helped establish a principle by which all newly formed national churches that accepted the Eastern form of the faith had the right to be autocephalous (self-governing), though they continued to share communion with one another and recognized the patriarch of Constantinople as "first among equals." This system remains in place among the Eastern Orthodox Churches to the present day.[8]

An Appraisal of Eastern Christianity

As we have seen, over the course of the five centuries from 500 to 1000, a variety of factors contributed to the gradual emergence of an Eastern expression of Christianity that was increasingly distinct from that of the West. Some of these factors can be seen as further developments of the pre-existing cultural and theological differences between East and West that we have discussed in previous chapters, while others were directly related to the contemporary Byzantine milieu in which the Eastern Church found itself.

To begin with, we have noted repeatedly the strong influence of the Byzantine state on the Eastern Church. During the period we have surveyed, emperors passed religious legislation, appointed, deposed, and exiled bishops and patriarchs, unilaterally issued ecclesiastical edicts, and convened and presided over ecumenical councils. This trend toward caesaropapism did not begin with Justinian, of course. It may correctly be viewed as an inevitable outcome of the increasing church-state ties dating from the time of Constantine. But while the fall of the Western Roman Empire allowed the Western Church to escape the full effects of this trend and maintain a large measure of its autonomy, the Eastern Church found itself increasingly subordinated to and enmeshed with the state, a situation that continues today in many Eastern Orthodox nations.

The Byzantine emperors (and Justinian in particular) also influenced the Eastern Church through their fondness for ornate buildings and luxurious surroundings. The architectural style of the Hagia Sophia was greatly imitated, and its opulence provided the standard toward which other local churches began to aspire. As we have already hinted, the increasing extravagance of places of worship was accompanied by a corresponding tendency to conduct liturgical services with the kind of pomp and ceremony more befitting of a royal coronation. This growing tendency to focus on the performance of the liturgy as the central element in the life of the church served to widen the philosophical divide between Eastern Christianity and the much more socially oriented and activist Western Church.

Similarly, the Eastern Church continued to demonstrate a predisposition toward the mystical and supernatural aspects of the faith. As we have seen, a majority of the influential Eastern Christian thinkers of the period were immersed in the monastic and contemplative traditions, and their writings typically reflected a focus on intense personal communion with God rather than an emphasis on morality, ethics, or social justice, all of which were key concerns of Western Christianity.[9] The pervasive use of icons for devotional purposes in the Eastern Church is also indicative of this tendency to value meditation on the divine.

Finally, the efforts of Cyril and Methodius in spreading Eastern Christianity to the Slavic peoples resulted in a growing cultural diversity, which eventually led to the emergence

of autocephalous national churches. Though these developments inarguably reflected a certain amount of vitality and progressiveness within Eastern Christianity, they also required a degree of decentralization that left the Eastern Church vulnerable to fragmentation and the proliferation of endless regional variations with regard to doctrine and practice. This, of course, stood in stark contrast to the situation in the West, where the papacy (both for better and for worse) exerted an irresistible unifying influence.

Thus, by the close of the first millennium AD, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Eastern and Western Churches were moving along radically different paths and that the tensions between the two could not be easily resolved. Indeed, their uneasy co-existence would soon give way to irrevocable schism. But before discussing that terrible divorce within the family of God, we must retrace our steps and examine the concurrent course of the Western Church from the dawn of the Medieval Period to the eve of the 11th century.

Chapter Ten Review

Autocephalous Churches	Iconoclastic Controversy
Byzantine Empire	John Climacus
Caesaropapism	John of Damascus
Council of Constantinople (553)	Justinian I
Council of Constantinople (680–81)	Maximus the Confessor
Council of Nicaea (787)	Monothelites/Monothelitism
Cyril and Methodius	Theodore the Studite

CHAPTER TEN NOTES

[1]As we saw in Chapter Nine, Arian faith had been adopted by various Gothic groups as a result of the missionary efforts of Ulfilas and others.

[2]The title "pope" is used here (rather than "bishop of Rome") for reasons that will become clearer in the next chapter. All further references to those bishops of Rome who served after 600 will likewise reflect this change.

[3]The Second Commandment is, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image . . ." (Exodus 20:4).

[4]For more on Lombard, Aquinas, and other important figures in scholasticism, see Chapter Fifteen.

[5]Though the Cyrillic alphabet, which is the traditional script for the Russian language, is named in honor of Cyril, it is not clear how closely Cyril's Slavonic alphabet corresponds to the modern Cyrillic one.

[6]The 10th and 11th centuries also saw the conversion of other Slavic peoples in the region, including the inhabitants of Poland and Bohemia (part of the modern Czech Republic), as well as the non-Slavic Magyars in present-day Hungary. However, in spite of their geographic proximity to the Byzantine Empire, all of these nations eventually embraced the Western (Latin) form of Christianity rather than the Eastern (Greek) one.

[7]On Paul and Barnabas' ministry in Cyprus, see Acts 13:1–12.

[8]The Serbian Orthodox Church also went on to achieve autocephaly in 1217.

[9]As we have noted, Maximus' *Four Hundred Chapters on Charity* represents an important exception to this general trend.

Chapter Eleven
The Church in the West

The situation facing the Western Church following the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476 initially appeared much graver than the set of circumstances encountered by the Eastern Church. The glory of the Western Roman Empire had largely faded and had been replaced by uncertainty and fear. The stability provided by the rule of the emperors had given way to the socio-political chaos created by the growing power of (and competition among) the various Germanic nations that had established themselves throughout much of the West—including the Visigoths in Spain, the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Vandals in North Africa, the Burgundians in Gaul, the Franks in Gaul and part of modern-day Germany, and the Angles and Saxons in Britain. In the course of their advance, these groups had exacted a high toll in terms of human life, laid waste to much of the Western Empire's infrastructure, and ushered in a period of economic turmoil. In addition, most of the invaders were either pagans or Arians, and they thus posed a spiritual as well as a political and cultural threat to the established order.

The resulting conditions of distress and decay in the West stood in stark contrast to the order and splendor that we have noted in the Byzantine Empire. Yet over the course of the next three centuries, the Western Church gradually but steadily increased in strength and vitality; and by the end of the Medieval Period, it had unquestionably emerged as the dominant embodiment of Christianity, largely overshadowing its Eastern counterpart.

There are two principal explanations for this resiliency of Western Christianity in the face of the empire's demise. The first is that the Western Church wasted little time in winning converts from among the invading peoples, thus reducing the severity of the threat that they posed. Clovis I, king of the Franks (reigned 481–511), was baptized in 496, and he accepted the orthodox version of the faith rather than the Arianism that had been embraced by many of the Goths. Justinian's successful campaign against the Vandals in North Africa in the mid-sixth century led to the re-establishment of the orthodox faith in that region. His defeat of the Ostrogoths proved less definitive, as Italy soon came under the rule of the Lombards, another group composed of pagans and Arians. Nevertheless, through the influence of the Nicene majority among their subjects, the Lombards, Burgundians, and Visigoths all largely abandoned Arianism for orthodox Christianity over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries. Thus, in the face of the profound social upheaval brought about by the end of the empire, orthodox Christianity quickly managed to emerge as a powerful and unifying cultural force.

This leads us to the second explanation for the survival and progress of the Western Church: the continued growth of the power and influence of the bishops of Rome, the popes. In contrast to the Eastern archbishops, who often found themselves bound by the will of the Byzantine emperors, the bishops of Rome enjoyed virtual autonomy. Though

the emperors' authority extended, in theory, to Rome, the vast geographic distances involved, coupled with the political turmoil of the age, made the coherent administration of the West by the Byzantine rulers impossible in practice. Thus, during the early, tumultuous centuries of the Medieval Period, the populace of Western Europe increasingly ceased looking to the emperors for leadership, and instead looked to the popes. The bishops of Rome were thus able to exert both political and religious authority, thereby ensuring that the Christian church would remain the central element of the rapidly changing Western cultural landscape.

GREGORY THE GREAT AND THE GROWTH OF PAPAL POWER

It should, therefore, come as no surprise that, whereas the first great figure of Byzantine Christianity was the Emperor Justinian, the earliest significant exponent of medieval Western Christianity was a bishop of Rome, Gregory I (reigned 590–604). Like his predecessor Leo I, Gregory is characteristically referred to as "the Great," and, along with Leo, he stands as one of the chief architects of the medieval papacy. He is also frequently considered to be the last of the great Latin Fathers of the church. Using his considerable gifts, Gregory the Great enacted administrative, social, ecclesiastical, and liturgical reforms that shaped the future course of Western history.

As a young man, Gregory served as civil administrator of the city of Rome, papal representative to the emperor's court at Constantinople, and personal secretary to the pope. This unique combination of civic, imperial, and religious experience prepared him well for the pressing challenges that faced him upon his election to the papacy in 590. At the time, conditions in and around Rome were deplorable due to pestilence, food shortages, and the advance of the Lombard armies, but Gregory quickly and deftly set about addressing these problems. He had grain imported from Sicily and used revenues produced by the Church's substantial land holdings to purchase food for the populace of Rome. He also raised an army against the Lombards and eventually negotiated a settlement with them, after which he initiated the process of converting the invaders from Arianism to orthodox Christianity. These political and social measures contributed greatly to the stability of Rome and reinforced Gregory's position as the most influential figure—religious or secular—in all of Italy.

Gregory also devoted a great deal of attention to the affairs of the Church. He proved to be a great supporter and patron of monasteries, and he promoted reforms designed both to address immorality and unfit leadership within the monastic communities, and to grant the monasteries greater administrative autonomy from the bishops in terms of their internal, day-to-day affairs. Gregory also enacted new regulations concerning the bishoprics, and his *Pastoral Rule* proved to be a definitive work regarding the role and duties of the bishops within the Western Church. Finally, Gregory initiated reforms in the

liturgy, or Mass, of the Western Church. History has traditionally credited him with the introduction of the style of liturgical music that became known as Gregorian chant, and the Latin Mass as codified under Gregory remained largely unchanged throughout the Medieval Period.

In addition to being highly regarded for his many practical reforms, Gregory was also esteemed as a theologian, though he largely built on the thought of others rather than producing radical innovations. His greatest theological influence was Augustine, but Gregory's views on original sin and predestination allowed more room for human goodness and free will than pure Augustinianism did, and were thus closer to the positions articulated by the Synod of Orange. Gregory also advanced a doctrine of purgatory that was much more coherent than any that had come before. In his view, purgatory was a fiery post-mortem state in which Christians who had died without repenting of minor sins (or without performing proper acts of penitence for previously confessed major sins) could be purged of their offenses before facing God's ultimate judgment. He argued further that the prayers and pious acts of the living could lighten the burden of their loved ones who dwelt in purgatory. Because of Gregory's notoriety and influence, and the fact that his pontificate was followed by a long period of theological and intellectual stagnation, his theology proved to be largely determinative for the Western Church until the 11th century.

Thus, in all these ways and more, Gregory the Great continued the process of extending the power of the papacy that had begun with Leo the Great. It is emblematic of this increasing influence that in 607, shortly after Gregory's death, Pope Boniface III was recognized by the Byzantine Emperor Phocas (reigned 602–610) as the "universal bishop" of the orthodox Christian church. This came to be viewed as a formal acknowledgement of the ecclesiastical superiority that the bishops of Rome had claimed for themselves for so long. Indeed, as we have hinted already, Gregory and those who succeeded him as bishop of Rome came to enjoy the place of primacy not only within the Christian church, but within Western Europe as a whole.[1]

Missionary Efforts in the West

There remains one major accomplishment of Gregory the Great to which we must now turn our attention: the initiation of a mission for the conversion of the pagan peoples of Britain. As we have seen, much of the populace of Roman Britain had accepted Christianity by the fourth century, and British believers like Patrick had later spread the Gospel to Ireland. But during the sixth century, the Christians in Britain were persecuted and marginalized by the Germanic invaders (mostly Angles and Saxons, the ancestors of the English), who established kingdoms in the eastern part of the island. Desiring to win these pagan nations to faith, and distressed by what he perceived as reluctance on the part of British Christians to share the Gospel with their foreign conquerors, Gregory authorized a missionary expedition under the leadership of a monk named Augustine

(?–604). The company departed Rome in 596 and arrived in the kingdom of Kent, on the east coast of Britain, in the following year.

Augustine and his companions established themselves in the Kentish capital of Canterbury, where they established a monastery. The king of Kent was soon baptized as a Christian, and thousands of his subjects quickly joined him in his conversion. Canterbury became the ecclesiastical hub of Britain, and Augustine was consecrated as its first archbishop. A second archbishopric was later established at York. From these two centers of strength, the Roman missionaries continued to advance into eastern and northern Britain.

Though Augustine and his fellow monks laid much of the groundwork, it is a subsequent archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, who is often viewed as the real organizer of the English Church. Arriving in England in 668, Theodore found himself confronted by a disorganized church whose numbers had dwindled as a result of pestilence. He quickly set about creating new bishoprics, ordaining clergy, instructing the young believers in the doctrine and liturgy of the Roman Church, teaching Greek and Latin, and introducing moral reforms, thus ensuring the long-term survival and viability of the English Church.

The Roman missionaries led by Augustine and his successors were not the only ones who were active in evangelizing the pagan population of Britain during this period. In 563, an Irish priest named Columba (or Columcille, 521–597) established a small, monastic community on the island of Iona, off the western coast of Scotland. He won some of the pagan Picts and other Celtic peoples of Scotland to Christianity, and he is also credited with the introduction of a written Gaelic language. Columba, like Patrick before him, thus stands as one of the formative figures in the development of Celtic spirituality.

The settlement at Iona continued to thrive after Columba's death. In the early seventh century, two members of the royal family of Northumbria (one of the Anglo-Saxons kingdoms in northern England) sought refuge on the island during a succession dispute, and were baptized as believers. One of them, Oswald, subsequently became king of Northumbria, and he soon sent to Iona for a bishop to instruct his people in the faith. Aidan, the second bishop to come from Iona to Northumbria, was given a permanent headquarters on the island of Lindisfarne, off the kingdom's east coast. Lindisfarne, like Iona, became a great center of missionary activity, and from there the Gospel was taken to the lands of the East and South Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia, and the Isle of Wight, the last of Britain's provinces to receive Christianity.

Many of these details concerning the course of Christianity in Britain are known to us primarily through the writings of Bede the Venerable (c. 672–735), a Northumbrian theologian and historian. His best-known work, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* ("Ecclesiastical History of the English People") remains one of the greatest depositories of knowledge about the Anglo-Saxon nations. It traces developments in Britain from the time of Julius Caesar's raids (a half century before the birth of Christ) to 597, the year of

Columba's death and Augustine's arrival in Kent. Bede also produced important works on chronology in which he established the method of dating historical events in relation to the birth of Jesus by using the designations B.C. ("before Christ") and AD (*anno domini*, "in the year of our Lord").

The combined efforts of the Roman and Irish missionaries in England proved remarkably fruitful. Within a century of the pioneering work of Augustine and Columba, missionaries from among the newly converted English populations were carrying the Gospel back to the continent of Europe. The most famous of these were Willibrord (658–739) and his associate Boniface (or Wynfrid, c. 675–754), who ministered throughout much of present-day Holland and Germany.

Willibrord traveled from England to Frisia (now part of the Netherlands) in 690 and established a base of operations at Utrecht from which he began ministering to the Frisians. He was aided in his efforts by the Christian rulers of the Frankish nation, but the growing political power of the Franks led the Frisians to view Willibrord as an agent of imperialism, and many of them rejected the Gospel on the grounds that spiritual submission to Christ would amount to political submission to the Franks. Willibrord continued his labors nevertheless, and he eventually won many converts.

Wynfrid originally came to continental Europe to aid Willibrord in Frisia, but in 718 he traveled to Rome, where Pope Gregory II (reigned 715–731) gave him the name Boniface and entrusted him with a mission to the pagan nations that lived east of the Rhine River in present-day Germany. Boniface subsequently spent years organizing the churches in Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria, reforming the Frankish Church, and founding monasteries throughout the region. Toward the end of his life, he returned to work in Frisia, where he eventually suffered martyrdom. Boniface's remarkable missionary career earned him the moniker "Apostle to Germany" and helped shape the political and religious landscape of the next few centuries. Indeed, all of the missionary activity that we have surveyed in this section took place against a backdrop of shifting political power among the Germanic nations who were being evangelized, and the resulting intermingling of politics and Christianity would prove determinative for the subsequent course of events in Western Europe.

THE EVOLVING POLITICAL SETTING

As we have seen, the Franks were the first Germanic people to widely embrace orthodox Christianity. Significantly for the history of Christianity in the West, they also emerged as the chief political power in the region during the centuries following the fall of the Western Roman Empire. Throughout the sixth and seventh centuries, the ruling Frankish dynasty was the Merovingians, who were descendants of Clovis I. But in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, their rule was steadily threatened by the emergence of a new Frankish line, the Carolingians, who rose to prominence under the leadership of Pepin

of Herstal (c. 635–714) and his son Charles Martel (686–741). Though neither man was deeply religious, they supported Willibrord and Boniface in their missionary efforts in the hopes that the Frankish state might thereby benefit politically.

Upon Martel's death in 741, leadership of the Carolingians passed to his son Pepin the Short (714–768), who proved to be a more ardent supporter of Christianity than either of his predecessors. He sponsored Boniface's efforts to reform the Frankish Church, sought to improve the quality of the clergy, and endeavored to strengthen church discipline. Pepin also established cordial relations with the papacy, and after exiling the last Merovingian king in 751, he sought papal legitimization of his claim to the Frankish throne. At this time, Rome was being threatened by the advance of the Lombard armies, and was estranged from the Byzantine emperors because of the dispute that had arisen between Pope Gregory III and the Emperor Leo III during the Iconoclastic Controversy. Gaining the patronage of the Frankish state was therefore highly desirable to the reigning pope, Stephen II (reigned 752–757), and he agreed to crown and anoint Pepin as king of the Franks. In return, Pepin waged campaigns against the Lombards in Italy, and he forced the invaders to turn over some of their conquered territories to the pope. This event marked the effectual beginning of the autonomous control of land on the part of the papacy.

Pepin the Short was succeeded as king of the Franks by his son Charles the Great, who is better known as Charlemagne (742–814). It was under his leadership that the Carolingians reached their height of power and influence. Like his father, Charlemagne was a vigorous supporter of Christianity. He constructed and repaired churches, founded monasteries, created new bishoprics, strengthened the supervisory capacities of the bishops and archbishops, held regular ecclesiastical synods, developed a system of tithing for the support of the clergy, stressed the sanctity of marriage, and encouraged the education of clergy and laity alike. More troublingly, he secured the conversion of the Saxons who dwelt in the northern part of his kingdom largely through the use of armed force, thus establishing a disturbing precedent of using military aggression as a vehicle for the advancement of the faith.

Under Charlemagne's leadership, Western Europe regained at least a small measure of the prosperity and stability that it had enjoyed prior to the sixth century. On Christmas Day, 800, Charlemagne was crowned as Roman emperor by Pope Leo III (reigned 795–816), thus symbolically re-establishing the Western Empire.[2] This action also set an important precedent whereby all future imperial coronations in the West were required to be performed by the popes, thus further promoting the papacy's increasing political power.

The successors of Charlemagne proved unable to live up to the example of their famous predecessor, and the power of the Carolingians soon waned. The death of the last Carolingian emperor in 887 precipitated the fragmentation of the Frankish kingdom, creating a climate of political turbulence that would endure until the middle of the next century. The widespread societal disorder that ensued led to the emergence of feudalism, a

hierarchically organized, agrarian economic system characterized by exploitative labor practices and continuous fighting among the private armies of wealthy landowners. Under these conditions, the social and economic stability of the West was greatly eroded. This bleak situation was further exacerbated by a corresponding decline in morality among the populace and a lack of integrity among the religious leadership. Many bishops became little more than feudal lords, and the Church was largely presided over by ineffective or wicked popes, 17 of whom served in rapid succession between the years 897 and 955.

In addition to these debilitating internal conditions, the West also found itself confronted by new threats from abroad during the ninth and early tenth centuries. These included the advance of the Magyars into Hungary and a series of Arab raids on Italy, but the greatest menace was posed by the merciless Scandinavian warriors who began attacking the coastal areas of Europe and advancing inland, pillaging and murdering as they went. They wrought terrible destruction throughout the region, laying waste to the monasteries of Ireland, conquering segments of Britain, and besieging many of the cities of France and Italy.

The Scandinavians represented the last major Germanic group that had not accepted the Gospel. Earlier efforts to evangelize them, including those of Willibrord and of Ansgar (801–865), a Saxon missionary who was given religious oversight of the region by the son of Charlemagne, had proved largely unsuccessful. However, beginning in the last decades of the ninth century, converts were made among those Scandinavians who had settled in the lands they had conquered, particularly in England. Over the course of the late 10th and early 11th centuries, English missionaries helped effect the widespread conversion of the populations of Denmark, Norway, and (to a lesser extent) Sweden, thus largely removing the threat of further pagan invasions.

The internal fortunes of Western Europe likewise began to improve in the mid-tenth century. In 962, the German King Otto I (912–973), who had largely united Italy and the German nations under his rule and won victories over both the Danes and Hungarians, was crowned as Roman emperor. He was certainly the greatest leader to hold that title since Charlemagne, and his coronation marked the birth of what came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire, an avowedly Christian political institution that was to endure until the early years of the 19th century.

Otto and several of his successors proved themselves to be reform-minded defenders of the Christian faith, and a widespread religious renewal began under their leadership. This revival was bolstered by several monastic groups, which, owing to their separation from mainstream society, had maintained a vital faith in the face of the social and moral decay that had ravaged the West during the preceding century.

The spiritual reinvigoration of the papacy took longer; and for a time, the German emperors sought to appoint more suitable papal candidates themselves, thus instigating a heated dispute with the citizens of Rome, who insisted on the right to elect their own

bishop. Leo IX (reigned 1049–1054) was the first pope to fully embrace the spirit of reform. He opposed the appointment of bishops by secular rulers, forbade the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical offices, insisted on clerical celibacy, and expanded the ranks of the Roman cardinals (a body composed of able and high-ranking ecclesiastical officials who served as the closest advisors to the popes) to include reform-minded individuals from throughout the Western Church. These efforts proved largely successful in restoring the integrity of the papacy and may be viewed as the completion of the century-long process by which Western European society slowly returned to relative normalcy.

———————————————————

As we have seen, the history of the Western Church (and Western Europe generally) between 500 and 1050 was marked by tremendous political, economic, social, and religious upheaval. In particular, it was an era during which the line separating secular politics from religion became hopelessly blurred, as popes negotiated with invading armies, emperors appointed bishops and popes, popes crowned emperors, emperors bequeathed land to the papacy, missionaries were viewed as agents of imperialism, and pagans were converted through the use of military might. This state of affairs was not emblematic of the subjugation of the church to the state, as was often the case in the Byzantine Empire, but rather the result of the frequent cooperation and interdependence of church and state during an era when each experienced long periods of weakness. This close linkage of politics and Christianity would endure for several centuries, and would increasingly produce troubling inconsistencies between the Gospel and the life of the Western Church.

Likewise, many developments in the character of Western Christianity during this period served to distance it further from Eastern Christianity, as several of the distinguishing features of the Western Church that we noted in the previous chapter—the increasing focus on Rome, the growing power of the papacy, the concern with practical and social issues rather than contemplation and mysticism—were reinforced and heightened by the events of the sixth through tenth centuries. Indeed, we have now reached the point in our narrative where we must explore the events that finally precipitated the seemingly inevitable division between Eastern and Western Christianity.

THE SCHISM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

We have seen over the course of the last few chapters that the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches were many and varied. Most basically, there were longstanding linguistic and cultural differences—differences that were only brought into sharper contrast by the increased geographical separation between the two branches of Christianity that resulted from the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. Beyond these underlying socio-cultural factors, there were a variety of disputes between the two Churches concerning basic beliefs and orientation. Western doctrine was largely defined by the thought of Augustine and those, such as Gregory the Great, who admired

and expounded on his teachings. As a result, the Western Church demonstrated a bent toward ethical and moral concerns and social activism. Eastern theology, in contrast, was much more God-focused, and Eastern religious practices, therefore, tended to be more contemplative and mystical in nature.

There were also a variety of practical disagreements that arose during the early centuries of the Medieval Period, ranging from the serious to the absurd. The Western Church insisted on centralized administration, while the East was gradually developing the principle of autocephaly. The two Churches employed different liturgies, with each assuming its own was superior. The Eastern Church used leavened bread for the Eucharist, while the West insisted the bread be unleavened. Latin Christians fasted on Saturdays during Lent, but Greek Christians did not. Western clergy were required to be clean-shaven and celibate, while Eastern clergy were bearded and could marry. Because each Church saw itself as the guardian of the true apostolic faith, the smallest discrepancy between the two often precipitated outrage on both sides.

One such seemingly minor difference that sparked a major controversy concerned the addition to the Nicene Creed of what became known as the *filioque* clause. The creed originally contained the affirmation, "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father." In 589, the Third Synod of Toledo appended the clause "and from the Son" (Latin *filioque*) to this statement as a means of asserting the full divinity of Christ against the claims of the Arian Visigoths in Spain. The *filioque* clause subsequently became standard throughout much of the Western Church, but the Eastern Church came to view it as a spurious addition to a creed whose wording had been finalized by the ecumenical councils. Many in the East also believed that the *filioque* clause reflected a flawed theology of the Trinity, and though the clause was not universally adopted and defended by the Western Church until several centuries after its initial introduction, the issue proved to be a key source of contention between the two branches of Christianity throughout much of the Medieval Period.[3]

In the mid-ninth century, tensions between East and West came to a head as the result of a dispute concerning the patriarchate of Constantinople. In 858, the Patriarch Ignatius was deposed by the Byzantine Emperor Michael III and replaced by a civil servant named Photius (c. 820–893). This led to great unrest within the Eastern Church, and vocal factions soon formed around both Photius and Ignatius.

Though papal representatives confirmed Photius' election, Pope Nicholas I (reigned 858–867) refrained from coming out decisively in favor of either party, apparently because he sought the restoration of the bishoprics that had been removed from Roman control during the Iconoclastic Controversy, including particularly the newly thriving churches in Bulgaria. When it became clear that Photius would not make such concessions, however, Nicholas denounced his election. In 863, the pope unilaterally stripped Photius of his office and ordered the restoration of Ignatius, thus precipitating what became

known as the Photian Schism. Neither the Byzantine emperor nor Photius acknowledged the pope's authority to take such an action, and in 867 Photius condemned and excommunicated Nicholas I at a council held in Constantinople.

The controversy continued for over a decade, with both Photius and Ignatius serving as patriarch of Constantinople at various times as successive emperors and popes sought to impose their will. The issue was finally settled in 880 (following the death of Ignatius) when Pope John VIII (reigned 872–882) confirmed Photius' claim to the office, but the entire episode proved greatly damaging to the already tenuous relationship between East and West.

From the time of Photius until the mid-11th century, there was relative peace as the West suffered through social disorder and a succession of weak popes. But following the reformer Leo IX's accession to the papacy in 1049, conflict erupted again. Again, a struggle for the control of contested bishoprics was the underlying cause. Leo sought to extend his authority over bishoprics in Sicily and southern Italy that had been removed from Rome's jurisdiction during the Iconoclastic Controversy, and he denounced the Greek clergy in those regions who had chosen to marry. These actions angered Michael I Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo of Ochrida, patriarch of Bulgaria, both of whom retaliated by closing all of the churches and monasteries under their supervision that performed the liturgy in Latin. In addition, Leo of Ochrida sent a letter to a southern Italian bishop in which he voiced his opposition to the practices of the Western Church.

This letter came into the possession of Cardinal Humbert, one of the pope's chief advisors. Upon learning of its contents, Leo IX composed letters to both the patriarch and the Byzantine emperor in which he insisted on the supremacy of the Church of Rome, asserted the primacy of the popes in Italy, and condemned the actions of the patriarchs. The letters were taken to Constantinople by a papal delegation that included Cardinal Humbert, but Michael proved unreceptive and refused to acknowledge that he was subject to the authority of the pope.

In response, on July 16, 1054, Humbert and his companions entered the Hagia Sophia just before the beginning of the liturgy and dramatically placed on the altar a papal decree of the excommunication of Michael and his supporters. The patriarch responded in turn by excommunicating the papal delegates at a synod a few days later. This series of events is viewed by many as marking the decisive break between the Eastern and Western Churches between what would eventually become known as Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism.[4] Though multiple attempts at reconciliation were made during the succeeding centuries, the schism was never fully healed, and the two Churches remain divided to this day. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that the dissociation between Eastern and Western Christianity was immediate and universal. Indeed, as we will see in the next chapter, a measure of cooperation between the two would soon be necessitated by the emergence of a powerful force that posed a grave threat to all expressions of the Christian faith: Islam.

CHAPTER ELEVEN NOTES

[1]For this reason, the turn of the seventh century seems the best place in our narrative to make the formal shift in terminology from "bishop of Rome" to "pope," as by this time the office carried with it most of the powers and implications that came to be associated with the latter title.

[2]Pope Leo III, who crowned Charlemagne, should not be confused with the Byzantine Emperor Leo III, who initiated the Iconoclastic Controversy.

[3]A cursory examination of the Farewell Discourses in the Gospel of John would seem to lend theological support to the addition of the *filioque* clause. In John 14:16, Jesus told the disciples that the Father would give them the Spirit, while in 16:7, He says that He (the Son) would send the Spirit to them.

[4]Up to this point, we have employed both the word *catholic* and the word *orthodox* as adjectives to refer to the apostolic, Nicene expression of the Christian faith as opposed to various heretical distortions of it. From this point forward, any use of either of these terms in the lower case will continue to refer to the universal body of believers, while the capitalized versions *Catholic* and *Orthodox* will refer specifically to the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, respectively.

Chapter Twelve
The Rise of Islam and the Crusades

MUHAMMAD AND THE BIRTH OF ISLAM

Around the year 610, a man named Muhammad (c. 570–632) experienced what he
believed to be a divine revelation and summons as he sat in the mountains outside
his birthplace, the Arabian city of Mecca.[1] Within a few years, he had embarked on a
preaching and prophetic ministry to the inhabitants of that city, advocating a monotheistic
belief system that was derived in part from Judaism and Christianity, but that was also
given a distinctive shape by the teachings that Muhammad claimed to have received from
the angel Gabriel, the messenger of the one true God (in Arabic, *Allah*). Muhammad
saw himself as the last in a long line of prophets from Allah (a line that included Adam,
Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, though Muhammad did not accept the notion that
Jesus was divine), and believed that the revelation that he had received represented both
the ultimate fulfillment and (where necessary) the negation of the teachings of those who
had come before him.

In 622, having angered much of the wealthy populace of Mecca by denouncing their
greed and immoral business practices, Muhammad was forced to flee to the city of
Medina, nearly 300 miles away. This journey, the *Hijra* as it is called in Arabic, is often
considered to mark the official beginning of the religion that Muhammad propagated.
This faith became known as *Islam* ("surrender"), and those who subscribed to it were
called *Muslims*.

The inhabitants of Medina proved more receptive to the message of Muhammad than
had the citizens of Mecca, and a strong Islamic community soon emerged there.
According to tradition, Muhammad continued to receive and transmit fresh revelation
throughout this period. Much of this new teaching dealt with social and political
concerns, in contrast to the spiritual and ethical matters that had largely been the focus
of his earlier ministry. Islam thus emerged as a challenger not only to the truth claims of
other religions, but to the legitimacy of the secular Arab governments.

Some time after the death of Muhammad in 632, the complete contents of the divine
revelations that he had received throughout his prophetic ministry (which had largely
been transmitted orally during his lifetime) were gradually codified and recorded in the
Qur'an ("recitation"). This book, which came to be regarded as the sacred scripture of
Islam, thus brought together the religious and secular strains of Muhammad's teaching.
As a result, Islam came to be viewed by its adherents as a holistic way of life that was
concerned not only with the relationship of individuals to Allah, but also with the governing

of society through the mechanisms of the state. Furthermore, the Muslims believed that they had been given a divine mandate to take this all-encompassing system of faith to the rest of the world through a process of "holy struggle" (*jihad*). It was this belief that soon brought Islam into conflict with Christianity, thus initiating a religious and military struggle that would prove to be one of the defining realities of world history for more than six centuries.[2]

MUSLIM EXPANSION AND ITS EFFECTS ON CHRISTIANITY

After Muhammad's death, leadership of the Arab tribes that had accepted Islam fell to a succession of men who bore the title of *caliph* ("successor"). The early caliphs led the Arab Muslims in a sweeping military advance that went unchecked for nearly a century. The stunning success of these campaigns was, in part, due to the fact that the Byzantine and Persian Empires had spent much of the first three decades of the seventh century warring for control of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and thus both found themselves in a weakened state at the time of the initial Muslim attacks.

In 635, the Muslims captured the city of Damascus. By the following year, they had brought all of Syria under their rule. They then turned their attention to Palestine, and in 638 took Jerusalem. Alexandria fell shortly after 640, and the Muslims soon conquered all of Egypt. Thus, within less than a decade, the three nations that had been the cause of so much bloodshed between the Byzantines and Persians—and, more particularly, the three key Christian centers of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria—had all fallen into the hands of the Muslim invaders.

Nor did the Arab advance stop there. By 650, their armies had conquered Mesopotamia, penetrated into the heart of Persia, and made initial forays into Central Asia and North Africa. Over the next few decades, the Muslims increased their naval power and conducted sea raids against Cyprus, Rhodes, Sicily, Italy, and Constantinople itself. In 697, they captured Carthage, the most important Byzantine city in North Africa. Early in the eighth century, they extended their rule in Central Asia and advanced into northwestern India. Finally, in 715, Muslim armies crossed the Straits of Gibraltar from Africa and conquered the Visigothic rulers of Spain. Thus, in a span of roughly 80 years, Islam—as both a religious and a political entity—had spread from a single city in Arabia throughout the Middle East, along the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, westward to the Iberian peninsula, and eastward to the gates of the Indian subcontinent.

The significant territorial gains of Islam did not immediately entail the extinction of Christianity in these regions. Indeed, Christians (as well as Jews) were initially granted toleration by their Muslim rulers as fellow "people of the book"—people, in other words, who adhered to scripture-based, monotheistic religions. In return for the privilege

of being allowed to maintain their faith, however, believers were forced to pay heavy taxes to the Muslim state, lost many of their legal rights, and had restrictions placed on their public worship.

The Monophysites in Egypt, Ethiopia, Nubia, and Syria and the Nestorians in Mesopotamia and Persia actually benefited in some respects from this new arrangement. They were, after all, accustomed to living under the rule of empires (both Byzantine and Persian) that denounced their beliefs and often tried to force their conversion. Indeed, they had been largely apathetic in the face of the Muslim advance because of an unwillingness to risk their lives for the sake of the empires that had oppressed them. For most of them, Muslim taxation and regulations seemed a small price to pay for toleration.

For the predominantly Nicene Christian communities of North Africa, though, the situation was different. Because of their close alliance with the Byzantine emperors, orthodox believers were referred to by the Muslims as *Melkites*, meaning "members of the king's church," and were subject to much greater suspicion and additional restrictions. Consequently, many North African Christians fled the Muslim domains for the relative safety of Sicily and southern Italy.

Gradually, the Christian communities that had chosen to remain in Muslim lands stagnated and dissipated. Many believers in those areas converted to Islam, whether out of genuine conviction that the Muslims' successes were evidence of the truthfulness of Muhammad's revelation or out of mere expediency and a desire for relief from the financial and legal burdens placed upon them. Those who maintained their faith were mainly Monophysites and Nestorians, and the few orthodox communities that survived quickly became conservative and isolated. This tragic combination of factors—geographic dispersal, conversions to Islam, intermixture with heretical groups, and static conservatism—eventually led to the virtual eradication of vibrant, orthodox Christianity throughout most of the vast area controlled by the Muslims.

THE BATTLE OF TOURS AND THE RECONQUISTA

After consolidating their gains in Spain, the Muslims passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul and resumed their conquests. Up to that point, their stunning advance had gone largely unchecked, with only Constantinople having successfully turned back Arab arms. It must have seemed to both the Muslims and their opponents as though the eventual subjugation of all Europe to Islam was inevitable. But in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Muhammad, the Muslims were soundly defeated at the Battle of Tours in Gaul by a Frankish army commanded by Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne. This victory marked a decisive turning point in the conflict between Christianity and Islam, and over the course of the next several centuries the Christian states of Europe would go on the offensive in an attempt to regain the lands that they had lost.

These efforts began first in Spain, and it was there that they were to prove most successful. Several small states in the north of the country managed to maintain their freedom in the face of the initial Arab invasion, and, beginning with a military victory in 718, they slowly began to drive the Muslims back toward the Mediterranean. The centuries-long process by which all the Iberian Peninsula was subsequently reclaimed from Muslim control is known as the *Reconquista* (Spanish for "re-conquest").

A number of independent Christian kingdoms subsequently emerged in the Iberian Peninsula, including Aragon, Castile, Catalonia, Galicia, León, Navarre, and Portugal, but tensions among them often prevented them from presenting a united front against Islam, and the Muslims consequently retained considerable power and influence in the south of Spain. During the ninth and tenth centuries, as Christian Europe found itself in the midst of the political, social, and religious malaise that we described in the last chapter, progress against the Muslims in Spain was almost entirely halted. The Caliphate of Cordova emerged as a bastion of Islamic strength in the region, and its armies inflicted numerous defeats on the Christian kingdoms of the north. However, the revitalization of Western Europe in the early 11th century was paralleled by a shift in the balance of power in Spain, and in 1034 the Caliphate of Cordova was overthrown. This proved to be a crippling blow, and Islamic influence in Spain was greatly reduced as a result. Nevertheless, the threat would not be completely eliminated for several more centuries.

THE CRUSADES

As the Christian nations of Western Europe slowly emerged from the widespread social stagnation of the ninth and tenth centuries, they also began to turn their attention to the formerly Christian lands in the east that had come under Muslim control. By the mid-11th century, these nations were largely in the hands of the Seljuk Turks, a people from Central Asia who had converted to Islam, supplanted the weakening Arab caliphates, and built an empire that encompassed Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. As the century wore on, the Turks began advancing into Armenia and Asia Minor, thus posing an immediate threat to the Byzantine Empire.

In 1095, the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (reigned 1081–1118) appealed to the West for aid against the Muslim invaders. Later that year, at an ecclesiastical council at Clermont in France, Pope Urban II (reigned 1088–1099)—who was seeking, in part, to heal the schism between Eastern and Western Christianity that had widened with the events of 1054—called all Christians in the West to go to the defense of their brothers in the East. He also urged them to reclaim the Holy Land from the Muslim Turks, promising full forgiveness of sins to all those who took part in this effort. Preachers, notably one known as Peter the Hermit, carried news of the pope's summons throughout Europe, inciting many Christians to join the cause.

The resulting military expedition, which set forth in 1096, is known as the First Crusade. It served to set a precedent whereby the Roman Catholic Church increasingly assumed

the power and the right to declare "holy wars" against Muslims, pagans, heretics, and anyone else who might be seen as a threat to Christianity. The 12th and 13th centuries were marked by a succession of such Crusades, the majority of which were aimed at the recapture of Palestine and the surrounding areas.

The armies of the First Crusade journeyed to Constantinople and began waging war against the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor. They eventually fought their way through to Syria and captured Antioch in 1098. The following year, they took Jerusalem, putting many of its Muslim inhabitants to death in the process. These military successes were followed by the establishment throughout Syria and Palestine of "Crusader states," semi-independent kingdoms that were ruled over by members of the crusading forces. A feudal system of administration emerged within these new states, and bishoprics and archbishoprics were quickly established, along with a patriarchate at Jerusalem. In addition, military monastic orders such as the Knights Templar and Hospitallers were formed for the purposes of protecting Christian pilgrims, defending the holy sites, and caring for the sick.

For nearly half a century, these newly established Christian outposts co-existed with the surrounding Muslim nations in relative peace. In 1144, however, the city of Edessa in Asia Minor—a key strategic point for the defense of the Crusader states—was captured by the Seljuk Turks. This event sparked the Second Crusade, which was led by King Louis VII of France (reigned 1137–1180) and the German King Conrad III (reigned 1138–1152). In stark contrast to the First Crusade, the Second Crusade failed to achieve any notable military successes, and its armies were vanquished when they rashly attempted to take Damascus, an action that further inflamed Muslim anger against the Crusaders.

In the late 12th century, a Muslim named Saladin constructed a unified Islamic state that surrounded the Crusader kingdoms. In 1187, the European armies were thoroughly defeated by Saladin's forces at the Battle of Hattin, and the Muslims subsequently reclaimed Jerusalem, along with several of the other Crusader states. These losses provided the impetus for the Third Crusade, which was called for by Pope Gregory VIII (reigned 1187) and commenced in 1189 under the joint supervision of three of Europe's most prominent rulers: King Philip II of France (reigned 1180–1223), King Richard I ("the Lion-hearted") of England (reigned 1189–1199), and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (reigned 1155–1190). In spite of its illustrious leaders, this Crusade, like the previous one, proved largely unsuccessful. Frederick drowned in Asia Minor, Philip and Richard quarreled with one another, and the only noteworthy result of the Crusaders' efforts was the recapture of the Crusader kingdom of Acre.

The Fourth Crusade was initiated in 1202 by Pope Innocent III (reigned 1198–1216). Its initial aim was to attack Egypt (which was the heart of Saladin's kingdom), in the belief that establishing Christian control of that nation would allow the Crusaders to mount a successful attack on Palestine and retake Jerusalem. However, this plan was abandoned almost from the beginning of the ill-fated Crusade.

The Crusader armies were dependent upon Venetian ships for transport to Egypt. The Venetians, however, were more concerned with their own commercial interests than with the struggle for control of the Holy Land. They diverted the Crusade to Constantinople in an attempt to replace the reigning Byzantine emperor with a candidate of their own who would comply with their wishes concerning the conduct of trade in the eastern Mediterranean. The Venetians persuaded the Crusaders to go along with this plan, and Crusader forces stormed Constantinople in 1204, plundered the city, and placed one of the noblemen among them on the imperial throne.

This incomprehensible action on the part of the armies of the Fourth Crusade effectively erased any chance of mending the schism between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. Indeed, the Crusades had generally served to widen the rift between the two since the time of their inception. Many Eastern Christians viewed the often-blood-thirsty Crusaders with contempt, while the Latin Crusaders generally considered the Eastern Christians to be heretics. But the sack of Constantinople proved to be the decisive blow. Innocent III quickly appointed a Latin patriarch of Constantinople in an effort to bring the entire church under papal control, but the Orthodox Christians in the region refused to recognize the authority of Rome and continued to follow their own patriarch. Outright resentment between the two Churches was thus greatly intensified.

The remaining Crusades were relatively minor affairs in comparison with the first four. Indeed, there is not even any firm agreement as to how many more Crusades took place, as it became increasingly difficult to tell where one poorly organized, largely-unsuccessful effort ended and the next one began.[3] It is sufficient for our purposes to note a few of the highlights.

In 1219, Crusader forces captured the important city of Damietta in Egypt, but they were utterly defeated when they attempted to take Cairo. Having suffered yet another military setback at the hands of the Muslims, the West soon turned to diplomacy. In 1229, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (reigned 1220–1250) negotiated a treaty by which the Crusaders were granted control of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The optimism produced by this unexpected success, however, was short-lived. Jerusalem was re-captured by the Muslims in 1244, and it would remain in their hands until the 20th century. Subsequent Crusades to Egypt and Syria under the leadership of King Louis IX of France (reigned 1226–1270) and Prince Edward (later King Edward I) of England were almost wholly unsuccessful, and with the fall of the last remaining Crusader kingdoms of Antioch (1268), Tripoli (1289), and Acre (1291), the Crusades came at last to an ignominious end.

The legacy of the Crusades is a tragic one on several levels. Most basically, the loss of human life—both Christian and Muslim—was staggering. From the perspective of the Crusaders, the permanent loss of the formerly Christian lands of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt—including Antioch, Alexandria, and, especially, Jerusalem—was nearly as devastating.

But the greatest tragedy was more subtle: In seeking to advance the Christian cause, the Crusaders had largely left behind the Gospel. Rather than turning the other cheek, they had taken up the sword, thus abandoning Christlike love in favor of religiously fueled bloodlust. Instead of lovingly and patiently spreading the Gospel among the Muslims— as their Christian ancestors had among both the pagan nations of Paul's day and the Germanic invaders of the early Medieval Period—the Crusaders practiced relentless violence motivated by hatred and fear. In so doing, they contributed significantly to the growing enmity between the two religions that has persisted to the present day. More troubling still is the fact that the Crusaders practiced aggression not only against the Muslims, but against their fellow Christians in the Byzantine Empire. In particular, the events of the Fourth Crusade further eroded the relationship between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, thus causing irreparable damage to the body of Christ.

The Crusades thus stand as a sad testimony to the degree to which Christianity's core beliefs were compromised through the Church's increasing embrace of secular wisdom, political power, and military expediency over the course of the Medieval Period. Thankfully, the history of Christianity in this era was also marked by the emergence of a variety of voices that called for spiritual reform and faithfulness to the Gospel. We will now examine one such source of renewed spiritual vitality: the medieval monastic orders.

Chapter Twelve Review

Battle of Tours	Medina
Caliphs	*Melkites*
Crusader States	Muhammad
Crusades	Muslims
Hijra	*Qur'an*
Islam	*Reconquista*
Jihad	Seljuk Turks
Mecca	Urban II

Chapter Twelve Notes

[1]To give some historical context related to our discussions from the two previous chapters, in 610 Justinian had been dead for 45 years, while Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury had been dead for six. In the east, John Climacus and Maximus the Confessor were flourishing, and the Eastern Church was in the midst of the period of relative stability between the Fifth (553) and Sixth (680-81) Ecumenical Councils. In the west, the successors of Columba (who died in 597) were continuing the evangelization of England from Iona.

[2]Although many subsequent developments in Islamic thought and practice (including the development of the "five pillars," the split between Sunnis and Shi'ites, and the emergence of Sufi mysticism) are of considerable interest, we must here confine our attention to those features of Muslim history and theology that shed light on our exploration of the history of Christianity. For those who are interested in further study, a detailed and enlightening introduction to Islam can be found in *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions,* ed. Wendy Doniger (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1999), pp. 515–37. This large article also contains references to many other Islam-related entries in the same volume.

[3]The number generally ranges from seven to nine, with only the first four being fixed. These figures also discount the Crusade against the Albigensians in France (1209), the aborted (and possibly fictitious) Children's Crusade of 1212, and the so-called Shepherds' Crusades.

Chapter Thirteen
The Growth of the
Monastic Tradition

One of the defining features of Christianity during the Medieval Period—particularly in the West—was the further development and diversification of the monastic tradition. In Chapter Eight, we traced the early history of monasticism from its origins in the Egyptian deserts to the fall of the Western Roman Empire. We will now take up this narrative again in order to examine some of the multiplicity of monastic expressions that emerged between the 6th and 14th centuries.

The Irish Monks

As we have seen, monasticism was originally a largely Eastern phenomenon. Even those who, like John Cassian, served to pioneer the transmission of monasticism to the West were heavily dependent on the earlier Eastern rules of Pachomius and Basil. During the Medieval Period, however, the majority of innovation and vitality within the monastic tradition was found in the West.

One of the earliest distinctly Western monastic expressions developed in Ireland. According to some accounts, Patrick founded Irish monasticism during the fifth century. By the early decades of the sixth century (around the time of Columba's birth), Ireland was home to a burgeoning monastic tradition. Indeed, Irish Christianity centered on the monasteries, and the abbots often wielded more influence than the bishops.

Because of Ireland's remote position beyond the western border of the Roman Empire, it was largely spared from the incursions of the Germanic tribes that plagued the rest of Western Europe during the early centuries of the Medieval Period. Consequently, its monasteries became bastions of Latin learning and culture during a troubled age. The Irish monks devoted much time to the study of Scripture and to the copying and illumination of religious manuscripts, some of which are among the most beautiful artifacts of medieval Christianity.

Many of the monks of Ireland, however, were not content to remain cloistered within their communities. A great number of them left their island and became wandering missionaries on the European continent, often traveling in groups of 13 in imitation of Jesus and His disciples. These small bands of monks became known as the *peregrini*, from a Latin word meaning "travelers." The *peregrini* journeyed throughout Gaul, Frisia, the German kingdoms, and Italy, preaching the Gospel to the pagan nations and attempting to reform and renew existing Christian communities. As we have seen, Irish *peregrini* were also instrumental in the conversion of the populations of Scotland and

England. This vigorous Irish monastic tradition would continue to flourish until the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, during which many of the monasteries of Ireland were plundered and destroyed.

THE BENEDICTINES

The first of the great Western monastic orders to emerge (and the one that would exercise the most widespread and longest-lasting influence) was that of the Benedictines. Its founder, Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547), was an Italian who studied in Rome as a young man. Quickly growing disillusioned by the immorality of the city, he retreated from society and embraced the life of a hermit. Others soon began to seek him out for spiritual guidance, and he eventually founded 12 small monasteries, each of which housed 12 monks, in order to accommodate these disciples.

Shortly before 530, Benedict traveled south and established a large monastery at Monte Cassino, between Rome and Naples. It was here that he developed the Benedictine Rule, which would prove to be his greatest legacy. In devising this rule, Benedict borrowed some elements from predecessors such as Basil of Caesarea and John Cassian, but much of it consisted of his own innovations.

The Benedictine Rule emphasized that monasteries should be autonomous, self-supporting communities. The abbots, who were elected for life by their monks, were entrusted with complete authority over the affairs of the
monastery and were empowered to appoint the other monastic officials (priors, porters, stewards, and so on) that were necessary to the functioning of the community. To guard against potential abuses of this office, the rule also emphasized that, as the spiritual fathers of the monasteries, the abbots were ultimately accountable to God not only for their own actions, but for the spiritual condition of the monks under their care.

Those who wished to join the Benedictine order were first required to complete a probation period (or *novitiate*) of one year, at the end of which they were required to take a vow of obedience that bound them to the monastery for life. New entrants to the order also relinquished all personal property, either giving it to the poor or donating it to the common stock of the monastery. Thus, the Benedictines practiced a sort of Christian communism that was reminiscent of the conduct of the early church at Jerusalem.[1]

The Benedictine Rule also systematized the daily routine of the monasteries. The lives of the monks were defined by three major pursuits. The first was corporate worship and prayer. Eight regular services were held each day, during which the monks recited Psalms, chanted hymns, prayed corporately, and listened to readings from Scripture. Eventually, the contents of these daily services were standardized, with specific hymns, Psalms, and Scriptures being prescribed for each day of the year. In later centuries,

these fixed sets of readings—the "daily offices" or "divine hours," as they came to be called—were gathered in books called breviaries, which could be carried by itinerant Christian clergy and monks in their travels.

The second characteristic practice of the Benedictines was manual labor. Whether they worked in the fields, the kitchens, or the library, all monks were required to contribute to the well-being of the community in practical ways. The third element of daily life was individual study, both of Scripture and of other spiritual literature. The monks practiced the art of *lectio divina* ("sacred reading), a method by which a text is read slowly and meditatively in order to gain greater spiritual insight into its contents.

Over the course of the next few centuries, the Benedictine form of monasticism became the norm throughout the West. Gregory the Great was a vigorous patron of it, and indeed much of our knowledge about the life of Benedict himself comes from Gregory's writings. Many of the important medieval missionaries in the West—including Augustine of Canterbury, Willibrord, and Boniface—were drawn from the ranks of the Benedictine monks.

The Carolingians also proved to be great admirers of the Benedictines. By the time of Charlemagne's death, however, the order was apparently beginning to lapse in its adherence to Benedict's Rule. Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor, sought to address this malaise with the help of Witiza, who is better known as Benedict of Aniane (c. 750–821).

Witiza had been a servant to both Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, but had left the Carolingian court for a Benedictine monastery at a young age. Disturbed by what he perceived as laxity within this community, Witiza had founded his own monastery at Aniane in Germany. There he had sought to restore the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule, and other abbots had soon begun following his example. Louis the Pious made Benedict of Aniane his advisor on monastic affairs and ordered all Benedictine houses within the Carolingian domains to follow the Benedictine Rule as interpreted by Benedict of Aniane, a measure that served to restore some degree of consistency to Benedictine practice.

THE CLUNIACS

With the onset of the political and social disorder that gripped the West during the late ninth and early tenth centuries, the vitality of the monasteries was greatly threatened. Many monastic houses were destroyed by foreign invaders, whether Scandinavian, Magyar, or Muslim. Feudal lords often exercised control over the monasteries in their domains, seizing portions of their revenues and appointing abbots who would be compliant with their wishes. Widespread spiritual decay within the monastic communities soon followed. In response to these dire conditions, a number of new, largely reform-minded monastic expressions emerged during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries.

One of the early centers of this renewal movement was the monastery at Cluny in France. It was founded in 910 by a Burgundian named Berno, who had previously served as abbot of several other monasteries. The land on which it was constructed was donated by William the Pious, the duke of Aquitaine, who endeavored to preserve the autonomy of the monastery by placing it under the direct supervision of the pope, thereby preventing any of his successors from exercising secular authority over its affairs. This set a precedent whereby many monasteries of various orders soon began to be placed under the pope's authority, thereby freeing them from interference on the part of both the lay nobility and the local bishops.

The monks of Cluny were guided by a greatly revised, stringent form of the Benedictine Rule that incorporated some of Benedict of Aniane's modifications and also introduced several new ones. It emphasized corporate worship, almost to the exclusion of the other characteristic elements of Benedictine life. The services were lengthened and elaborated, and a large, ornate abbey church was constructed in which to conduct them. Manual labor was performed not by the monks, but by serfs attached to the monastery. Scholarship and study (apart from the reading of Scripture) were also greatly de-emphasized or even discouraged. Silence was enforced except during the worship services.

Under the leadership of Berno's successors, the Cluniac movement spread throughout much of Western Europe and became particularly strong in France and Italy. Each monastic house that adopted the Cluniac rule became explicitly affiliated with the mother monastery; and by the beginning of the 12th century, there were more than 300 monasteries throughout Europe associated with Cluny. This represented a great innovation, as previous monasteries (including those of the Benedictines) had always maintained complete independence from one another. The Cluniac idea of a "family" of monasteries would subsequently come to define many of the important monastic orders of the late Medieval Period.

THE CARTHUSIANS

Another notable reform-minded monastic order was that of the Carthusians. The first Carthusian monastery was established in 1084 at Chartreuse in southeastern France by a small group of monks under the leadership of the prior Bruno. In contrast with the Benedictines and Cluniacs, the Carthusians were greatly influenced by the practices of the Desert Fathers and Mothers of Egypt. Accordingly, the Carthusian tradition embodied a blend of the characteristic features of eremitic and cenobitic monasticism. The monks lived together within the common walls of the monastery, but they spent most of their time in private cells where they ate, slept, prayed, and studied in solitude. Much of their work consisted of the copying of manuscripts, which could likewise be done in isolation. They gathered only for worship services and for meals on Sundays and feast days, when they were permitted to converse. The Carthusians also fasted rigorously and practiced various other forms of asceticism.

Because of their strict rule, the Carthusians were never as numerous or influential as some of the other medieval monastic orders. Nevertheless, their example did serve to further the spirit of religious renewal that was being fueled by the monastic orders during this period. Perhaps the most notable Carthusian contribution to this cause was made by the 12th-century prior Guigo II, who produced a comprehensive formulation of the process of *lectio divina* (the method of sacred reading first introduced by Benedict of Nursia). Guigo outlined the four interlocking steps by which such sacred reading takes place—*lectio* (reading the text), *meditatio* (meditating on the text), *oratio* (praying about the text), and *contemplatio* (contemplating the full implications of the text for one's life). His exposition remains the definitive treatment of this fruitful spiritual discipline.[2]

THE CISTERCIANS

In 1098, Robert of Molesme, a zealous, reform-minded Benedictine monk, established a new monastic movement at Cîteaux in Burgundy. This was the order of the Cistercians, which would quickly emerge as the second of the great medieval monastic orders. Much like the Cluniacs, the Cistercians based their rule on that of the Benedictines, while also introducing significant variations. Indeed, some of the characteristic features of Cistercian monastic life may be seen as reactions not only against traditional Benedictine practices, but also against certain innovations of the Cluniacs.

In particular, the Cistercians sought to achieve the balance between worship, work, and study which was a key feature of the early Benedictine movement (and which had been largely abandoned by the monasteries that followed the interpretations of Benedict of Aniane and by the houses associated with Cluny). Cistercian liturgical services were much shorter in duration than those of the Cluniacs, and more time was given for private study and prayer. Manual labor was performed not by serfs, but by the monks themselves.

The Cistercians differed from the Benedictines and Cluniacs in other ways as well. They characteristically wore white habits rather than the traditional, black, monastic garb, and thus became known as "the White Monks." They established their monastic houses far from cities and other dwellings in order to maintain a greater measure of seclusion from secular society. They observed a rule of strict poverty that was reflected in their simple food and dress, as well as in the relatively plain interiors of their chapels, which stood in stark contrast to the magnificent abbey church at Cluny.

There was one distinctive feature of the order that the Cistercians did owe in part to the example of the Cluniacs—the unification of all its monastic houses. But while the Cluniacs strove only to achieve a loose affiliation, the Cistercians sought full and formal integration. Though each monastery did retain some degree of autonomy, they were to maintain uniformity in their rules and liturgies. The abbot of the head monastery at Cîteaux (or, as the order grew, an abbot of one of the other early Cistercian houses) visited each monastery annually to ensure that its affairs were in order, and all the abbots met

together at Cîteaux once a year to discuss issues of discipline and legislation that were of significance to the order as a whole.

The name that would come to be most closely associated with the Cistercian order was that of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153). Bernard came to the monastery at Cîteaux around 1112, and, three years later, was made abbot of the newly established Cistercian house at Clairvaux, a position he would hold until his death. Under Bernard's leadership, the monastery at Clairvaux became the center of a spectacular growth movement within the Cistercian order. By the time of his death, there were more than 300 Cistercian monasteries, nearly 70 of which he had helped to plant from Clairvaux.

Bernard proved to be not only an able monastic leader, but one of the outstanding Christian figures of the Medieval Period. He helped to settle several ecclesiastical and theological disputes during the 12th century, aided in resolving a disputed papal election, and was one of the foremost promoters of the Second Crusade. This activism was balanced by the profound adoration for Christ and semi-mystical devotion that marked his numerous writings, including *On Loving God* and *Sermons on the Song of Songs.*

THE FRANCISCANS

The 13th century saw the emergence of a new form of monasticism whose adherents practiced strict poverty and itinerant preaching rather than embracing the cloistered life of the monastery. Several orders of these mendicant monks (or friars, as they came to be called) were soon established. The earliest, largest, and most influential of these was the Order of Friars Minor, or Franciscans, the third great medieval monastic order.

The founder of this order, Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), was one of the most striking figures of Christian history. As a young man, he spent a year as a prisoner of war, after which he suffered through a lengthy illness. These experiences seem to have precipitated a spiritual awakening in him, and he soon renounced his possessions and his place in his father's household and devoted himself to repairing small churches. While attending a service in one of these chapels, Francis was greatly impacted by the reading of Matthew's account of Jesus' commissioning of the disciples for ministry: "Do not take along any gold or silver or copper in your belts; take no bag for the journey, or extra tunic, or sandals or a staff; for the worker is worth his keep. Whatever town or village you enter, search for some worthy person there and stay at his house until you leave."[3]

Taking these instructions to heart, Francis began preaching the Gospel to the townspeople in the area near his birthplace of Assisi. Whether by intention or not, he soon attracted a group of disciples, and, at their request, Francis devised a simple rule of life for them to follow. Around 1210, Francis and a few of his followers journeyed to Rome and received explicit papal approval of their rule, an event that marks the formal founding of the Franciscan order.

The Franciscans wandered from place to place, preaching the Gospel, working alongside the peasants, and aiding those who were sick or in need. Their ministry focused on cities and towns, the centers of the urban renewal that was occurring in Europe at the time. The friars were forbidden to own any possessions or property, whether individually or communally, and were not to receive any pay for their labors other than food and lodging. If no work was available in a particular locale, they resorted to begging for food.

Despite the austerities of this lifestyle, the Franciscans soon won many new members to their order, and two sister orders were also founded. The first was an order of cloistered nuns, known as the Poor Clares in honor of their founder, Clare of Assisi. The other consisted of men and women who did not forsake their property or adopt an itinerant lifestyle, but who promised to uphold the spirit of Francis' teachings. Within ten years of the movement's founding, the number of Franciscans had exceeded 5,000.

During his lifetime, the order continued to receive much of its inspiration from Francis, who possessed an indelible character. He was a great lover of nature, and many legends describe him as possessing an uncanny ability to communicate with birds and animals. This passion for creation also manifested itself in Francis' poems and songs, including the famous *Canticle of the Sun*. His preaching style was simple yet sincere, and his missionary fervor drove him to attempt to evangelize the Muslims in Palestine (though he was thwarted by a shipwreck and forced to return to Europe). For all of these reasons and more, Francis of Assisi was (and continues to be) widely esteemed as a devout, kind, and joyous soul.

In matters of administration and organization, however, Francis proved to be less adept. At an early stage in the development of the order, he relinquished those duties to trusted companions, who gradually introduced changes to the original rule. In 1220, a one-year novitiate for prospective members was established, the Franciscan habit was standardized, and the vows of those who entered the order were declared irrevocable. The following year, the entire rule was greatly revised and expanded. In 1223, begging (rather than labor) was adopted as the normal means of support. Around this same time, Franciscans in some areas slowly began acquiring communal property.

All of these reforms represented a gradual shift away from the earliest teachings and example of Francis himself, which were viewed by many as being impracticable given the growth of the order. Disputes over how closely to adhere to the foundational practices of Francis and his disciples intensified following Francis' death. This lingering disunity led to multiple schisms within the movement over the next few centuries, resulting in the eventual emergence of two separate orders, the more liberal Conventuals and the stricter Observants.

THE DOMINICANS

The fourth and final great medieval monastic order (and the second major mendicant order to emerge) was the Order of Friars Preachers, better known as the Dominicans.

The movement's founder, Dominic (c. 1170–1221), was born to a wealthy family in the region of Castile in Spain. In 1203, after he had completed his university studies and entered the ranks of the clergy, Dominic accompanied his bishop, Diego d'Azévédo, on a mission to the south of France. During this journey, he was greatly affected by his encounter with the members of a heretical movement that he sought to evangelize. In spite of their unorthodox beliefs, these people displayed keen intelligence, preached persuasively, exhibited stronger moral character than many Catholic Christians, and willingly lived in humble poverty.

Reasoning that the only way to win such people to the orthodox faith was to match them in terms of intelligence, holiness, and humility, Dominic resolved to remain in France and minister among them. He founded a nunnery near Toulouse in 1206, and later gathered around himself a small group of male followers, with whom he embarked on a life of missionary preaching. In 1215, Dominic traveled to Rome to seek papal approval of the infant order.

Because of the Catholic Church's growing concern over the rapid proliferation of new monastic movements, Pope Innocent III informed Dominic that his request would be granted only on the condition that he agreed to accept an existing monastic rule for the governance of his order. Dominic relented to this demand and chose a rule that was ascribed to Augustine of Hippo. Consequently, the Order of Friars Preachers was officially established in 1216 by Innocent's successor, Pope Honorius III (reigned 1216–1227).

Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans embraced poverty and begged for their support, though they did not insist on the complete renunciation of material goods that marked the early Franciscan movement. Indeed, the decision to make the Friars Preachers a mendicant order is often thought to have been a direct result of the example of Francis, whom Dominic is said to have greatly admired. However, in stark contrast to Francis, who spoke simply and distrusted the universities, Dominic stressed the importance of education and intellectually persuasive preaching. The Dominicans consequently placed a great emphasis on scholarship, and several important medieval theologians, including Thomas Aquinas, eventually emerged from their ranks.

In contrast to many earlier monastic orders, the Dominicans functioned not as a collection of monasteries but as a company of preachers organized by provinces. Each friar's loyalty was to the order as a whole rather than to one specific house, and Dominican preachers could thus be sent anywhere at any time to carry out the mission of their movement. Indeed, it would largely be members of the Dominican order who would later take the Gospel to the Americas in the company of the Spanish and Portuguese explorers. Both Dominicans and Franciscans also undertook missions to Russia, Persia, Central Asia, India, and China in the 13th and 14th centuries.

THE CARMELITES AND AUGUSTINIAN HERMITS

After the Franciscans and Dominicans, the most significant mendicant monastic orders were those of the Carmelites and the Augustinian Hermits. The Carmelites traced their origins to a group of pilgrims who journeyed to Palestine during the Crusades and established themselves as hermits on Mount Carmel, the site of Elijah's confrontation with the prophets of Baal.[4] There they pursued a secluded form of monasticism that was similar in some ways to that of the Carthusians, living in individual cells and maintaining strict vows of silence, chastity, and austerity. Their rule was written around 1210 by Albert, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, and they were officially established as an order by Pope Honorius III in 1226.

As a result of rising Muslim power in the region and the increasing weakness of the Crusader states, the majority of the Carmelites migrated to Europe in the mid-13th century. There, they abandoned the eremitic life and reinvented themselves as an order of mendicant friars. In later centuries, Carmelite nunneries were established as well.

The Augustinian Hermits originated as a loose association of eremitic monks in North Africa who had adopted the rule ascribed to Augustine of Hippo shortly after his death. Following the invasion of the Vandals, these hermits fled across the Mediterranean to Italy, where they embraced the sort of semi-eremitic, semi-cenobitic monastic life later practiced by groups such as the Carthusians.

In the 13th century, amid the climate of monastic renewal, some of these hermits began to propagate their movement in southern France, Spain, and Germany. Through the efforts of the papacy, the various groups of Augustinian monks were gradually drawn into a more cohesive union, and they were established as a single, official order in 1256 by decree of Pope Alexander IV (reigned 1254–1261).

Both the Carmelites and the Augustinian Hermits embraced a way of life that more closely resembled that of the Dominicans than that of the Franciscans. Both orders were active in preaching the Gospel, frequented the cities and universities, and sought to equip themselves for their mission through scholarship and theological training. Indeed, Martin Luther, one of the foremost thinkers of the Reformation, was at one time an Augustinian monk.

We thus see that Christian monasticism in the Medieval Period was a remarkably diverse and vital phenomenon. Its practitioners included cloistered devotees (the Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Cistercians), wilderness hermits (the Carthusians and the early Carmelites and Augustinians), missionary preachers (the Irish *peregrini* and the Dominicans),

and mendicant friars (the Franciscans and their followers). Each of these groups sought, in various ways, the attainment of the perfect, virtuous Christian life, and many of them emerged in response to what they viewed as divergence from this ideal by their predecessors. Of course, such reform-minded movements inevitably failed in their quest to flawlessly embody the character of Christ as well, and medieval monasticism was characterized as much by compromise and corruption as by virtuous living and spiritual fervor. Nevertheless, in an era marked by increasing Christian disunity and the mounting threat posed by Islam, the monastic orders served as guardians of the faith and sources of hope, protecting Christianity from the forces of destruction and decay that defined the age and preparing it to reemerge with renewed vigor.

Chapter Thirteen Review

Augustinian Hermits	Cistercians
Benedict of Aniane	Cluniacs
Benedict of Nursia	Dominic/Dominicans
Benedictine Rule	Francis of Assisi/Franciscans
Benedictines	Friars/Mendicants
Bernard of Clairvaux	*Lectio Divina*
Carmelites	*Peregrini*
Carthusians	

CHAPTER THIRTEEN NOTES

[1]See Acts 2:44, 45; 4:32–35.

[2]Fascinating introductions to the practice of *lectio divina* can be found in Tony Jones, *The Sacred Way* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), 47–55 and Eugene Peterson, *Eat This Book* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 90–117.

[3]Matthew 10:9–11 NIV.

[4]See 1 Kings 18:20–40.

Chapter Fourteen
Late Medieval Eastern Christianity

During the centuries immediately following the Great Schism of 1054, the respective fortunes of Eastern and Western Christianity diverged sharply. As we have already seen, the strength of the Roman Catholic Church was bolstered during this period by the growth of a reforming spirit in the papacy, the rise of the Christian nationalist sentiment that provided much of the impetus for the Crusades, and the birth of monastic orders that contributed to the ongoing spiritual renewal of Western Europe. In the East, by contrast, the vitality of the Christian faith was greatly compromised by both internal stagnation and external threats posed by Muslims, Crusaders, and pagans. But though the older historical expressions of Eastern Christianity would suffer a sharp decline between the mid-11th and mid-15th centuries, hope would emerge in the form of a powerful new heir to the Orthodox tradition.

INTELLECTUAL AND THEOLOGICAL STAGNATION

Byzantine Christianity was the heir to the spiritual riches of the great Greek Fathers, from whose thought many of the central suppositions of Christian theology (and particularly of Christology) were originally derived. Likewise, it was the inheritor of the vast literary treasures of the classical Greek philosophers, whose writings greatly influenced the intellectual climate of late medieval Europe. Yet in spite of these dual legacies, Eastern Orthodoxy increasingly displayed signs of intellectual and theological sterility during the centuries following the Great Schism. No outstanding works of theology were produced in the East after John of Damascus' *Fountain of Knowledge* appeared in the eighth century, and no new movements emerged to rival the scholastic theology that was to define medieval Roman Catholicism.

Though the precise reasons for this persistent condition of stagnancy are not entirely clear, it may be conjectured that there were several contributing factors. Most practically, the rise of autocephalous national churches in Bulgaria and Serbia (and later in Russia) and the translation of the Bible and the liturgy into Slavonic meant that it was largely unnecessary and increasingly uncommon for Orthodox believers outside the Byzantine Empire to learn Greek. Thus, many Orthodox Christians in the regions where the faith was expanding most rapidly were unable to engage with the works of the classical philosophers and the Greek Fathers, thereby reducing their likelihood of being spurred to fresh, creative, theological insights.

It is also possible that the shifting political fortunes of the Byzantine Empire indirectly contributed to Eastern Orthodoxy's malaise. Beginning with the advance of the Muslim

Arabs in the seventh century, the empire was increasingly threatened by foreign invaders, and often found itself forced to adopt a defensive posture. This political caution may have helped to foster a wider cultural conservatism that feared or shunned any drastic change, thus discouraging Orthodox believers from pursuing controversial intellectual inquiries or propounding radical theological innovations.

Finally, it seems likely that one partial explanation for the lack of Orthodox advances in academic theology is that Eastern Christians continued to devote much of their energy to the pursuit of mystical and contemplative spirituality. This tendency—which distinguished Eastern believers from their more pragmatic Western counterparts even before the Great Schism—became increasingly definitive for Eastern Orthodoxy in the centuries following the split. Indeed, owing to the relative lack of theological innovation, the most notable development in Eastern spirituality during the late Medieval Period was the introduction of a new form of mysticism known as Hesychasm.

THE RISE OF HESYCHASTIC MYSTICISM

The mystical practice of Hesychasm was characterized by uninterrupted contemplation and prayer, through which individuals sought to achieve *hésychia* ("divine quietness"). The early practitioners of Hesychasm (mostly Eastern monks) believed that by employing a simple, repetitive prayer that invoked the name of Jesus, they could bring about unity among the heart, mind, and body, thus attaining mystical union with God. The prayer of the Hesychastic monks is variously known as the Prayer of the Heart or the Jesus Prayer. A modern English version is "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner." It eventually became customary to structure the words of the prayer around the rhythms of breathing and to repeat the prayer with the head bowed and the eyes focused on the middle of the body, measures that were designed to immerse oneself more fully in the prayer and thus avoid distraction.[1]

The theology underlying this Hesychastic practice was fairly consistent with much Eastern spirituality dating back to the time of Origen, and had roots in the thought and writings of the fourth-century desert monk Evagrius Ponticus, John Climacus, and Maximus the Confessor. However, it seems that the true father of Hesychasm was Symeon the New Theologian (c. 949–1022). Symeon, a Studite monk, taught that God is incomprehensible by humanity's rational intellect, and that the only way to truly know Him is to be caught up in a vision of the "divine light," the uncreated, self-communicating energy of God. According to Symeon, the practice of Hesychastic prayer and contemplation was the key to achieving such an encounter.

In later centuries, Hesychasm became a source of controversy among Eastern Christians. Its chief defender was Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), a monk who later served as archbishop of Thessalonica and who eventually emerged as one of the most compelling figures of late medieval Eastern Orthodoxy. In his works In *Defense of the Holy*

Hesychasts and T*he Book of Holiness,* Gregory restated and refined the teachings of Symeon. He insisted on the inherent goodness of the created world and held that, within such a world, the involvement of the physical body in prayer was both natural and necessary. He also attempted to ground Hesychastic theology in Scripture by suggesting that the experience of immersion in the "divine light" that Hesychasts sought was analogous to the radiance bestowed upon Jesus by the Father at the Transfiguration.[2] Gregory's scholarly arguments proved persuasive, and his teachings were eventually upheld by a series of Orthodox councils in 1341, 1347, and 1351. Hesychasm subsequently became a more significant element of Orthodox spirituality, and Gregory Palamas' writings exerted a profound influence on the further development of Eastern mysticism.

THE DECLINE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

As we have noted, the persistent intellectual and creative torpor that afflicted Eastern Orthodoxy during the centuries following the Great Schism of 1054 was paralleled and exacerbated by the increasing political instability of the Byzantine Empire. The initial threat to the empire's integrity came from the Muslim Seljuk Turks, who defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and subsequently seized control of Armenia and much of Asia Minor. In the same year, the Normans, a people descended from the Scandinavians, seized lands in southern Italy that had long been under Byzantine control. The Byzantine emperors managed to recapture some of these territories in the wake of the First Crusade, but such gains were largely reversed over the course of the 12th century. Moreover, as the Crusades progressed, the autonomy of the empire was increasingly threatened not only by the Muslim Turks, but by the Catholic Crusaders. In particular, the events of the misguided Fourth Crusade, during which the Crusaders sacked Constantinople and set up a Latin kingdom and patriarchate, significantly weakened the empire and contributed greatly to its eventual downfall.

In 1261, the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (reigned 1259–1282) re-established Byzantine control of Constantinople. In an effort to safeguard the fragile empire against further invasion and secure his own position on the throne, Michael sought anew to heal the division between the Eastern and Western Churches. Accordingly, he sent a Greek delegation to the Second Council of Lyons, which was convened in France by Pope Gregory X (reigned 1271–1276) in 1274. Though the council ended in an accord that apparently brought an end to the schism, the majority of the Orthodox clergy and the Byzantine populace—who were still incensed, no doubt, by the actions of Innocent III and the armies of the Fourth Crusade—rejected the agreement, and Michael's successor, Andronikos II Palaeologus (reigned 1282–1328), eventually renounced it.

Beginning shortly after 1350, the Byzantine Empire was increasingly threatened by a formidable new foe: the Ottoman Turks. Over the course of the next century, the Ottoman armies swept inexorably through the Balkan Peninsula, eventually capturing the bulk of the Byzantine holdings in Greece, as well as the adjacent Orthodox nations of Bulgaria

and Serbia. In desperation, the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (reigned 1425–1448) eventually sought the help of the Christian powers of the West, and offered to re-open negotiations concerning the reunification of the Eastern and Western Churches with Pope Eugene IV (reigned 1431–1447).

Accordingly, an ecclesiastical council assembled at Ferrara and then at Florence in 1438 and 1439 in an attempt to effect a settlement. The meeting was attended by the pope, the emperor, Patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople, and representatives of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, along with a number of Eastern bishops. As with the Second Council of Lyons, a tentative agreement that promised an end to the schism was reached, but once again the Eastern Orthodox clergy and laity refused to recognize the legitimacy of the proceedings, and the two Churches remained estranged, thus dooming the Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Orthodox Churches to face the relentless Ottoman advance without substantial Western aid.

The final blow came in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople, thus bringing an effective end to the Byzantine Empire. Islam subsequently became the predominant religion throughout Asia Minor (present-day Turkey), that region whose cities—Tarsus, Ephesus, Colosse, Nicaea, Constantinople—had been so important to the development of the Christian church. It also made significant inroads in the Balkans, particularly in Albania, and in some regions conversion to Islam was made compulsory.

Nevertheless, Orthodox Christianity was not completely extinguished, and its adherents were allowed by their Muslim rulers to remain a discrete nation within the Ottoman Empire. However, the autocephalous Churches of Bulgaria and Serbia lost their independence, and all Orthodox believers were placed under the direct supervision of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were chosen by the Muslim sultans and therefore often proved to be corrupt or unworthy leaders. Consequently, the Eastern Orthodox Churches in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula soon fell into a state of spiritual decay that would largely persist until the gradual breakup of the Ottoman Empire four centuries later.

Thus, with the four historical centers of Eastern Christianity—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople—all having fallen into Muslim hands over the course of the Medieval Period, spiritual leadership of the Orthodox community passed to the one major autocephalous national church that had escaped the Ottoman scourge: the Russian Orthodox Church. It is to the early history of that expression of the faith that we now turn our attention.

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY

Though there were scattered Christian settlements in parts of what is now southern Russia during earlier centuries, the conversion of the populace of the medieval Slavic state of Kievan Rus' (the precursor of the Russian nation) did not begin in earnest until

988, when Vladimir I, prince of Kiev (c. 958–1015), was baptized. He accepted the Byzantine form of Christianity rather than the Roman one, and quickly compelled his subjects to embrace his faith as well. Because of the work of Cyril and Methodius, the new converts of Kievan Rus' had access to Slavonic translations of the Scriptures and the Byzantine liturgy, and an autocephalous Orthodox Church was soon established under the leadership of a metropolitan (archbishop) at Kiev.

Though Kievan Rus' thus became an officially Christian state, the faith of much of its populace was initially merely nominal, and it seems as though the eventual advent of sincere Christian spirituality in Russia was largely due to the influence of Russian monasticism. The first Russian monastery was established in a cave near Kiev by the monk Anthony (?–1073), who had previously been part of the famous Eastern monastic community at Mount Athos in Greece, and his student Theodosius (?–1074), who may be seen as the true organizer of Russian monasticism. Under his leadership, the monks of Kiev adopted the Studite rule, which eventually became the standard for most monastic houses in Russia. Theodosius discouraged extreme asceticism and long periods of silence, and encouraged his monks to pursue a balance of the contemplative and the active life. He sought to serve the larger community by donating portions of the monastery's income to beggars, prisoners, and the sick, and he and his monks often served as spiritual counselors to the Russian laity.

Theodosius was also a pioneer of the monastic discipline that came to be known as kenoticism. The Greek word *kenosis* ("emptying") was originally employed by Christians to refer to the mysterious process by which the divine Son of God "emptied Himself" and took on human flesh.[3] However, Theodosius argued that believers should also undergo a form of *kenosis* by embracing utter humility, striving to maintain innocence, perpetuating peace with others, and practicing continual self-denial of the will. The ultimate aim of kenotic practice was to empty oneself of pride and other sinful desires in order to be "re-filled" with divine grace and thus achieve true union with God. Kenoticism was to remain a distinguishing characteristic of Russian monasticism for centuries to come.

In the 12th century, the state of Kievan Rus' began fragmenting into various city-states as regional allegiances grew stronger. Then, in 1237, Russia was invaded by the Mongols, who were in the process of building a vast empire stretching from China to the Caucasus under the leadership of Genghis Khan (c. 1162–1227) and his descendants. But though the Mongol conquest of Russia contributed to the disintegration of the distinctive culture that had been associated with Kiev, it paradoxically served to strengthen Christianity. This was largely due to the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church was embraced by the Russian people as the central institution that symbolized Russian nationalism and unity in the face of foreign occupation.

Though the Mongols did not attempt to eradicate Christianity and allowed the Russian Church to oversee the spiritual affairs of its members, many Russian Christians fled to

the north, beyond the reach of the Mongol rulers. Some took refuge in the forests and became eremitic monks. The most famous of these was Sergius of Radonezh (c. 1322–1392), who lived as a hermit in a forest north of Moscow. Others eventually joined him there, and after some initial hesitancy, Sergius agreed to become abbot of a small, monastic community. He later founded the Trinity Monastery, which became the most famous of all Russian monastic houses. Hundreds of other monasteries were subsequently established throughout Russia by Sergius' disciples, and these houses played a crucial role in the further evangelization of the northern and eastern portions of the nation.

Sergius creatively combined several important strains of Eastern spirituality. He practiced the kenotic humility that was characteristic of the early Kievan monks, and he was also one of the first Russian Christians to embrace and promote Hesychastic mysticism, which subsequently became an increasingly prevalent feature of Russian Orthodox spirituality.

Another important Russian mystic was Nil Sorsky (1433–1508), who for a time was a member of a monastery founded by one of Sergius' disciples. He later visited Palestine, Constantinople, and Mount Athos in Greece, where he became better acquainted with the mysteries of Hesychasm. Upon returning to Russia, Nil established a small, monastic settlement where he and a few followers embraced kenotic humility and non-resistance and practiced Hesychasm.

Nil believed that the ideal way to pursue the spiritual life was in the context of a small group, and thus never founded a large-scale monastery. He and his followers separated themselves from society, practiced complete poverty, and embraced extreme simplicity, shunning the elaborate services and ornate buildings that typified Orthodox Christianity. Indeed, they went so far as to denounce monastic ownership of property, a position that led others to brand them "Non-possessors."

The Non-possessors were eventually drawn into an ideological conflict with another group of Russian monks who were led by Joseph Volotsky (c. 1440–1515), and who thus came to be known as the Josephites. In contrast to the mystical, isolationist Non-possessors, the Josephites sought to make Christianity a more visible force in the life of the nation. They built grand monasteries, conducted elaborate worship services, promoted religious education, practiced strict discipline, maintained rigorous doctrinal orthodoxy, and generally downplayed mysticism and the inner life. The Josephites eventually prevailed, and Russian monasticism was thereafter marked by the increasing participation of monks in public life.

The triumph of the activist Josephite position foreshadowed the eventual creation of a strong tie between church and state that was to become characteristic of Russian Orthodoxy. After the Mongols were finally expelled from Russia in 1480, the Grand Prince Ivan III ("the Great," reigned 1462–1505), sought to unite the Russian territories under his

rule and established Moscow as the new capital of his domains. Ivan claimed to be the legitimate successor of the Byzantine emperors, and he likewise viewed the Russian Orthodox Church as the heir to the true Christian faith. Consequently, Moscow came to be referred to by Ivan and his successors as "the Third Rome." According to this view, the first Rome had fallen to the Germanic barbarians and had later followed the popes into heresy, while the second Rome (Constantinople) had been overwhelmed by the Muslim Turks. It thus fell to the rulers and religious leaders of Moscow to take up the mantle of the protectors of the true faith. Indeed, the Russian Church would serve as the guardian of Eastern Orthodox Christianity during the long period of Turkish rule in the Balkans. However, as we will later see, its own spiritual vitality would be threatened in later centuries by its close association with the increasingly autocratic Russian state.

THE FATES OF THE MONOPHYSITE AND NESTORIAN CHURCHES

Finally, we must pause to recount the story of those groups of believers on the eastern frontiers of Christendom that remained separated from the Eastern Orthodox Churches because they continued to espouse either a Monophysite or a Nestorian Christology. As we have noted, the chief centers of Monophysite Christianity were the North African nations of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia, as well as Syria and Armenia. During the late Medieval Period, the successive advances of the various Muslim groups (Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, and Ottomans) wreaked havoc on all of these nations and left each of the Monophysite faith communities clinging to a tenuous existence. Nevertheless, the Monophysite Churches, though greatly weakened and largely deprived of spiritual vitality, managed to survive and exist today as the Oriental Orthodox Churches.[4]

The Nestorians were largely found further east in Mesopotamia and Persia, lands that until the 13th century were under the control of the Arab caliphs. With the advent of the more tolerant Mongol rule, Christianity briefly flourished in Asia—partly through the missionary endeavors of the Franciscans and Dominicans, but largely through the efforts of the Nestorians. Some of the Mongol princes were baptized as Nestorian believers, and Nestorian congregations were established in both India and China. However, the end of Mongol rule in China in 1368 led to the disappearance of Christianity in that nation, and the subsequent conversion of many of the Mongols in Persia and Mesopotamia to Islam reduced the Nestorians to a greatly endangered minority in those lands. However, like Monophysite Christianity, the Nestorian strain of the faith endured, and it is today represented by the Assyrian Church of the East.[5]

———————————————

Having thus surveyed developments within the various Eastern expressions of Christianity during the late Medieval Period, we now turn our attention to that branch of the faith that would prove to be dominant between 1000 and 1500—the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN NOTES

[1]For more on the history, theology, and practice of the Jesus Prayer, see Tony Jones, *The Sacred Way* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), pp. 59–66.

[2]See Mark 9:2–8 and parallels.

[3]Cf. Philippians 2:5–8.

[4]Most Oriental Orthodox Churches today espouse a Christology that is closer to that of Cyril of Alexandria than that of Eutyches, whom they consider a heretic. As a result, they largely reject the label "Monophysite" and instead refer to their Christological position as *miaphysitism*. For more on the current state of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, see Chapter Thirty-Five.

[5]The Assyrian Church of the East often rejects the label "Nestorian," as it bases its theology on the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (one of the "Three Chapters") rather than those of Nestorius himself. For more on the current state of the Assyrian Church of the East, see Chapter Thirty-Five.

Chapter Fifteen
Late Medieval Roman Catholicism

As we have hinted at in previous chapters, the two-and-a-half centuries between 1050 and 1300 represented, in many ways, the zenith of Catholic Christianity in Western Europe. This period witnessed the undertaking of the Crusades, which, though ultimately unsuccessful in their aim, served as powerful demonstrations of the sway that the Catholic Church held over both the secular rulers and the common people of the West. It was likewise during this span of years that many of the important Catholic monastic orders—including the Cistercians, Franciscans, and Dominicans—came into being and began making important contributions to the restoration of social stability, the renewal of spiritual vigor, and the growth of Christian scholarship. In this chapter, we will explore some additional contemporary developments that contributed significantly to the growing strength and emerging identity of the medieval Catholic Church.

THE APEX OF PAPAL POWER

As we have seen, Pope Leo IX, who reigned from 1049–1054 (and whose actions partially precipitated the East-West schism), initiated a vigorous program of reform that served to restore stability and respectability to the papacy. The ultimate aims of this program were to put a stop to various clerical abuses, to consolidate the pope's authority over the Church as a whole, and to secure the independence of the Church from the interference of secular rulers. Over the course of the ensuing centuries, many of Leo's successors embraced the reforming spirit, and, as a result of their efforts, the papacy soon came to possess greater influence than it ever had before, or ever would again. The two figures who were most responsible for the growth of papal power during this period were Pope Gregory VII (reigned 1073–1085) and Pope Innocent III (reigned 1198–1216). While Leo the Great and Gregory the Great are often referred to as "the architects of the medieval papacy," Gregory VII and Innocent III must be regarded as its master builders.

Gregory VII and the Investiture Controversy

Gregory VII, whose birth name was Hildebrand, began his religious career as a monk. After spending some time in Germany, he was summoned back to Rome by Pope Leo IX, who sought to surround himself with capable, reform-minded assistants. Hildebrand eventually became a cardinal and served as a key advisor to Popes Nicholas II (reigned 1059–1061) and Alexander II (reigned 1061–1073), both of whom embraced and extended Leo IX's program of reform. Upon the death of Alexander II in 1073, the populace of Rome called for Hildebrand to become their next bishop, and he was quickly elected to the papacy by the cardinals.

As Pope Gregory VII, Hildebrand made extraordinary, sweeping assertions regarding the nature and powers of the papacy. His views were made most explicit in the *Dictatus Papae*, a contemporary document that was likely authored by Gregory himself, or perhaps by someone who wrote at his direction. The *Dictatus* contained a collection of 27 affirmations that served to clearly define the extent of papal authority. Among the claims it advanced were that the Roman Catholic Church was founded by God, that the Church was perpetually inerrant, that the pope alone deserved the title of "universal bishop," that only the pope had the right to depose and reinstate bishops, that the pope had the power to dethrone emperors, that a judgment issued by the pope could not be reversed by anyone but himself, and that the pope could be judged by no one. Though many of these statements reflected long-held beliefs, never before had they been presented so clearly, forcefully, and systematically. Subsequently, these articulations of the thought of Gregory VII would become definitive for the self-understanding of the papacy and of the Roman Catholic Church as a whole.

As a further means of advancing his agenda of reform, Gregory VII set out to eliminate three practices that he viewed as significant threats to the life of the Church and the authority of the papacy: simony (the purchase and sale of ecclesiastical offices), nicolaitism (clerical marriage and concubinage), and lay investiture (a practice by which secular rulers assumed the right to bestow upon newly appointed ecclesiastical officials the symbols of their religious authority, often in exchange for an oath of allegiance). This last issue would prove to be the greatest challenge that Gregory VII faced, and his efforts to address it soon sparked a large-scale political and religious conflict that has come to be known as the Investiture Controversy.

The trouble began in 1075, when King (later Emperor) Henry IV of Germany (reigned 1056–1105) appointed an anti-reform candidate as archbishop of Milan, in clear defiance of the pope's policy on investiture. Gregory VII sent a letter to Henry in which he chastised the emperor for this action, but rather than expressing contrition, Henry publicly denounced Gregory and called for him to vacate the papal throne. Gregory, in a demonstration of the considerable power that he wielded as pope, responded by deposing and excommunicating Henry in 1076.

Recognizing that he had misjudged his opponent's strength, and that many of the nobles and bishops of Germany intended to honor the pope's decree and select a new emperor, Henry hurried to Italy to seek absolution from Gregory. Though Gregory relented and reversed the order of excommunication, Henry's German detractors proceeded with their plans and elected a rival emperor, Rudolph of Rheinfelden, an action that precipitated a civil war. After attempting to act as a mediator, Gregory VII eventually sided with Rudolph and had Henry IV deposed and excommunicated a second time in 1080.

Shortly thereafter, Henry convened a synod of those German bishops who still supported his claim to the imperial throne. This body declared Gregory VII deposed and elected the archbishop of Ravenna to replace him as pope. Shortly thereafter, Henry and his armies

defeated Rudolph of Rheinfelden and invaded Italy. In 1084, the emperor captured Rome itself and had the archbishop of Ravenna crowned as Pope Clement III. Thus, Gregory VII, who only a few years earlier had demonstrated that his papal authority was sufficient to effect the deposition of the Holy Roman Emperor, was ultimately defeated by his secular rival. He was forced into exile, and he died the following year.

A compromise on the issue of lay investiture was finally reached in 1122, when the Emperor Henry V (reigned 1111–1125) and Pope Callixtus II (reigned 1119–1124) signed the Concordat of Worms. According to this agreement, the election of bishops and abbots in Germany were to be conducted in the presence of the emperor, but according to the regulations of the Church. The Church was granted the sole right to invest its ecclesiastical officials with the symbols of their spiritual authority, while the emperors were allowed to invest bishops with whatever secular possessions and privileges might accompany their offices. Though this agreement brought an end to the Investiture Controversy, the power struggle between the Holy Roman Emperors and the popes would continue for several more centuries.

Innocent III

Several of the successors of Gregory VII were able leaders who continued to assert the independence of the Church and the supremacy of the papacy. Among these were Urban II, who launched the First Crusade, Eugene III (reigned 1145–1153), who initiated the Second Crusade and deposed several powerful archbishops who had disobeyed him, and Alexander III (reigned 1159–1181), who obtained the obeisance of the powerful Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, one of the eventual leaders of the Third Crusade.

It was during Alexander's pontificate that Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered by agents of King Henry II of England (reigned 1154–1189), who desired to reassert the English monarchy's dominance over the Church. The pope, capitalizing on the widespread outrage that Becket's murder occasioned, forced the king to recognize some of the Church's claims to supremacy. Similar gains were also made in France. Thus, by the close of the 12th century, the program of reform initiated by Leo IX and articulated more forcefully by Gregory VII had succeeded in greatly increasing the strength and influence of the papacy throughout Europe.

The pinnacle of papal power in the Medieval Period was reached during the reign of Innocent III, who came to the papal throne in 1198. Born to a noble Roman family and educated in theology and church law in Paris and Bologna, Innocent was highly learned and ably equipped to defend the supremacy of the papacy, a task that he undertook with great vigor. Like Gregory VII, Innocent III made extraordinary claims regarding the extent of papal authority. He asserted that God had entrusted the popes not only with the oversight of the Church, but with the governance of the entire world. While Innocent acknowledged that God had bestowed power upon the secular rulers of Europe, he argued that their authority was derived from the overarching authority of the papacy, just as the

light of the moon is derived from that of the sun. He also insisted that the clergy were to be independent from the laws of the state and subject only to the authority of the popes.

Innocent wasted little time in putting these beliefs into practice. His pontificate was marked by a striking degree of involvement in political affairs. He compelled the aristocracy of Rome to acknowledge the sovereignty of the pope rather than that of the emperor, and he consolidated the strength of the papacy throughout Italy. When a succession dispute arose in Germany, Innocent intervened on behalf of one of the candidates and later crowned him as the Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV (reigned 1209–1218). Then, when Otto's actions as emperor displeased him, Innocent had him excommunicated and helped effect the election of a new emperor, Frederick II, who consequently promised to comply with the pope's wishes. Innocent also excommunicated and deposed King John of England (reigned 1199–1216), who had refused to legitimate the election of the archbishop of Canterbury. Later, when England was threatened with invasion by France, John was forced to submit and to surrender his nation to Innocent in order to bring it under papal protection.

As we have seen, Innocent III further involved himself in political matters by initiating the Fourth Crusade. Though the Crusaders' attack on Constantinople was carried out against his wishes, the pope seized the opportunity that had been presented to him and sought to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches by establishing a Latin patriarchate in Constantinople and striving to exert papal control over those Eastern Christians who lived beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire. Though these efforts ultimately failed to bring about reconciliation with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, they nevertheless bore witness to Innocent's considerable power and ambition.

In addition to pursuing his various political agendas, Innocent also enacted important religious legislation. He continued the reformers' quest to eliminate simony and nicolaitism, authorized crusades against heretics and pagans, and brought greater organization to the young churches in Prussia and Poland. As we have noted, he was also instrumental in granting recognition to the great mendicant monastic orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Finally, Innocent called and presided over the most significant religious gathering of the late Medieval Period, the Fourth Lateran Council, which was convened in 1215. The rulings of this council were intended to continue the reform of the Church, improve the life of the Christian community through moral renewal and increased education, and clarify certain doctrines that were increasingly becoming central to Catholic theology. In order to gain a fuller understanding of some of these characteristic beliefs and practices, we must now turn our attention to an important contemporary development that paralleled the increasing power of the papacy—the emergence of scholasticism.

THE SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGIANS

The widespread social and religious renewal that prevailed in Western Europe beginning in the late tenth century was accompanied by a revival in classical learning and scholarship.

The period was marked by the emergence of distinguished universities (notably at Paris and Bologna), which quickly became hotbeds of philosophical and theological inquiry. From these centers of learning emerged a new trend in theology, which became known as scholasticism.

The scholastics sought above all else to explore the relationship between reason and faith. The key questions that drove them were whether philosophical reasoning and the claims of the Christian faith were consistent with or contradictory to one another and whether (and under what conditions) either should take precedence over the other. They endeavored to produce purely rational philosophical arguments that would prove the logical consistency of existing Christian doctrines, and, conversely, advanced new theological hypotheses that more closely adhered to the stringent demands of reason.

In grappling with these issues, the early scholastic theologians often made recourse to the writings of the Church Fathers, especially those of Augustine. However, scholasticism was also marked by an increasing fascination with classical Greek philosophy, particularly that of Plato's pupil Aristotle, many of whose works were introduced to the West during this period. Aristotelian logic, with its focus on systematic reasoning, quickly became a hallmark of scholastic theology. A lesser source of inspiration (though still a significant one) was Neoplatonism, the variant on the philosophy of Plato that had at one time been embraced by Augustine. The writings of the fifth-century mystic Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who had attempted to reconcile Neoplatonism and Christianity by blending classical philosophical concepts with mystical theology, had appeared in the West in the ninth century and were increasingly read by Christian scholars alongside the works of the Church Fathers.

We will now proceed to survey the lives and thought of several of the significant figures of scholasticism. As we do so, we will also note the ways in which their writings contributed to the emergence and further articulation of doctrines and practices that would become central to Catholic Christianity.

Anselm

The earliest of the important scholastics was the Italian theologian Anselm (c. 1033–1109). In 1057, after having received a classical education, Anselm entered the Benedictine monastery of Bec in Normandy, an outstanding center of both spiritual vigor and scholarship. In 1078, he became abbot of the monastery, and in 1093 he succeeded Lanfranc, another former monk of Bec, as archbishop of Canterbury. However, persistent investiture disputes with the kings of England forced Anselm to spend much of the latter part of his life in exile on the European continent.

During all of these phases of his life, Anselm maintained a deep interest in philosophy and theology. He saw no inherent contradiction between the respective claims of reason

and faith, and he attempted in his writings to defend the central beliefs of Christianity by means of rational arguments. The three most important of these works were *Monologium* ("A Soliloquy"), *Proslogium* ("A Discourse"), and *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why God-Man").

Both the *Monologium* and the *Proslogium* were concerned with proving the existence of God through the use of reason. In the former, Anselm argued that God represents the absolute standard of perfection, the ultimate embodiment of justice, wisdom, and power, whose existence explains humans' ability to perceive the imperfections that mark their own lives. In the latter, Anselm set forth what has often been referred to as the ontological argument for the existence of God, in which he maintained that God is the highest form of Being, the most perfect Being that it is possible for humanity to conceive of as existing.

In contrast to these earlier works, *Cur Deus Homo* focused on the Incarnation and the nature of the atonement. In its pages, Anselm maintained that sin placed humanity in debt to the Creator God. If God had simply forgiven the debt, He would have effectively ignored sin, thus acting contrary to the holiness of His character and disrupting the moral order that He had set over His creation. Yet fallen humanity was utterly incapable of making full restitution before God for its transgressions. The only solution was for God to act by becoming human and offering Himself as the sacrifice that would settle the debt and enable humanity to be forgiven. This view, which is known as the "substitutionary theory" of the atonement, would subsequently become widely held among both Catholic and Protestant Christians.

In addition to these major works, Anselm also produced an argument concerning the nature of the Trinity in which he defended the use of the *filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. At the time of his death, he was occupied with a consideration of the complex questions surrounding the issues of predestination and free will.

Peter Abélard

The French theologian Peter Abélard (c. 1079–1142) is perhaps best-known for his tragic romance with his student Héloïse, an affair that led to his emasculation and her entrance into a convent.[1] Following this unhappy episode, Abélard entered a monastery near Paris, where he studied intently and began to produce writings on theology.

Like many of the later scholastics, Abélard was a great admirer of Aristotelian logic, and his works reflected the dual fascination with faith and reason that had been characteristic of Anselm's thought. One of Abélard's most notable early works, *Sic et non* ("Yes and No"), was a compilation of basic questions concerning science, ethics, and theology, accompanied by quotations from the Bible and the Church Fathers that seemed to offer contradictory answers to these questions. Though Abélard did offer his readers guidelines by which they might reconcile some of these apparent contradictions, the

work's chief intention seems to have been the provocation of fresh thought regarding the complex issues presented by the questions it contained.

In his other writings, Abélard espoused a variety of controversial views on central questions of theology. In his *Scito te ipsum* ("Know Thyself"), Abélard argued against the Augustinian notion of original sin, claiming that humans do not share in the guilt of Adam from birth. Rather, they can choose to follow Adam's example by sinning (thus incurring God's punishment), or to cooperate with God's grace by doing good (thus avoiding such punishment). Further, Abélard insisted that sinfulness was not determined by one's actions, but rather by one's intentions—that sin consisted of the consent of the human mind to something that it knows to be wrong.

Abélard's theory of the atonement, which differed considerably from Anselm's, has come to be known as the "moral influence theory." According to this view, God's forgiveness is a free act of grace; and, therefore, Anselm's claim that Jesus' sacrifice served as a compensation for sin, thereby "clearing the way" for God's forgiveness, is untenable. Rather, Abélard argued, Jesus voluntarily endured the suffering brought on by sin because of His great love, thus providing us with a perfect example of true humanity. This action, in turn, generates in human hearts immense love, gratitude, and a desire to emulate Jesus by abandoning sinful behavior and embracing right conduct.

Abélard's views on these and other theological topics proved to be highly controversial, and some of his writings were denounced as heretical. As a result, he spent much of his later life moving from one monastery to another as various groups turned against him. Bernard of Clairvaux came out in strenuous opposition to Abélard's teachings, and in 1140 Abélard was denounced by a council at Sens, a judgment that was upheld by Pope Innocent II (reigned 1130–1143). Shortly thereafter, Abélard was reconciled to several of his chief critics, including Bernard, and he spent his last years in relative peace at the monastery of Cluny.

Peter Lombard and the Sacraments

Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160) is chiefly remembered for his momentous *Four Books of Sentences*, which became the standard textbook of theology in late medieval Europe, and more particularly for his writings on the sacraments. Like many of the theologians of his day, Peter studied at both Bologna and Paris and toward the end of his life, he served briefly as the archbishop of Paris.

The *Four Books of Sentences*, which were largely composed of a careful arrangement of the teachings of the Church Fathers, together comprised a systematic treatment of Christian theology. The first book discussed the nature and attributes of God, the Trinity, evil, and predestination. The second dealt with angels, demons, creation, the fall of man,

sin, and grace. The third explored the Incarnation of Jesus, redemption, the Ten Commandments, the fruit of the Spirit, and the seven cardinal virtues. The fourth examined the sacraments, death, judgment, hell, and heaven.

While much of this content merely represented the collected wisdom of Christian history rather than Peter Lombard's own thought, his exploration of the sacraments proved to be highly influential for the subsequent theology and practice of the Catholic Church. Before the scholastic period, the classic definition of a *sacrament* was that of Augustine, who had described it as "a visible sign of invisible grace." The Saxon theologian Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096–1141) had argued in his *De Sacramentis Fidei Christianae* that that this definition was insufficient, insisting that a sacrament was not merely a symbol of grace, but also the physical medium through which grace operates. Peter Lombard, adopting and extending this line of reasoning, further asserted that a sacrament is, in fact, "the cause of the grace it signifies."

In addition to clarifying the definition of a sacrament, Peter Lombard's fourth *Book of Sentences* also served to fix the number of sacraments, a matter that had been widely contested. Some held that only baptism and the Eucharist constituted sacraments. At the other end of the spectrum, Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis* had enumerated 30 sacraments. Peter Lombard named seven—baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction (anointing of those near death), ordination, and matrimony—and it was this list that was eventually adopted as normative by the Roman Catholic Church.[2]

We may pause at this point to make some brief observations about the developing theology and praxis concerning the first four of these sacraments. By this period, infant baptism (whether by immersion or effusion) was increasingly the norm. Thus, the catechetical instruction and public confession of faith that had originally preceded baptism became increasingly detached from that rite and associated with the separate sacrament of confirmation. In this ritual, the priest laid hands on candidates and anointed them with oil, actions that were believed to confer on them the gifts of the Spirit.

The major development concerning the Eucharist during this period was the Church's increasing embrace of the doctrine of transubstantiation. This theory, first explicitly articulated by the ninth-century monk Radbertus, held that the bread and wine used in the Eucharist were supernaturally transformed in their substance (though not their appearance) into the actual body and blood of Jesus. The doctrine of transubstantiation was a source of great debate among the scholastics, but the writings of Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard on the sacraments paved the way for its adoption as the official position of the Catholic Church at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

The Fourth Lateran Council also passed new legislation concerning the sacrament of penance, requiring all Christians to make private confession of their sins to a priest at least once a year. Over the course of the early centuries of the Medieval Period, such private confession had largely replaced the early church's typical practice of public

confession before the entire community of faith. Beyond this simple act of confession, the process of penance typically involved the performance of prescribed good works (such as fasting, self-mortification, the giving of alms, or the undertaking of a religious pilgrimage), which were to be completed before absolution was pronounced.[3] It was often maintained that if such restitution for sin was not made before death, it would be required in purgatory.

Gradually, there emerged the related practice of the granting of indulgences. Originally, this involved penitents making monetary gifts to churches or monasteries in exchange for the removal of some of the requirements of penance that the priest had placed on them. Later, it came to be believed by some that one person could be granted an indulgence for another, and even that the living could obtain indulgences on behalf of the souls in purgatory. Beginning in the 11th century, plenary indulgences (lifetime exemptions from the works of penance) were occasionally granted to those who performed some exceptional service on behalf of the Church (such as participating in a Crusade).

The emergence and refinement of these various sacramental doctrines and rituals was in large part due to the theological inquiries of figures such as Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard. This developing web of belief and practice contributed substantially to the ongoing formation of a unique theological identity for the Catholic Church, an identity that would be further defined by the work of the later scholastics.

Bonaventure

Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274) is equally notable as a theologian, a mystic, and a monastic reformer. As a young man, he joined the ranks of the Franciscans. After studying theology for some years at the Franciscan school in Paris, he became a teacher there in 1248. He lectured on the Bible and on Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences*, and produced commentaries on both. It was also during this period that he produced a summary of his own theology (*Breviloquium*), in which he synthesized various streams of philosophical thought, demonstrating a particular affinity for Augustinian thought and Neoplatonism rather than the Aristotelianism that held wide currency at the time. Bonaventure held that the highest form of knowledge was not that acquired through the rigorous use of reason and logic, but that obtained in the state of loving union with God that results from prayer and meditation. His *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* ("The Soul's Journey to God") is illustrative of this mystical bent in his theology.

From 1257 until 1273, Bonaventure served as the minister general of the Franciscan order. It was during this period that the movement was experiencing growing discord between those who insisted on strict adherence to the ideals of Francis and those who favored a less stringent rule. Bonaventure proved to be a moderate, and he was remarkably successful at restoring unity and vitality to the order (if only temporarily). For this reason, he is often referred to as the "second founder" of the Franciscans.

Bonaventure was an early example of a growing trend whereby great numbers of both Franciscans and Dominicans began embracing the life of scholarship (though the former did so in spite of the counsel of Francis himself). In general, the Franciscan intellectuals tended to be more traditional in their thinking, and many of them embraced the long-valued wisdom of Plato and Augustine (as Bonaventure himself did). The Dominican scholars, in contrast, tended to rely on the thought of Aristotle, which was reaching its height of influence. The greatest of the early Dominican thinkers was Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280), who labored for 20 years on his *Physica*, a highly ambitious attempt to offer a comprehensive, integrated presentation of the entire body of knowledge of the day, including natural science, mathematics, astronomy, logic, rhetoric, politics, economics, ethics, and metaphysics. In spite of this stunning achievement, however, Albertus Magnus' influence would soon be eclipsed by the emergence of one of his pupils, Thomas Aquinas.

Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224–1274) is generally recognized as the greatest and most influential of the scholastic theologians, and his thought remained central to Catholic theology for several centuries after his death. Born in Italy, he entered the Benedictine mother house at Monte Cassino when he was still a boy. As a young man, he studied philosophy and theology at the University of Naples, after which he became a Dominican. Later, he studied in Paris under Albertus Magnus and, like his mentor, quickly became greatly attracted to the thought of Aristotle. Upon completing his studies, Aquinas devoted the remainder of his life to study, writing, and teaching, more than once declining appointment to a higher ecclesiastical office.

Much like his scholastic predecessors, Aquinas' chief aim was to reconcile faith and reason. He believed that both reason and faith were given to humanity by God, and that there could, therefore, be no ultimate contradiction between the two. Rather, he maintained that reason functioned in cooperation with faith, and that the theologian's task was to begin with faith as a fixed starting point and then proceed to draw conclusions using the laws of reason. Thus, though Aquinas agreed with Aristotle's contention that knowledge of the natural world is gained through the analysis of sensory data by means of reason, he also insisted that knowledge of *supernatural* truths comes only through faith and that the ultimate goal of humanity is not to comprehend the natural world, but to know God.

According to Aquinas, the existence of God can only be proved by a combination of reason and faith. He thus rejected both Anselm's claim that God's existence could be demonstrated using reason alone, and the common assertion that God's existence must be accepted purely on faith. He viewed God as the creator and sustainer of everything that exists, and he argued that God had imposed on creation a natural law to which all His creatures were subject, and which operated in accordance with the principles of reason. Thus, while the human will and intellect are autonomous to a certain degree, God also directs humanity in accordance with the specific nature that He bestowed upon it.

This teaching reflects the tension in Aquinas' thought between free will and predestination. To be sure, he taught that humanity can choose to follow God's *natural* law, and thus develop the virtues of temperance, prudence, justice, and courage, but he insisted that humanity was completely incapable of conforming to God's *divine* law as embodied in Scripture. According to Aquinas, such conformity (and the resultant emergence of faith, hope, and love) comes only through God's free, undeserved gift of prevenient grace, which draws humans to repentance.

While these ideas formed the core of Aquinas' theology, he wrote prolifically on many other topics as well. He defended the unity of body and spirit in the human person against the Platonic tendency to view the body as evil and undesirable, espoused a view of the atonement that combined features of Anselm's and Abélard's theories, and described the sacraments as the means by which the grace that comes through Christ's sacrifice is mediated to humanity. Though many of his beliefs met with initial opposition, they eventually became widely accepted (and indeed definitive) within Catholic Christianity. The two works that most clearly and comprehensively present Thomas Aquinas' theology are his *Summa Contra Gentiles*, which was designed to equip believers to advance persuasive arguments for the faith in missionary settings (particularly among Muslims), and his massive, systematic *Summa Theologica*, upon which he was still laboring at the time of his death.

John Duns Scotus

One of the early challengers to Aquinas' thought was the Franciscan scholar John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308). The defining mark of Duns Scotus' theology was his insistence on the freedom of God. In contrast to Aquinas, who maintained that God's will always operates in accordance with reason, Duns Scotus insisted that God was not bound by reason and that His actions, while always purposeful, might even contradict reason. Thus, for example, in his exploration of the atonement, Duns Scotus argued (against Anselm and Aquinas) that the Incarnation and the Crucifixion were not the *only* way in which forgiveness and redemption could have come to humanity, nor even necessarily the *most reasonable* way, but simply the way that God (in His freedom) had chosen. Duns Scotus also held that humanity had a greater degree of free will than was envisioned by either Aquinas or Augustine, and maintained that humans retained the ability to make free decisions in spite of original sin.

John Duns Scotus is perhaps best known for producing the classic interpretation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which holds that Mary, the mother of Jesus, not only abstained from sinful acts during her lifetime, but was free from the effects of original sin from the time of her conception. This idea emerged as a way of explaining how a human woman could have carried the divine Son of God in her womb without infecting Him with the stain of sin. Some, however, objected that holding such a belief required abandoning the universality of Jesus' redemptive act on the cross, as Mary herself would

not have been in need of redemption. Duns Scotus sought to overcome this objection by arguing that it was, in fact, the redemptive grace of God (and not her own merit) that had kept Mary free from sin. Largely as a result of this argument, the doctrine was increasingly embraced throughout the West and would eventually become an officially held belief of Catholic Christianity.[4]

It should be noted that the growing acceptance of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was in part reflective of a larger trend whereby, during the centuries following its emergence from the social chaos of the ninth and tenth century, Western Christianity was increasingly marked by both a resurgence of devotional piety and a growing fixation with the supernatural that at times bordered on superstition. There was a great interest in angels, demons, and the spirit world, and ritual practices such as making the sign of the cross were often employed in an attempt to ward off evil spirits.[5] The veneration of saints grew more prominent, and believers often prayed to these departed heroes of the faith. Prayers to Mary were especially common, and the familiar *Hail Mary* prayer took shape during this period.[6] Thus, as the case of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception makes clear, many of the distinctive Catholic beliefs and practices that emerged between the 11th and 14th centuries owe their existence to the interplay between the shifting currents of academic theology on the one hand and popular piety on the other.

William of Ockham

Like John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham (c. 1285–1349) was a Franciscan scholar, though, quite uncharacteristically for a member of that order, he was also a great admirer of Aristotle. While he is perhaps best-known for advancing the philosophical proposition that "plurality should not be assumed without necessity" (a logical principle that subsequently became known as Ockham's Razor), he also proved to be a daring theologian. An assessment of William's career serves as a fitting conclusion to this chapter, as his writings called into question both the authority of the popes and many of the traditional assumptions of scholastic theology, thus foreshadowing the decline of both papacy and scholasticism that was to follow.

Though he is generally counted among the scholastics, William was unconvinced by many of the arguments of earlier scholastic theologians, and asserted that Christian beliefs—including such fundamental ones as the existence of God—can never be proven through the use of logic and reason. Rather, he insisted, they must be accepted purely on the basis of faith that is founded on the teachings of Scripture and the Church. This view, though highly controversial, eventually gained broad acceptance. Thus, William of Ockham's theology brought an effective end to the great scholastic project of attempting to fully reconcile objective reason and Christian faith, and it served as a precursor to the virtually complete divorce between reason and faith that was to mark post-Enlightenment Western thought.

Later in his career, William became a vocal critic of the papacy. In particular, he argued that the popes should remain submissive to the emperors in secular matters, and that state proceedings such as the election of an emperor should not require papal approval. He maintained that the papacy was not a necessary, divinely mandated form of governance for the Church, and he insisted that, while the Scriptures were infallible, the popes were not.

As we will see in the next two chapters, the criticisms of men like William of Ockham served to foreshadow the gradual weakening of the Catholic Church that was soon to follow. While the 13th century—marked as it was by the pontificate of Innocent III, the birth of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, and the thought of Thomas Aquinas—was a period of tremendous growth, vitality, and power for Catholic Christianity, the next few centuries would bear witness to a rapid reversal of these gains. Just as the turmoil of the ninth and tenth centuries had sparked the renewal movement that eventually culminated in this period of great strength for the Church, so the rapidly declining fortunes of the papacy, the stagnation of spiritual life in the face of new socio-political pressures, and the increasing emergence of dissenting theological voices over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries would all contribute to the creation of an environment in which, once again, the Church would find itself ripe for reform.

Chapter Fifteen Review

Anselm	John Duns Scotus
Bonaventure	Penance
Concordat of Worms	Peter Abélard
Four Books of Sentences	Peter Lombard
Fourth Lateran Council	Sacraments
Gregory VII (Hildebrand)	Scholasticism
Immaculate Conception	*Summa Theologica*
Indulgences	Thomas Aquinas
Innocent III	Transubstantiation
Investiture Controversy	William of Ockham

CHAPTER FIFTEEN NOTES

[1]For the full story, see *The Letters of Abélard and Heloise*, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Classics, 1974).

[2]Peter Lombard's list was formally adopted in 1439 and was definitively fixed by the Council of Trent in the mid-16th century. For more on this council, see Chapter Twenty-Two.

[3]While the priestly practice of receiving confessions and offering absolution is often considered by Protestants to be an unscriptural peculiarity of the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, it should be noted that a great deal of the impetus for this practice came from a literal interpretation of Jesus' words to the disciples in John 20:23, combined with a conviction that the clergy—as the direct spiritual heirs of the disciples—were entrusted with this same mandate.

[4]The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was officially endorsed (and referred to as a divinely revealed truth) in a papal bull issued by Pope Pius IX in 1854. See Chapter Twenty-Nine.

[5]It should be stressed that the sign of the cross did not originate in this way but was used among the early Christians both as a ritual act of devotion and as an inconspicuous form of self-identification and greeting during times of persecution. Its use is attested to in the writings of several of the Church Fathers, including Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Cyril of Jerusalem. For more on the fascinating history of the sign of the cross, see Tony Jones, *The Sacred Way* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), pp. 171–73.

[6]*The Hail Mary*, which remains an important prayer in Catholic Christianity, consists of a compilation of the words of Gabriel and Elizabeth from Luke 1:28, 42, along with a closing petition. A modern English translation of the prayer is as follows:

Hail Mary, full of grace;
The Lord is with thee:
Blessed art thou among women
And blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
Holy Mary, Mother of God,
Pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death.
Amen.

Chapter Sixteen
Turmoil and Decline

In stark contrast to the centuries that immediately preceded them, the 14th and 15th centuries constituted a period of great distress for the Roman Catholic Church. The era was marked by the emergence of several important social and political phenomena that, in various ways, proved detrimental to the Church's power and influence within Western Europe as a whole. In addition, the Church's internal health was threatened by a precipitous decline in the quality and consistency of its leadership. Many of the men who ascended to the papacy during this period embraced luxurious living and political expediency (often at the expense of moral rectitude), and the integrity of the office was further eroded by a lengthy papal schism. This combination of factors left the Church markedly weakened and increasingly vulnerable to the criticisms that would soon be leveled against it by those who demanded reform.

DEATH AND REBIRTH IN EUROPE

The mid-14th century bore witness to the sudden emergence and savage fury of the virulent plague that became known as the Black Death. Originating in Central Asia or northern China in the early 1330s, the disease was likely spread along the Silk Road by trading caravans and Mongol armies, and by the late 1340s it had reached Asia Minor and western Russia. In the fall of 1347, a fleet of Genoese merchant ships sailed from the Crimean Peninsula to the port of Messina in Italy. Upon their arrival, it was discovered that nearly all the crew members were dead or dying, and the Black Death thus entered Western Europe. It is estimated that over the course of the next five years, 25 million Europeans—a third of the continent's population—died as a result of the plague, with tens of millions more deaths occurring in Asia and the Middle East.

This catastrophe had profoundly negative effects upon the Catholic Church. Most basically, it exacted a terrible toll in terms of human life among both clergy and laity. The monastic orders were particularly hard-hit by the Black Death. Many of the ill sought refuge in the monasteries and thus spread the disease to the cloistered orders, while the mendicant friars tended to the sick and dying in the cities and contracted the plague in large numbers. These losses proved doubly tragic, as the men who were rushed into the orders to replace the fallen monks were largely inexperienced and unprepared for their new duties, and often proved to be morally lax. Thus, over the course of the succeeding decades, the quality of character among the monastic clergy declined greatly.

The Church was also affected by the rapid socio-political and economic changes that occurred in the wake of this tragedy. The Black Death greatly accelerated the decline of the feudal system that had been dominant in Europe—a system in which the Church had become deeply enmeshed. The rapid depopulation wrought by the plague led to severe

labor shortages that crippled the agrarian economy, and much of the peasantry consequently found itself in a position to demand better wages and working conditions and to negotiate with various prospective employers rather than remaining bound to the land as serfs. Increasingly, the economic focus of Europe shifted from rural areas to the growing cities, and from agriculture to commerce and banking. This transition from feudalism to a nascent form of capitalism proved detrimental to the Church, as many of its clergy had served as virtual feudal lords and much of its income had come from its agricultural land holdings.

The disintegration of the feudal system also hastened the rise of modern nation-states, as the weakening of the feudal aristocracy allowed the monarchs of Europe to consolidate their power over the populace.[1] This too had important implications for the Catholic Church. Though the great popes of the 11th through 13th centuries had clashed frequently with the Holy Roman Emperors over questions of authority and jurisdiction, the twin institutions of Church and empire had also reinforced one another's legitimacy, thus sustaining their mutual hegemony in Western Europe. With the decline of the empire as a powerful political entity (a process that was hastened not only by the Black Death, but by earlier papal attacks on the emperors) and the rise of independent nation-states in Western Europe, the Church no longer found itself in such a privileged position. As a result of these developments, the political power of the popes (which had proved so potent and far-reaching during the reign of Innocent III) was soon largely confined to Italy.

Finally (and perhaps most troublingly), the horrors of the Black Death caused many to question the legitimacy and efficacy of the Christian faith itself. During the plague, the clergy appeared impotent to cure the sick or to provide a theological rationale for the unnumbered deaths of believers. No virtuous practice—whether prayer or confession or the purchase of indulgences—guaranteed that one would be spared from this terrible scourge. As a result, increasing numbers rejected the authority of the Church and abandoned the faith.

This growing sense of disillusionment with the Church provided part of the impetus for the Renaissance, that great program of intellectual ferment and cultural rebirth that reached its height in 15th-century Italy. This may seem counterintuitive at first glance. After all, the Renaissance is often associated with outstanding achievements in art, architecture, and literature, many of the best of which (Da Vinci's *Last Supper*, the Sistine Chapel, Dante's *Divine Comedy*) bore witness to the continuing vitality of Christianity. In addition, the greatest technological advancement of the Renaissance, the printing press (invented in the late 1440s by Johannes Gutenberg) was first used to produce Vulgate Bibles. However, the Renaissance was also marked by the emergence of the philosophical system known as humanism, a movement whose emphases were often at odds with the claims of Christianity.

Humanism (as it name implies) was characterized by an emphasis on human achievement and potential, and by a deep appreciation for life on earth. Its proponents commonly

displayed an enthusiasm for classical learning and devoted themselves to the study of the great Greek and Latin writers of earlier centuries in order to master their thought. Consequently, the humanists became keen admirers of art, literature, and philosophy, all of which they saw as evidence of the greatness of the human intellect. They also demonstrated a love for the beauty of nature and a fascination with the human form, and in all things exhibited a great zest for life.

None of these characteristics of humanism, of course, were inherently contradictory with the claims of Christianity and, as we shall see, some outstanding humanists were also outstanding Christians. Nevertheless, humanism did bring with it a tendency to divorce philosophy and ethics from theology and to rely largely on human wisdom and reason rather than the teachings of Scripture and the Church. As its adherents continued to advance their alternative proposals concerning the proper ordering of human life and thought, the inherent tensions between humanism and Christianity became increasingly clear.

As we have hinted, the tenets of humanism seemed particularly persuasive in the wake of the Black Death. If life could come to an end so swiftly, brutally, and apparently without reason, then it stood to reason that every moment should be appreciated and enjoyed to the fullest. If the Church could not provide any answers to the questions (whether medical or metaphysical) that the plague evoked, then where better to look for those answers than in the writings of classical antiquity? Such arguments were not always explicit, but they were powerful and suggestive nonetheless.

Thus we find that it was a unique interplay of physical death and intellectual rebirth that was substantially responsible for the gradual erosion of confidence in the Catholic Church among the people of Western Europe. This loss of credibility—together with the parallel losses of clerical leadership, economic vitality, and political influence that we have already noted—left the Church in a very precarious position.

The Western Schism and the Decline of the Papacy

The 14th and 15th centuries also witnessed an ongoing leadership crisis within the Church that contributed greatly to its woes. The papacy had been declining in political influence since the time of Innocent III, and was already feeling significant pressure as a result of the growing power of secular European monarchs. In addition, some of the popes who reigned near the turn of the 14th century demonstrated serious deficiencies. Celestine V (reigned 1294) was a Benedictine monk and a virtuous man, but he completely lacked the administrative and political acumen necessary to the position, and resigned after only a few months. In contrast, his successor, Boniface VIII (reigned 1294–1303) was a scholar and an able administrator, but he proved to be ill-tempered and lacking in moral character. His bull *Unam sanctam*, issued in 1302, made more extreme and troubling claims for the supremacy of the papacy than had ever been advanced,

asserting that "it is absolutely necessary for salvation that every human creature be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Given the declining quality of papal leadership, such claims seemed increasingly hollow.

In 1305, a Frenchman, Clement V (reigned 1305–1314), came to the papal throne. Upon his election, Clement revoked some of the decrees that his immediate predecessors had directed against the king of France, and he later relocated the papal court from Rome to the French city of Avignon.[2] The papacy was to remain at Avignon from 1309 until 1377, a period that spanned the reigns of seven popes, all of whom were French.

The contemporary humanist scholar Petrarch famously referred to the Avignon era as the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy.[3] The analogy proved doubly appropriate, as the papacy was marked during these years not only by its geographic displacement from Rome, but also by increasing extravagance and corruption. Avignon was an affluent, cosmopolitan city, and the popes and cardinals quickly became enamored with the comforts it provided. They established palatial residences and surrounded themselves with the trappings of luxury. In an effort to secure the means of funding this lifestyle, new forms of papal taxation were introduced, including measures that required new appointees to ecclesiastical offices to donate to the papacy a sum equal to the annual income of their new position. Such a system inevitably led to simony, pluralism (the holding of multiple ecclesiastical offices), and other abuses, and the overall quality of the clergy declined as a result.

Not all of the Avignon popes were wicked men. Nevertheless, even the virtuous among them increasingly found themselves at the mercy of the labyrinthine and corrupt bureaucratic apparatus that surrounded them. In addition, the later Avignon popes frequently found themselves compelled to enact the wishes of the kings of France, which often entailed further spiritual compromise. Thus, the Avignon period contributed significantly to the growing sense of dissatisfaction with the state of the Catholic Church.

For the papacy itself, however, the worst was yet to come. In 1377, Pope Gregory XI (reigned 1370–1378) moved the papal court back to Rome, an action that, while widely embraced by the people, was not necessarily favored by the cardinals, most of whom were French and many of whom were loathe to abandon the comfortable surroundings of Avignon. Upon Gregory's death in 1378, the cardinals (under pressure from the Roman populace) selected as his successor an Italian, Urban VI (reigned 1378–1389). The new pope quickly antagonized many of the cardinals by chastising them for their worldly lifestyles, condemning the corrupt practices of simony and pluralism, and refusing to consider a return to Avignon. In protest, the cardinals claimed that the papal election had been unduly influenced by the Roman populace and called for Urban VI's resignation. When the pope refused to comply with this demand, the cardinals declared him deposed, elected a Frenchman as Pope Clement VII, and relocated to Avignon. Urban, refusing to recognize the legitimacy of this action, responded by appointing a new group of cardinals at Rome.

Thus began what is known as the Western Schism.[4] From 1378 until 1417, the Catholic Church was divided by the claims of rival popes. Believers in Northern Italy, Flanders, England, Ireland, Poland, Hungary, the Scandinavian countries, and the majority of the Holy Roman Empire supported the Roman popes, while France, Naples, Sicily, Scotland, the kingdoms of Spain, and the remainder of the empire sided with the Avignon claimants. The situation was further complicated in 1409 when, in an attempt to mend the schism, cardinals from both camps held a council at Pisa, deposed both reigning popes, and jointly elected a new one, who assumed the title of Alexander V. However, neither the Roman pope, Gregory XII (reigned 1406–1415), nor the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, would consent to relinquish his authority. Thus, there were now three claimants to papal legitimacy, and the schism was deepened.

During this period, there developed the conviction that the only means of settling the dispute was by recourse to a general council of the Church whose decisions would be binding upon even the pope. Obviously, this notion represented a striking departure from the official position of the Church, which held that such a council could only be convened by the pope, and that none of its rulings were valid without his explicit approval. Nevertheless, it seemed to be the only possible solution to the controversy in which the Church found itself embroiled.

Consequently, a general council was held at Constance in Germany from 1414 until 1418. This body, comprised of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, clergy, and religious scholars, finally brought an end to the Western Schism in 1417 by securing the resignation of Gregory XII and deposing both Benedict XIII and the second Pisan pope, John XXIII.[5] The council then elected as the new pope a Roman cardinal who took the name of Martin V (reigned 1417–1431).

The Council of Constance also sought to enact reforms that would place limits on the power of the pope and prevent the clerical abuses that had marked the Avignon years. These efforts met with only limited success, as many of those in attendance had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Nonetheless, it was agreed that general councils would continue to meet at fixed intervals, and that their decisions were to be binding upon even the pope. Though this was initially seen as a great triumph for what was termed the Conciliar movement, the reunification of the papacy inevitably resulted in a resurgence of papal power, and the general councils were quickly marginalized.

The remainder of the 15th century saw a gradual but inexorable decline in the morality and spiritual authority of the papacy. The failure of the Conciliar movement to curb papal power assured the continuing prevalence of corruption, while the growing appeal of Renaissance humanism and the rise of nation-states led many popes to pursue artistic, cultural, and political advances rather than giving their attention to spiritual reforms.

The nadir was reached during the pontificate of the Spaniard Rodrigo Borgia, whose regnal name was Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503). Though Alexander initially made

some efforts at reform, his tenure was marked by nepotism and corruption on an unprecedented scale. He largely viewed the papal office as a source of socio-political power, and became heavily involved in the political intrigues of the Italian states to the detriment of his responsibility to the Church. Eventually, he openly embraced a secular lifestyle, engaging in various debaucheries and purportedly committing many serious crimes. These actions led him to be greatly despised both by the Roman populace and by many ecclesiastical leaders, and his death is said to have occasioned little mourning. Though his gross immoralities were never equaled by the actions of his successors, the reign of Alexander VI nevertheless dealt the already-weakened papacy a crippling blow, the latest in an ongoing series of setbacks for the Catholic Church from which it would not easily recover.

Chapter Sixteen Review

Alexander VI	Gregory XI
Avignon Papacy	Humanism
Black Death	Renaissance
Clement V	Western Schism (1378)
Council of Constance	

CHAPTER SIXTEEN NOTES

[1] The growing spirit of nationalism during this period was exemplified by the Hundred Years' War between England and France, which raged (with occasional respites) from 1337 until 1453.

[2] Although Avignon was technically a possession of the kings of Sicily at this time, the French cultural influence was nevertheless determinative.

[3] The reference, of course, is to the nation of Judah's captivity in Babylon, as recounted in 2 Kings 25.

[4] This papal schism is also sometimes called the "Great Schism," though that title more properly refers to the East-West split of 1054.

[5] The Pisan papal claimant John XXIII, who is not officially recognized as a pope by the Roman Catholic Church, is not to be confused with the 20th-century Pope John XXIII.

Chapter Seventeen
Advocates of Change

As we have seen, over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries a variety of factors contributed to a significant reduction in the power and influence of the Catholic Church within Western Europe, as well as a sharp decline in the spiritual character of the Church's leadership. These dual conditions of political impotence and moral bankruptcy created a climate in which the Church was increasingly vulnerable to criticism, and in which a variety of groups and individuals were increasingly emboldened to voice alternative proposals concerning the nature of the ideal Christian life. A close examination of these figures and movements will make it clear that, though Martin Luther's actions in 1517 may have brought the Protestant Reformation into full bloom, many of its intellectual seeds were planted during this earlier period.

HERETICAL MOVEMENTS

Among the earliest groups to vigorously oppose the Roman Catholic Church following the Great Schism were the Cathars (or Albigensians) and the Waldenses, both of which flourished in the late 12th and early 13th centuries and had their greatest strength in southern France. The Cathars were anti-clerical radicals who denounced the Church's leadership as corrupt and rejected its laws and sacraments. They were also dualists in the tradition of the Gnostics, Marcionites, and Manichaeans, and thus were quickly branded as heretics. In 1209, Pope Innocent III ordered a Crusade against the Cathars, after which the movement began to die out.

The Waldenses did not share the unorthodox dualistic views of the Cathars, but rather pursued a lifestyle of poverty, simplicity, and itinerant preaching that closely resembled the approach that would be embraced by Francis of Assisi a few decades later. Pope Alexander III refused to authorize the Waldensian movement, and when the Waldenses continued to preach nevertheless, they were excommunicated. Thereafter, they became much more hostile toward the Church, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the popes or bishops and denouncing the Catholic doctrines concerning purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the veneration of saints. In addition, the Waldenses often read Scripture from vernacular translations, and they criticized the Church for making its Mass incomprehensible to much of the laity by performing it in Latin.

The Waldenses also sought to dismantle the hierarchical and patriarchal power structures of the Church by insisting that laymen could minister the Word, hear confession, and even administer the Eucharist when necessary, and, even more radically, that women could preach. These views eventually led the Church to condemn and persecute them as heretics. But though their numbers dwindled, some of the Waldenses managed to survive in isolated communities in the Alps, and would later reemerge during the Reformation.

It was largely in response to the activities of the Cathars and Waldenses that Pope Gregory IX (reigned 1227–1241) formally established the Papal Inquisition, a judicial apparatus of the Church that was charged with trying suspected heretics and punishing those who were condemned. The accused were considered guilty until proven innocent, and the entire judicial procedure generally favored the ecclesiastical prosecutors.

Torture was sometimes employed by the inquisitors to secure confessions, and convicted heretics who refused to recant their unorthodox beliefs were sentenced to death. The systematization of this often unjust and merciless inquisitorial process bears striking witness to the Catholic Church's desperation to reestablish firm control over the religious life of Europe during a period when it increasingly felt that its legitimacy was being threatened.

MYSTICS AND CONTEMPLATIVES

Not all those who advocated ecclesiastical and spiritual renewal attached themselves to heretical sects or rejected the Church's authority outright. Indeed, one of the most vibrant expressions of the reforming spirit of the late Medieval Period was to be found among the proponents and practitioners of mysticism and contemplative spirituality, many of whom remained staunchly loyal Catholics. These individuals had a profound impact on the contemporary religious life of Europe through their insistence that true faith should focus not on outward riches or rituals, but on communion with God and the cultivation of the inner life of the spirit.

Outstanding Female Mystics

Though contemplative practices and mystical spirituality are perhaps most often associated with solitary monks dwelling in remote caves, several of the most prominent mystics in Western Europe during the latter centuries of the Medieval Period were women, some of whom took a remarkably active role in addressing corruption and injustice. An important early example of this trend was the German nun Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). Hildegard entered a Benedictine cloister as a child, and from a very young age she began experiencing prophetic and apocalyptic visions. As an adult, she recorded descriptions and interpretations of the visions she had received throughout the course of her life and collected them in manuscript form as Scivias ("Know the Way"). She later founded her own convent at Rupertsberg, where she continued to issue prophecies, composed music and lyrics for numerous hymns and canticles, and carried on an extensive correspondence with various influential figures, including popes and emperors.

Another renowned early female mystic was Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303–1373). Like Hildegard, Bridget experienced supernatural visions from an early age. Following the death of her husband in 1344, she entered a Cistercian monastery in eastern Sweden, where she began recording her visions. During this period, Bridget also founded a new order of nuns that embraced the Augustinian Rule and eventually became known as the Bridgettines.

In 1350, Bridget journeyed to Rome, where she remained for the rest of her life. There she worked among the poor and needy and campaigned for the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome. After her death, the Bridgettines continued to embody her ideals. They made important contributions to the contemporary movement for monastic reform and had a significant influence on the development of learning and culture in Sweden, though their influence would end with the coming of Protestantism to Scandinavia in the 16th century.

The most famous English female mystic was Lady Julian (or Juliana) of Norwich (1342– c. 1416). Julian dwelt in solitude in a small structure in a churchyard and devoted herself to prayer and contemplation. She is best known for her *Revelations of Divine Love* (alternatively known as *Showings*), which is believed to be the first book written by a woman in the English language. It consists of her reflections on a series of mystical visions that she had received, and touches on several of the most profound mysteries of the Christian faith, including the relationship between predestination and foreknowledge and the existence of evil. The book also dwells at length on the tender love of God, and its most famous passage reflects the profound sense of consolation that such love brings: "But all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well."

Closely contemporaneous with Julian was the Italian mystic Catherine of Siena (c. 1347– 1380). As a child she experienced a powerful vision of Jesus, and she spent the majority of her teen years engaging in solitary prayer, meditation, and fasting in a secluded room in her parents' home. She preferred this arrangement to the life of the monastery, though she eventually became a tertiary (non-cloistered) member of the Dominican order. During this period, she continued to have ecstatic visions and other mystical experiences.

Around 1370, Catherine felt compelled to leave her life of isolation and reenter the public arena. She ministered to the poor, sick, and imprisoned—even tending to plague victims during a recurrence of the Black Death—and it was widely believed that she possessed the spiritual gift of healing. She later became deeply involved in political and ecclesiastical matters, and attempted to garner support for a new Crusade to retake Palestine from the Muslims (though ultimately in vain). Like Hildegard, she carried on a vast correspondence with both common people and influential public figures, including Pope Gregory XI.

In 1376, Catherine journeyed to Avignon in an attempt to broker a settlement between Gregory and the city of Florence, which had been placed under papal interdict. Though she was unsuccessful in this mission, she made a profound impression on the pope, and it was largely at her urging that he determined to return the papacy to Rome. When the accession of Gregory's successor, Urban VI, precipitated the Western Schism, Catherine vigorously defended the legitimacy of the Roman line of succession, and she spent the last years of her life in Rome assisting with the reorganization of the Church and the moral renewal of the populace.

Undoubtedly the most famous of all female Christian mystics was Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431). Joan was born into a French peasant family during the course of the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337–1453). As a teenager, she experienced visions and claimed that she heard the voices of God and some of the saints. She came to believe that she had received a divine commission to assist the French armies at Orleans, a key strategic city that was besieged by the English, and to ensure that the French dauphin (crown prince) gained recognition as the rightful king.

After presenting herself to the dauphin, Joan underwent an examination by a panel of theologians who sought to verify the legitimacy of her visionary claims. They were eventually satisfied, and Joan was permitted to join the French force that was dispatched to relieve the beleaguered city of Orleans in April of 1429. She led the troops into battle as a standard-bearer, and the French claimed a decisive victory over the English, saving Orleans and turning the tide of the war. The dauphin was subsequently crowned as King Charles VII (reigned 1429–1461) in a coronation ceremony at Rheims, with Joan in attendance. The young girl's remarkable achievement proved to be one the decisive contributing factors to the subsequent emergence of the French national consciousness.

Joan of Arc was captured by Burgundian forces during a skirmish in 1430, and was later turned over to the English. She was tried for heresy before an ecclesiastical court that was undoubtedly heavily influenced by political considerations, condemned, and burned at the stake in May of 1431. Later in the century, an ecclesiastical court convened by Pope Callixtus III (reigned 1455–1458) reversed the verdict against Joan and proclaimed her orthodoxy. She subsequently became one of the most sympathetic and compelling figures of medieval Christianity, and cultural depictions of her remain popular even today.

German Mysticism

One of the most influential schools of medieval Christian mysticism emerged in the Rhineland region of Germany, and had as its earliest and most famous exponent the Dominican preacher and scholar known as Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–1327). A brilliant and subtle thinker, Eckhart incorporated elements of classical Greek philosophy, Neoplatonism, Arabic thought, and scholasticism into his unique brand of speculative mystical theology. One of the chief concerns of his writings was to explore the process by which the soul might achieve mystical union with God. According to Eckhart, such a spiritual transformation involves a series of stages whereby humans pass from an awareness of their absolute nothingness, to a recognition that they are created in God's image, to a perfect interiorization of God, and finally to a complete and total identification of the soul with God Himself.

Some felt that Eckhart's teachings veered dangerously close to pagan spiritualism, and although he vigorously maintained his orthodoxy, several of his more controversial

propositions were condemned as heretical after his death. Nevertheless, his example proved formative for the subsequent development of German mysticism. Among his most notable disciples were two fellow Dominicans, Johann Tauler (c. 1300–1361) and Heinrich Suso (c. 1295–1366). The practical sermons of Tauler and the devotional writings of Suso (most notably his *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*) distilled the essence of Eckhart's mystical teachings into forms that were more readily comprehensible, and through their efforts German mysticism gained a wider following, as evidenced by the emergence of a lay mystical group, the Friends of God, under their leadership.

Near the middle of the 14th century, an anonymous member of the Friends of God authored the most important work to emerge from the Rhineland mystic tradition, the *Theologia Germanica*. This treatise put forth the claim that humans can achieve union with God by pursuing perfection and renouncing sin and selfishness, thus allowing God's divine will to replace their own. The *Theologia Germanica* was to have a profound effect on the thought of Martin Luther, who claimed that he had learned more about the Christian life from it than from any other source apart from the Bible and the writings of Augustine.[1]

The Devotio Moderna

Another important strain of the mystical/contemplative tradition arose in the Low Countries. The figure who provided the initial impetus for the emergence of this movement was John of Ruysbroeck (1293–1381), a Flemish priest who at an early age familiarized himself with the works of Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and the Neoplatonist Pseudo-Dionysius. Later in life, John and a group of companions founded a religious community that lived under the Augustinian Rule and dedicated themselves to prayer and contemplation. John espoused a form of mysticism that stressed the boundless divine love of God, and his writings on the subject were widely influential.

One who was profoundly affected by the example of John of Ruysbroeck was the Dutch preacher Geert Groote (1340–1384). After visiting John's monastery, Groote was so impressed that he purposed to establish a similar community himself. At the suggestion of his associate Florens Radewijns (c. 1350–1400), Groote invited a group of like-minded young men to share a residence in Deventer. There they pursued a way of life that was marked by the communal sharing of all goods and resources, the pursuit of education, and the practice of contemplative devotion.

A number of similar houses for both men and women soon appeared in the Low Countries and Germany, and their members became known as the Brethren of the Common Life and Sisters of the Common Life. They often supported themselves by copying manuscripts, and their strong emphasis on religious learning later led them to establish educational institutions. Radewijns also founded a more formal religious community at Windesheim that observed the Augustinian Rule while also sharing close similarities with the Brethren of

the Common Life. This community eventually became the focal point of a group of several affiliated monasteries known as the Windesheim Congregation.

Together, the Brethren of the Common Life, Sisters of the Common Life, and Windesheim Congregation constituted the major exponents of a type of spirituality that became known as the *Devotio Moderna* ("Modern Devotion"). It was characterized by humility, simplicity, a focus on meditation and the inner life of the spirit, and a commitment to charitable service. Its practitioners largely shunned the often-superstitious piety of the common classes, as well as the complex logical arguments of the scholastic theologians. They argued that true religion has its foundation not in ritual nor in reason, but in profound, loving relationship with God. The proponents of the *Devotio Moderna* thus constituted an important pre-Reformation renewal movement, though they were largely swept away by the flood tide of the Reformation itself.

The most well-known advocate of the *Devotio Moderna* was undoubtedly Thomas á Kempis (1379–1471). Born in Germany, as a young man he attended a school at Deventer that was operated by the Brethren of the Common Life, and he subsequently became a manuscript copyist in one of their houses. He later entered one of the monastic houses of the Windesheim Congregation, where he remained for the rest of his life. During this period he authored numerous works, including biographies of Groote and Radewijns and sermons dealing with prayer, meditation, the contemplative life, and mystical union with God.

By far his most significant accomplishment, however, was *The Imitation of Christ*.[2] This monumental work, written sometime between 1390 and 1420, has been read by more people than any other Christian book, excluding the Bible. It offers a clear and powerful summary of the type of spirituality advocated by the practitioners of the *Devotio Moderna*, tending more toward instruction in practical piety and holiness rather than mystical teaching. Its four parts consist of a collection of exhortations to lead a spiritual life, a warning against the lure of materialism, a reflection on the importance of centering one's life in Christ, and a meditation on the significance of the Eucharist. It remains a widely influential spiritual classic to the present day.

VOICES OF DISSENT

In addition to the heretical sects that rejected the authority of the Catholic Church and the mystics and contemplatives who largely chose to pursue the life of faith through channels other than those favored by the Church, there were other Christians of the 14th and 15th centuries who began publicly expressing the conviction that the Church had strayed from orthodoxy in significant ways. Such critiques often focused on aspects of Catholic theology and practice that had come to prominence following the Great Schism, and more particularly on the growing powers and privileges of the clergy at the expense

of the laity. The opposition to Church and papacy engendered by these perceived flaws often coalesced around charismatic individuals, and it is to these figures that we now turn our attention.

John Wycliffe

John Wycliffe (c. 1329–1384) is often referred to by Protestants as the "Morning Star of the Reformation," an appellation that reflects the degree to which a number of his theological views influenced the thought of the later Reformers. Born in Yorkshire, England sometime during the third decade of the 14th century, Wycliffe spent many of his years at Oxford University, as both a student and a teacher. It was only in the last decade of his life that he began propounding the views for which he is chiefly remembered.

Wycliffe's notoriety began with his authoring of a pair of treatises on divine and civil dominion, in which he maintained that both spiritual and secular authority are bestowed upon humanity by God and that they are forfeited if they are not exercised righteously. Wycliffe thus argued that popes or other members of the clergy who were corrupt and immoral should be removed from office, and that bishops or priests who abused their ecclesiastical appointments should have their properties confiscated by the king. These claims greatly angered the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury, but Wycliffe's increasingly strong political connections with members of the English royal family and nobility (who stood to gain greater control over the Church if Wycliffe's views won out) prevented his ecclesiastical superiors from silencing him. Even a series of papal bulls issued against Wycliffe by Pope Gregory XI in 1377 failed to produce any substantial effect.

Perhaps emboldened by this turn of events, Wycliffe launched a series of attacks on the Church's government and doctrine. A firm believer in predestination, Wycliffe maintained that the true church consisted of those who had been elected by God for salvation, not those who belonged to a particular visible institution. It is God, and not the pope, Wycliffe insisted, who determines membership in and exclusion from this true church. Wycliffe also defended the notion of the priesthood of all believers, arguing that the complex ecclesiastical hierarchy that the Catholic Church had developed was contrary to God's intention. He denounced corruption and moral compromise among the cardinals, bishops, and monks. He opposed such practices as the veneration of saints, prayers for the dead, and the sale and purchase of indulgences, and was a vehement critic of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he considered to be unscriptural and potentially idolatrous.

In Wycliffe's view, supreme Christian authority rested not with Church and papacy, but in the Scriptures. It was his desire that the laypeople of England be able to study the Bible for themselves and thus protect themselves against potential clerical distortions of God's Word. But although portions of Scripture had been translated into Old English prior

to AD 1000, no complete English version of the Bible existed in Wycliffe's day. Indeed, translations of the Scriptures in languages other than Latin were discouraged by the Church, though there was an increasing demand for such vernacular translations among much of the populace of Western Europe.

Responding to this need, Wycliffe and his supporters began the task of translating the Latin Vulgate into English in 1380. It was around this same time that Wycliffe began sending out the "poor priests," itinerant preachers who spread his convictions to the towns and villages and gave scriptural instruction in English. As a result of their efforts, Wycliffe's teachings soon attracted a large number of adherents, many of whom were from the common classes of England. These disciples of Wycliffe later came to be known as Lollards.

Despite the furor that his actions created among the leadership of the Catholic Church in England, John Wycliffe was not formally condemned during his lifetime, and he died in 1384 in relative peace. The first Wycliffe Bible was completed shortly before his death, with most of the Old Testament having been translated by one of his associates, Nicholas of Hereford. This edition was a strictly literal translation from Latin, with little attention being given to the readability of the resulting English text. A later edition, produced by Wycliffe's secretary, John Purvey, corrected this shortcoming.

The death of John Wycliffe did not bring an end to the controversy that he had kindled. The leaders of the English Church suppressed the Wycliffe Bible in 1408, in a document that came to be known as the Constitutions of Oxford. This decree forbade the translation of the Scriptures into English without express permission. Wycliffe himself was posthumously condemned as a heretic by the Council of Constance in 1415, and his body was later exhumed and burned on the orders of Pope Martin V. The Lollards also underwent fierce persecution in the early 15th century and subsequently became a largely underground movement. Nevertheless, the ideas of John Wycliffe remained compelling and persuasive, and would greatly influence those who carried on the struggle for reform.

Jan Hus

One of the early admirers of Wycliffe's teachings was Jan Hus (or John Huss, c. 1370–1415). Born in Bohemia (part of the modern-day Czech Republic), Hus was educated at the University of Prague, and was later made dean of the university's philosophy department. At this time, Bohemia was gradually becoming an ecclesiastical battleground. Simony and corruption were widespread among the Bohemian clergy, and nearly half of the nation's land was owned and controlled by the Church, which burdened the peasantry with heavy taxes. A national fervor for religious reform gradually began to emerge, and Hus soon became associated with the renewal movement.

In 1402, Hus became the rector of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. There he delivered stirring sermons—often in Czech, the language of the common people, rather than

Latin—in which he denounced the rampant clerical abuses in the Catholic Church and urged moral reform. The convictions that Hus expressed from the pulpit were in part informed by the writings of John Wycliffe (which were known in Prague by the 1380's), though Hus did not agree with Wycliffe in every respect and tended to be slightly more conservative in his criticisms of the Church. Though Hus' preaching engendered opposition from the clergy, he enjoyed great acclaim among the populace and quickly became the figurehead of the Bohemian reform movement.

In 1409, Hus was made rector of the University of Prague, with the result that his ideas (and, by extension, those of Wycliffe) were more widely disseminated. Later that year, the Council of Pisa, in its ill-fated attempt to end the Western Schism, elected Alexander V (the first Pisan claimant to the papal throne), who was acknowledged by Bohemia as the rightful pope. The archbishop of Bohemia, a staunch opponent of Hus and the reform movement, quickly appealed to Alexander and induced the latter to order the destruction of Wycliffe's writings and to forbid preaching in private chapels (a measure that was clearly aimed at Hus). When Hus remained defiant, he was excommunicated.

The following year, Alexander was succeeded by the second Pisan pope, John XXIII. John soon began organizing a military campaign against the king of Naples (a key supporter of the Roman papal claimants), and he promoted the sale of indulgences in Prague as a means of financing this endeavor. Hus publicly denounced the sale and purchase of indulgences, at which point he was placed under major excommunication by John XXIII and forced to leave Prague.

By this point, Hus had become known throughout Europe as an important leader in the reform movement, and was viewed by much of the Catholic establishment as a serious threat. Consequently, he was summoned to appear before the Council of Constance in 1414 and, upon his arrival, was arrested and charged with heresy. His lengthy trial centered on his support of the teachings of Wycliffe, whom the council had previously condemned. Though Hus maintained that he did not hold some of the positions ascribed to him, he refused to recant certain of his teachings unless it could be demonstrated that they were in fact unscriptural. The council refused to enter into a debate concerning the merits of Hus' teachings, and viewed his reluctance to recant as outright defiance. Consequently, on July 6, 1415, Hus was formally condemned and burned at the stake as a heretic.

As was the case with Wycliffe and the Lollards, the movement inspired by Hus did not disappear upon the death of its leader. Indeed, Hus' martyrdom made him a national hero, and a substantial number of Bohemians flocked to the reform cause. In 1420, Pope Martin V proclaimed a crusade against Hus' followers, but the Hussites (whose ranks included many of the nobles and military leaders of Bohemia) successfully repelled the crusading armies and were eventually granted significant concessions, including the establishment of a semi-independent Bohemian Church. Though a majority

of the Hussites were eventually reabsorbed into the Catholic Church, a group known as the *Unitas Fratrum*, or the Bohemian Brethren, eventually embraced Protestantism and proved to be the ancestors of the later Moravian Church.[3]

Girolamo Savonarola

A somewhat later figure in the struggle for reform, and one who was not directly influenced by the teachings of Wycliffe or Hus, was the Italian friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). Savonarola came of age amidst the full flowering of the Italian Renaissance, but he rejected the tenets of humanism in favor of the theology of Thomas Aquinas, whom he emulated by entering the ranks of the Dominicans in 1475. Over the course of the next fifteen years, he spent time in various convents and schools in his birthplace of Ferrara, Florence, and Bologna.

Around 1490, Savonarola returned to Florence, where he was to achieve his renown. At this time, the city was ruled by the powerful Medici family, and was characterized by both vibrant Renaissance culture and widespread immorality. Savonarola soon began to preach impassioned sermons to the citizenry of Florence in which he denounced the depravity of the populace and the corruption of the Catholic clergy, predicted impending divine judgment, and urged repentance. Unlike Wycliffe and Hus, however, Savonarola did not come out in opposition to any of the Church's doctrines, but was concerned strictly with moral and ethical reform.

In 1494, the rule of the Medici family was ended by the invasion of King Charles VIII of France (reigned 1483–1498). Savonarola entered into negotiations with the king and, following the latter's withdrawal from the city, became the most popular and influential figure in Florence. He quickly set about re-organizing the city as an orderly, democratic, Christian republic. His preaching proved greatly persuasive, and many in Florence were moved to repent. The striking spirit of moral renewal that subsequently seized the city is perhaps best exemplified by the "Bonfire of the Vanities"—the public burning of a multitude of items associated with immoral behavior (including pagan literature, lewd paintings, and vanity items such as mirrors and cosmetics) in February 1497.

Though Savonarola exerted a profound positive influence upon the people of Florence, he soon came into conflict with the corrupt Pope Alexander VI. Alexander's opposition to Savonarola was partly a reaction to the contents of the friar's preaching, but it was also largely motivated by the pope's political ambitions in Italy, which were threatened by the close alliance between Savonarola and the king of France. Savonarola refused to yield to papal pressure, however, and in 1497 he issued thinly-disguised public indictments of the pope's immoral behavior. Alexander responded to this insult by excommunicating Savonarola and threatening to place the entire city of Florence under papal interdict (the suspension of public worship and of the administration of sacraments) unless he

stopped preaching. Public opinion quickly turned against Savonarola, and in 1498 he was arrested, condemned as a heretic, and executed.

Desiderius Erasmus

The final figure we will consider in this chapter is one who, to some degree, stands in stark contrast to Wycliffe, Hus, and Savonarola—the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536). As a child, Erasmus studied with some of the Brethren of the Common Life. He was later compelled by his guardians to enter a monastery, and shortly thereafter he was ordained as a priest. However, Erasmus quickly found himself ill-suited to the clerical life, as his temperament was marked by a combination of intense individualism and restless intellectualism. Leaving the monastery, he enrolled at the University of Paris, where he began studying theology and embraced the tenets of humanism. Thereafter, Erasmus remained an independent scholar and writer, spending time in England, Italy, Switzerland, and Flanders, and refusing any appointments— whether academic or ecclesiastical—that might threaten his autonomy.

Despite his humanist leanings, Erasmus was a sincere Christian, and remained a devout Roman Catholic throughout his life. Much of his intellectual output consisted of treatments of Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers. He was responsible for one of the first published editions of the Greek New Testament, which included his own Latin translation and annotations. He went on to produce a series of paraphrases of the books of the New Testament that were intended to appeal to the common people, and that were quickly translated from Latin into the vernacular languages of Europe. Erasmus also translated, edited, or annotated important works by figures such as Basil, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine.

Like so many others of his day, Erasmus was greatly distressed by the corruption and moral laxity that were rampant in the Church, and many of his writings reflected a desire for reform. In these works, Erasmus largely rejected the solutions offered by monasticism and scholasticism, and instead emphasized the importance of education, reason, and personal righteousness, themes that were consistent with his adherence to humanism. In his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* ("Handbook of the Christian Soldier"), Erasmus opposed the superstition and formalism that had gradually infected much Catholic practice, and urged a return to the ethical instructions of the New Testament as the basis for the Christian life. His most famous work, *Moriae Encomium* ("In Praise of Folly"), presented a biting satire of everyone from the popes to the peasantry, thus illustrating the degree to which the whole of contemporary European society had been compromised by abandoning the teachings of Scripture.

In producing these treatises, Erasmus was not seeking to break from the Catholic Church. Much like Savonarola, he was more interested in effecting moral reform than

in engaging in divisive doctrinal disputes. Nevertheless, Erasmus' increasing fame throughout Europe as a scholar of distinction, coupled with the increasing use of Gutenberg's printing press, ensured that his writings enjoyed wide dissemination, and many of his ideas were embraced by those who sought more radical reforms. As a result of the notoriety of his work, it was Erasmus—one of the most loyal Catholics among the figures we have surveyed—who was eventually accused of having "laid the egg that hatched the Reformation." In the next unit, we will turn our attention to the profound and varied consequences of that hatching.

Chapter Seventeen Review

Brethren of the Common Life	Jan Hus
Bridget of Sweden	Joan of Arc
Cathari (Albigensians)	John Wycliffe
Catherine of Siena	Julian of Norwich
Desiderius Erasmus	Lollards
Devotio Moderna	Meister Eckhart
Friends of God	*Theologia Germanica*
Geert Groote	Thomas á Kempis
Girolamo Savonarola	*Unitas Fratrum*
Hildegard of Bingen	Waldenses
Imitation of Christ	Wycliffe Bible

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN NOTES

[1]The teachings of the *Theologia Germanica* were also later embraced by several figures associated with the Radical Reformation, including Sebastian Franck and Sebastian Castellio (on whom see Chapter Twenty), and by Philipp Jakob Spener and many of the early Pietists (on whom see Chapter Twenty-Six).

[2]Though Thomas á Kempis' authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* has not been firmly established, it is generally accepted.

[3]For more on the Moravians, see Chapter Twenty-Six.

Unit Four

<div align="right">

The Era of Reform
(c. 1500–1700)

</div>

Unit Four is largely concerned with the emergence of various expressions of reform within Western Christianity during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Chapter Eighteen discusses the life and thought of Martin Luther and chronicles the birth of the Reformation and the rise of Lutheranism.

Chapter Nineteen examines the careers of Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin and describes the emergence of the Reformed tradition.

Chapter Twenty offers an assessment of the Radical Reformation, with particular emphasis on the various Anabaptist movements.

Chapter Twenty-One traces the course of the English Reformation, highlighting both the birth of the Anglican tradition and the emergence of the Puritan movement and its multiple offshoots, including the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers.

Chapter Twenty-Two describes the events of the Catholic Reformation—including the founding of the Jesuits and the activity of the Council of Trent—and chronicles the waging of the Thirty Years' War.

Chapter Twenty-Three explores significant contemporary developments in Eastern Christianity, focusing particularly on the growth of Russian Orthodoxy.

Chapter Twenty-Four details the expansion of Catholicism into Africa, Asia, and the Americas and the introduction of Protestantism to North America in the wake of the era of reform.

Chapter Eighteen
Martin Luther and the
Rise of Lutheranism

Over the course of the 16th century, the convictions of men like Wycliffe, Hus, Savonarola, and Erasmus spread rapidly throughout Europe, and the struggle for religious reform was taken up by charismatic new leaders who attracted large numbers of followers. As these various protest movements grew, the Catholic Church increasingly found itself unable to quell the mounting unrest. The eventual result was the creation of a second great schism in the body of Christ and the consequent emergence of the third major historical expression of Christianity—Protestantism.

It must be noted at the outset of our consideration of these events that the familiar term "Protestant Reformation" is in reality a misleadingly monolithic title for an exceedingly complex and diverse phenomenon. Though many of the Reformers shared similar concerns about the state of the Catholic Church, the ecclesiastical and theological correctives they proposed varied widely. Some fervently desired to effect spiritual renewal within the Church itself, while others were eager to break with Rome completely. Some focused on the detailed elaboration of doctrine, while others were more concerned with ethical living, or with ecstatic communion with God. Some withdrew from society to dwell in pacifistic communes, while others fomented rebellion and led social uprisings. Finally, there were some whose break with the Catholic Church was primarily motivated not by religious zeal of any sort, but by mere political expediency.

Tragically, the lack of consensus among the early Protestants soon led to further, seemingly irreparable divisions within the Christian community. As the centuries progressed, the lines that were drawn between the various expressions of Protestantism—the Lutheran Church, the Reformed/Presbyterian Churches, the Anabaptists, the Anglican tradition, and the various descendants of the Puritan movement, including the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers—became nearly as indelible as those that had originally separated the Reformers from the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

In order to gain a greater appreciation for the common threads linking the beliefs and practices of the various Protestant traditions, as well as a clearer understanding of the differences that ultimately drove them apart, we will examine each major expression of reform in turn, beginning in this chapter with the movement that had as its founder the most outstanding figure of the Reformation.

LUTHER'S EARLY LIFE AND CRISIS OF FAITH

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was born at Eisleben in Saxony (part of the Holy Roman Empire) and was raised as a devout Catholic. He was educated for a time by the Brethren

of the Common Life, and later attended the University of Erfurt, where he was introduced to the scholastic philosophy and theology of William of Ockham. Upon completing his Master of Arts in 1505, Luther intended to pursue a career in law, but following a sudden change of heart he instead became an Augustinian Hermit and entered a monastery. There he pursued the study of theology, and in 1507 was ordained as a priest.

This period of Luther's life was marked by intermittent depression and intense spiritual searching, both of which appear to have been generated by persistent feelings of guilt and unworthiness before God. As a monk, Luther practiced severe austerities and spent long hours in prayer and confession in an effort to gain an inner assurance of God's acceptance, but to little avail. During a journey to Rome, he was confronted with the increasing corruption of much of the Catholic clergy, and the resulting disillusionment contributed further to his inner turmoil.

Luther soon entered the University of Wittenberg, where he received further theological instruction. He studied the works of Ambrose, Augustine, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Thomas Aquinas, and was both enlightened and further perplexed by them. He found the doctrine of predestination particularly troubling, and though he accepted it on the basis of the writings of Paul and the Church Fathers, he was disturbed by the degree to which it made God seem unjust.

In 1512, Luther earned his Doctor of Theology and entered the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg. From 1515 to 1517 he lectured on Paul's epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and it was during this period that he had the profound insight which was to completely alter the course of his life. This moment of revelation hinged upon a simple phrase from Romans 1:17: "The just shall live by faith." Luther came to see this verse and other similar passages in Paul's letters as evidence that justification (the state of being declared righteous before God in spite of original sin) came through faith alone, not through any action on the part of the sinner, and that it was a free gift of God's grace accomplished through the sacrifice of Christ. In Luther's mind, the faith that brought justification was not mere intellectual assent to a theological formula, but a holistic way of life marked by obedience to God, gratitude for His gift, and joy that resulted from freedom from the debilitating effects of sin and guilt.

As a result of his newfound conviction that justification was accomplished by grace through faith, Luther came to see several characteristic aspects of Catholic doctrine and practice—including monastic asceticism, the purchase of indulgences, and the elaborate rituals associated with the sacraments—as misguided attempts to earn God's favor or to achieve justification by some means other than through faith alone. Luther denounced this tendency, insisting that righteousness was wholly a gift of God and that humanity was powerless to contribute to the process of justification through any sort of "good works." Yet he did not discount the validity of central Christian practices such as prayer, fasting, almsgiving, baptism, and the Eucharist. Rather, he asserted that such practices represented the outworking of one's faith and constituted part of an appropriately grateful response to God's gift of justification.

Though the doctrine of justification by faith would eventually become the cornerstone of Protestant theology, it seems that Luther initially saw it primarily as a compelling and comforting solution to his own spiritual crisis. He eagerly shared his new convictions with his students and fellow parishioners in the hopes that they might experience similar transformation, but he did not originally have any intent of using the doctrine to launch a revolution against Rome. Nor could he have imagined that this simple theological insight would soon make him a highly renowned (and highly controversial) figure throughout Europe.

The Ninety-Five Theses and the Resulting Controversy

The events that drew Luther more fully into the public eye centered on the sale and purchase of indulgences.[1] In 1517, a Dominican papal representative named Johann Tetzel traveled throughout Germany selling indulgences, the revenues from which were to be used for the renovation of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Tetzel boosted his sales by insisting that the purchase of an indulgence guaranteed the immediate release of a soul from purgatory.

Luther had frequently been troubled by the sale of indulgences—which, in addition to promoting a sort of justification by works, was often a vehicle for gross financial and ecclesiastical abuses—and had spoken out against the practice on several occasions. The claims of Tetzel further inflamed Luther, and he responded by producing a set of 95 theses that set out in detail his objections to the theology and practice surrounding the sale of indulgences.[2] Luther argued that indulgences could not remove the guilt associated with sin, but that such cleansing came only by God's grace. He expressed his concern that the purchase of indulgences could breed apathy and a false sense of security, thus causing Christians to neglect the cultivation of true spiritual fruit. He also objected strenuously to Tetzel's activities and insisted that the pope had no jurisdiction over the souls in purgatory, and therefore could not promise their release on the basis of an indulgence.

According to tradition, Luther nailed his theses to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg (which often served as a sort of university bulletin board) on October 31, 1517, thus indicating his readiness to enter into debate on the issue. He also sent a copy of the document to the archbishop of Mainz, the ranking ecclesiastical official in Germany, who passed it on to Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521). Much to Luther's surprise, his theses were soon translated from Latin into German and circulated throughout the nation, producing a great stir. The Catholic hierarchy came out in staunch opposition to Luther, whom they viewed as a heretic. However, many German Christians, disenchanted as they were by both the rampant corruption in the Church and the tendency of the popes to use revenues from Germany for improvements in Italy, sympathized with Luther's position.

The battle over Luther's views quickly escalated. In June of 1520, Leo X issued a bull condemning 41 errors in Luther's teaching and calling for the burning of his writings.

During the course of that same year, Luther, refusing to bow to papal pressure and increasingly convinced that a break with Rome was inevitable, issued a series of pamphlets in which he presented many of the teachings that would become central tenets both of Lutheranism and of Protestantism as a whole.

In *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation,* Luther advanced the concept of the priesthood of all believers and argued that the Catholic Church had subordinated the laity to the clergy in a way that was unscriptural.[3] This was consistent with his conviction that all people—whether clergy or laity—should view their occupations and vocations as sacred duties entrusted to them by God. Luther argued further that since every believer is a priest before God, all must be allowed to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves rather than submitting unquestioningly to the popes' interpretations. Luther also maintained that since God is not a respecter of persons, the clergy and even the pope must submit themselves to the authority of the secular rulers and be held accountable by general councils for any immoral or corrupt acts.

Luther's next major pamphlet, *A Prelude Concerning the Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* was largely concerned with the sacraments. He fiercely condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation and the then-current practice of withholding the communion cup from the laity during the celebration of the Eucharist.[4] Luther's own view on the nature of the relationship between the elements of the Eucharist and the body and blood of Christ was a precursor to the doctrine that has come to be known as *consubstantiation*—that is, that the substance of the body and blood of Christ exist alongside (or, as Luther put it, "in, with, and under") the substance of the bread and wine, rather than replacing them.

With regard to the other sacraments, Luther affirmed the importance of baptism, though he stressed that the act of baptism itself did not bring justification and that it was meaningless if not accompanied by faith. Nevertheless, he allowed for infant baptism, reasoning that the faith of those who brought the child to be baptized was sufficient for the infant's cleansing. Though Luther affirmed that penance was scriptural, he insisted that confession need not be given to an ordained priest, but could be made between any believers, and that Catholic practice had corrupted the ordinance of penance in many ways. Furthermore, he did not hold penance to be a sacrament equal with baptism and the Eucharist, as it did not involve a visible sign of God's grace such as water, bread, or wine. While Luther saw some value in the practices of confirmation, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony, he found no scriptural support for considering any of them to be a sacrament, and rejected them as such.

In his final major treatise of 1520, *On the Freedom of a Christian,* Luther insisted that the Christian is both completely free and a servant to all, and that the Word of God (as opposed to the teachings of the Church) contains all that is necessary for Christian life and liberty. He also emphasized that the doctrine of justification by faith alone was not a license to engage in immoral behavior, and stressed that good works should proceed from a life of faith.

From this series of pamphlets emerged three crucial and central doctrines of Protestantism: justification by grace through faith alone, the priesthood of all believers, and the ultimate authority of Scripture. Luther's followers soon turned these convictions into the rallying cries of *sola fide* ("faith alone"), *sola gratia* ("grace alone"), and *sola Scriptura* ("Scripture alone"), slogans that represented an explicit attack on the legitimacy of the Catholic Church.[5]

Leo X responded to Luther's continued criticisms by issuing a bull of formal excommunication against him in January 1521. In April of that year, Luther was summoned to appear before the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (reigned 1519–1558) and the imperial Diet (a national deliberative assembly of civic and religious officials) at Worms. After examining him, the Diet ordered Luther to recant many of his teachings, but he refused to do so unless he could be persuaded from Scripture that he was mistaken. According to tradition, he closed his defense with the words, "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise."

Having pled his case, Luther was allowed to leave Worms, but in May 1521 the Diet, convinced of Luther's intransigence, issued an edict declaring that he was an outlaw and a heretic. The Edict of Worms stated that Luther should be apprehended and turned over to the emperor, asserted that those who sympathized with him should have their property confiscated, and forbade the printing, buying, or selling of Luther's writings. Though the edict was never strictly enforced, Luther was forced to live under its shadow for the remainder of his life.

Luther's Work on the Bible and the Development of Lutheran Theology

Fearing to return to Wittenberg following his appearance before the Diet, Luther instead was taken by friends to the abandoned castle of Wartburg, where he lived in hiding until March 1522. During this time, he wrote several books and translated the entire New Testament into German using Erasmus' Greek text. Much like John Wycliffe, Luther considered the availability of the Word of God in the language of the common people to be of the utmost importance. In later years he and several of his associates would translate the Old Testament into German as well, and his complete German Bible appeared in 1534. Because of its widespread circulation among the Germanic language-speaking peoples of the Holy Roman Empire, Luther's Bible served to facilitate the emergence and standardization of the modern German language.

During Luther's exile at Wartburg, his supporters, who would eventually adopt the name "Lutherans," continued to pursue his agenda of reform. Deprived of Luther's guidance and example, some of them embraced radical measures such as destroying icons and forbidding the use of music in church services. A number of the clergy repudiated the clerical vows they had taken, and many monks and priests took wives.

Upon Luther's return to Wittenberg in 1522, he resumed leadership of the rapidly expanding movement, urging moderation and mutual toleration and distancing himself from the actions of the radicals. Over the course of the next few years, he set about ordering the life of the worshipping community. He produced a *Form of the Mass and Communion* (1523), a baptismal book (1523), and a complete German Mass (1526), all of which reflected Protestant sacramental theology. He also issued a hymnal containing some hymns that he had composed himself, the most notable of which is "A Mighty Fortress is Our God." Gradually, Lutheran churches were established throughout the empire in areas ruled by princes who were sympathetic to Protestantism.

As the Lutheran movement continued to take shape, Luther gradually lost support from several quarters. His teachings concerning the helplessness of humanity apart from grace alienated many Christian humanists. Erasmus, whose ideas were quite similar to Luther's in some respects, disagreed sharply with Luther on the question of predestination versus free will and soon distanced himself from the reform movement. Luther's firm denunciation of the bloody peasant rebellion of 1524–25 cost him many followers from among the poorer classes, particularly in southern Germany. Finally, this period saw the permanent splintering of the early Protestant movement, as Luther parted company with many of the Reformers who held views that he considered more radical than his own—a group that included some who would play seminal roles in the emergence of the Reformed and Anabaptist traditions.

In 1529, responding to what he perceived as a lack of Christian education among many of Lutheranism's adherents, Luther authored both a Small Catechism (aimed at the laity) and a Large Catechism (intended for pastoral use by the clergy). These documents offered basic instruction concerning the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the practice of confession, and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, and quickly came to be viewed as normative statements of the Lutheran faith.

A further elucidation of Lutheran doctrine was produced in 1530 at the behest of Charles V, who, desiring to restore peace to his domains, asked the Protestants to produce a succinct summary of their beliefs that pointed out where their positions differed from those of the Catholic Church. This task was entrusted to Luther's close associate Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), who presented the resulting document to the emperor and the imperial Diet at Augsburg. The statement, which subsequently became known as the Augsburg Confession, consisted of 28 articles—21 outlining the basic doctrinal positions of Lutheranism and seven detailing elements of Catholic theology and practice that the Lutherans rejected.

The Catholic theologians among the members of the Diet rejected a majority of the Augsburg Confession's articles, and the Lutheran contingent was not allowed to offer a counterargument (though Melanchthon would later produce one in the form of his *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*). The assembly consequently ruled that the Protestants had been successfully refuted, and the emperor ordered the Reformers to

submit. The Protestant princes of Germany, however, proved unwilling to comply with the Diet's demands. Fearing reprisal on the part of the emperor, they met in the city of Schmalkalden in 1531 and formed a defensive alliance that became known as the Schmalkaldic League.

Before hostilities between the two parties could begin, the growing threat posed to the empire by the Ottoman Turks forced Charles V to negotiate a temporary truce with the Schmalkaldic League. Nevertheless, the Protestants soon faced a new threat in the form of a papal decree issued in 1536 by Pope Paul III (reigned 1534–1549). In this bull, the pope called for the convening of a general council of the Catholic Church to address the problem of the Reformation. The members of the Schmalkaldic League reacted by asking Luther to review earlier statements of the Lutheran faith in order to determine which elements were inarguably essential and which could be negotiated with the Catholics. Luther complied, and in 1537 delivered to the League what have become known as the Schmalkaldic Articles.

Luther's articles were divided into three sections, with the first discussing the Trinity and the Incarnation, the second addressing justification by faith, the Mass, monasticism, and the papacy, and the third dealing with the Law, sin and repentance, the sacraments, the ministry, and the nature of the church. They thus represented the most systematic statement of Lutheran doctrine to have been produced. The Schmalkaldic League, however, feared that some of Luther's statements (particularly concerning the Eucharist) might cause unnecessary controversy, and decided to adopt the Augsburg Confession and its Apology instead. Because those documents did not contain any treatment of the papacy, Melanchthon composed the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* and appended it to the Confession. Though Luther's Articles were thus denied formal approval by the Schmalkaldic League, they were privately endorsed by many of its members and quickly became viewed as another important iteration of Lutheran doctrine.

LUTHERANISM AFTER LUTHER

In his later years, Luther's rhetoric became increasingly radical and venomous, as evidenced by the titles of two of his works, *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543) and *Against the Roman Papacy, Founded by the Devil* (1545). Nevertheless, the protection of the Schmalkaldic League ensured that Luther's writings would not result in his martyrdom, and he died in peace on February 18, 1546, in his birthplace of Eisleben.

As was the case with Wycliffe and Hus, the death of Luther by no means marked the end of the movement that he had founded and guided. Indeed, the Lutherans subsequently displayed much greater vitality than had either the Lollards or the Hussites. By the time of Luther's death, Lutheranism had become the dominant expression of Christianity throughout northern Germany, and had spread northward into Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland. Because the influence of Catholicism was relatively weak

in the Nordic Countries, Lutheranism quickly won broad acceptance there. It was soon adopted as the official state religion by the Scandinavian monarchs, and the production of Nordic translations of the Bible aided in the conversion of the populace.

In Germany, Charles V renewed his efforts to stamp out the Lutheran movement. In 1547, the year after Luther's death, the emperor declared war on the Schmalkaldic League and soundly defeated the Protestant princes in battle at Mühlberg. He then introduced the Augsburg Interim, a creed that purported to represent a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism (but that in reality greatly favored the former), and attempted to impose it throughout the empire. However, Charles' earlier delays in addressing the situation had allowed the Lutheran faction to gain strength, and he was unable to reestablish Catholic control over the nation even in the wake of military triumph. Indeed, his attempts to eradicate Protestantism merely galvanized the resistance movement. The Schmalkaldic League quickly formed a strategic alliance with the king of France and, in 1552, defeated the emperor and his forces.

The Schmalkaldic Wars came to an end in 1555 with the formulation of a compromise treaty known as the Peace of Augsburg. According to its terms, the secular rulers of Germany were to be allowed to determine whether Catholicism or Lutheranism would prevail in their respective territories, but no other forms of Protestantism were to be tolerated. Citizens whose beliefs did not accord with those of their prince were to be allowed to migrate. Thus, Germany quickly became divided between largely Lutheran areas in the north and predominantly Catholic lands in the south.

Having withstood the attacks of the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire, the Lutherans soon fell victim to dissension within their own ranks. Without the guiding influence of Luther to bring harmony, a diversity of opinions arose concerning various aspects of doctrine and practice. Melanchthon sought to provide leadership during this period, but some within the Lutheran movement turned against him because of what they perceived as conciliatory gestures toward both Catholicism and other expressions of Protestantism on his part.

In an attempt to bring unity, a group of Lutheran theologians met during 1576–77 and produced a new articulation of Lutheran doctrine known as the Formula of Concord. This document represented the basic convictions of Lutheranism as a whole and was widely accepted, though not embraced by all. In 1580, the essential statements of the Lutheran faith—the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds,[6] the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, Luther's Small and Large Catechisms, the Schmalkaldic Articles, Melanchthon's *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope,* and the Formula of Concord—were collected and published in the Book of Concord, which remains the normative statement of Lutheran doctrine to the present day.

The production of the Formula of Concord and Book of Concord was illustrative of a trend whereby Lutheranism increasingly drifted away from Martin Luther's emphasis on

a holistic life of faith and focused more exclusively on the study of and adherence to the doctrines and dogmas that its leaders had labored to define. Thus (as is common with reform movements), the Lutherans quickly fell victim to some of the same tendencies that they had denounced among the Catholics. As a result, factions within Lutheranism would eventually begin to propose new corrective measures, thus perpetuating the spirit of reform that Luther had embodied.[7]

Having thus traced the birth and subsequent growth of Lutheranism during the 16th century, we now turn our attention to the second major expression of Protestantism to emerge during this period: the Reformed tradition.

Chapter Eighteen Review

Augsburg Confession	Lutheranism
Book of Concord	Martin Luther
Charles V	Ninety-Five Theses
Consubstantiation	Peace of Augsburg
Edict of Worms	Philipp Melanchthon
Formula of Concord	Priesthood of All Believers
Justification by Faith Alone	Protestant Reformation
Leo X	Schmalkaldic Wars

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN NOTES

[1]As we saw in Chapter Fifteen, the sale of indulgences involved the giving of money to the Church in exchange for the remission of some of the acts of penance required for sins that had previously been confessed to a priest. Though there were many abuses of this practice by various individuals (including popes), it is important to stress that at no time did official Catholic doctrine state either that one could purchase *forgiveness* for past sins (which could only be granted by God) or that the purchase of indulgences gave one a license to sin in the future.

[2]The Ninety-Five Theses are more formally known as *The Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences.*

[3]The Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers is largely derived from 1 Peter 2:9.

[4]The rationale behind this practice seems to have been that, if the wine truly became the blood of Christ (as transubstantiation claimed), the clergy could not risk letting any be spilt by the laity as they partook of the cup.

[5]These three slogans, along with Solus Christus ("Christ alone") and *Soli Deo gloria* ("Glory to God alone") comprise what are sometimes known as the "five solas" of Protestantism.

[6]The Athanasian Creed, though traditionally ascribed to the fourth-century Church Father Athanasius, is now thought to be the work of a later author. Like the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, it is a Trinitarian statement of faith designed to reflect the convictions of the early ecumenical councils. It is longer than the other major creeds and is used much less frequently today. It is not accepted by Eastern Orthodox Christians.

[7]For more on such movements, notably the Pietists and Moravians, see Chapter Twenty-Six.

Chapter Nineteen
Zwingli, Calvin, and the Reformed Churches

Though Martin Luther is traditionally (and rightly) viewed as the primary catalyst for the Protestant Reformation, many of his contemporaries shared similar views. While most of these early Reformers initially responded enthusiastically to Luther's writings and actions, it was not long before differences of opinion began to emerge among them. Thus, as our study of the various expressions of reform progresses, we will repeatedly find ourselves returning to the years immediately following Luther's production of the Ninety-Five Theses and exploring the events whereby each successive Protestant tradition diverged from the path that Lutheranism ultimately took. We will begin in this chapter by considering the rise and spread of the Reformed/Presbyterian tradition.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI AND THE ROOTS OF THE REFORMED TRADITION

The Reformed tradition is largely a product of the Swiss Reformation, the beginnings of which were essentially concurrent with the birth of the Reformation in Germany. At the beginning of the 16th century, Switzerland, though nominally a part of the Holy Roman Empire, enjoyed virtual political autonomy. In addition, its growing cities—Zürich, Bern, Basel, Geneva—were centers of Renaissance learning and humanism. This combination of features provided fertile soil for the growth of Protestant thought.

Zwingli's Early Reforms

Much of the impetus for the Swiss Reformation came from the work and thought of the pastor and theologian Huldrych (or Ulrich) Zwingli (1484–1531). Zwingli was born only a few weeks after Martin Luther, and from a young age was prepared for entry into the Catholic priesthood. He studied Greek and Latin and read many of the works of the Church Fathers in the original languages. He was also exposed to the works of humanist thinkers, and was particularly impressed by the writings of Erasmus. Upon completing his studies, he was ordained as a priest.

In 1518, after having served in various ecclesiastical posts, Zwingli was made people's priest of the Great Minster in Zürich, where he quickly rose to prominence as a capable preacher and a vocal advocate of religious reform. Like Luther, Zwingli stressed the ultimate authority of the Bible, and he began preaching sermons in which he denounced practices of the Catholic Church (such as prayers for the dead and the sale of indulgences) that he viewed as being unsupported by Scripture.[1]

Between 1522 and 1525, Zwingli (with the support of the civil rulers of the city) vigorously pursued reform in Zürich. In 1523, he presented much of his theology in the Sixty-Seven Articles, which he then used as a basis for the enactment of a series of measures that propelled Zürich toward Protestantism. Zwingli opposed the taking of monastic vows, closed Catholic monasteries in the area, and confiscated former monastic lands for the purpose of establishing schools. He championed the right of the clergy to marry, and took a wife himself. He denounced the practice of praying to the saints, attacked the doctrine of purgatory, and rejected the Catholic tendency to view the Mass as a "good work" and a sacrifice. Zwingli also decried the use of music and icons in worship, and had all organs and religious images removed from the churches of Zürich. As a means of replacing all that he had thus stripped away, he developed a simple liturgy featuring a sermon in the vernacular German and a humble communion service.

Zwingli's views soon spread to other important Swiss cities. At Basel, the chief leader of the Reformation was Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), a German pastor who had formerly been at Augsburg and had embraced the views of Luther. Upon coming to Basel in 1522, he quickly became a close associate of Zwingli and began espousing Reformed views. In 1528, Zwingli and Oecolampadius journeyed together to Bern. There Zwingli engaged in a public disputation during which he set forth ten theses that expounded essential elements of Reformed doctrine, thus paving the way for the triumph of Protestantism in that city.

Zwingli soon began laboring to produce a new German translation of the Bible for the benefit of the burgeoning Protestant community in Switzerland. In translating the New Testament, Zwingli borrowed heavily and freely from Martin Luther's version. However, owing to Luther's delay in translating the Old Testament, Zwingli managed to publish his completed Zürich Bible in 1529, five years before Luther's Bible first appeared in its entirety. The fact that Zwingli thought it necessary to produce this alternative to Luther's German Bible was likely a subtle indication that he was beginning to distance himself and his followers from the Lutherans.

Zwingli and Luther

It is undeniable that Zwingli was more radical in his program of reform than was Luther. He was more determined from the outset to break with the Catholic Church, and more relentless in his drive to rid the churches of Switzerland of every vestige of Catholic theology and practice that was not directly derived from Scripture. Nevertheless, Zwingli and his supporters shared with the Lutherans the central Protestant doctrines of justification by faith, the priesthood of all believers, and the ultimate authority of Scripture, and many favored an alliance between the two movements.

Chief among those who sought to promote unity within Protestantism was Martin Bucer (1491–1551), a former Dominican who, like many of the other Reformers, had been

greatly influenced by the writings of Erasmus. Beginning in 1523, Bucer served as a pastor in Strasbourg, a city whose location on the west bank of the Rhine placed it between the areas of greatest Lutheran strength and the region in which Zwingli was gaining influence. Bucer found much to admire in the thought of both Luther and Zwingli, and though he eventually adopted views that were closer to those of the latter, he consistently sought to emphasize the continuities between the Lutheran and Zwinglian agendas and to champion solidarity among the Reformers.

In 1529, the Protestant Prince Philip I of Hesse summoned a group of notable Reformers—including Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Bucer—to a colloquy at the German city of Marburg. The purpose of this gathering was to pursue reconciliation of the differences among the key Protestant leaders in the interest of promoting more formal political and religious cooperation. But though Luther and Zwingli reached accord on nearly every theological point under discussion, they remained divided by one critical issue: their respective understandings of the nature of the Eucharist. Luther, as we have seen, rejected transubstantiation as such but argued that the substance of the body and blood of Jesus does exist "in, with, and under" the substance of the bread and wine. Zwingli, by contrast, maintained that, while Christ was of course spiritually present during the Eucharist, His body and blood were in no sense physically present. For Zwingli, the bread and wine served merely as memorial symbols of Christ's sacrifice.

This difference of opinion between the two parties proved too great to overcome. Luther increasingly came to see Zwingli as too radical in his doctrine and practice, while Zwingli felt that Luther was compromising unnecessarily with Catholic tradition. When Charles V summoned the Protestants to appear before the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, Zwingli submitted a confession that presented his distinctive views. The Reformed churches in southern Germany also presented to the Diet a document known as the Tetrapolitan Confession (largely the work of Bucer) rather than subscribing to Melanchthon's Augsburg Confession. The split between the Lutheran and Reformed traditions had become official.

War and Upheaval

In addition to engaging in religious reforms and theological debates, Zwingli also became increasingly involved in political matters. The success of his reform program in Zürich had granted him increasing secular influence, with the result that the city became a virtual theocracy under Zwingli's leadership (much like Florence under Savonarola). The Reformed faith also continued to hold sway in Basel, Bern, and several other prominent cities. However, seven of Switzerland's thirteen cantons (semi-autonomous states) remained firmly Catholic, and Zwingli's attempts to impose Protestantism on these areas contributed to growing discord throughout the nation.

The Protestant cantons (along with the German free cities of Strasbourg and Constance) quickly formed a defensive alliance, while the Catholic cantons allied themselves with

Austria. In 1529, open war between the two factions was barely averted. Though a temporary settlement was reached, tensions remained high. In October 1531, Zwingli himself led the canton of Zürich into armed conflict with Catholic forces at the Battle of Kappel. This proved to be a rash decision, as the armies of Zürich—unsupported by their Protestant allies—were thoroughly defeated, and Zwingli himself was killed on the battlefield.

Zwingli was succeeded as pastor of the Great Minster by Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), who proved to be less interested in political maneuvering and more conciliatory toward the Lutherans than his predecessor. Bucer, too, continued to push for unity among Lutherans and Reformed believers. Indeed, in 1536 Bucer and Melanchthon met in Wittenberg and reached a tentative agreement that seemed to put an end to the Eucharist controversy, but the concord ultimately failed to bring unity. Gradually, it became clear that the two major expressions of Protestantism would not be reconciled, and the leaders of the Reformed churches turned their attention to other matters. Bullinger carried on the agenda of Zwingli at Zürich and produced numerous works of theology in which he expounded and refined the Reformed position. Bucer continued to lead the community at Strasbourg until 1549, when, after having strongly denounced the Augsburg Interim of Charles V, he immigrated to England to aid in the work of the Reformation there.

It may be supposed that the death of its founder could easily have brought ruin to the young Reformed movement. Indeed, despite their accomplishments, neither Bullinger nor Bucer proved to be as charismatic or influential a leader as Zwingli. However, the Reformed tradition would soon benefit from the emergence of a figure whose thought would be even more determinative for its future course than Zwingli's: John Calvin.

THE LIFE AND INFLUENCE OF JOHN CALVIN

John Calvin (1509–1564) was born into an aristocratic French family less than a decade before the beginning of the Reformation. In 1523, he went to the University of Paris to study for the priesthood, but later abandoned this course in favor of law school (though he retained an intense interest in theology). During his university years, Calvin embraced many of the ideals of Christian humanism as expounded by men like Erasmus. He mastered Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and diligently studied both the Bible and the works of classical antiquity in the original languages.

Calvin was made a Doctor of Law in 1532. It was apparently around this same time that he underwent what he would later describe as a sudden conversion experience and began to embrace Protestant beliefs.[2] Soon thereafter, France became the scene of a wave of anti-Protestant persecution, and Calvin left Paris. He eventually settled in Basel, one of the Swiss cities that had been greatly influenced by the message of Zwingli. It was there, in 1536, that Calvin published the first edition of what would prove to be not only

the most important book of the Protestant Reformation, but one of the most influential volumes in Christian history: *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*

The Institutes

Calvin's *Institutes* represented the earliest major attempt to provide a systematic theology from a Protestant perspective. Its chief virtues were comprehensiveness of scope and clarity of expression rather than true originality of thought. Indeed, Calvin largely based his theology on the Bible and the works of the Church Fathers (particularly Augustine), thus endeavoring to show that Protestantism was a legitimate heir of the orthodox Christian tradition, while Catholicism had deviated from the true faith in significant ways.

Though the *Institutes* were first published in Latin, Calvin soon produced a translation in French that is considered to be one of the earliest important prose works in that tongue. Thus, like Luther's German Bible, Calvin's French *Institutes* had a profound effect on the formal development of a major European language. Calvin produced several subsequent revisions of the *Institutes*, the last of which, published in 1559, was more than four times longer than the original.

In its final, familiar form, the *Institutes* consisted of four books dealing respectively with God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, and the church. The work as a whole thus advocated a Trinitarian understanding of God that was consistent with the claims of the early creeds and the thought of Augustine. In the first book, Calvin stressed the sovereignty and transcendence of God and asserted that nothing happens apart from His will. He went on to discuss God's role as Creator, emphasizing that humanity was made in God's image and thus represented the pinnacle of His creative achievement. He then described the way in which creation was tainted by original sin. According to Calvin's understanding, sin corrupted humans so thoroughly that they were no longer able to do any good apart from grace, and thus were completely dependent upon God to initiate their salvation.

In the second book of the *Institutes*, Calvin went on to describe how God addressed the sad plight of His creation—first by making a covenant with the people of Israel and giving them the Law to govern their conduct, and ultimately by sending Jesus to effect humanity's redemption. Calvin defended the view of Christ's nature that had been explicated by the early ecumenical councils and explored His roles as prophet, priest, and king. He stressed that the Crucifixion had served to satisfy God's demand for justice and removed the penalty of sin from humankind, and that Jesus' resurrection and ascension marked His victory over the power of death and the inauguration of His kingdom.

The third book of the *Institutes* focused on the nature and effects of the grace that was secured by the death and resurrection of Christ and that is mediated to believers by the Holy Spirit. Like Luther and Zwingli, Calvin insisted that justification comes only through

faith, and that it is a matter of the heart and not only of the intellect. According to Calvin, faith comes to humans only through the agency of the Spirit, and is a necessary prerequisite to genuine repentance, which is characterized by love for God and good works. Thus, in Calvin's theology, works were unnecessary as a precondition for salvation, but mandatory as an outworking of salvation.

It was also in this third section of his masterwork that Calvin set out some of the views on divine election with which his name is most often associated. Like Augustine, Calvin advanced the doctrine that is often termed "double predestination," which maintains that some are elected by God for salvation and eternal life, while others are predestined for damnation and eternal punishment. However, Calvin stressed that believers should neither assume that they are among the elect (and thus grow complacent in living out their faith), nor be overly anxious and fearful concerning their ultimate fate, but should instead maintain a focus on God and their relationship to Him.

The *Institutes'* fourth and final book contained Calvin's views on the church. Much like John Wycliffe, Calvin insisted that the true church consists of all the elect rather than those associated with any particular institution, and that Christ, rather than any human figure, is its true head. He also maintained that pastors and other ecclesiastical officials should be democratically elected by the people whom they were to serve. In accord with the other Reformers, Calvin recognized only baptism and the Eucharist as legitimate sacraments. He rejected both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, yet maintained (somewhat confusingly) that Christ was nevertheless "really present" in the Eucharist in a way that went beyond the purely spiritual and symbolic view of Zwingli. Finally, Calvin expounded his views on the proper relationship between church and state, which in his mind was to be marked by interdependence that held in balance a necessary degree of autonomy and a commitment to cooperation in the cause of Christ.

Calvin and Geneva

In 1536, shortly after completing the first version of the *Institutes*, Calvin attempted to journey to the Reformed center of Strasbourg. However, the eruption of war between France and the Holy Roman Empire forced Calvin to make a detour to the city of Geneva in the western, French-speaking portion of Switzerland. There he met Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), a French-born Reformer who had previously ministered in Basel and Strasbourg and among the remnants of the Waldenses in the Alps. Farel soon persuaded Calvin to abandon his plans to relocate to Strasbourg and to instead remain in Geneva and assist with the work of the Reformation there. Thus it was that John Calvin first came to the city with which he would subsequently become most closely associated.

Success at Geneva did not come immediately, however. In 1538, Calvin and Farel were forced to flee the city following a power struggle with the civic council. Calvin made his

way to Strasbourg, where he befriended Bucer and began ministering to a number of French-speaking Protestant refugees who had fled from Catholic persecution in France. Calvin remained there for a period of three years, during which he married, revised his *Institutes*, developed a Reformed liturgy in French, and made contacts with other Reformers, including Melanchthon.

While Calvin labored in Strasbourg, the position of the Protestant community in Geneva grew more tenuous. For a time it even seemed as if the city might return to the Catholic fold. However, the balance of secular power in the city gradually shifted toward those who were sympathetic to the agenda of the Reformers, and in 1541 the governing authorities of Geneva invited Calvin and Farel to return, and promised to cooperate with their program of religious and social reform.

Upon re-establishing himself in Geneva, Calvin set about transforming the city into a Protestant theocracy, and he soon achieved an even greater integration of church and state than Zwingli had at Zürich. The city rulers quickly enacted Calvin's *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, which provided for the organization of the church in Geneva and established four distinct ecclesiastical offices: doctors (who pursued theological scholarship, instructed the laity, and trained candidates for the ministry), ministers (who preached and administered the sacraments), elders (who sought to encourage and enforce public morality), and deacons (who oversaw the church's charitable work). A Reformed catechism was also introduced, along with a liturgy closely similar to the one that Calvin had developed at Strasbourg.

As a means of ensuring that the citizenry complied with the new Protestant form of government, Calvin created the Consistory, an ecclesiastical court made up of pastors and elders that was charged with maintaining theological orthodoxy and ethical discipline. Those who propounded rival doctrines or engaged in immoral behavior were subject to trial before the Consistory, and punishments for infractions ranged from compulsory religious instruction to torture and execution. Unsurprisingly, much of the populace was resistant to these new measures, and it was not until the mid-1550s that Calvin and the other Protestant leaders consolidated their control over the city.

Calvin continued to labor in Geneva for the remainder of his life and constantly sought to fashion the city into an ideal Christian enclave. He proved to be a great patron of education (which he believed was essential for both clergy and laity), and established what would eventually become the University of Geneva. He also helped to stimulate economic growth and encouraged the development of Genevan commerce and industry. He carried on a considerable correspondence and authored numerous commentaries on Scripture that were acclaimed as some of the finest works of the Reformation. Calvin died in 1564 and was succeeded as head of the Reformed community in Geneva by his associate Theodore Beza (1519–1605), who, as we will see, later made important contributions to the further development of Reformed doctrine and polity.

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES AND THE REFINEMENT OF REFORMED THEOLOGY

Under the leadership of Calvin (and later Beza), Geneva became a haven for Protestants from other nations, many of whom had fled from Catholic persecution. During their sojourns in Geneva, these men and women received instruction in Reformed theology. As they gradually returned to their own countries, and as Calvin's writings achieved greater circulation, the Reformed faith began to spread throughout Europe. It gradually claimed many of the lands that lay between the areas of strong Catholic influence in southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, and Austria), the newly-established Lutheran strongholds in the north (northern Germany and the five Nordic countries), and the traditionally Orthodox nations to the east, which were under Turkish dominion during this period. Thus, strong centers of the Reformed tradition were established in Switzerland, portions of Germany, the Low Countries, and the British Isles. In addition, substantial Reformed minorities emerged in France, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary.[3] These territorial gains were characteristically accompanied by the promulgation of new doctrinal statements, with the effect that the Reformed faith became more clearly defined even as it was simultaneously undergoing geographic decentralization and dispersal.

Consolidation in Switzerland and Germany

A necessary precondition for the further spread and continuing vitality of the Reformed tradition was the unification of the Protestant churches of Switzerland. Though Calvin's Geneva was increasingly viewed as the chief center of Reformed Christianity, several other important Swiss cities had embraced the faith earlier, and not all of them were in agreement with Calvin's theology. Zürich (the locus of Zwingli's movement) contested Calvin's interpretation of the Eucharist, Basel tended to dispute his views on predestination, and Bern disapproved of his theocratic form of government. The fact that the early centers of the Reformed faith were in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, while Geneva was a French-speaking city dominated by Calvin, a Frenchman, also contributed to the lack of unity.

Nevertheless, accord among the Swiss churches was gradually reached, largely through the efforts of Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zürich. In 1549, Bullinger and Calvin drafted a document known as the *Consensus Tigurinus*, which presented a united Reformed view of the sacraments. The *Consensus* clearly denounced both Catholic transubstantiation and Lutheran consubstantiation, but retained a measure of ambiguity regarding the precise nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Nevertheless, it did represent a subtle shift away from the purely symbolic view of Zwingli on Bullinger's part, and the more moderate doctrine of Calvin increasingly became the standard for the Reformed churches.

Bullinger was also responsible for the Second Helvetic Confession, a comprehensive statement of centrist Reformed doctrine. Though Bullinger originally drafted the confession purely as a personal declaration of faith, it was published in 1566 and was soon adopted as a normative doctrinal statement by the great majority of the Reformed churches of Switzerland. Thus, this document served as a second means by which the followers of Zwingli and those of Calvin were brought into closer fellowship.[4]

In Germany, Reformed influence was initially strongest in the regions adjacent to the Rhine River, with the free city of Strasbourg serving as an early focal point under the leadership of Martin Bucer. Gradually, however, some of the moderates among the Lutherans (including many of those who had supported the conciliatory stance of Melanchthon following the death of Luther) became alienated by the positions of the strict Lutherans and embraced the Reformed faith. Thus, by the second half of the 16th century, Reformed Christianity was to be found in other parts of Germany, including Bremen, Hesse, and Brandenburg.

In 1559, the Elector Frederick III became sovereign of the Palatinate, a semi-autonomous portion of the Holy Roman Empire that included territory on both banks of the Rhine. Frederick, who had converted to Protestantism some years earlier, established Reformed Christianity as the official faith of his territory, thus rejecting both Catholicism and Lutheranism. Frederick soon commissioned two Protestant theologians, Caspar Olevianus and Zacharius Ursinus, to produce a Reformed catechism. The result was the Heidelberg Catechism, which was published in 1563.[5]

The catechism consisted of 129 questions and answers with corresponding Scripture references, and was deliberately designed as a devotional work rather than a dogmatic, polemical treatise. Indeed, its authors carefully sought to avoid unnecessarily controversial wording in the hope that they might thereby promote some degree of reconciliation with the German Lutherans. While this hope went largely unrealized, the Heidelberg Catechism quickly became a definitive statement of faith for many of the continental Reformed Churches (particularly those in Germany and the Netherlands), and remains one of the most important confessions of Reformed Christianity to this day.

Turmoil in France

Though France was ruled by a Catholic monarchy, and thus was counted among the strongly-Catholic enclaves of southern Europe, it was also home to a vocal Protestant minority, as epitomized by Frenchmen such as Guillaume Farel, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza. Consequently, the nation was the site of increasing tensions between Catholic and Protestant Christians. Indeed, as we have seen, Calvin himself initially came to Switzerland after fleeing from the threat of persecution in France.

Some early French Protestants publicly denounced their Catholic rulers, practiced iconoclasm, and vandalized Catholic churches and monasteries, thus leading to profound social unrest. In 1559, the French Reformed Church—whose members would subsequently become known as *Huguenots*—held their first national synod in Paris and adopted a confession of faith that had been authored by Calvin. This evidence of increasing organization on the part of the Huguenots quickly led to heightened persecution.

In 1561, a colloquy was held at Poissy for the purpose of attempting reconciliation between French Catholics and the Huguenots. Beza traveled to France to defend the Reformed faith at this meeting, but no accord was reached, and the Protestant position became increasingly tenuous. The following year, the killing of a number of Huguenots at Wassy sparked a lengthy, intermittent series of conflicts that became known as the Wars of Religion. The unrest reached its peak with the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, when thousands of Huguenots were killed by Catholic mobs in Paris and elsewhere. Following this incident, large numbers of the Huguenots fled to Geneva, where Beza offered them sanctuary.

The Wars of Religion came to an end in 1598 when King Henry IV (reigned 1589–1610), a former Protestant who had converted to Catholicism upon his accession to the throne, issued the Edict of Nantes, guaranteeing toleration to the Huguenots. However, the resulting peace would eventually be shattered by the issuing of the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685), which revoked the Edict of Nantes and declared Protestantism illegal in France. Thereafter, tens of thousands of Huguenots fled to England, North America, South Africa, and elsewhere, and the Reformed influence in France quickly dwindled.

The Dutch Reformed Church and the Rise of Arminian Theology

When the Reformation began, the Low Countries (present-day Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) were under the dominion of the eventual Emperor Charles V, who at that time was king of Spain and ruler of Burgundy. In spite of his efforts to suppress Protestantism in the region, both Lutheranism and Calvinism flourished there, with the latter eventually becoming predominant.

In 1561, Guy de Brès, a Walloon theologian, authored a Reformed confession of faith that became known as the Belgic Confession. In so doing, he made use of the confession that Calvin had prepared for the Huguenots two years earlier. The Belgic Confession predated both the Second Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, making it the earliest of the major continental Reformed statements of faith. It soon became definitive for the emerging Dutch Reformed Church, which held its first general synod at Emden in 1571.

As in France, Reformed believers in the Low Countries suffered considerable persecution at the hands of their Catholic rulers. These religious conflicts led to the waging of the Eighty Years' War (1566–1648), the eventual results of which were the winning of political independence by the northern part of the territory (the modern-day Netherlands) and the establishment of the Dutch Reformed faith as its official religion.

In addition to combating the threat posed to it by the Catholic armies, the Dutch Reformed Church was also forced to endure a serious and divisive theological dispute concerning the doctrine of predestination. While Calvin himself had argued for a view of predestination that was broadly congruent with those of Augustine and Luther, Theodore Beza and others took the matter further. Beza advanced a doctrine known as supralapsarianism, which argues that God determined the eternal destiny of all humans *before* He had decided to allow the Fall. Other Calvinists held to the counter-doctrine of infralapsarianism, which claims that God elected some for salvation and some for eternal punishment *in light of* His decision to permit the Fall.

In contradiction to both of these positions (each of which had a supporting faction among the theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church) was a third view that rejected the Calvinist interpretation of predestination entirely. The leading figure associated with this doctrine was the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius (1560–1609), a former student of Beza and a professor at the University of Leiden. Arminius argued that God's election of certain individuals for salvation was based on His divine foreknowledge of their eventual faith in Jesus, and thus that the free will of individual humans played a determinative role in securing their eternal destiny.

Though the views of Arminius failed to gain a broad hearing during his lifetime, they were taken up by a group of his followers, who would eventually become known as the Remonstrants. In 1610, the year after Arminius' death, they codified their views in the Five Articles of Remonstrance, which may be summarized as follows:

1) Before the creation of the world, God elected for salvation those whom He foreknew would eventually believe in Christ (a doctrine known as *conditional election*).

2) Christ died for all humanity, thus offering forgiveness and salvation to all who would believe in Him (a doctrine known as *universal atonement*).

3) Humans cannot think, will, or do anything that is truly good (including coming to faith) of their own accord, but are completely dependent upon the aid of the Holy Spirit to come to salvation. Though this point is largely consistent with the Calvinist notion of total depravity, Arminians believe that humans are given the free will to seek such necessary assistance from the Spirit (a doctrine known as *human ability*).

4) The prevenient (pre-existing grace) of God permits humanity to accept salvation. However, humans can also resist this grace and reject salvation (a doctrine known as *resistible grace*).

5) Those who accept salvation are assisted by the Holy Spirit and enabled to resist temptation. However, it is nevertheless possible for them to willfully reject God and thus forfeit their salvation (a doctrine known as *conditional preservation*).[6]

This articulation of Arminian theology was submitted to the Dutch governing authorities and quickly became a source of profound theological controversy. In 1618–19, a synod of Reformed ministers and theologians met at the city of Dort (Dordrecht) in order to study the Articles of Remonstrance and rule on their validity. The Synod of Dort rejected the tenets of Arminian theology as unscriptural, denounced the Remonstrants as heretics, and issued the Canons of Dort as a point-by-point response to the Five Articles. The counter-assertions of the Canons of Dort have subsequently become known as the Five Points of Calvinism.[7] In English, they are often remembered using the mnemonic device TULIP:

1) Total Depravity—All humans are corrupted by sin and therefore completely unable to think, will, or do anything that is truly good, including coming to faith. Therefore, humanity is completely dependent upon God to provide not only salvation, but the faith that permits salvation.

2) Unconditional Election—God's election of some for salvation and others for eternal punishment is not conditional upon His foreknowledge of individuals' responses (or any other factor), but is purely a matter of His sovereign decision.

3) Limited Atonement—Jesus' atonement was intended to effect deliverance from the penalty of sin only for those whom God had previously elected for salvation.

4) Irresistible Grace—Those whom God has elected for salvation are inexorably drawn to Him by the Holy Spirit, and will ultimately be reconciled to Him regardless of any attempt on their part to resist.

5) Perseverance of the Saints—Those whom God has elected for salvation and drawn to Himself through the Holy Spirit will continue in faith and are incapable of ultimately turning away from God or rejecting their eternal inheritance.

Thus, the Canons of Dort assured the continued predominance of the Calvinist emphasis on God's sovereignty over the Arminian insistence on human free will in the Reformed tradition. The Canons subsequently became (along with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism) one of the three most important statements of the continental Reformed faith. The Arminians, however, were accorded legal toleration in the Netherlands in 1630, and their views would eventually have a profound influence on the theology of Methodism and Evangelicalism.

John Knox and the Scottish Reformation

By the early 1520s, the ideals of the Protestant Reformation had begun spreading to the British Isles. Though the English Reformation would prove to be a very different sort of movement from those led by the continental Reformers (and thus must be treated in a separate chapter), the Protestant leaders in Scotland eventually embraced the Reformed tradition. The most important of these Scottish Reformers was a former Catholic priest, John Knox (c. 1514–1572).

Knox apparently became a Protestant around 1545 under the influence of his friend George Wishart, a scholar who espoused many of the views of Zwingli and Calvin. In 1546, Wishart was put to death by order of David Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the anti-Protestant persecution movement in Scotland. Following Wishart's execution, Beaton was murdered in retaliation. His killers fled to St. Andrew's Castle, where they were soon joined by other Protestants, including Knox. The castle was eventually captured in the summer of 1547 by the armies of France (with which the Catholic government of Scotland was closely allied), and Knox was forced to serve as a galley slave aboard French vessels until early 1549.

Upon his release, Knox feared to return to Scotland, so he journeyed instead to England and assisted in the work of the Reformation there. When that nation came back under Catholic control following the accession of Queen Mary I in 1553, Knox fled to the continent. There he ministered among other Protestant refugees from the British Isles, first at Frankfurt and later at Geneva, where he became an enthusiastic disciple of Calvin.

Meanwhile, the Reformation gained strength in Scotland. As was the case in England, the Protestant cause was aided by complicated political machinations, the particulars of which need not concern us. When Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, he found that the country was on the brink of civil war. However, the death of the Catholic queen regent, Mary of Guise, gave the Protestants temporary control of the country, and in 1560 the Scottish parliament abolished papal jurisdiction and established Protestantism as the official faith of the nation. Knox and five other leaders in the Reformed Church quickly produced a formal statement of faith known as the Scots Confession, and Knox went on to draw up both a Reformed liturgy (the *Book of Common Order*) and a sort of administrative and financial constitution of the Church (the *First Book of Discipline*). All of these documents reflected the influence of Calvin on Knox's thought.

Knox spent much of the latter period of his life engaged in political-religious contests with the Catholic monarch Mary, queen of Scots, but by the time of his death in 1572, the victory of the Protestant cause in Scotland had been largely assured. Leadership of the Reformed movement in Scotland subsequently passed to Knox's followers, notably Andrew Melville (1545–1622), who was largely responsible for the appearance of the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578).

The *Book of Common Order* and the two *Books of Discipline* played an important role in defining the government and polity of not only the Church of Scotland, but later Reformed bodies that descended from it. The principle of ecclesiastical government set forth by the *Book of Common Order* and *First Book of Discipline* came to be known as Presbyterianism. Though this system had historical roots stretching back to Calvin's Ecclesiastical Ordinances in Geneva, and had subsequently been promoted by Beza and adopted by other Reformed congregations, it was in Scotland that it was made most explicit.

The Presbyterian form of church government is characterized by democratic election of ecclesiastical leadership, plural decision-making marked by high levels of accountability, and a great degree of involvement on the part of the laity. Each local church is overseen by a group of elders chosen from among the congregation. These elders meet in an administrative body typically known as the Church Session in order to make decisions on behalf of the rest of the church. Ministers (or "teaching elders") are selected by the members of the church and entrusted with the task of administering the Word and sacraments. Individual congregations are united under the supervision of regional bodies known as presbyteries, which are made up of ministers and elders from each local session. Each presbytery, in turn, selects individuals from among their membership to represent them in the annual General Assembly, the highest authority in a Presbyterian denomination.

Presbyterianism quickly became the norm among many of the Reformed Churches, and those English-speaking Reformed bodies that originated in the British Isles (including several that subsequently emerged in North America) increasingly came to be known as Presbyterian churches. Though the terms "Reformed" and "Presbyterian" are thus often used somewhat interchangeably, it is important to note that not all Reformed denominations have a Presbyterian polity, and not all Presbyterian movements subscribe to the orthodox Reformed theology of Calvin.

The most important statement of faith for the English-speaking Reformed/Presbyterian churches that are descended from the Church of Scotland is the Westminster Confession, which was produced in 1646 by a group of English clergy who were seeking to reform the Church of England along Calvinist lines. Though the shifting of the political tide in England soon caused the Westminster Confession to fall out of use there, it was quickly adopted as the primary confession of faith of the Church of Scotland, and later made its way to North America. The Westminster Assembly also produced a Larger Catechism and a Shorter Catechism, which together serve as the English-speaking Presbyterian parallel to the Heidelberg Catechism used by the continental Reformed Churches.

––––––––––––––––––––––––––––––––

Thus we find that the emergence of the Reformed tradition was a long, complex process marked by widespread geographic dissemination and considerable innovations in doctrine and polity. Though in its early days the movement was much more diverse than Lutheranism, the increasing prominence of Calvinist doctrine and Presbyterian government

contributed a degree of coherence to the Reformed tradition that largely endures to the present day.

We now move to a consideration of the third major expression of reform to emerge during the 16th century: the radical Protestantism of the Anabaptists and other similar groups.

Chapter Nineteen Review

Belgic Confession	Jacob Arminius/Arminianism
Colloquy of Marburg	John Calvin/Calvinism
Double Predestination	John Knox
Five Articles of Remonstrance	Martin Bucer
Five Points of Calvinism (TULIP)	Presbyterianism
Guillaume Farel	Reformed Tradition
Heidelberg Catechism	Remonstrants
Heinrich Bullinger	Second Helvetic Confession
Huguenots	Synod of Dort
Huldrych Zwingli	Theodore Beza
Institutes of the Christian Religion	Westminster Confession

CHAPTER NINETEEN NOTES

[1]The degree to which Zwingli was directly influenced by Luther remains a disputed matter. Zwingli himself tended to downplay the connection (perhaps owing to his later disagreements with Luther), and it seems that he was already advocating certain reforms in Switzerland prior to 1517. Nevertheless, it is probable that, whether or not Zwingli's agenda was influenced by Luther's writings, he was at least inspired and emboldened by Luther's defiance of the Catholic authorities.

[2]We know of Calvin's conversion chiefly through an oblique reference in the Preface to his commentary on the Book of Psalms, which does not give any details concerning the time, place, or circumstances of the event.

[3]As we will see in Chapter Twenty-Two, the gains of the Reformed tradition in Eastern Europe were soon largely reversed by the Catholic Reformation.

[4]The Second Helvetic Confession was subsequently adopted by the Reformed Churches of Scotland (1566), Hungary (1567), France (1571), and Poland (1578).

[5]Frederick III also promoted the Second Helvetic Confession.

[6]This doctrine was the least forcefully stated of the five, and indeed it has not historically been strictly held by all Arminians.

[7]It should thus be noted that the Five Points of Calvinism as such were not authored by Calvin himself, though his writings contain support for them in varying degrees (with the doctrine of limited atonement being the least clearly attested in his work).

[8]See Chapters Twenty-Six and Thirty-One.

Chapter Twenty
The Radical Reformation

Though Martin Luther is traditionally (and rightly) viewed as the primary catalyst for the Protestant Reformation, many of his contemporaries shared similar views. While most of these early Reformers initially responded enthusiastically to Luther's writings and actions, it was not long before differences of opinion began to emerge among them. Thus, as our study of the various expressions of reform progresses, we will repeatedly find ourselves returning to the years immediately following Luther's production of the Ninety-Five Theses and exploring the events whereby each successive Protestant tradition diverged from the path that Lutheranism ultimately took. We will begin in this chapter by considering the rise and spread of the Reformed/Presbyterian tradition.

In addition to the emergence of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, the 16th century also witnessed the birth of a number of smaller, more extreme Protestant movements that are commonly grouped together under the rubric of "the Radical Reformation." These included various classical Anabaptist groups, mystical and millenarian sects (sometimes termed "Inspirationists"), rationalist and humanist thinkers, and anti-Trinitarians. These groups had important precedents, including the Hussites and the Waldenses, but they quickly developed unique beliefs and practices that distinguished them from their forebears.

Though the Radical Reformation was marked by a tremendous degree of diversity, we may make a few generalizations regarding some of the characteristics that were shared by many of its proponents. To begin with, most of the radical groups pushed for a more thoroughgoing rejection of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church than was advocated by either the Lutheran or Reformed Churches. Their goal was not to promote moderate reforms within existing ecclesiastical structures, but to effect a restoration of what they viewed as the normative practices of the first-century church. Accordingly, their worship gatherings tended to be marked by great simplicity. They embraced the Bible as their sole authority, rejecting not only those elements of other Christian traditions that seemed clearly contradictory to Scripture, but anything for which explicit justification could not be found in the Word. They lived simply and often with austerity in regard to food, drink, and clothing. They maintained high standards of morality, emphasized the importance of ethical behavior as an outworking of salvation, and often expelled from their communities those whose conduct did not conform to their high ideals.

Many of the radicals insisted that secular governments should not have any authority over spiritual matters, pushed for the separation of church and state, and refused to take civil oaths or to perform military service. Against the tendency of other Protestant denominations to create national churches, they argued that church membership should be restricted to true believers who had experienced a genuine conversion. They also maintained that the sacrament of baptism should only be received by those who had

made a conscious commitment to the Christian faith. This rejection of the efficacy of infant baptism led the radicals' detractors to label them *Anabaptists* ("re-baptizers").

Beyond these general similarities, the various radical reform groups exhibited a striking degree of variety in their beliefs and practices. Though most were strictly pacifistic, some fomented violent rebellion. Some lived in isolation and practiced the communal sharing of all property, while others were more mission-oriented. A large number embraced mystical tendencies, often believing themselves to be prophets through whom the Holy Spirit spoke, and millenarian and apocalyptic predictions were common. Still others advocated rational humanistic philosophy or anti-Trinitarian doctrine.

Increasingly, the more deviant beliefs associated with some of these groups caused other Christians to view all Anabaptists with a great deal of suspicion, and the radicals often suffered persecution at the hands of both Catholics and other Protestants. Consequently, in contrast to the accounts of the rise of Lutheranism and the Reformed tradition, the history of the Anabaptists is not a narrative of emergence and growth as much as it is a story of the struggle for survival.

ANABAPTISTS AND INSPIRATIONISTS

In the remainder of this chapter, we will highlight a number of the significant individuals and movements that collectively contributed to the creation of the rich and varied tapestry of the Radical Reformation. We will begin by surveying the early groups of radical Protestant reformers and mystics in northern and central Europe (including the classical Anabaptist movements of the Hutterites, Mennonites, and Amish) before proceeding to a consideration of the humanistic and anti-Trinitarian thinkers of southern Europe.

The Swiss Brethren

Though no precise beginning date or point of origin can be assigned to the Radical Reformation, one of its earliest expressions was the movement known as the Swiss Brethren. Its founders, Conrad Grebel (c. 1498–1526), Felix Manz (c. 1498–1527), and George Blaurock (1491–1529) were originally disciples of Zwingli at Zürich. Around 1523, however, Grebel and Manz began to question some elements of Zwingli's reform program. While Zwingli himself favored sweeping ecclesiastical changes, he was unwilling to act without the consent and cooperation of the Zürich city council. Grebel and Manz viewed this policy as a betrayal of Protestant principles, and urged Zwingli to abolish the Mass and the use of images in worship immediately and to sever the ties between church and state. Zwingli's refusal to comply with their wishes discouraged the two men, and they subsequently distanced themselves from their former leader and began holding private meetings with small groups of likeminded individuals, including Blaurock.

Gradually, Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock began to question the legitimacy of infant baptism. They came to believe that there was no biblical justification for the practice, and that the sacrament should be reserved for those who had made a conscious faith commitment. In January 1525, the radicals and Zwingli engaged in a public disputation on the matter at Zürich. The city council was swayed by Zwingli's defense of infant baptism, and ruled against Grebel and his colleagues.

Four days later, on January 21, 1525, the small group of reformers met together in the home of Felix Manz. At this meeting, Blaurock asked Grebel to baptize him after he had made a confession of faith. Blaurock then proceeded to baptize the rest of those who were present. These were the first documented baptisms of adult believers during the Reformation, and thus it may be argued that the meeting marked not only the formal birth of the Swiss Brethren movement, but the genesis of Anabaptism as a whole.

The leaders of the Swiss Brethren soon began traveling and promoting their beliefs in the surrounding areas. The city council of Zürich outlawed the fledgling movement, and Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock were imprisoned in October of 1525, though they managed to escape a few months later. Grebel died of disease in 1526, while Manz and Blaurock continued preaching throughout Switzerland. They were captured by the Reformed authorities late in the year, and on January 5, 1527, Manz was executed by drowning, thus becoming the first martyr of the Anabaptist cause. Blaurock was exiled from Switzerland and was burned at the stake by Catholic authorities in Austria two years later.

In February 1527, a group of Swiss Brethren met at the city of Schleitheim near the Swiss-German border for the purpose of producing an Anabaptist statement of faith. The resulting document, which is known as the Schleitheim Confession, consisted of seven articles that outlined the basic beliefs of the Brethren. It affirmed the group's insistence on adult baptism, advanced an essentially Zwinglian view of the Eucharist, defined the duties of pastors, urged separation from the evils of the world, argued for the excommunication and public shunning of members who fell into immorality (a practice that became known as "the ban"), and came out against the swearing of oaths and the taking up of arms. Though not all Anabaptists subscribed to the Schleitheim Confession in its entirety, it nevertheless represented an important first attempt to codify the rapidly-emerging radical Protestant theology.

German Radicals and Mystics

As Grebel and his associates were advancing their cause in Zwingli's Switzerland, contemporary figures were pursuing similar agendas in Luther's Germany. As we have previously noted, during Luther's exile at Wartburg in 1521–22, some among his supporters advocated reforms that were much more radical than his own. One such figure was Andreas Carlstadt (1486–1541), originally a staunch supporter of Luther's

teachings. During Luther's absence from Wittenberg, Carlstadt conducted an abbreviated Mass during which he wore humble clothes rather than clerical garments, deliberately refrained from elevating the elements of the Eucharist as was customary, allowed the laity to take both bread and wine with their own hands, and largely spoke in German rather than Latin.

Following Luther's return, Carlstadt left Wittenberg. He increasingly embraced mystical tendencies, took to dressing in peasant's clothing, and insisted that others refer to him simply as Brother Andreas. In 1523, he accepted a pastorate in Thuringia, where he began espousing more radical views. He advocated clerical marriage, denied the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist, forbade the use of music and art in church, and came out in opposition to infant baptism. Luther subsequently denounced Carlstadt's teachings, thus further alienating him from mainstream Lutheranism.

Another radical figure who made his way to Wittenberg during Luther's sojourn at Wartburg was Nicholas Storch (?–1525), the leader of a trio of men known as the Zwickau Prophets. Storch and his associates, Thomas Dreschel and Marcus Stübner, rejected infant baptism, argued for the equality of all humanity, urged the communal sharing of goods, and insisted that the end of the world was at hand. Storch also advanced an anti-rational philosophical system known as Abecedarianism, which argued that all forms of human knowledge should be disdained, and that the Holy Spirit would reveal all necessary truths to the elect through visions, dreams, and ecstatic experiences. These views won several adherents in Wittenberg, including Carlstadt, and the stability of the infant Lutheran Church was thus further compromised.

It is probable that Storch had a relationship of mutual influence with another notable German radical, Thomas Müntzer (c. 1489–1525). Like Carlstadt, Müntzer was originally a loyal supporter of Luther, and he was made pastor at Zwickau in 1520 on Luther's recommendation. However, Müntzer soon embraced views that were similar to those advocated by the Zwickau Prophets. He rejected infant baptism and intellectualism and argued for the communal sharing of goods, the direct revelation of the Spirit, and the impending arrival of the kingdom of God.

Most radically, Müntzer maintained that the corrupt secular governments of the world had to be overthrown, and that the common people had been chosen as God's divine instrument for this purpose. Accordingly, he helped to incite the bloody Peasants' War of 1524–25, during which hundreds of thousands of peasants rebelled against the ruling elites throughout much of Germany and parts of Switzerland and Austria. The revolt was violently suppressed by the German princes, and Müntzer himself was defeated at the climactic Battle of Frankenhausen in May 1525, after which he was imprisoned, tortured, and executed.

In addition to the militant millenarianism of Storch and Müntzer, other forms of radical mysticism emerged in Germany during this period. Kaspar Schwenkfeld (1490–1561),

a German nobleman who had originally embraced the teachings of Luther, eventually rejected many aspects of both Catholic and Lutheran dogma and instead emphasized the importance of achieving inner transformation through mystical union with Christ. Schwenkfeld also advanced a unique doctrine of the Eucharist, claiming that believers actually partake of the invisible, glorified, spiritual body of Christ.

A close associate of Schwenkfeld was Sebastian Franck (1499–c. 1543), who combined an intense spirituality with a strong interest in humanism. Franck was successively a Roman Catholic priest, a committed Lutheran, and an associate of the Anabaptists, but he eventually rejected institutional Christianity altogether and instead sought illumination from the Spirit. This increasing mysticism, coupled with his humanistic insistence on individual freedom, eventually led Franck to reject virtually all dogma. He viewed the chronic doctrinal disputes among Protestants as unnecessary, insisting that a perfect understanding of the Bible could not be achieved through reason and debate, but only through the Spirit's revelation.

Though they were commonly grouped with the Anabaptists by their opponents, violent radicals like Storch and Müntzer and mystics like Schwenkfeld and Franck were in reality linked to groups such as the Swiss Brethren only by their commitment to radical critiques of both Catholicism and the larger Protestant movements. Though some among them may have denounced infant baptism as part of their larger rejection of dogma, it was at best a peripheral concern for most. Consequently, while they are inarguably a part of the Radical Reformation, they are often classified as "Inspirationists" or "Spiritualists" in order to highlight their mystical tendencies and distinguish them from the more traditional Anabaptist movements.

The Moravian Anabaptists and the Hutterites

In the wake of the Peasants' War, civil and religious authorities throughout Europe began to view all radical Protestants as potentially seditious, and the persecution of Anabaptists quickly intensified. Among those who fled from this wave of violence was Balthasar Hubmaier (c. 1480–1528), a south German Anabaptist leader who had been greatly influenced by the teachings of the early Swiss Brethren. After evading the Catholic armies of Austria, Hubmaier made his way to Zürich, where he engaged in a debate with Zwingli on the question of infant baptism. After being imprisoned and tortured, Hubmaier recanted his statements and was allowed to leave Switzerland. He then made his way to Moravia, a state marked by an unusual degree of religious tolerance and sympathy toward Protestants, and in 1526 he established an Anabaptist community at Nikolsburg. Thousands of Anabaptists subsequently fled southern Germany and settled there, and the city became a hub of the Radical Reformation.

However, the flourishing community at Nikolsburg soon faced threats both from within and from without. Not all of the Anabaptist leaders who made their way to Moravia

subscribed to the tenets of Hubmaier's teachings, and a public dispute quickly arose between Hubmaier and Hans Hut (c. 1490–1527), a prominent Anabaptist missionary in southern Germany and Austria and a strong proponent of the belief that Christ's return was imminent. Though the precise nature of the disagreement between the two remains unclear, the conflict weakened the Moravian community and foreshadowed future schisms within the movement.[1]

By this time, Charles V's younger brother Ferdinand I (the archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia, and later Holy Roman Emperor) had received word of the growth of the Anabaptist movement in Moravia, and he quickly took steps to eliminate its leaders. Hubmaier was arrested and imprisoned at Vienna late in 1527, and was burned at the stake in March 1528. Hut, meanwhile, traveled to Augsburg in August of 1527 to attend a meeting of prominent Swiss and German Anabaptist leaders for the purposes of seeking doctrinal unity. Many of those who attended this conference, including Hut, were arrested and subsequently killed, with the result that it has become known as the Martyrs' Synod.

By 1528, Ferdinand was threatening to use military force against the Protestant nobles of Moravia if they continued to harbor Anabaptists in their domains. Around this time, the Moravian Anabaptists split into two factions: the majority *Schwertler* ("sword-bearers"), who favored armed resistance to the Catholic authorities, and the pacifistic *Stäbler* ("staff-bearers") under the leadership of Jacob Wiedemann. Fearing that war was imminent, the *Stäbler* left Nikolsburg and journeyed to Austerlitz. There they established the first fully communistic Anabaptist society, sharing all their goods both as a matter of religious principle and as means of survival.

In 1529, the community at Austerlitz was joined by a group of Anabaptists who had fled from persecution in the Tyrol region of Austria under the leadership of Jakob Hutter (?– 1536). Like the *Stäbler*, Hutter's group was strictly pacifistic, and they quickly adopted the communistic practice of sharing their property as well. Hutter eventually assumed leadership of all of the Austerlitz Anabaptists, and under his direction their distinctive, communal way of life was given further shape.

Beginning in 1535 and continuing into the next century, the Hutterites and other Anabaptists in Moravia suffered through a series of severe persecutions in which thousands were martyred. Hutter himself was burned at the stake in 1536. Nevertheless, the Hutterites survived, taking refuge first in Russia and later in North America, and are one of the few Anabaptist groups that have endured to the present day.

Hoffmann and the Münster Rebellion

In addition to the groups that emerged in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, various Anabaptist and other radical movements also appeared in the Low Countries. Many of these traced their origins to the teachings of Melchior Hoffmann (c. 1498–1543), a

German fur trader who was attracted by Luther's teachings in the early 1520s and subsequently became an itinerant Protestant preacher, traveling through several of the Baltic and Scandinavian countries as well as the Netherlands. Gradually, Hoffmann began advancing a number of radical views consistent with those of some among the Anabaptists and Inspirationists. He denounced infant baptism, argued for a symbolic understanding of the Eucharist, and insisted that Jesus' body was not that of an ordinary human, but was composed of "heavenly flesh," a doctrine that he seems to have derived from the mystical teaching of Schwenkfeld.

Like Storch and Müntzer, Hoffmann began promoting apocalyptic views. He came to believe that the world would end in 1533 and that Christ would appear at Strasbourg and establish the New Jerusalem there.[2] When he began prophesying that Christ's return would be preceded by judgment on the ungodly, the civil authorities feared that Hoffmann was planning to foment a revolution, and he was imprisoned at Strasbourg.

Though the predicted day of judgment passed without incident, Hoffmann retained a considerable following in the Netherlands. After his imprisonment, several of his disciples, including Jan Matthys, Jan Beuckelson, and Bernhard Knipperdolling, migrated to the German city of Münster, where a preacher named Bernhard Rothmann had begun advancing Anabaptist views. In 1534, the radicals seized control of the city.

Matthys, like Hoffmann, saw himself as a prophet of God, and came to believe that Münster, not Strasbourg, was to be the site of Christ's return. On Easter 1534, he foolishly attempted to defeat the armies of the city's deposed bishop with a tiny group of followers, and was killed and beheaded. Beuckelson, who was subsequently installed as "king" of the city, established a theocratic, communistic government, practiced polygamy, and violently repressed any who opposed him. In June 1535, Münster was retaken by Catholic and Lutheran forces and Beuckelson and his supporters were executed. Hoffman, meanwhile, remained in prison at Strasbourg until his death in 1543, ten years after he had predicted the world would come to an end.

The Mennonites and the Amish

The Münster rebellion, much like the Peasants' War, greatly increased the general populace's animosity toward the Radical Reformers, and persecution continued to take its toll on Anabaptist movements throughout Europe. Nevertheless, some expressions of Anabaptism managed to retain their vitality. The most important of these surviving groups traced its ancestry to the Dutch Anabaptist Obbe Philips (c. 1500–1568). Though Philips had originally been a disciple of Melchior Hoffman, he strongly denounced the actions of radicals such as Matthys and Beuckelson. Following the episode at Münster, Hoffman's following in the Netherlands splintered into various factions, including the radically violent millenarian sect known as the Batenburgers, perhaps the most extreme

group of Radical Reformers. Obbe Philips, along with his brother, Dirk Philips, and David Joris, subsequently became prominent leaders among the more peaceful followers of Hoffmann.

In 1536, Obbe Philips baptized Menno Simons (1496–1561), a former Catholic priest who had gradually adopted many Anabaptist views. Simons soon assumed leadership of the Dutch Anabaptists, who were thereafter known as Mennonites. Like Philips, Simons denounced revolutionary violence and organized the communal life of his followers according to the teachings of the Swiss Brethren as embodied in the Schleitheim Confession. In spite of the Mennonites' pacifism, however, the growing anti-Anabaptist sentiment in Europe put them at great risk, and Simons lived as a fugitive from the law for nearly a decade. Nevertheless, the Mennonites continued to flourish, and were likely the largest Protestant group in the Netherlands during the decades prior to the organization of the Dutch Reformed Church. Like the Hutterites, they lived in isolated communities and pursued a lifestyle of great simplicity and piety.

In the late 1540s, Simons was given sanctuary at Holstein in Denmark, and he lived there in peace until his death in 1561, though he continued to embark on missionary journeys into Germany and the Netherlands. He also wrote prolifically and built a printing press for the purposes of mass-producing and distributing Anabaptist literature. As a result of these efforts, many of the beleaguered pacifistic Anabaptists in Western Europe, including the remnants of the Swiss Brethren, subsequently aligned themselves with the Mennonites.

In 1632, the leaders of the Dutch Mennonite Church met at Dordrecht (Dort) and adopted a common confession of faith consisting of eighteen articles. The Confession of Dordrecht affirmed the basic Anabaptist doctrines outlined in the Schleitheim Confession, as well as setting forth Anabaptist positions on the central theological questions of creation, sin, redemption, repentance, judgment, and eternal life. In addition, it was one of the earliest statements of faith to advocate the regular practice of feet washing, a ritual that would subsequently be adopted by other Anabaptists and many evangelical Protestants.[3]

A notable division among the Swiss Mennonites (as the descendants of the Swiss Brethren came to be known) occurred in 1693. The controversy arose when one of the group's prominent figures, Jakob Ammann (c. 1644–c. 1720) began protesting that the Swiss Mennonites had grown lax in their discipline. In particular, Ammann believed that the shunning of members of the church who had fallen into immorality should be practiced with greater stringency. He also advocated the observance of the Dutch Mennonite ritual of feet washing, which was not practiced by the Swiss. Ammann's faction broke off from the main body of Swiss Mennonites and subsequently became known as the Amish. Both Mennonites and Amish soon migrated to North America, where they persisted as distinct movements in spite of the fact that their ways of life and central beliefs remained closely similar. In Europe, the Amish were eventually reabsorbed into the larger body of Mennonites.

Rationalists, Individualists, and Anti-Trinitarians

Along with the various groups of Anabaptists and Inspirationists who flourished in northern and central Europe, the 16th century also witnessed the rise of a number of charismatic southern Europeans who challenged the traditional views of Catholicism (and often of the dominant Protestant traditions as well). Though their beliefs and practices were for the most part widely divergent from those of the major Anabaptist movements, these individuals nevertheless warrant consideration as an alternative expression of the Radical Reformation.

Among the earliest important reform-minded figures in Latin Europe was Juan de Valdés (c. 1509–1541), a member of the Spanish nobility who embraced elements of mysticism and humanism and began advancing critiques of the Catholic Church in Spain. In 1530, increasing Catholic pressure forced Valdés to leave the country. He eventually settled at Naples, where he soon attracted a small but devoted group of followers.

Prominent among Valdés' disciples were two Italians, Pietro Martire Vermigli (also known as Peter Martyr, 1500–1562) and Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564). Vermigli was a highly-educated native of Florence whose family had supported Savonarola. While serving as a prior at an Augustinian monastery in Naples, he fell under the influence of Valdés, and soon became acquainted with the writings of some of the early Reformers, notably Zwingli and Bucer. In the early 1540s, Vermigli began actively preaching radical doctrine and was subsequently forced to flee Italy. He spent time in Zürich and Basel before settling at Strasbourg, where he eventually adopted many elements of Reformed theology. In 1547, Vermigli traveled to England, where he aided in the ongoing work of the Reformation and produced multiple treatises on the theology of the Eucharist.

Ochino's career was similar to Vermigli's in several respects, though he eventually proved to be the more radical of the two. As a young man he joined the Franciscans, but he was later exposed to the teachings of Valdés and slowly began to sympathize with the early Protestants. He left Italy around the same time as Vermigli and subsequently made his way to Geneva, where he initially embraced Calvinism. He later came under the influence of the mysticism of Schwenkfeld's followers and began to doubt the validity of his Reformed beliefs. The remainder of his life was spent in a restless search for truth. Like Vermigli, he spent time in England assisting the Reformers, but he soon returned to the continent and made his way to Zürich. A dispute with the Zwinglian majority concerning the nature of the Trinity forced him to migrate again, and he eventually settled among the Hutterite Anabaptists in Moravia, where he died in 1564.

More radical than the followers of Valdés was the Spanish theologian and humanist Michael Servetus (1511–1553). As a young man, Servetus read the works of Erasmus

and studied the earliest available Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of the Bible. Around 1530, he denounced Catholicism, and he soon made the acquaintance of prominent Protestant thinkers, including Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Schwenkfeld.

Servetus gradually came to believe that the ecumenical councils had erred in their formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity, and in 1531 he published a treatise in which he advanced the view that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit were merely alternative forms of God's self-expression, while the person of Christ represented a union of the eternal Word and the human person of Jesus. Thus, Servetus argued for an anti-Trinitarian understanding of the nature of God. He also came out in opposition to infant baptism. These teachings quickly led both Catholic and Protestant authorities to condemn Servetus as a heretic. While on a visit to Geneva, Servetus was arrested and imprisoned by order of John Calvin. He was subsequently sentenced to death, and was burned at the stake on October 27, 1553.

The execution of Servetus angered many, some of whom came out in opposition to Calvin. Chief among these individuals was Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563), a French theologian and humanist. Castellio had previously been a close associate of Calvin at Geneva, but had fled to Basel after quarreling with Calvin over certain points of doctrine and publicly challenging the Reformed leadership's practice of persecuting those who disagreed with them on matters of biblical interpretation. Following Servetus' death, Castellio accused Calvin of murder and argued that any one person's interpretation of Scripture was open to error, and that heresy was therefore a relative, subjective concept. Castellio thus advanced a strong argument for freedom of thought, and urged that those who promoted deviant doctrines be countered through writings and reason rather than with violent suppression. His views on this matter also led him to advocate the separation of church and state and the abolition of theocracies, which he viewed as enabling secular authorities to execute citizens over matters of religious opinion.

In spite of Servetus' execution, variants of his anti-Trinitarian thought soon penetrated other parts of Europe. One of the chief proponents of anti-Trinitarianism was the Italian theologian Faustus Socinus (born Fausto Sozzini, 1539–1604). Socinus believed that Jesus was fully human and not a divine being, while also maintaining that Jesus lived a perfect life and was without sin. In Socinus' thought, the importance of Jesus for the believer lay not in the atoning power of His death and resurrection, but in the perfect example of righteousness and obedience provided by His earthly life.

Socinus spent the last 25 years of his life in Transylvania and Poland, where he provided leadership to pre-existing anti-Trinitarian communities. Under his direction, these movements grew, and their adherents eventually came to be known as Socinians. The Socinians, like many other radical groups of the time, denounced infant baptism and were largely pacifistic. However, in sharp contrast to many other proponents of Protestantism, they advanced the principle of religious liberty, and did not seek to

forcibly convert others or to enforce a strict system of doctrine among themselves. This openness allowed them to establish fruitful contacts with other radical groups, including the Remonstrants in Holland and the Mennonites. Though the Socinians were largely scattered over the course of the half-century following Socinus' death in 1604, their anti-Trinitarian teachings constituted an important antecedent to the later emergence of Unitarianism in England and the United States.[4]

It thus becomes clear that, in stark contrast to the Lutheran and Reformed movements—both of which quickly attained a coherent identity as a result of the efforts of charismatic leaders like Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin—the Radical Reformation was a highly diverse phenomenon. It encompassed the activities of pacifists and revolutionaries, scholars and anti-intellectualists, humanists and mystics, extreme theological conservatives and anti-Trinitarians. Even among the minority who might properly be called Anabaptists, there was a great deal of variety.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the divided opinions and agendas of the various radical groups ensured that none of them would succeed to the degree that the Lutherans and Reformed Churches had, and indeed these larger Protestant bodies often persecuted the radicals as vehemently as did the Catholics. While the older Protestant movements can collectively claim hundreds of millions of adherents worldwide, only the Hutterites, Mennonites, and Amish (with a combined population of less than two million) remain as direct descendants of the Radical Reformation.

Nevertheless, many central Anabaptist teachings—including adult baptism, separation of church and state, and personal holiness—have had a disproportionately significant effect on the subsequent course of Protestantism, and Anabaptist ideals contributed substantially to the eventual emergence of Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism. Thus, a consideration of the Radical Reformation is essential to a full understanding of Christian history.

In the next chapter, we will examine the final major 16th-century expressions of Protestant reform—those movements that sprang from the English Reformation.

CHAPTER TWENTY NOTES

[1]The traditional view is that Hut insisted that the Anabaptists should refrain from taking up swords to wage war, while Hubmaier thought that armed resistance was sometimes justifiable. However, there are minority opinions that posit other doctrinal differences as the source of their dispute, and some sources even suggest that it was actually Hut who was the more violent and revolutionary of the two men.

[2]See Revelation 21 for context.

[3]The practice of feet washing is derived from the example of Jesus on the night before his crucifixion, as recorded in John 13:1–17.

[4]For more on Unitarianism, see Chapter Twenty-Seven.

Chapter Twenty-One
The English Reformation

Unlike the continental expressions of religious reform that we have surveyed in the three preceding chapters, the English Reformation was primarily triggered not by a principled rejection of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice on the part of a small group of courageous dissenters, but by the political machinations of a powerful monarch bent on attaining ecclesiastical autonomy. While it may seem as though a reform movement that enjoyed the explicit backing of the crown should have achieved its goals with relative ease, the English Reformation was in fact marked by a tremendous degree of religious upheaval. The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed not only the birth of the state-sponsored Church of England (which sought to maintain some degree of continuity with Catholic tradition even after rejecting the authority of the pope), but also the advent of the competing Puritan movement, from which emerged a diverse array of more explicitly Protestant groups—including English Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers.

This religious fragmentation was paralleled by political instability. The period between 1553 and 1689 was successively marked by a succession dispute, a change in the royal house, a civil war, the execution of a reigning king, the temporary establishment of a commonwealth, the restoration of the monarchy, and a revolutionary coup. Though religious differences were by no means the only factor that contributed to this tumultuous political situation, they were arguably the most significant, and at various points during the era of reform the nation found itself under the rule of staunch Roman Catholics, Anglicans with strong Catholic tendencies, Anglicans who advocated Protestant doctrine, and Puritans. Thus, our exploration of the history of the English Reformation will inevitably require a simultaneous consideration of important political and religious developments.

The Work of William Tyndale

Support for many of the ideals of the Reformation arose in England well before Henry VIII's climactic break with the Roman Catholic Church. The Lollards, who had managed to survive in secret despite a century of persecution, continued to surreptitiously promote the teachings of John Wycliffe. Erasmus spent time in England during the early years of the 16th century, and there he befriended other Christian humanists—including John Colet, Thomas More, and John Fisher—who shared his concern for the moral renewal of the Catholic Church. The thought of Luther, too, quickly made its way to England and won adherents among some of the religious intellectuals in the nation's universities.

Among the most influential of the early reform-minded figures in England was William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), a graduate of Oxford, instructor at Cambridge, ordained clergyman, and gifted linguist. Perhaps inspired by Luther's teachings, Tyndale became convinced that Scripture (rather than Church or pope) constituted the highest authority for

the Christian. Embracing the convictions of Wycliffe and Luther regarding the necessity of placing the Bible in the hands of the common people, Tyndale purposed to produce a new English vernacular translation of the New Testament. When these intentions became known, Tyndale faced increasing opposition from the ecclesiastical authorities in England and was forced to flee to the European continent, where he proceeded with his task.

While Wycliffe's earlier English translation was made directly from the Latin Vulgate, Tyndale was able to make use of Erasmus' Greek New Testament (along with its accompanying Latin translation), as well as Luther's German text. His New Testament was completed in 1525 and was the first English translation of Scripture to circulate in printed form—utilizing the technology developed by Gutenberg in the 15th century— rather than as a hand-written manuscript. Tyndale then set to work translating the Old Testament, using the Hebrew text, Luther's German Bible, the Vulgate, and the Septuagint. He managed to complete the first fourteen books plus the book of Jonah, though only the Pentateuch and Jonah were printed during his lifetime.

The arrival in England of Tyndale's New Testament—which, in addition to being unauthorized, also contained hints of Lutheran doctrine—led to his denouncement by the religious authorities, including the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and the archbishop of York, Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, who quickly called for Tyndale's arrest as a heretic. Tyndale subsequently went into hiding and continued work on his Old Testament; but in 1536, he was betrayed to Catholic authorities on the continent, condemned, and strangled to death as a heretic, with his body being burned thereafter. According to tradition, Tyndale's final words were, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." In fact, by the time of Tyndale's execution, King Henry VIII had already initiated the early stages of the English Reformation, though the convictions that had driven him to separate from the Roman Catholic Church were very different from those that guided William Tyndale.

HENRY VIII AND THE BREAK WITH ROME

Henry VIII (reigned 1509–1547), the second of the Tudor monarchs, became king of England upon the death of his father, Henry VII, in 1509. Raised as a committed Roman Catholic, he rejected the teachings of Luther; and in 1521, he published a book entitled *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, in which he championed Catholic sacramental theology and denounced the Protestant position.[1] For this, Pope Leo X declared Henry "Defender of the Faith."

Soon thereafter, however, Henry became embroiled in the controversy (later known as "the King's Great Matter") that would eventually result in a breach between England and Rome. This conflict between the king and the Church commenced in 1527, when Henry began actively seeking an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who

was both the daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain and the widow of Henry's older brother, Arthur. Henry had married Catherine shortly after his accession to the throne, but the union had produced only one surviving child, Mary. Desperate for a male heir (and increasingly attracted to another woman, Anne Boleyn), Henry appealed to Pope Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), asking him to grant an annulment on the grounds that Catherine's status as his brother's widow meant that their marriage had been invalid in God's eyes from the start (though the sincerity of Henry's spiritual convictions regarding the matter may legitimately be questioned).[2]

The future of Henry and Catherine's marriage quickly became a hotly contested diplomatic issue. Cardinal Wolsey dispatched emissaries to Rome to plead the king's case before Clement VII. Meanwhile, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (who was Catherine's nephew) exerted considerable political pressure on the pope in order to dissuade him from complying with Henry's request. In the end, the pope's reluctance to grant the annulment infuriated Henry, and he decided to take matters into his own hands.

About 1530, Henry dismissed Cardinal Wolsey for his failure to secure the outcome the king had sought. Wolsey and Archbishop Warham both died soon thereafter, and Henry surrounded himself with a new coterie of advisors, including Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485–1540), the new Vicegerent and Secretary of State, and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), who became the archbishop of Canterbury. With the support of these men, Henry began the process of gradually increasing his control over the Church in England through legislative measures.

In 1533, Henry secretly wed Anne Boleyn, who had become pregnant. At the king's behest, Archbishop Cranmer declared Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled and proclaimed that his union with Anne was valid. Clement VII responded to these events by excommunicating Henry, after which the king swiftly took measures to assert his complete autonomy from Rome.

During 1533–34, Parliament (acting at the urging of Cromwell) passed a series of acts that formally enacted England's break with the papacy. The Statute in Restraint of Appeals forbade appeals from English ecclesiastical courts to Rome, and made the monarch the final legal authority on all matters. Similarly, the Act of Supremacy stated that Henry VIII was the supreme earthly head of the Church in England. Other acts prevented the Church from passing religious legislation without the king's consent, required the clergy to elect bishops that had been nominated by the king, and suspended the payment of ecclesiastical revenues to Rome. Beginning in 1536, Henry and Cromwell oversaw the dissolution of all monasteries, the seizure of monastic property, and the suppression of the mendicant orders, on the assumption that the monks could not be trusted to comply with the new religious legislation. The king also ordered the executions of those who publicly objected to his actions or refused to renounce their allegiance to the pope, a group that included the Catholic humanists John Fisher and Thomas More.

It should be noted that the effect of these initial measures was merely to assert the independence of the *English* Catholic Church from the *Roman* Catholic Church. Henry's quarrel with the pope was not primarily motivated by Protestant convictions, but by his determination to enjoy full sovereignty—both religious and secular—within his borders. The king largely retained the support of the populace, most of whom viewed his actions simply as a repudiation of papal authority rather than a rejection of Catholicism itself. There seems to have been no widespread sense at this stage that the nation would move toward Protestantism.

However, as the Church of England struggled to establish its own unique doctrinal identity, it began to drift from strict Catholic orthodoxy and increasingly became characterized by a schizophrenic blend of Catholic and Protestant features. This is clearly illustrated by the content of the Ten Articles, a doctrinal statement issued by Henry and Thomas Cranmer in 1536. In keeping with Catholic theology, the articles stressed the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist and supported the use of icons, the veneration of saints, the doctrine of purgatory, and the practice of offering prayers for the dead. Yet the articles also acknowledged only three sacraments (baptism, Eucharist, and penance), and strongly emphasized the importance of faith in the process of justification (though without claiming that justification came by faith alone).

During the remainder of Henry's reign, this vacillation between Catholic and Protestant positions continued. The king himself remained a religious conservative, while some of his chief advisors (notably Cromwell and Cranmer) increasingly embraced more moderate views and encouraged Henry to pursue religious reform. In 1539, the king issued the Six Articles, which represented a retreat from the position laid out in the Ten Articles toward a stricter adherence to Catholicism. The Six Articles strongly affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, denied the communion cup to the laity, insisted on clerical celibacy, and stressed the importance of confession. In the wake of their appearance, a number of Lutherans and Zwinglians were condemned and martyred for their refusal to subscribe to the Church of England's position on transubstantiation.

Nevertheless, Henry also made significant concessions to the Protestant ideal, the most important of which was his insistence that the Bible be made available to the English populace in their native language. In 1535, Miles Coverdale, an associate of William Tyndale, issued the first complete, printed Bible in the English language. The Coverdale New Testament and Pentateuch were based on Tyndale's translation, while the rest of the Old Testament was produced using Latin and German texts. Two years later, John Rogers (who used the pseudonym Thomas Matthew), published another version composed of Tyndale's New Testament and Pentateuch, Tyndale's translations of the books from Joshua through [3] Chronicles (which until that point had remained unpublished), and Coverdale's translations of the remaining Old Testament books.

In 1538, the king decreed that a large Bible, in English, should be placed in every parish church in the nation, and Cromwell commissioned Coverdale to produce a Bible for this purpose. This new version was completed in 1539, and was known as the Great Bible because of its considerable size. It was essentially a revision of the Matthew Bible, and thus represented a compilation of the original translations of Tyndale and Coverdale. The installation of the Great Bible in the churches of England occasioned a great deal of excitement among the populace, many of whom had never before had the opportunity to read the Bible for themselves. This new freedom to study the Word led to renewed questioning of the legitimacy of Catholic doctrine and practice, and Henry, fearing that new translations might surreptitiously promote Protestant theology, eventually banned all English versions of the Scriptures other than the Great Bible. Nevertheless, the state-sponsored appearance of the Bible in English may legitimately be seen as the first significant step toward the reformation that was to follow.

THE GROWTH OF PROTESTANTISM UNDER EDWARD VI

Henry VIII died in 1547 and was succeeded on the throne by Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553), who was the son of Jane Seymour (the third of Henry's six wives) and Henry's only legitimate male heir. Edward was only nine years old at the time of his coronation, and died before turning sixteen. Consequently, during his brief reign, real political power was wielded by two successive regents—Edward Seymour, the duke of Somerset, and John Dudley, the duke of Northumberland.

These two men, in cooperation with Parliament and Archbishop Cranmer, swiftly enacted a series of measures that served to undo many of the more conservative religious policies of Henry VIII. The Six Articles were repealed, along with the restrictions on the translation, printing, and dissemination of the Scriptures. Images were removed from churches, full participation in the Eucharist on the part of the laity was reestablished, and the clergy were given permission to marry. Prominent Reformers from abroad—including Peter Martyr, Bernardino Ochino, Martin Bucer, and John Knox—were welcomed to England, and brought with them both humanistic learning and Reformed theology. It thus quickly became apparent that the new leaders of England were determined to propel the country toward Protestantism.

Fearing that these rapid changes might lead to both socio-political instability and ecclesiastical chaos, Parliament sought to ensure order by issuing the Act of Uniformity in 1549. This decree required all clergy to use the Book of Common Prayer, an English service book designed to replace the Latin breviaries and missals. The book was produced under the direction of Thomas Cranmer, and collected in one volume the prayers for the daily offices, Scripture readings for Sundays and holy days, standardized forms for the administration of the sacraments and the performance of other rituals, and the Psalter.

The appearance of the Book of Common Prayer created a great deal of dissension. Conservatives felt that the new rites were too Protestant, and some bishops with Catholic leanings were removed from office after refusing to use the book. On the other hand, many Protestants felt that Cranmer had not gone far enough in breaking with Catholic convention. Accordingly, Cranmer, with input from Peter Martyr and Bucer, began work on a revision that excised nearly all vestiges of Catholicism and brought the Church of England more closely into line with the Protestant tradition. This new edition of the Book of Common Prayer was completed in 1552 and sanctioned by a second Act of Uniformity.

In 1553, Cranmer (acting under King Edward's authority) composed and issued what became known as the Forty-Two Articles of Religion, which outlined in full the official doctrinal positions of the Church of England. This document advanced the characteristic Protestant doctrines of justification by faith and the ultimate authority of Scripture, and denounced certain Catholic beliefs and practices, including the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, the veneration of saints, prayers for the dead, and the prohibition on clerical marriage. It acknowledged only two sacraments, embraced a Reformed view of the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and restored full participation in the Eucharist to the laity. It also defended the practice of infant baptism and condemned some of the more unorthodox views of the Radical Reformers. Its statement on predestination was generally consistent with the views of the continental

Reformers, though it avoided an explicit endorsement of Calvinistic double predestination. Despite such variations, however, when taken as a whole, the views embodied by the Forty-Two Articles were broadly congruent with those held by both Lutheran and Reformed believers, and their passage seemed to signal an irrevocable rejection of Catholicism on the part of the English Church. As was often to be the case during the course of the English Reformation, however, subsequent political changes quickly shifted the religious balance of power.

QUEEN MARY AND THE CATHOLIC RESURGENCE

Upon the death of the young Edward VI in 1553, the crown passed (after a brief dispute) to his older half-sister Mary (reigned 1553–1558), the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. As queen, Mary quickly displayed a fierce determination to return the country to Catholicism. At her insistence, Parliament repealed all of the religious legislation that had been passed during the reign of Edward VI. The Book of Common Prayer was outlawed, the restrictions on the printing of versions of the Bible other than the Great Bible were reintroduced, the prohibition of clerical marriage was reinstated, and the communion cup was again withheld from the laity. As a result of these measures, the papal legate Reginald Cardinal Pole formally absolved the nation for its repudiation of the pope's authority and received England back into official communion with the Roman Catholic Church in 1554.

The reaction to these developments was predictably mixed. A large number of the common people of England received the changes without protest, as the spirit of Protestant reform had not yet spread to all parts of the nation or penetrated fully into the consciousness of the lower classes. However, those who were most strongly committed to Protestant ideals suddenly felt themselves to be in great danger. Many fled to the continent and sought refuge in various centers of the Reformed faith, including Zürich, Basel, Geneva, Strasbourg, and Heidelberg.

Queen Mary I subsequently launched a series of anti-Protestant persecutions, and many of those Protestants who had not escaped to Europe paid with their lives. Chief among these were Nicholas Ridley, the former bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, the former bishop of Worcester and one of the most compelling preachers of the English Reformation, who were martyred together in 1555, and Archbishop Cranmer, who was burned at the stake in 1556. The queen, to whom history has given the moniker "Bloody Mary," was thus largely successful in repressing Protestantism and restoring Catholicism to a place of privilege. Like those of Edward VI, however, Mary's efforts to shape the religious future of the nation would be compromised by her untimely death.

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT AND THE RISE OF PURITANISM

Mary died without heirs in 1558, only five years after ascending to the throne. She was succeeded by her younger half-sister Elizabeth (reigned 1558–1603), the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, whose long rule was to coincide with one of the most glorious eras of England's history in terms of military, commercial, and cultural achievements.

Elizabeth quickly took steps to reverse the pro-Catholic measures of her predecessor. In 1559, Parliament issued a new Act of Supremacy, which rejected papal authority and declared that the queen was the supreme governor of the Church of England, as well as a new Act of Uniformity, which reinstated the Book of Common Prayer. Many of the leading ecclesiastical figures who had served under Mary were deposed and replaced, and Elizabeth asserted the right of the crown to appoint all bishops of the Church of England. Under the direction of Matthew Parker, the new archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer's Forty-Two Articles were reviewed, revised, and reissued in 1563 as the Thirty-Nine Articles, which largely preserved the essentially Protestant character of the originals.

In pursuing these reforms, Elizabeth was chiefly motivated not by strong Protestant convictions, but by her dual desires to maintain royal sovereignty over the Church and to promote religious unity among the populace. By adopting a stance that was neither as radical as that of some of the Protestant leaders during Edward VI's reign, nor as conservative as that of the staunchly Catholic Mary, Elizabeth sought to appeal to the moderate majority of the nation and thus effect a lasting religious settlement. To some

extent, she was successful in this regard, as her actions led to the firm establishment of the Anglican tradition, which to this day is viewed by many of its adherents as a *via media* ("middle way") between Catholicism and Protestantism. However, dissenting voices—both Catholic and Protestant—were quick to emerge.

One of the most notable leaders of the Catholic resistance to the Elizabethan Settlement was William Allen (1532–1594), an Oxford scholar and eventually a Catholic cardinal. Allen refused to subscribe to Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy and subsequently fled to the continent. He eventually settled at the city of Douay in the Spanish Netherlands (now part of northern France), where in 1568 he established a Catholic seminary for the purposes of training English Catholics as missionaries to their home country. The seminary was later moved to the French city of Rheims, and in 1582 a group of Catholic scholars there produced what became known as the Rheims translation of the New Testament, which was based on the Latin Vulgate and was the first English version to be approved by the Roman Catholic Church. A translation of the Old Testament appeared in two volumes in 1609 and 1610, after the seminary had returned to Douay. It was thus referred to as the Douay Old Testament, and the translation as a whole became known as the Douay-Rheims Bible. Eventually, a number of individuals who underwent training at Douay and Rheims returned to England and endeavored to re-convert the populace to Catholicism, but with limited success.

At the other end of the religious spectrum were those Protestants who felt that the queen's reforms had not gone far enough. There were in reality a variety of such groups, each of which had its own particular complaints, but they soon came to be collectively referred to as Puritans, after their desire to purify the Church of England from any remaining vestiges of Catholic influence. Many of the Puritans had spent time in the Reformed cities of Switzerland and Germany during Mary's reign, and had thus embraced Calvinist theology and Presbyterian polity.

The Puritans eventually came to espouse a particular strain of Reformed belief known as covenant or federalist theology, which viewed the relationship between God and humanity in terms of a series of binding contracts, including the covenant of works made between God and Adam and the covenant of grace made between God and the elect through Jesus. Much like William Allen and the supporters of English Catholicism, they sought to promote their distinctive views through the creation of a new English Bible. In 1560, a group of English Puritan scholars who had taken refuge in Geneva completed work on a fresh translation of the Scriptures that became known as the Geneva Bible. This version was historically significant in several ways. It was the first English Bible to be translated completely from the original Hebrew and Greek, the first to divide chapters into verses, the first to use italics, and the first to include marginal commentary, much of which was intended to promote Calvinist and Puritan doctrine.

Though the theological position of the Puritans was thus much closer to that of the Reformed tradition than that of the Church of England, the conflict that arose between

Puritans and Anglicans during the reign of Elizabeth largely centered not on doctrinal matters, but on the issue of church government. The Puritans believed that some of the practices of the English bishops (including the wearing of elaborate vestments) tended to emphasize a divide between clergy and laity that was incompatible with the foundational Protestant tenet of the priesthood of all believers.

Gradually, many Puritans came to oppose the Church of England's Episcopal form of government altogether, believing that it represented a compromise with Catholic tradition and that the royal appointment of bishops left the Church open to corruption. They favored the establishment of the Presbyterian form of government that characterized many of the continental Reformed Churches, and that had recently been introduced to Scotland through the efforts of John Knox. Under the leadership of Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535–1603), the Puritans issued two admonitions to Parliament in the early 1570s in which they denounced Episcopal government and demanded that the nation embrace Presbyterianism.

While the majority of Puritans desired to bring about reform from within the Church of England rather than creating a permanent schism, there were also more radical elements that favored a complete break with the Anglican tradition. These groups were variously known as Separatists, Independents, or Nonconformists. Many of them shared with the Anabaptists the conviction that the church should be made up of only those who had made a personal commitment to Christ, and they therefore rejected the Anglican model of a national church. Many of them also differed from the Presbyterian Puritans in that they advocated the complete autonomy of each local congregation of believers, and for this reason they became known as Congregationalists.

Throughout the course of Elizabeth's long reign, the government and the leadership of the Church of England attempted to stem the rising tide of Puritanism in its various forms. The Anglican clergy sought to suppress the Geneva Bible, and in 1568 produced a rival translation, known as the Bishops' Bible. Shortly before 1570, a permanent Court of High Commission was established for the purpose of repressing Puritans and other religious dissenters. In 1593, Parliament, under pressure from Archbishop John Whitgift, issued a series of acts that ordered those who refused to conform to the established doctrine and polity of the Church of England to leave the country. Near the turn of the 17th century, the Anglican theologian Richard Hooker produced his massive *Of the Law of Ecclesiastical Polity,* a comprehensive, reasoned argument for Anglicanism and against Puritanism. But in spite of these efforts, Puritans and Separatists continued to grow both in numbers and in influence, thus threatening to shatter the fragile religious peace that the Elizabethan Settlement had established.

RELIGION UNDER JAMES I

Queen Elizabeth died without heirs in 1603, after having ruled England for forty-five years. She was the last surviving child of Henry VIII, and her death marked the end of

the royal house of the Tudors. She was succeeded by James I (reigned 1603–1625), the first of the Stuart monarchs, who had also held the throne of Scotland as James VI since 1581.[3] Though he was raised as a member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, James did not fully embrace a Reformed perspective. Indeed, he favored an Episcopal system of ecclesiastical government as a means of maintaining royal control of the Church, and he sought to placate both Catholics and Protestants during the early years of his reign in Scotland (though he later came out more firmly in favor of Protestantism).

Upon ascending to the English throne, James was approached by a group of Puritans who presented him with the Millenary Petition (so called because it contained one thousand signatures), which outlined their requests for reform within the Church of England. In 1604, James presided over a conference of Anglican bishops and Puritan ministers at Hampton Court that was convened for the purpose of discussing the petition's contents. Unsurprisingly, given James' firm commitment to episcopacy, most of the concessions that were made to the Puritans as a result of the Hampton Court Conference were relatively minor. One, however, would prove to have profound and lasting significance: In response to the Puritans' complaints about the existing English translations of the Bible, James ordered the creation of a new version that was intended to correct some of the inconsistencies in the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, while also avoiding the sectarian emphases of the Geneva Bible and the Douay-Rheims Bible. This translation, completed by a team of scholars in 1611, was originally referred to in England as the Authorized Version, but is today better known around the world as the King James Version.

Though it met with some initial resistance from those who preferred the Geneva Bible, the King James Version soon gained widespread acceptance among English Protestants, both because it was relatively free of divisive, sectarian-based word choices and commentary, and because it possessed considerable artistic and literary merit. Indeed, this combination of theological and aesthetic appeal helped to ensure that the King James Version would remain the most widely-used English translation of the Bible for more than four centuries.[4]

Soon after the Hampton Court Conference, James ordered the banishment of Catholic priests. This action contributed to the radicalization of some English Catholics, and in 1605 a small group of them (including Robert Catesby and Guy Fawkes) conspired to blow up the Houses of Parliament with concealed barrels of gunpowder, in the hopes that they might thereby assassinate King James and plunge the government into chaos. However, the plot was discovered, the conspirators were executed, and the entire episode served to galvanize distrust of Catholics among much of the populace and to ensure that the Church of England continued to move in a more Protestant direction.

In addition to its suppression of Catholicism, James' government also persecuted the radical Protestant Separatists, some of whom fled to Europe as a result. One such group of English Separatists settled in Amsterdam, where they established a congregation under

the leadership of John Smyth (c. 1570–1612). They combined the typical Congregationalist polity of other Separatists with an Arminian theology and an Anabaptist-like insistence on adult baptism, and thus came to be known as Baptists. Though many of Smyth's original congregants later joined with the Dutch Mennonites, one of his associates, Thomas Helwys (c. 1550–c. 1616), carried on the Baptist tradition, and in 1612 established the first Baptist church in England.

Around 1640, another group of Baptists emerged from among the English Congregationalists under the leadership of John Spilsbury (1593–c. 1670). In contrast to the followers of Smyth and Helwys, this group embraced Calvinism rather than Arminianism. They became known as Particular Baptists because of their belief in a limited or particular atonement, while the descendants of the original Dutch congregation were subsequently referred to as General Baptists because they espoused an unlimited or general atonement. Both groups (in addition to various other Separatist movements) survived and flourished in spite of the opposition of the government and the Church of England.

Thus, the reign of James I may be rightly viewed as a period of gradually increasing religious turmoil. In some ways this was an inevitable outcome of the Elizabethan settlement. In attempting to appease the moderate majority, Elizabeth's policies had slowly radicalized the minorities at both ends of the religious spectrum, and by the end of James' reign there was increasing dissatisfaction with the Church of England's "middle way," as evidenced by the Puritan protests, the Catholic resistance, and the continued emergence of Separatist movements. This growing religious and political discord would soon erupt into violence and revolution.

THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND THE TRIUMPH OF PURITANISM

James I died in 1625 and was succeeded by his son Charles I (reigned 1625–1649). To an even greater extent than his father, Charles proved himself to be a firm advocate of episcopacy and a defender of the monarch's divine right to exercise absolute control over both the religious and political life of the nation. In 1633, he appointed a new arch-bishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573–1645), who shared his conservative views. Laud subsequently enacted a series of measures that restored much of the pomp and ceremony to the Church of England's services and firmly denounced Calvinistic theology and Presbyterianism. Though his actions were viewed by many Protestants as conciliatory to Catholicism, Laud was in reality a proponent of what may be termed "high church" Anglicanism, and consistently sought to bring both Roman Catholics and Puritans into conformity with the Church of England. Nevertheless, his policies provoked widespread resentment, particularly among the Puritans.

Charles' autocratic style also precipitated a prolonged power struggle between the king and Parliament. From 1629 to 1640, Charles refused to summon Parliament and ruled

as a virtual despot. In the late 1630s, however, Charles made a serious miscalculation by attempting to force the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to accept Episcopal government and the Book of Common Prayer. These actions led to an uprising in Scotland, and Charles was eventually forced to reconvene Parliament in 1640 in order to appeal for funding. Parliament (which by this time had several influential Puritans within its ranks) acted swiftly, issuing legislation that prevented Charles from assuming absolute rule again, arresting Archbishop Laud, and calling for religious reform.

The tension between Charles and Parliament quickly intensified, and the nation was soon plunged into civil war, with the king, the nobility, and the majority of conservative Anglicans opposing Parliament, the urban middle class, the Puritans, and the Separatists. The first phase of this conflict lasted from 1642–45 and resulted in a parliamentary victory. During this period, Parliament undid many of Laud's ecclesiastical reforms, and, partially in order to secure Scottish military assistance, began reshaping the Church of England in a Reformed mold.

In 1643, the Westminster Assembly was convened by Parliament for the purpose of aiding with the religious reform. As we have seen, this largely-Puritan body was responsible for the drafting of the Westminster Confession of Faith, as well as the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which together came to constitute the definitive documentary foundation of English-speaking Presbyterianism. The assembly also abolished the use of the Book of Common Prayer and ordered the establishment of a Presbyterian form of government for the Church of England, though these measures were not strictly and uniformly enforced.

A second period of civil war followed in 1648–49, after which Charles I was tried and executed. Parliament refused to allow the crown to pass to the king's heir, and instead established a republican commonwealth under the leadership of one of the prominent Puritan revolutionaries, Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). During Cromwell's reign, English Christians of all varieties enjoyed an unprecedented degree of toleration. Though the Church of England remained the national church and the pro-Presbyterian reforms of the Westminster Assembly were upheld, Protestant dissenters were permitted to form their own free churches, and even Episcopal Anglicans and Roman Catholics were allowed to gather privately for worship, provided they did not disturb the public order.

This spirit of increased religious freedom allowed previously-persecuted Protestant minority groups such as the Congregationalists and Baptists to achieve greater stability. In 1658, the Congregationalists set out their core beliefs in the Savoy Declaration, which was closely similar to the Westminster Confession except for its insistence on a Congregational polity rather than a Presbyterian one. The first confession of the Particular Baptists (who shared with Presbyterians and Congregationalists an adherence to Reformed theology) appeared in 1644. Following the publication of the Westminster Confession and the Savoy Declaration, however, the Particular Baptists produced a much more detailed statement of faith that was modeled on these other English Reformed confessions.

The mid-17th century also saw the emergence of a variety of more radical English Separatist groups, including the Levellers, the Diggers, the Fifth Monarchy Men, and (most significantly) the Society of Friends, or Quakers. This last group was founded in 1648 by George Fox (1624–1691), a religious seeker who sought answers from both Anglicans and Puritans before coming to the conclusion that the cure for his spiritual restlessness lay in mystical communion with the "Inner Light" of God. Fox and those he attracted to his movement subsequently renounced oaths, espoused pacifism, practiced simplicity in food and dress, protested against religious formalism, and promoted equality between the sexes, the dismantling of class barriers, and universal religious toleration.

The Quakers were distinct from nearly all existing Christian movements in that they had no clergy, produced no formal statement of their beliefs, and did not participate in the sacraments of baptism or the Eucharist. Their services were typically unstructured and consisted of communal contemplation and the mutual sharing of divine insights. Because of their extreme deviance from traditional Christian practice, as well as their controversial socio-political views, the Quakers were not extended religious toleration under the Commonwealth, and many later fled to North America to escape persecution.

The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution

In 1660, the religious climate in England was once again drastically altered by political events. In that year, the son of Charles I returned from exile and, with the support of the English army, was crowned as Charles II (reigned 1660–1685), thus marking the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Charles quickly reinstituted episcopacy in the Church of England and sought to suppress Puritanism and other forms of nonconforming Protestantism. Under his direction, the government issued a new Act of Uniformity that required all congregations to use the Book of Common Prayer to conduct their services. In 1664, Parliament passed the Conventicle Act, which forbade any worship gathering of more than five people that was not conducted under the auspices of the Church of England. Though this legislation created tremendous hardships for the English Puritans, they managed to survive, and indeed the years of Charles II's reign witnessed the publication of two monumental works of Puritan literature, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678).

Upon his death in 1685, Charles II was succeeded as king by his younger brother, James II (reigned 1685–1689), an avowed Roman Catholic. James allowed Catholics to fill high positions in the government and universities, and during his reign a papal envoy was welcomed to England for the first time since the death of Queen Mary. In 1687, James secured the passage of the Act of Indulgence, which promised religious toleration to both Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants outside the Church of England.

Fearing that James would eventually seek formal reconciliation with Rome, several Anglican bishops, members of Parliament, and Protestant nobles appealed to the king's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, calling for them to take control of the country. Toward the end of 1688, William and Mary invaded England and ousted James in a relatively bloodless coup that became known as the Glorious Revolution. The new government enacted a Bill of Rights that guaranteed certain freedoms to the populace, established a constitutional monarchy (thus ensuring that no monarch could ever again dissolve Parliament or exercise absolute rule), and stipulated that no Roman Catholic should ever ascend to the throne.

Though the Church of England retained Episcopal government in the wake of the Glorious Revolution, in 1689 Parliament passed the Act of Toleration, which guaranteed freedom of worship to all nonconforming Protestant groups, including Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers. Only Roman Catholics and Unitarians were excluded from its provisions. The passage of the Act of Toleration thus marked the final triumph of Protestantism in England, and the event may therefore be viewed as the true terminus of the long and varied political and religious conflicts that collectively defined the English Reformation.

The Story of Ireland

As a postscript, we must briefly consider the effects of the English Reformation on the nation of Ireland, as these developments were to greatly influence the subsequent political and religious history of that island. During the early decades of his reign, Henry VIII strove to strengthen the political and religious authority of the English monarchs in Ireland, and in 1536 he had himself declared head of the Church of Ireland, thus ensuring that its future course would be closely tied to that of the Church of England. Thus, when first Edward VI and later Elizabeth instituted pro-Protestant reforms in the Church of England, the Irish Church largely followed suit. The majority of the Irish population, however, rejected the newly-established faith and remained loyal Roman Catholics. Consequently, adherence to Catholicism quickly became a symbol of Irish nationalism, an important way in which the Irish populace sought to assert their cultural independence from their English rulers.

During the course of the English Reformation, several attempts were made to bring the religious life of Ireland into closer conformity to that of England. James I promoted an extensive colonization of the region of Ulster in the north of Ireland by Anglicans and Scottish Presbyterians, and similar Protestant enclaves were established in other parts of the island. During the English Civil War and the period of the Commonwealth, large numbers of Irish Catholics rebelled against Protestant rule, leading to an English invasion of the island under Cromwell's leadership during which Catholicism was suppressed and much of the land of the Irish Catholics was seized. Following the Restoration and

the Glorious Revolution, Catholics were barred from the Irish parliament and denied the right to vote. Thus, both the land and the government of Ireland largely fell into the hands of a privileged Anglican minority, and the majority of Catholics were forced to become tenant farmers on Protestant-controlled estates. These sweeping anti-Catholic measures on the part of the English crown assured the momentary hegemony of Protestantism throughout the British Isles, but they also sowed seeds of discord that would continue to yield bitter fruit for centuries to come.

Chapter Twenty-One Review

Act of Toleration	George Fox
Acts of Supremacy	Glorious Revolution
Acts of Uniformity	Great Bible
Bishops' Bible	Henry VIII
Book of Common Prayer	James I
Charles I	King James Version
Church of England/Anglicanism	Mary I
Congregationalists	Particular Baptists
Douay-Rheims Bible	Puritans
Edward VI	Quakers (Society of Friends)
Elizabeth I/Elizabethan Settlement	Separatists
Forty-Two/Thirty-Nine Articles	Thomas Cranmer
General Baptists	Thomas Cromwell
Geneva Bible	William Tyndale

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE NOTES

[1]It is widely suspected that Henry VIII was not the sole author of this book and that he may have received assistance from Thomas More.

[2]Catholic canon law forbade a man to marry his brother's widow. The marriage of Henry and Catherine had been granted legitimacy only after Catherine had claimed that her marriage to Arthur had never been consummated and Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) had issued a special papal dispensation. It should also be noted that this Pope Clement VII is not to be confused with the Clement VII, who was the first Avignon pope during the Western Schism.

[3]James actually became *de jure* ruler of Scotland upon his father's death in 1567 (the year after James' birth), but real power remained in the hands of a series of regents throughout James' childhood, and he did not assume sole control of the country until 1581.

[4]For a more detailed history of all of the Bible translations mentioned in this chapter, as well as ancient versions, 20th-century translations and paraphrases, translations in languages other than English, and Catholic and Orthodox Bibles, see the *Foundations* course *Introduction to the Bible* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006), 50–69.

[5]Though this larger Particular Baptist confession was originally written in 1677, it was not made public until 1689, with the result that it is most commonly known as the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith.

Chapter Twenty-Two
The Catholic Reformation

Even as the diverse currents of the Protestant Reformation were sweeping through Europe, important reforms were also taking place within the Roman Catholic Church. These developments are sometimes collectively referred to as the Counter-Reformation, but that designation incorrectly implies that the movement had a purely reactionary character. In reality, the impetus for the Catholic Reformation (as it is more properly called) was multi-faceted. Though it is inarguable that its leaders were motivated to a great extent by a desire to stem the rising tide of Protestantism and regain territory that the Catholic Church had lost, they also demonstrated a willingness to consider the doctrinal and moral arguments of the Protestant Reformers and to review, revise, and clarify their own positions on contested issues. Moreover, some aspects of the Catholic Reformation emerged before (and thus largely independently of) the rise of Protestantism, and reflected the larger spirit of religious renewal that had been gradually building throughout Europe over the course of the 11th through 14th centuries.

Thus we see that the Catholic Reformation—though decidedly different in character and intent from its Protestant counterpart—was similarly complex and diverse, and its effects would likewise prove to be far-reaching and definitive for the future course of Christian history. In seeking to gain a more detailed understanding of the various figures and events associated with the Catholic Reformation, we will begin by surveying developments in each of the three Latin European countries in which Roman Catholicism retained its greatest strength—Spain, Italy, and France. We will then proceed to describe the counter-gains that Catholicism made in territories that had previously shown Protestant sympathies and to narrate the events of the Thirty Years' War, the bloody conflict that permanently divided Europe along Catholic/Protestant lines.

REFORM IN SPAIN

The earliest stirrings of the Catholic Reformation were felt in Spain, where that movement was to have a complex and seemingly contradictory set of effects. It was in Spain that some of the greatest religious atrocities of the period would occur, yet many of the era's most outstanding and admirable figures would also emerge from that nation.

The Spanish program of religious reform was greatly influenced by contemporary political developments in the Iberian Peninsula. By the last quarter of the 15th century, several of the Christian kingdoms that had been founded in the wake of the *Reconquista* had merged with one another, and only four major states remained: Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. In 1469, King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) wed Isabella (1451–1504), heir to the throne of Castile, thus unifying their possessions and laying the political foundation for the eventual emergence of the modern nation of Spain.

Yet Ferdinand and Isabella ruled over a populace that remained anything but united. Indeed, at the beginning of the 15th century, Spain was almost certainly the most religiously-divided nation in all of Western and Central Europe. The kingdom of Granada in the southeast remained under Muslim control, and there were sizeable Jewish and Muslim minorities scattered throughout the country. As the century progressed, both Jews and Muslims faced increasing pressure to convert to Christianity, and many among both groups eventually did so. But while some of these sincerely embraced their newfound faith, many practiced their former religions in secret and were merely nominal Christians. It was largely in order to identify and punish those who thus fraudulently espoused Christianity that the rulers of Spain established an institution that would achieve lasting infamy: the Spanish Inquisition.

The Spanish Inquisition

As we have seen, the Papal Inquisition was first systematized in the 13th century as a means of suppressing heretical groups such as the Cathars and Waldenses. In 1478, amid growing concerns about the sincerity of the large number of *conversos* (Christianized Jews) in Iberia, Ferdinand and Isabella petitioned Pope Sixtus IV (reigned 1471–1484) for the extension of the Inquisition to Castile. The pope complied with this request, and the first court of the Spanish Inquisition was established at Seville in 1480. The Inquisition quickly came to be controlled by the monarchy, and (over the mild objections of the pope) its authority was quickly expanded to include all of the Christian kingdoms of Spain.

The operations of the Spanish Inquisition were overseen by the crown-appointed Inquisitors General, the first and most notorious of whom was the Dominican prior Tomás de Torquemada (1420–1498). Under their supervision, thousands of *conversos* whose orthodoxy was questioned were interrogated (often through the use of torture) and tried, with the majority being found guilty and subjected to fines, imprisonment, or (less frequently) execution by burning. In 1492, the monarchs issued a decree requiring all Jews in Spain to choose between conversion and expulsion from the country, thus ensuring that all Jews who remained in their lands would be liable to prosecution by the Inquisition if they were found to be covertly practicing their ancestral faith.

Ferdinand and Isabella adopted a similar policy with regard to the Muslim population in Spain. In 1492, Spanish armies conquered the kingdom of Granada, the last remaining Muslim enclave in Iberia, thus bringing an effective end to the *Reconquista*, which had begun more than seven hundred years earlier.[1] The powerful Spanish cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), who later served as an Inquisitor General, oversaw the forced conversion of the majority of the Muslims of Granada. In 1502, the Muslims of Castile were given the same ultimatum that the Jewish *conversos* had previously received: convert or be expelled. Thousands were subsequently baptized as believers and thereby became subject to the watchful eye of the Inquisition. Continuing unrest among

these Muslim converts (or *Moriscos*, as they were known) would eventually lead to their complete expulsion from Spain in 1609.

In the decades following the birth of the Reformation, the inquisitors largely turned their attention to the suppression of Protestantism. Those Spanish humanists and intellectuals who had embraced the writings of Erasmus came under increasing suspicion, and many were imprisoned or (like Juan de Valdés) forced to flee the country. The small minority that went so far as to fully adopt Lutheran doctrines was ruthlessly persecuted, and it was largely as a result of the threat posed by the Inquisition that the major expressions of Protestantism never won large numbers of adherents in Iberia.

Thus, through their unrelenting opposition to Judaism, Islam, and Protestantism alike, the rulers and ecclesiastical leaders of Spain came out firmly in favor of Catholic orthodoxy. However, this unwavering commitment to the Christian faith was greatly tainted by the abuses that were perpetuated by the Spanish Inquisition. That institution (which would endure until 1834) stands alongside the Crusades as one of the most shameful legacies of Christian history. In seeking to combat heresy and preserve orthodoxy at all costs, the inquisitors often dispensed with both justice and mercy, thus rendering hollow their vigorous claims to be the defenders of the true faith.

Yet while we are compelled to condemn the harsh excesses associated with the Spanish Inquisition, we must not overlook the positive contributions that were made by Spanish Christians of this period. Queen Isabella seems to have been genuinely religious, and took steps to reform the morally corrupt Spanish court. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, who proved to be one of the most powerful and ruthless of the Inquisitors General, promoted important monastic reforms among the Spanish Franciscans and other orders, funded the production of the first printed polyglot Bible, and was instrumental in the foundation of the University of Alcalá, which became an important Christian intellectual center. Such positive efforts at reform served to foreshadow the emergence of more vibrant and legitimate expressions of Spanish Christianity during the remainder of the 16th century.

Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuits

One such embodiment of the faith that was to have a profound effect on both the reform of the Roman Catholic Church and the worldwide spread of Christianity was the religious order known as the Society of Jesus, which was founded by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). As a young man, Ignatius embarked upon a military career. In 1521, while defending against a French invasion, he sustained a serious injury to one of his legs. During his long convalescence, Ignatius read an account of the life of Jesus and a biography of several of the saints, and these books inspired him to forsake his secular profession and become a knight for Christ.

Ignatius initially settled at the city of Manresa, where he practiced poverty and chastity, subjected himself to ascetic disciplines, read devotional works (including *The Imitation of Christ*), and experienced mystical visions and ecstasies. Having thus been greatly impacted by a variety of spiritual influences, Ignatius began work on the earliest form of his *Spiritual Exercises*, a manual on meditation, contemplation, and prayer that was designed to be completed by believers under the guidance of a spiritual director.

Following a brief pilgrimage to Palestine, Ignatius purposed to further his education in order to become better equipped for the ministry to which he felt called. He subsequently studied at Barcelona, Alcalá, and Salamanca, and in each of these places he preached zealously and gathered around himself small bands of followers whom he led through the *Spiritual Exercises*. Eventually, however, Ignatius' activities raised the suspicions of the Inquisition, and he was ordered to cease teaching until he had completed his education.

Unwilling to comply with such a restriction, Ignatius left Spain in 1528 and continued his studies at the University of Paris. There he attracted a number of committed disciples, most notably his fellow-Spaniard Francis Xavier (1506–1552), who was later to emerge as one of the most prolific Christian missionaries in history.[2] In August of 1534, Ignatius, Francis, and five others took solemn monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, thus marking the birth of the movement that was to become known as the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits.

In 1537, Ignatius and a small band of his followers journeyed to Italy in the hopes of gaining passage to Jerusalem. They spent a year in Venice, where Ignatius and others received their ordination. After waiting in vain for a ship that would bear them to Palestine, the group made their way to Rome and petitioned Pope Paul III to formally authorize their order. The Society of Jesus was thus officially established in September of 1540, and Ignatius was made the first general of the order.

The Jesuits were distinct from other monastic orders in a variety of notable ways. They took monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience and retained emphases on prayer and austerity, but they owned no permanent property, had no common uniform, did not uphold some traditional practices such as regular fasts and choral recitation of the liturgy, and did not establish a female branch. Most significantly, the Jesuits were organized along military lines and designed to function as a highly mobile, highly flexible spiritual army that could be quickly deployed to wherever their services were required by their superiors. The generals of the order were chosen for life, and Jesuits vowed to obey both the pope and their general without question.

The young order experienced phenomenal growth, reaching a membership of about one thousand by the time of Ignatius' death in 1556. These early Jesuits primarily occupied themselves with the twin tasks of education and evangelization. They established universities that produced many distinguished scholars of philosophy and theology, instructed the common people through the use of Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises,* and made crucial

contributions to the spread of the Gospel to Asia and the Americas. They also achieved notable success in reclaiming territory that had been lost to Protestantism, and thus were viewed by the early Protestants as a formidable and implacable foe.

However, the Jesuits eventually came to be regarded with suspicion and fear not only by Protestants, but by other Catholics. Some protested that their blind loyalty to their superiors gave them license to ignore the dictates of their own consciences and made them vulnerable to manipulation. Others objected to their complete independence from the control of local bishops. Still others opposed the controversial theological view known as Molinism, which was first expounded by the Spanish Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600) and subsequently embraced by many of the Society's members. Molina sought to offer a fresh solution to the eternal question of predestination and free will by proposing that God gives humans free will to make decisions, but knows in advance what those decisions will be. Thus, according to the tenets of Molinism, God's election of individuals for salvation is dependent on His foreknowledge of the free choices they will make. This position was rejected by a majority of Catholics, who held to the teachings of Thomas Aquinas on the subject, as on many others.

In spite of the opposition that they faced from Catholics and Protestants alike, the Jesuits not only survived, but thrived. During the years following the death of Ignatius, they received outstanding leadership from Francis Borgia (1510–1572), the great-grandson of the infamous Pope Alexander VI, who reorganized the order's administration, revised its rule, and edited the *Spiritual Exercises*, thereby earning his unofficial title as the Society's "second founder." It thus became clear that the movement possessed a vitality that would endure beyond the lifetime of its founders. Throughout the remainder of the 16th century, the Jesuits would, in a great variety of ways, prove themselves to be among the most consistently and spectacularly effective agents of the Catholic Reformation.

Spanish Mystics

In addition to the Jesuits, Spain also produced the most notable Christian mystics of the Catholic Reformation. Chief among these was Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582). As a young woman, Teresa entered a Carmelite convent. There she battled both recurring health problems and an intense sense of spiritual unease. In an effort to achieve greater union with God, she practiced focused, contemplative prayer and eventually began experiencing mystical visions. This attention to the inner life contributed to Teresa's full spiritual awakening at the age of forty.

Shortly thereafter, Teresa grew discontented with what she perceived as increasing laxity among the Carmelites and dedicated herself to bringing about reform within the order. In 1562, she founded the first reformed Carmelite convent at Ávila. The nuns under Teresa's care lived according to a stricter rule than other Carmelites and withdrew more completely from the outside world in order to devote themselves to meditation and contemplation.

In 1567, Teresa met Juan de Yepes, who would become better known as John of the Cross (1542–1591). John, a Carmelite friar and priest, shared Teresa's interest in mystical spirituality and quickly became a supporter of her program of monastic reform. The following year, he founded the first reformed Carmelite monastery at Duruelo.

Both Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross subsequently traveled throughout Spain establishing new monastic houses. Though they achieved marked success, their activities eventually brought them into conflict with other leaders of the Carmelite order who disapproved of their reforming efforts. In order to settle the dispute, Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585) allowed the followers of Teresa's reformed rule to establish a separate order, which came to be known as the Order of Discalced (barefooted) Carmelites because its members characteristically wore sandals.

In addition to their involvement in monastic reform, both Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross made significant contributions to the spiritual renewal of Spanish Catholics through their devotional and mystical writings. Teresa's autobiography proved inspirational to many, and her *Way of Perfection* and *Interior Castle* are classics of contemplative spirituality. John of the Cross penned lyrical poetry and several works on mystical theology, the best-known and most influential of which is *The Dark Night of the Soul.*

Another important Spanish mystic from a later period was Miguel de Molinos (1640–1697), who is often viewed as the progenitor of the form of mystical spirituality known as Quietism. Broadly speaking, the term *quietism* refers to a system of thought which maintains that spiritual perfection and inner peace are to be achieved through the stilling of one's rational mind, emotions, and will, and the acceptance of divine grace. Thus, quietistic elements may be perceived in a wide range of Christian practices (including Quaker worship and Hesychasm), as well as in religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism.

More specifically, however, Molinos argued that the key to Christian spirituality was passive contemplation, and that humans should abandon all active efforts to pursue holiness (including involvement with and submission to the Church), annihilate their independent wills, and simply wait upon God, who desires to do all that is necessary for salvation. These convictions led Molinos to espouse unorthodox doctrines, most notably the claim that the sins of the flesh could have no effect on the condition of the quietist's soul as long as he or she had not consciously willed to perform such sinful actions. As a result, he was eventually denounced as a heretic and sentenced to life in prison. Nevertheless, his ideas proved attractive to other Latin European mystics, and variations on Quietism would occasionally reemerge during the succeeding decades.

Thus we find that 16th- and 17th-century Spanish Christianity was marked by many of the same features that characterized earlier religious awakenings in other parts of Europe,

including the emergence of new religious orders, the reform of existing movements, and a growing fascination with contemplative and mystical spirituality. These developments contributed to an increasing spiritual vitality that, in combination with the fierce loyalty to Catholicism displayed by the nation's leaders, guaranteed Spain's status as the hub of the Catholic Reformation.

REFORM IN ITALY

Having surveyed the situation in Spain, we now turn our attention to Italy, the seat of papal power and the nerve center of Catholic Europe. At the outset of the 16th century, Italian Christianity found itself increasingly threatened both by the rapidly-expanding influence of humanism and other secular Renaissance ideals, and by rampant and deplorable religious corruption. The moral authority of the papacy had been greatly weakened by the reign of Alexander VI, and the rising tide of nationalism in Europe—coupled with the growing menace posed by the Ottoman Turks—ensured that the popes increasingly turned much of their attention to political matters, often to the spiritual detriment of the Church. Collectively, this set of conditions bore witness to the nation's dire need for religious reform.

New Monastic Orders

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the initial impetus for spiritual renewal in Italy came not from the papacy, but from a variety of new religious movements that sprung up during the early decades of the 16th century. These included the Theatine and Barnabite monastic orders (both of which were founded for the purpose of promoting reform among the low-level clergy), the Brothers Hospitallers (who devoted themselves to the care of the sick), and the Ursulines (a female order dedicated to instructing young girls in the basics of the Christian faith).

Most notable among these new orders were the Capuchins, an offshoot of the Franciscans whose founder, Matteo di Bassi (c. 1495–1552), demanded even closer adherence to the original rule of Francis of Assisi than did the strict Observants. The Capuchins received official recognition as a distinct group within the larger Franciscan order in 1528, but the rigors of their rule led several of their early leaders to break ranks with them.[3] They faced further difficulty when the pope briefly forbade them to preach, but they were allowed to continue their work after demonstrating their orthodoxy. Thereafter, Capuchin friars preached to both Protestants and Catholics throughout Europe and served as missionaries to Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The Capuchins thus were comparable in several respects to the Jesuits, and although they were never to become as widely influential as that order, they nevertheless proved to be similarly successful proponents of the ideals of the Catholic Reformation.

The Papacy and the Council of Trent

As was previously the case during the late tenth and early 11th centuries, the papacy was late to embrace the reforming trend that was making itself evident in other areas of the Church's corporate life. Indeed, the popes who reigned during the initial years of the Protestant Reformation—including Leo X, who condemned and excommunicated Martin Luther, and Clement VII, who quarreled with and excommunicated Henry VIII—inflicted double damage on the Catholic Church by first failing to embrace the kind of reforming policies that might have placated the early Protestants, and then neglecting to take seriously enough the threat that the fledgling Protestant movements posed to the stability of Europe and the unity of the body of Christ.

The first pope to fully embody the spirit that guided the Catholic Reformation was Paul III. In contrast to his immediate predecessors, Pope Paul recognized that immediate and drastic action was necessary if the Catholic Church was to successfully counter the Protestant advance and effect meaningful self-reform. Consequently, he proposed the summoning of a general council of the Church to address the relevant doctrinal and moral issues.

Though this plan of action was hindered by dissent and delays, Paul III finally succeeded in convening a Church council at the Italian city of Trent in 1545. The Council of Trent would subsequently meet in three distinct phases under the leadership of three different popes: 1545–49 (under Paul III), 1551–52 (under Julius III), and 1562–63 (under Pius IV). It was temporarily suspended twice due to political developments in Europe, briefly transferred to Bologna during an outbreak of the plague, and barred from meeting during the pontificate of Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559). Yet despite the difficulties and complexities surrounding its proceedings, the Council of Trent would prove to be one of the most momentous gatherings in the history of the Church.

The Council of Trent enacted a number of important doctrinal measures that largely served to clarify and codify those tenets of Catholicism that had been challenged by the central claims of the Protestant Reformers. While the council's members acknowledged that justification comes through faith, they refused to concur with the Protestant contention that justification is by faith *alone*, and instead stressed the cooperative nature of the relationship between faith and good works. They likewise challenged the Protestant principle of the priesthood of all believers by stressing that only the ordained clergy could rightfully administer the Word and sacraments, and though they upheld the central importance of the Bible, they also emphasized the authority of the Nicene Creed and the traditions of the Church, thus undermining to some degree the strong Protestant insistence on the ultimate authority of the Scriptures. In addition, the council reiterated and defended the Church's historical conception of original sin and the modified Augustinian view of predestination that had been advanced by the Synod of Orange in 529, and came out in opposition to some aspects of Calvinist teaching on these points.

In an attempt to further refute Protestantism, the council also engaged in a vigorous defense of Catholic sacramental theology. It reaffirmed that all seven sacraments were essential to the life of the Church, upheld the doctrine of transubstantiation, denounced the various Protestant views concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and insisted on the validity of infant baptism. Other characteristic Catholic beliefs and practices—including the doctrine of purgatory, the veneration of the saints, and the granting of indulgences—were likewise defended by the council, although some of the more severe abuses associated with the sale of indulgences were condemned and proscribed.

Finally, the council passed a great deal of legislation regarding the Catholic Church's own internal ecclesiastical and administrative affairs. The ultimate authority of the pope was strongly asserted, and all Catholic clergy were compelled to promise obedience to him. The bishops were also given expanded powers and were charged with suppressing any unorthodox or deviant teaching within their dioceses. The rampant moral corruption among the clergy was strongly denounced, and steps were taken to improve the quality of the Church's leadership. Bishops were forbidden to hold multiple ecclesiastical posts and were ordered to avoid nepotism and decadent living. They were further required to reside in their episcopal sees (rather than ruling over them as virtual absentee landlords, as was common) and to conduct annual visits to all of the churches under their jurisdiction. The council also placed a strong emphasis on the education and training of candidates for the priesthood, and many seminaries were subsequently established for this purpose.

The decrees of the Council of Trent were uniformly imposed on all Catholics by means of a papal bull issued in January of 1564 by Pius IV (reigned 1559–1565), and were accepted by the rulers of Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, and Poland, and by the Catholic princes of Germany. In order to instruct the laity in the essentials of the Catholic faith as set out by the council, the Church produced the Tridentine Catechism, which first appeared in 1566 and remained the official Catholic catechism for more than four centuries. In addition, the pope produced a list of banned writings (most of which were Protestant works) in an attempt to prevent the common people from being swayed by the ideas of the Reformers.

The decisive actions taken by the Council of Trent proved largely successful in reversing the trends of stagnation and corruption that had increasingly plagued the Catholic Church since the 14th century. Great gains were made in the quality of ecclesiastical leadership and clerical education, and the newly founded religious orders continued to make important contributions to monastic reform and evangelization. Though some abuses on the part of the popes and bishops inarguably continued, never again would the overall spiritual and moral integrity of the Church and its leaders approach the nadir that was reached during the years immediately prior to the onset of the Protestant Reformation.

Reform in France

Though France (like its Latin European neighbors) had long been a bastion of Roman Christianity, the Catholic Reformation blossomed somewhat later there than in Spain and Italy. As we have seen, from 1562 to 1598 France was ravaged by the Wars of Religion between the Catholics and Huguenots (a larger and more formidable Protestant minority than existed in Spain or Italy), and the resulting lack of socio-political and religious stability no doubt contributed to the Catholic Reformation's slow growth in the nation. In addition, the early Jesuits who sought to establish schools and colleges in France quickly came into conflict with the theological faculty of the Sorbonne, France's most prestigious university, who denounced some points of Jesuit doctrine and criticized the Jesuits' blind loyalty to the papacy. As a result, the Jesuits did not achieve widespread success in France until the early 17th century.

Partially as a result of its delayed development, the Catholic Reformation would not produce in France any group as successful as the Jesuits, nor any measures as momentous as those set forth by the Council of Trent. Nevertheless, beginning in the last years of the 16th century and continuing throughout the 17th, France did witness the emergence of a number of notable figures and movements that made significant contributions to the overall tapestry of Catholic religious life that was being formed during this period.

One of the defining features of the 17th-century religious renewal in France was the birth of a new form of mystical devotion. This French School of spirituality (as it became known), which was given its initial shape by the cardinal and mystic Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), stressed meditation on and identification with Jesus (in both His divine and human forms) and the veneration of Mary. Its chief goal was to enable believers to completely abandon the self so that Christ might be incarnated through them. An eventual offshoot of the French School of spirituality was the devotion of the Sacred Heart, whose practitioners sought to perfectly adore Jesus and comprehend His divine love for humanity.

Among those who were influenced by Bérulle and the French School were Francis de Sales (1567–1622) and Vincent de Paul (1581–1660). De Sales zealously labored to win converts to Catholicism among the Reformed Protestants of Geneva and Savoy, and was widely regarded for his writings on mystical devotion, most notably *Introduction to the Devout Life*. De Paul, though also a mystic, focused much of his energy on practical ministry. He founded the religious association known as the Congregation of Priests of the Mission (alternately known as the Lazarists or Vincentians), which sought to offer religious instruction to the French laity and provide formal training for the clergy, and also established the Sisters of Charity, a benevolent organization that cared for the sick.

Monastic movements also played a significant role in the renewal movement in France. Several orders that had emerged during the course of the Catholic Reformation—

including the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Discalced Carmelites—began establishing themselves in the country during the last decades of the 16th century. A notable French member of the latter order was Brother Lawrence (born Nicholas Herman, c. 1611–1691), who combined the mystical and monastic impulses of French spirituality and penned the enduring spiritual classic *The Practice of the Presence of God.*

The most important monastic order to originate in France during this period was that of the Trappists, an offshoot of the Cistercians founded in 1664 by Armand-Jean de Rancé at the abbey of La Trappe. Much like the Discalced Carmelites and Capuchins, the Trappists sought to restore a more rigorous observance of the foundational principles of their mother order. They practiced a rule that called for strict poverty, an extremely limited diet, severe asceticism and acts of penance, and almost total silence.[4]

A highly controversial movement that contributed to dissension among French Catholics was Jansenism, named for its founder, the Dutch theologian Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638). Jansen, a great admirer of Augustine, produced a summary and evaluation of that great theologian's work in which he sought to restore strict Augustinian views on original sin and predestination (as opposed to the modified Augustinianism that had held currency in the Catholic Church since the Synod of Orange). This brought him into conflict with the Jesuits (many of whom held to the tenets of Molinism), as well as with some who felt that his views on predestination were dangerously close to Calvinism (though Jansen himself held the Protestants in contempt and saw himself as a loyal Catholic).

Others, however, soon came to embrace the Jansenist position. Undoubtedly the most notable of these was the great mathematician and philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). Pascal, whose secular scientific achievements included the development of probability theory and advances in the study of fluids, became a Christian late in life through the influence of a Jansenist. Thereafter, he devoted himself to religious inquiry, the ultimate fruit of which was his Pensées ("Thoughts"), a philosophical work in which Pascal explored the paradoxes of faith and formulated the argument for belief in God that came to be known as Pascal's Wager.

The dispute over Jansenism quickly escalated, and Jansen's distinctive teachings were condemned in a series of papal bulls between 1653 and 1713. A number of Jansenists subsequently sought refuge among the Catholic minority in the Netherlands, many of whom (possibly through the influence of Calvinism) were sympathetic to the Jansenist views on predestination. During the early years of the 18th century, increasing conflict between these Dutch Catholics and the Jesuits over the issues of predestination and papal authority led to a schism, with the Catholic Church of the Netherlands ultimately asserting its autonomy from Rome.[5]

A second source of controversy in the religious life of 17th-century France was the emergence of a moderate form of Quietism whose chief advocate was Jeanne-Marie

Bouvier de la Motte Guyon, better known simply as Madame Guyon (1648–1717). Though it is probable that Guyon was influenced by the teachings of Miguel de Molinos, her version of Quietism was somewhat less radical. She stressed that Christians should seek to love God with pure, disinterested adoration, that prayer should never be given in order to receive anything (whether tangible or intangible), but merely as an expression of submission, and that freedom from sin comes through merely resting in God without using words or exercising the will.

Madame Guyon authored several works outlining her views on mystical spirituality, and soon attracted a number of followers, most notably the influential theologian and churchman François Fénelon (1651–1715). However, Guyon and Fénelon soon found themselves at odds with the Catholic Church due to its continuing opposition to all forms of Quietism, which it perceived as a dangerous threat to institutional authority. Eventually, their teachings were formally condemned, after which Madame Guyon was imprisoned and Fénelon renounced his Quietist views and resumed his episcopal duties. Nevertheless, the major writings of both subsequently became devotional classics, and would greatly impress later Christian leaders such as John Wesley and Watchman Nee.

As this brief survey makes clear, though the Catholic Reformation came late to France and thus failed to produce reforms as outstanding as those we have witnessed in Spain and Italy, French Catholicism was nevertheless marked by considerable vitality and diversity during the decades following the Council of Trent. In particular, the writings of outstanding individuals such as Francis de Sales, Brother Lawrence, Blaise Pascal, and Madame Guyon contributed significantly to the spiritual health of the Christian church, and would subsequently influence many believers, Catholic and Protestant alike.

COUNTER-GAINS FROM PROTESTANTISM AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

In spite of their salutary effect on the internal health of the Catholic Church, the actions of the various agents of the Catholic Reformation stood little chance of fully halting the advance of Protestantism. Indeed, by the time the Council of Trent had completed its work, the Lutheran princes of Germany had prevailed in the Schmalkaldic Wars (1555), Elizabeth I had reintroduced Protestant features to the Church of England (1559), John Knox had helped make Protestantism the official faith of Scotland (1560), Reformed believers had produced the Belgic Confession (1561) and the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), and the Mennonites had emerged as strong heirs to the Anabaptist tradition. Nevertheless, during the latter half of the 16th century, agents of the Catholic Reformation were able to make substantial progress in Central and Eastern Europe, winning back to the Catholic faith large areas that had previously seemed destined to become strongholds of Protestantism.

Catholic Gains and Growing Tensions

Catholicism's greatest initial successes came in Poland and Hungary. Lutheran and Reformed churches had emerged in each of these countries during the first half of the 16th century, and for a time it appeared as though both might be won to Protestantism. However, during the second half of the century the Protestant populations of Hungary and Poland became increasingly divided along sectarian lines, thus allowing for a resurgence of Catholic strength. The Jesuits were vigorously active in both nations and played a key role in reinforcing Catholic loyalty among the populace during the years following the Council of Trent.

The chief proponent of the Catholic Reformation in Germany and Austria was the Dutch Jesuit Peter Canisius (1521–1597), who had been trained by Ignatius of Loyola. Canisius helped establish a number of Jesuit colleges in Germany and won significant numbers of Protestants back to Catholicism through his persuasive preaching. In 1555, he published one of the earliest Catholic catechisms, which anticipated and influenced the Tridentine Catechism and remained extremely popular among the Catholic laity even after the latter's publication. Canisius later ministered in Switzerland, where he (along with other Jesuits and Capuchins) encouraged those sections of the populace that had rejected the Reformed faith and remained loyally Catholic.

These Catholic gains in Central and Eastern Europe contributed to increasing religious and political tensions that were eventually to erupt in open warfare. The focus of the emerging conflict was the Holy Roman Empire, which was ruled over during this period by the Austrian House of Habsburg, whose members were staunchly Catholic. In order to understand the momentous events that followed, we must pause briefly to survey the history of this imperial family.

The early Habsburgs served as the dukes of Austria beginning in the late 13th century. The house first rose to great prominence during the emperorship of Maximilian I (reigned 1493–1519), who reunited the family's hereditary lands and acquired control of the Netherlands through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy. Maximilian's son, Philip I, subsequently married Juana of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, thus extending Habsburg rule to Spain and the Spanish possessions in southern Italy. Upon the death of Maximilian, the various Habsburg holdings were united under the rule of his grandson, the Emperor Charles V. Charles later ceded the Habsburg lands in Germany and Austria to his younger brother, the eventual Emperor Ferdinand I (reigned 1556–1564), while Spain, southern Italy, and the Spanish Netherlands passed to Charles' son, King Philip II of Spain (reigned 1556–1598). Ferdinand I and his immediate imperial successors also reigned as the kings of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia. Thus, by the mid-16th century, the Catholic Habsburgs had established control not only over the Holy Roman Empire and its adjacent territories, but over much of Europe.

As we have seen, Charles V proved himself to be a formidable opponent of the Reformation. He opposed the rise of Lutheranism in Germany and waged war on the Schmalkaldic League, but was ultimately defeated and forced to sign the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Under the terms of the agreement, the princes of Germany were to be allowed to determine whether Catholicism or Lutheranism would be established as the official religion of their respective territories. This appeared to be a significant setback for the Habsburgs, and was hailed as an important victory for Lutheranism (though the terms of the settlement did not apply to other forms of Protestantism).

However, it quickly became clear that the fragile peace would not last. The rising tide of the Catholic Reformation in Central and Eastern Europe led to a resurgence of Catholic sentiment in various parts of the empire (particularly Austria and Bavaria), and disputes soon arose between German Catholics and Lutherans regarding the ownership of formerly-Catholic ecclesiastical properties located in territories whose populations were now Lutheran. Though Ferdinand I and his successor Maximilian II (reigned 1564–1576) were largely tolerant of their Lutheran subjects and sought to maintain religious peace and social order within the empire, resentment continued to simmer among the nobility and the common people, and conflict appeared inevitable.

The Thirty Years' War and Its Effects

In 1606, during the reign of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph II (reigned 1576–1612), Protestant violence against Catholics erupted in the imperial free city of Donauwörth. In response, the emperor commissioned the Catholic duke of Bavaria to seize control of the city. Though Donauwörth's population was largely Protestant, the duke suppressed Protestant worship, thus violating the terms of the Peace of Augsburg. This incident galvanized Protestant resistance to the Habsburgs, and in 1608, several of the Protestant princes of Germany united under the leadership of the Elector Palatine Frederick IV to form the League of Evangelical Union. In response, the duke of Bavaria and other Catholic rulers established an alliance known as the Catholic League.

Open war between the two factions did not begin until 1618, when a group of Protestant nobles in Prague threw two Habsburg regents from a high window in what became known as the Defenestration of Prague, thus inciting a rebellion in Bohemia. The Emperor Ferdinand II (reigned 1619–1637), an ardent Catholic and a student of the Jesuits whose impending ascension to the imperial throne had served as a catalyst for the Protestant uprising, swiftly resolved to quell the rebellion by force. Meanwhile, the Bohemian Protestants chose as their leader the Elector Palatine Frederick V, who, unlike his father, adhered to the Reformed faith.

In the course of the war that followed, the emperor received aid from his Spanish Habsburg cousins, while the Bohemian Protestants were joined in their revolt by Protestants in Austria and Transylvania. The Lutheran princes of Germany, however, showed little

inclination to support the Reformed elector, and Frederick's armies were ultimately defeated by the Catholic forces, with the final Habsburg victory coming in 1623. As a result, the Palatinate was taken by Spain, while the Protestant communities in Austria and Bohemia were virtually eradicated by agents of the emperor. Thus, the first phase of the Thirty Years' War ended in a seemingly unmitigated triumph for the Catholic cause.

However, the vagaries of European politics soon contributed to a renewal of hostilities. During the early decades of the 17th century, several prominent European powers controlled territory that bordered on the Holy Roman Empire, and thus stood to benefit from the weakening and division of the German states. As a result, the latter stages of the Thirty Years' War—which were less explicitly religiously-oriented and more politically-motivated than the first phase—saw the successive interventions of Denmark, Sweden, and France on behalf of the Protestant cause.

In 1625, King Christian IV of Denmark and Norway (reigned 1588–1648) entered the fray, but he was soundly defeated in battle in the following year, and Catholic forces subsequently seized control of much of Protestant northern Germany. In 1629, the emperor issued the Edict of Restitution, which provided for the reclaiming of hundreds of ecclesiastical properties in Germany that, under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, rightfully belonged to the Catholic Church. Again it seemed as though the war had ended with a Catholic victory, but once more the apparent triumph was to prove short-lived.

In 1630, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (reigned 1611–1632) initiated the third phase of the war by invading the empire. He enjoyed much greater successes than had the Danish king, and the Saxon armies allied with him even succeeded in briefly capturing Prague. But Gustavus was killed in battle near Leipzig in 1632, and the war quickly devolved into a virtual stalemate. The Swedish intervention had improved the Protestant position, however, and the peace treaty that brought an end to this phase of the war in 1635 was generally more favorable to them.

The final stage of the Thirty Years' War (1636–48) was largely brought about through the machinations of the chief minister of France, Cardinal Richelieu. Though he represented a Catholic nation, and was himself a high-ranking Catholic clergyman, Richelieu's French nationalism outweighed his religious devotion, and his desire to secure territorial gains for France had earlier led him to finance the exploits of both the Danish and Swedish monarchs. In 1636, France allied itself with the Dutch and the Swedes and renewed hostilities with Spain and the imperial forces. The Protestants eventually won decisive victories over the empire at the Battle of Zusmarshausen (May 1648) and over the Spanish at the Battle of Lens (August 1648), thus bringing an end to the Thirty Years' War at last.

The final settlement of the conflict came with the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in October of 1648. According to the stipulations of this treaty, the principles for determining the religion of each territory that had originally been set forth in the Peace of Augsburg

were now to be strictly observed by all parties, with the amendment that Reformed Protestants were now granted the same rights and privileges as Lutherans and Catholics. In addition, Christians who lived in territories where their form of belief was not espoused by the ruler were ensured freedom of public worship (though in practice, such toleration did not exist in the hereditary Habsburg lands in Austria). Catholic missionary endeavors in Protestant lands were also greatly curtailed. Among the many territorial provisions of the Peace of Westphalia, the most significant in religious terms were the granting of full independence to Switzerland and the Netherlands, the two great centers of the Reformed and Anabaptist traditions.

Thus, the Peace of Westphalia served to establish enduring territorial and religious boundaries in Europe and brought an end to widespread wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants on the continent. It may therefore also be viewed as a herald of the gradual termination of both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Though a handful of significant developments related to each movement occurred during the period between 1650 and 1700 (including the Amish/Mennonite split, the Glorious Revolution in England, and the birth of the Trappists in France), the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War effectively signaled the end of the long era of reform during which the two branches of Western Christianity had battled for supremacy.

Having thus completed our survey of the momentous religious and political events that shaped the face of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, in the remainder of this unit we will turn our attention to concurrent developments in Christian history in other parts of the world. We will begin by examining the course of events within those lands in which Eastern Orthodoxy remained the dominant expression of Christianity—the Ottoman Empire and Russia.

Chapter Twenty-Two Review

Capuchins	Madame Guyon
Cornelius Jansen/Jansenism	Miguel de Molinos
Council of Trent	Molinism
Discalced Carmelites	Peace of Westphalia
Ferdinand II and Isabella	Peter Canisius
French School of Spirituality	Quietism
Habsburgs	Spanish Inquisition
Ignatius of Loyola/*Spiritual Exercises*	Teresa of Ávila
Jesuits (Society of Jesus)	Thirty Years' War
John of the Cross	Trappists

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO NOTES

[1]For historical perspective, the *Reconquista* began a quarter century before the birth of Charlemagne and ended a quarter century before Martin Luther advanced his Ninety-Five Theses.

[2]For more on Francis Xavier's missionary career, see Chapter Twenty-Four.

[3]One of the early heads of the Capuchin order was Bernardino Ochino, who (as we have seen) eventually embraced Protestantism and became associated with the rationalist wing of the Radical Reformation.

[4]The Trappists gained prominence in the 20th century through the writings of perhaps their most famous member, Thomas Merton.

[5]This group would eventually become known as the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands.

Chapter Twenty-Three
Eastern Christianity in the
16th and 17th Centuries

While the 16th and 17th centuries constituted a period of remarkable vitality for both the Catholic and Protestant forms of Christianity, the same cannot be said for most of the Eastern expressions of the faith. Under Ottoman rule, the religious malaise that had begun to weaken the older Orthodox patriarchates during the late Medieval Period continued and intensified. Conversions to Islam and to Catholicism further threatened the integrity of the traditional Eastern varieties of Christianity. Only in Russia was there significant evidence of the spiritual vigor and renewal that was so apparent in the West, and even there it would be greatly threatened by the end of this period.

Eastern Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire

During the first half of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire greatly expanded its territory and consolidated its power in the regions that had historically been strong centers of Eastern Christianity. Under the leadership of the sultans Selim I (reigned 1512–1520) and Suleiman I "The Magnificent" (reigned 1520–1566), the Ottomans overthrew the rule of the Muslim Mamluks in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, conquered a portion of the domains of the Savafid Persian dynasty (including the city of Baghdad), imposed their rule throughout much of North Africa, captured the island of Rhodes, and advanced into Hungary, Transylvania, and the Caucasus. Thus, by roughly one century after the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans had made themselves masters of the other ancient Orthodox patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as well as the traditional centers of Monophysite and Nestorian influence.

Under these circumstances, the legitimacy of Eastern Christianity was gravely threatened. Many believers converted to Islam, and although Orthodoxy was not strictly suppressed, the Ottoman sultans supervised the Church closely and continued to control appointments to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Consequently, aspirants to the patriarchy often attempted to purchase the favor of the sultans, and accessions to the office were often clouded by violence and intrigue. Such machinations were also common among other high-ranking members of the Orthodox clergy, and important ecclesiastical positions were thus increasingly held by men who had compromised their moral integrity in the interest of political advancement.

To be sure, there were occasional exceptions to this general trend toward corruption and lethargy. One outstanding leader in the Orthodox Church was Cyril Lucaris (1572–1637). Born in Crete and raised in the Orthodox faith, Cyril was educated in Italy, where he developed a strong antipathy toward Roman Catholicism. He later traveled in Western

Europe and encountered Reformed Protestantism, toward which he seems to have been moderately receptive.

After serving as patriarch of Alexandria for nearly two decades, Cyril was made patriarch of Constantinople in 1621. In this role, he labored to improve the spiritual condition of the Orthodox Churches and the education of their clergy. Cyril sent many young believers to study theology in the Protestant universities of Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England and carried on a considerable personal correspondence with several influential European Protestant figures, including William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury.

It is unclear to what extent Cyril himself embraced Reformed doctrine, but his close contact with Protestants contributed to growing unease with his leadership. His enemies (by now including both Orthodox clergy and Jesuits) continually agitated against him, and he was consequently deposed from his patriarchate on multiple occasions, though he successfully secured reinstatement each time through payments to the sultans. In 1629, an Orthodox confession attributed (perhaps falsely) to Cyril was published at Geneva.1 This statement of faith espoused several important tenets of Protestantism (including the doctrine of justification by faith and a Calvinist view of predestination) and led to further controversy. Cyril was eventually executed by order of the sultan, who had begun to view him as a political threat, and his views were subsequently denounced by a series of Orthodox synods.

The most significant of these meetings was the Synod of Jerusalem, which was held in 1672. Its leaders produced a series of decrees that refuted the teachings contained in the confession attributed to Cyril Lucaris, denied the Protestant doctrines of justification by faith alone and the priesthood of all believers, denounced the Calvinist view of predestination, upheld the seven sacraments and the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, and reaffirmed Orthodox opposition to the *filioque* clause. Thus, the Synod of Jerusalem produced an important articulation of the essentials of the Eastern Orthodox faith as they differed from the claims of both Catholics and Protestants. The gathering may therefore be viewed as a rough analogue to the Council of Trent, though it ultimately failed to produce the same wide-ranging effects. Indeed, in spite of both Cyril Lucaris' efforts at clerical reform and his opponents' clarification of Orthodox doctrine, the Eastern Orthodox Churches in the Ottoman Empire largely remained in a state of spiritual decay.

THE EMERGENCE OF EASTERN CATHOLICISM

The precipitous decline in the vitality of Orthodoxy under Ottoman rule contributed to significant Roman Catholic gains in the East during this period. In spite of the failures of the Second Council of Lyons (1274) and the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) to achieve the lasting reunification of the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity, the leaders of the Catholic Church had never abandoned their dreams of reconciling portions

of Eastern Christendom with Rome, and the advent of the zealous missionary spirit associated with the Catholic Reformation provided a further impetus for fresh Catholic efforts to win converts from the various Eastern Churches.

One of the earliest notable groups of Eastern Christians to reestablish ties with the Catholic Church was the Maronites, a body of Chalcedonian believers that had been isolated from the Byzantine Empire by the Muslim Arab invasions of the seventh century and had subsequently settled in Lebanon. There they apparently embraced a form of the faith that tended toward Monothelitism. In 1182, after having come into contact with European Christians during the Crusades, the Maronites reaffirmed their orthodoxy and pledged their allegiance to the pope. Gradually, the bond between the Church and the Maronites was strengthened, and during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries completed the process of bringing the Maronites into full communion with Rome.

Defections to Catholicism also took place from among the Monophysite and Nestorian communities in the East. A minority of the Armenian Monophysites established ties with Rome following the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, similar pro-Catholic factions split off from the Monophysite Churches in Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Near the middle of the 16th century, some of the Nestorians of Mesopotamia and Persia were won over to Catholicism, and a synod held at Diamper in 1599 succeeded in establishing union between the Church and a number of Nestorians in India.

During the Catholic Reformation, the missionary monastic orders—including the newly founded Jesuits, Capuchins, Theatines, and Discalced Carmelites, as well as the Franciscans and Dominicans—labored to bring the Eastern Orthodox Churches under the rule of the popes. The first significant step toward this goal was taken in the late 16th century in western Russia (present-day Ukraine and Belarus). As we have seen, the Mongol invasion of Russia had significantly weakened the state that was centered on Kiev, and much of the region subsequently came under the rule of neighboring Poland, whose Catholic kings sponsored extensive Jesuit activity in the area.

Under these conditions, a number of Orthodox believers (including many of the bishops) began to favor union with the Catholic Church. Others, however, fiercely opposed such a merger and were committed to defending their traditional faith. In 1596, King Sigismund III of Poland (reigned 1587–1632) convened a council at Brest for the purpose of formally bringing the Orthodox Church in his domains into communion with Rome. Though a vocal anti-Catholic faction at the council (including the young Cyril Lucaris, who was serving as patriarch of Alexandria) refused to comply with the king and thus ensured that Orthodoxy would continue to survive in the region, a large number of the clergy and laity chose to embrace Catholicism.

In the succeeding decades, a number of other Orthodox bodies underwent schisms, with one faction remaining loyal to the patriarchs and another siding with the popes. In the early 17th century, a portion of the Serbian Orthodox Church's membership entered into communion with Rome, as did some of the Orthodox believers of Albania. Around 1650, a number of East Slavs (or Ruthenians) in the lands south of the Carpathian Mountains defected to Catholicism, and near the turn of the 18th century some of the Orthodox in Romania followed suit.[2]

In general, all of the Eastern bodies that were reunified with the Catholic Church during this period (whether Orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian) were required to conform to Roman Catholicism in terms of essential doctrines, and to acknowledge the ultimate spiritual authority of the pope. However, they were also allowed to retain many of their individual rites and customs, and to conduct corporate worship in their native languages and according to their own particular liturgical traditions (whether Byzantine, Alexandrian, Antiochan, Armenian, or Chaldean). Thus, they came to represent something of a middle way between Eastern Orthodoxy and Western Catholicism, and consequently came to be known as Eastern Rite Catholic Churches.[3]

RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY UNDER THE TSARS

While Orthodoxy lost ground to Catholicism in Eastern and Southern Europe, it continued to have a strong center in Moscow, where the successors of Ivan III (the Great) were endeavoring to shape the emerging Russian state. In 1533, Ivan's infant grandson nominally ascended to the throne as Ivan IV ("the Terrible," reigned 1533–1584). Upon officially assuming power in 1547, Ivan IV had himself crowned as the first tsar ("caesar" or "imperator") of Russia, thus asserting that he was the rightful successor to the Christian emperors of Rome and Constantinople. During his lengthy reign, Ivan sought to justify these imperial claims by extending his control over the Russian nobility and peasantry and overseeing the expansion of his nation's borders.

The growth of the power and legitimacy of the Russian nation under Ivan IV was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the prestige and influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. During the early decades of Ivan's reign, the Church was headed by Macarius, the metropolitan archbishop of Moscow (1482–1563), who worked zealously for reform and sought to enforce consistent ecclesiastical practice throughout the tsar's domains. Macarius came to believe that the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church, as the religious counterparts to the powerful tsars, should be recognized as patriarchs on an equal footing with those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Though Macarius himself did not live to see his goal accomplished, the patriarch of Constantinople eventually assented to the ongoing Russian demands, and, with the consent of the other three Orthodox patriarchs, the patriarchate of Moscow was established in 1589. Just as Ivan IV claimed to be the legitimate heir of the Roman emperors, so now the successors of Macarius could assert that they had rightfully taken possession of the fifth historical Orthodox patriarchate that had been vacated by the bishops of Rome.

Like the nation as a whole, the Russian Church greatly expanded its sphere of influence over the course of the 16th century. Ivan IV's military conquests allowed both Church and state to spread southward to the Caspian Sea and eastward to the Ural Mountains, while missionary monks carried the Orthodox faith northward to the White Sea. Many conversions were made among the various indigenous peoples of these regions, thus contributing to the gradual unification of Russia's diverse populace.

The situation was much less favorable in the west, where, as we have seen, the areas around Kiev had fallen under the control of Poland and many of the Orthodox believers in the region had converted to Catholicism. In 1598, following the death of Tsar Feodor I, a succession dispute led to a series of civil uprisings that inaugurated what became known as "the Time of Trouble." The Poles, taking advantage of the chaos, seized Moscow, and for a time it appeared as though the entire country might suffer the same fate of Catholicization that had befallen Kiev and its environs. By this time, however, Orthodoxy and Russian nationalism had become closely intertwined, and patriotic forces—motivated by both religious and political loyalties— recaptured Moscow, expelled the Poles, and crowned a new tsar who was committed to maintaining Orthodoxy as the faith of the Russian state.

This victory foreshadowed the revitalization of Orthodoxy in western Russia. In 1633, the Diet of Poland permitted the establishment of an Orthodox archbishopric at Kiev, and appointed Peter Mogila (1596–1646) as its metropolitan. Mogila, who had studied at Jesuit schools, made important advances in the field of education. He founded a theological school for the training of both clergy and laity and staffed it with Western-educated faculty. Kiev subsequently became one of the foremost centers of Orthodox theology, and the climate of intellectual ferment that developed there eventually spurred a theological revival throughout the Russian Orthodox Church.

Though Peter Mogila favored Western educational methods and promoted a fuller understanding of Latin Christianity, he proved himself to be a staunch defender of Orthodoxy. He came out in opposition to the pro-Protestant views attributed to Cyril Lucaris, and, partially in response to such teachings, produced the Orthodox *Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church,* a catechism that outlined the essential tenets of Orthodoxy. Mogila's confession was given formal approval by the Synod of Jerusalem and eventually became the authoritative expression of Russian Orthodox belief.

In 1652, shortly after the death of Peter Mogila, the patriarchate of Moscow was filled by a man named Nikon (1605–1681), who vigorously pursued reform in an effort to undo the negative effects of the Time of Trouble. Nikon had a high view of patriarchal authority, and insisted that the clergy, laity, and tsar alike should submit to his spiritual leadership. Accordingly, he worked to reduce the control of the secular authorities over the affairs of the Church and gave increased powers to the bishops in an attempt to enforce strict moral and ecclesiastical discipline among the lower clergy. He also undertook a revision

of the Russian Orthodox service books, which were found to contain numerous errors as a result of poor translations from the original Greek and copying mistakes. For help in this enterprise he turned to the scholars of Kiev and to Greek-speaking theologians from Europe, thus strengthening the ties between the Churches of Moscow and Kiev and between the Russian Orthodox tradition and the older Eastern Orthodox communities. More so than any leader of the Russian Church before or after, Nikon exerted the kind of comprehensive religious and political influence that had been wielded by the medieval popes and Byzantine patriarchs.

However, Nikon's reforming agenda soon won him enemies in several camps. The Josephites, who favored the close integration of church and state, bristled at Nikon's insistence that the patriarchs should have authority over the tsars. The lower clergy resented the fact that Nikon had increased the bishops' authority over them. The bulk of the laity—whose traditionally conservative and nationalist views had only been reinforced by the Polish-Catholic incursion—disapproved of Nikon's liturgical revisions and resented the introduction of Greek influence into the Church. Though Nikon originally enjoyed imperial support, his policies eventually alienated Tsar Alexis I, and he quickly fell out of favor thereafter. In 1658, amid increasing protests, Nikon fled Moscow and retired to a monastery, thus leaving the patriarchate unoccupied.

Following a prolonged period during which his status remained uncertain as his enemies increased in influence, Nikon was found guilty of abusing his power and formally deposed by an Orthodox synod in 1666. Nevertheless, to the dismay of Nikon's detractors, the synod upheld the majority of the patriarch's reforms. Monastic and clerical discipline was strengthened, secular control over the Church was diminished, and the revised service books were accepted. Many of the common classes and the lower clergy who had opposed Nikon refused to accept these changes and subsequently broke with the Russian Orthodox Church. These groups, who were variously known as the Old Believers, Old Ritualists, or *Raskolniks* (from a word meaning "schism"), fomented civil unrest and soon faced state-sponsored persecution. As a result, they largely abandoned Moscow and other areas where the power of the tsars and patriarchs was strongest and established isolated communities. They had no central organization, and—in spite of the fact that they had emerged as defenders of tradition—were highly diverse in their beliefs and practices.

In spite of the conflict between them, both Nikon and the Old Believers embodied, in different ways, the spirit of reform that defined the religious life of Western Europe during this period. The patriarch's efforts to address ecclesiastical corruption and make improvements to the Church's liturgical life were reminiscent of the actions of the Council of Trent, while his insistence on the freedom of the Church from secular control was consistent with some of the more radical Protestant reformers. The *Raskolniks*, meanwhile, protested against the consolidation of power by the Church hierarchy at the expense of the common clergy and laity, thus reflecting a certain degree of sympathy with the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Unfortunately for the Russian

Church, however, neither of these competing currents of vitality was to prove determinative for its future.

In 1682—one year after the death of Nikon and during the midst of the *Raskolnik* protests—Tsar Peter I ("the Great," reigned 1682–1725) ascended the throne. Peter's early reign was marked by a focus on the westward expansion of Russia. He waged war against several Northern European nations, captured territories on the Baltic Sea, founded a new capital at St. Petersburg, and sought to extend imperial influence in the areas around Kiev, which had been freed from Polish rule in 1667.[4] In order to govern these expanding domains effectively, Peter reorganized the administration of the Russian state, discarding old societal norms and traditions and establishing a Western-style absolute monarchy.

The imposition of this autocratic style of rule had important implications for the Russian Orthodox Church. Peter insisted that all ecclesiastical leaders be strictly subordinate to the tsars and demanded that the Church concern itself only with the administration of the Word and sacraments and avoid any involvement in civil affairs. When the patriarch of Moscow died in 1700, the tsar deliberately avoided appointing a replacement in order to further undermine the Church's authority. Peter later authorized the creation of an administrative and legislative body known as the Holy Synod that was charged with overseeing the Church's affairs, but the patriarchate itself remained vacant for more than two centuries.

Thus, the policies of Peter the Great, while inarguably increasing the power and prestige of the Russian state, proved to be incredibly detrimental to Russian Orthodoxy. Never again would the leaders of the Church wield the kind of authority that was exercised by the early patriarchs of Moscow. Nor would Russian Christianity again witness the emergence of able reformers to rival Peter Mogila and Nikon. Indeed, the abolishment of the patriarchate foreshadowed the onset of a long period during which the Russian Church would increasingly be repressed by despotic rulers and would slowly succumb to the same spiritual stagnation that threatened to render impotent all of the traditional Eastern expressions of the Christian faith.

Chapter Twenty-Three Review

Cyril Lucaris	Patriarchate of Moscow
Eastern Rite Catholics	Peter Mogila
Macarius	Peter the Great
Maronites	Synod of Jerusalem
Nikon	

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE NOTES

[1]It is now considered doubtful that Cyril authored this confession, and the degree to which he endorsed its claims remains a matter of dispute. Many Protestant sources treat Cyril as a would-be Reformer, while the typical Orthodox view is that the confession attributed to Cyril was a Calvinist forgery and that, in spite of his contacts with Protestants, Cyril remained loyal to the tenets of Orthodoxy.

[2]In the 18th century, a number of the Orthodox Christians who remained in Syria, Egypt, and Palestine would also convert to Catholicism.

[3]The Eastern Rite Catholic Churches have also historically been referred to as *Uniate* bodies, but this designation has pejorative connotations and thus has increasingly fallen out of use.

[4]As part of Kiev's further integration into the Russian state, the Church of Kiev—the historical origin-point of Russian Christianity—was brought under the authority of the patriarchs of Moscow in 1685.

Chapter Twenty-Four
Africa, Asia, and the Americas

Even as the currents of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations were reshaping the contours of European religion and society, the Age of Exploration was dawning, bringing with it unprecedented opportunities for Christian missionary expansion. In 1488, the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias (c. 1450–1500) became the first known European to round the Cape of Good Hope, thereby revealing an ocean route from Europe to India and the Far East. In 1492, a mere quarter-century before Luther issued his Ninety-Five Theses, Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) reached the West Indies and inaugurated the colonization of the New World. Together, these two expeditions paved the way for the expansion of the Christian faith into Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

The widespread evangelistic efforts that followed were, at least during their initial stages, largely Roman Catholic in character. There were two major reasons for this Catholic predominance. The first was that the pioneers in the twin endeavors of exploration and colonization were Portugal and Spain, two of the most solidly Catholic nations in Europe. Thus, the ongoing extension of Spanish and Portuguese political and economic influence was inevitably accompanied by the introduction of the Catholic faith to the colonial powers' newly-acquired territorial possessions.

The second reason that Roman Catholicism enjoyed a considerable advantage over Protestantism in the evangelization of Africa, Asia, and the Americas was that the Catholic Church had at its disposal a number of highly-mobile, well-disciplined, and missionary-minded monastic orders, including those (such as the Jesuits) that emerged during the course of the Catholic Reformation. In addition, a new supervisory body known as the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was created in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (reigned 1621–1623) for the purpose of overseeing the Catholic Church's missionary activities. The various Protestant movements, by contrast, had uniformly rejected monasticism, leaving them without a clearly-defined missionary force. In addition, the ongoing political, military, and ecclesiastical struggles that marked the early decades of the Reformation ensured that the Protestant nations were initially ill-equipped to mount large-scale evangelistic efforts.

Over the course of the 16th century, the combined efforts of the explorers and missionary monks allowed the Catholic Church to extend its influence around the globe, from the southern shores of Africa to Japan and from India to Mexico. The various forms of Protestantism, meanwhile, though slower to commence their worldwide spread, eventually infiltrated the British colonies in North America, thus laying the foundation for the emergence of the distinctive religious character of the United States.

THE ERA OF PORTUGUESE EXPANSION

The pioneering power in European colonial expansion was Portugal, which became the first nation in human history to successfully construct a truly global empire. The Portuguese advance began in the first half of the 15th century with the exploration of the western coast of Africa under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Between 1420 and 1460, Portuguese sailors discovered and colonized the Madeira Islands, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands, and churches soon appeared to provide for the spiritual care of the colonists. Contacts were also made with the native peoples on the mainland, most notably in the kingdom of Kongo in west-central Africa, where a succession of converted tribal chiefs led many of their subjects to accept baptism around the turn of the 16th century.

Following Dias' discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, Portuguese missions were also established on the east coast of Africa in present-day Mozambique and Kenya. Having thus secured a sea route to Asia, the Portuguese quickly sought to establish a strong presence throughout the region, and subsequent Portuguese voyages brought the Catholic faith to India, Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka), and parts of present-day Malaysia and Indonesia during the course of the 16th century.

But while the Portuguese explorers must be given due credit for helping to introduce Christianity to Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, both the purity of their motives and the quality of the faith they planted may be legitimately questioned. Though evangelization was one outcome of their activities, their chief motivations were clearly the acquisition of political hegemony and the securing of economic advantage, aims that frequently proved to be incompatible with the heart of the Gospel. Most notably, the Portuguese presence in Sub-Saharan Africa resulted in the export of slaves to Portugal, an undertaking that served as the catalyst for the eventual development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, as a result of which tens of millions of Africans were kidnapped and enslaved in order to provide labor for the plantations of the New World. This horrific legacy of dehumanizing oppression inarguably undermines to a considerable degree the ecclesiastical progress made as a result of European contact with the African nations.

Additionally, it must be noted that the early Portuguese voyages of exploration were carried out before the first stirrings of the Catholic Reformation, and that even once that movement had begun in earnest, Portugal did not experience the kind of widespread spiritual renewal that was seen in Spain, Italy, and France. Partially as a result of these factors, a majority of the Portuguese Catholics who took part in the colonization of Africa and Asia proved to be less-than-perfect representatives of the Christian faith, and their immorality and corruption frequently served as an obstacle to their witness. Consequently, many of those nations whose first contact with the Gospel came through the Portuguese proved to be less hospitable to Christianity over the long term than those that were colonized by the other European Catholic powers.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the extraordinary nautical accomplishments of the Portuguese served to reveal sprawling new frontiers for the advance of the Gospel. While progress in Africa would remain relatively slow, the challenge of carrying the Christian faith to India and East Asia was quickly taken up by numerous Catholic missionaries from the various monastic orders, the most notable of whom was the Spanish Jesuit Francis Xavier.

FRANCIS XAVIER AND THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AND EAST ASIA

As we have already noted, Francis Xavier (1506–1552) was a close associate of Ignatius of Loyola, and one of the seven founding members of the Society of Jesus. While this small band was in Rome awaiting formal papal approval for the Jesuit order, Ignatius was contacted by King John III of Portugal (reigned 1521–1557), who was seeking missionaries for his country's new possessions in Asia. Francis was chosen for this task and sailed for India in 1541.

Upon arriving in the province of Goa, which served as the base of Portuguese operations in India and the Far East, Francis set about preaching, teaching, and tending to the sick. He soon made his way to the southeast of India, where he ministered among the Paravas, a low-caste community of pearl divers who had accepted baptism en masse a few years earlier in order to secure Portuguese protection from the Muslims. Francis learned enough of the native Tamil language to offer the Paravas basic Christian instruction, thus deepening and strengthening their nascent faith. He then journeyed to the region of Travancore on the southwestern coast, where he eventually baptized several thousand people.

In 1545, having completed the initial phase of his ministry in India, Francis sailed to the east. He visited the Portuguese territories in Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and the Molucca Islands (part of present-day Indonesia) and established missions that served to further propagate the faith in these regions. He then returned to Goa, where he worked alongside other Jesuits to develop a college that was intended to train natives for the priesthood and missionary work.

In 1549, Francis left India once more and traveled to Japan. There he was greatly impressed by the rich native culture, and he became convinced that the nation had vast potential as a mission field. However, he soon recognized that his approach to sharing the Gospel with the Japanese would have to be substantially different from the ministry techniques he had employed among the lower castes of India, owing to the considerable contrast between the two societies in terms of corporate values, education, and religion (the Indians were overwhelmingly Hindus, while the Japanese were primarily Buddhists). As a result of this realization, Francis intentionally sought to contextualize his presentation of the Gospel, thus making it more comprehensible within the framework provided by the Japanese worldview. This principle of missionary contextualization would prove to be profoundly significant for the future of Christian evangelism throughout the world.[1]

After spending two years in Japan, Francis returned to India for the final time. In 1552, he purposed to carry the Gospel to China, one of the most populous and highly-civilized nations in the world.[2] He traveled to the island of Sancian off the southern Chinese coast, but his efforts to secure permission to enter the country (which was closed to foreigners during this period) were frustrated, and he died of fever in December of 1552 without ever having set foot on the Chinese mainland.

Over the course of the succeeding century and a half, Catholic missionaries and monks carried on the evangelistic work that had been pioneered by Francis Xavier, though with undeniably mixed results. Though the Paravas remained firmly Christian, missionary progress in the rest of India was hindered by a variety of factors, including the Portuguese crown's insistence on full control over all ecclesiastical affairs in the country, the regional strength of Islam and Hinduism, the difficulties associated with appealing to members of the higher castes, and the ongoing disputes between the newly-arrived Catholics and the well-entrenched Nestorian and Monophysite believers (a minority of whom eventually became Eastern Rite Catholics). Continuing unrest eventually led to the imposition of the Inquisition in Goa, which had further negative repercussions for the future vitality of the Christian faith in India.

The record of the Catholic missionaries in Southeast Asia and the East Indies was similarly uneven. Efforts to evangelize the solidly-Buddhist nations of Burma (Myanmar) and Siam (Thailand) and the Muslims of the Malay Peninsula proved largely unsuccessful. Though significant numbers of converts were won in Ceylon and the Moluccas, they remained minorities. Beginning in the late 17th century, Catholicism did make some headway in the Southeast Asian nations of Cambodia, Laos, and the present-day Vietnam through the combined efforts of Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Paris Society of Foreign Missions, an organization that was launched in 1663 for the purpose of helping to train native Asian clergies that would oversee the spiritual progress of new converts. However, the only Southeast Asian nation in which a majority of the population became believers was the Philippines, whose inhabitants were evangelized by Spaniards who came by way of Mexico beginning in the latter half of the 16th century.

In the wake of Francis Xavier's foundational efforts, a number of Jesuits journeyed to Japan to take up the task of evangelism, and they initially met with considerable success. It has been estimated that by the turn of the 17th century Catholics in Japan numbered a few hundred thousand. The rulers of Japan, however, gradually grew uneasy about the growing influence of the European powers in general and of Christianity in particular. Anti-Christian persecutions were eventually initiated, and in 1614 the Tokugawa shogunate formally banned Catholicism throughout the nation and ordered all missionaries expelled, forcing the remnant of the Christian community to go underground.

Five years after the death of Francis Xavier, the Portuguese gained control of the small peninsula of Macau, and thus secured limited Catholic access to the Chinese mainland.

Through the efforts of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who arrived in Macau in 1582, Christianity was reintroduced to China. Drawing from Francis Xavier's theories regarding contextualization, Ricci presented the faith to the Chinese people in a way that did not require them to fully reject integral elements of their indigenous culture, such as the Confucian ceremonies that were performed in order to honor one's ancestors. This approach won the respect of the Chinese, and hundreds of thousands of converts were won during the 17th century. Eventually, however, Catholic authorities denounced the methods pioneered by Ricci as a dangerous form of accommodation to false religions, and missionaries in China were left with the unhappy choice between defying Rome and risking expulsion by the Chinese.

Thus, despite the laudable efforts of Xavier, Ricci, and many of their contemporaries (and with the notable exception of the Philippines), it must be admitted that Catholic Christianity largely failed to achieve overwhelming or lasting successes in Africa and Asia during the period of post-Reformation missionary expansion. In particular, the lack of sustained missionary productivity in the three great nations of India, Japan, and China (each of which today remains among the top ten most populous nations in the world) would have significant ramifications for the global religious climate of future centuries. Nevertheless, the courageous and indefatigable monks did succeed in introducing the light of Christ into corners of the world that had previously been shrouded in spiritual darkness, and their example would serve as an inspiration to future generations of missionaries.

Catholic Expansion in the Americas

Having completed our survey of developments in the Eastern Hemisphere, we now turn our attention to the West, and more specifically to Catholic activity in the newly-discovered Americas. Here the earliest major colonial power was not Portugal, but Spain. During a series of four voyages beginning in 1492, Columbus discovered many of the prominent islands of the West Indies (including the Bahamas, Hispaniola, Cuba, and Puerto Rico), and he finally reached the American continent in 1502, landing on the coast of present-day Honduras. One of Columbus' companions, Juan Ponce de León (c. 1460–1521), was instrumental in the Spanish colonization of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, and in 1513 landed in Florida, thus becoming the first known European to arrive in what are now the continental United States. The same year, Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519) crossed the Isthmus of Panama and claimed the Pacific Ocean and all adjoining territories for the Spanish crown.

In the wake of these initial discoveries, Spanish explorers and soldiers, collectively known as *conquistadores*, descended on the New World. There they discovered a large variety of native peoples, the most highly-advanced and powerful of which were the Aztecs in Mexico, the Maya in the Yucatán Peninsula and Guatemala, and the Incas in Peru. Driven by a lust for gold and other valuable commodities, and aided by both their own superior technology (including gunpowder) and the debilitating effect of European

diseases on the Native Americans, the *conquistadores* quickly and brutally subdued the indigenous populations. In Mexico, Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) conquered the Aztecs between 1519 and 1521, while Francisco de Montejo (c. 1479–1548) initiated the much more protracted campaign against the Maya in 1526. The conquest of the Incas in Peru was led by Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541), who defeated and executed Atahualpa, the last Incan emperor, in 1532.[3]

The subjugation of the Native Americans was followed by mass conversions to Catholicism (largely through coercion), and millions were baptized by Spanish Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. As subsequent expeditions revealed more of the North and South American continents, numerous Catholic missions were established on the frontiers of expansion to aid in the conversion and religious education of the natives.

The Catholicization of the peoples of the Americas was complicated by a number of factors. To begin with, the Spanish monarchs insisted on maintaining absolute control over all aspects of their colonial enterprises, whether political, economic, or religious. All bishops and missionaries were appointed directly from Spain, with the result that the papacy had virtually no voice in the religious administration of the territories of the New World. This policy also ensured that Spanish Christians in the Americas were forced to look to Europe for leadership, thus encouraging passivity and hindering the development of an able American-born clergy.

Second, it was virtually impossible for the limited number of Catholic bishops, priests, and monks in the New World to provide adequate spiritual care and instruction for the overwhelming number of new (and largely nominal) Christians. Inevitably, many of the converts among the Native Americans lapsed into their indigenous religious practices, and it may be presumed that large numbers maintained outward conformity to Christianity only in order to avoid the perils of the Inquisition.

Finally, the witness of the Spanish Catholics was severely undermined by their generally deplorable treatment of both the Native Americans and the Africans who had begun arriving in the New World via the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Both of these groups were forced by the Spaniards to undertake grueling labor on the plantations and in the mines, and while laws were enacted by the Spanish crown to protect the rights of the Native Americans, they were largely ignored in practice. These practices served to greatly disrupt native cultures and stand as a sad testament to the fact that preoccupation with power, wealth, and prestige can all too easily lead Christians to abandon the core commitments of their faith.

However, it must be stressed that by no means all of the Spanish Catholics in the New World were guilty of mistreating Native Americans and Africans. Indeed, a few outstanding individuals fought courageously to secure their rights. Foremost among these was Bartolomé de Las Casas (c. 1484–1566), a Dominican who was among the first

priests to be ordained in the New World. Las Casas came to the West Indies from Spain in 1502 and spent time helping to colonize Hispaniola and Cuba, but he gradually grew disturbed by the Spanish treatment of the natives. He committed himself to improving their plight and journeyed to Spain on several occasions to lobby for reform. He also spent time as a missionary among the peoples of Nicaragua and Guatemala and endeavored to demonstrate that the Native Americans could be won to Christianity without coercion or oppression. Partially through his efforts, new laws condemning the exploitative practices of the Spanish landowners in the Americas were passed by the Spanish crown in 1542.

The work of Las Casas on behalf of the Native Americans was paralleled by that of the Jesuit Pedro Claver (1581–1654) among the African slaves. Claver spent forty years in the Colombian city of Cartagena, one of the chief ports of arrival for slave ships from Africa. He met the disembarking slaves with food and provisions, cared for those who had become ill during their long journey, offered religious instruction, and baptized infants and converts. Claver viewed those slaves who came to faith as his brothers in Christ, and demanded that his fellow Spanish Christians treat them as equals. Though Las Casas and Claver were both in the minority, and though the discrimination and exploitation against which they fought would continue for centuries, their example served to counter-balance the shameful behavior of many of their contemporaries and provided the Native Americans and Africans with a more attractive and legitimate incarnation of the Christian faith than any they had yet encountered.

As we conclude our appraisal of early American Catholicism, we must pause to note that Portugal and France also contributed to the introduction of Catholic Christianity to the New World, though these contributions were much less significant in terms of scope than was Spain's. The chief Portuguese possession was Brazil, where, as was the case in many of the Portuguese territories in Asia, the growth of the faith was greatly hampered by clerical corruption and unchecked immorality. Indeed, the Catholic Church in Brazil would remain less vibrant than those in neighboring Spanish-controlled countries for centuries to come.

The main area of French Catholic influence, meanwhile, was in northeastern North America.[4] The city of Montreal was founded as an idealistic Christian community in the mid-17th century, and missions to the Hurons and other Native American tribes were undertaken, though with limited numerical success. Following the French defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–63), France lost the bulk of its colonial possessions in the Americas, and the influence of French Catholicism decreased correspondingly (though it remained significant in Canada). This turn of events helped to ensure that the Spanish holdings would remain the chief bulwark of Catholicism in the Western Hemisphere and, more significantly, that the chief expression of Christianity in the future United States would be not Catholicism but Protestantism. We now turn our attention to a consideration of the growth of that form of the faith in the Americas.

PROTESTANTISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Though the global expansion of the Protestant nations of Europe lagged far behind that of their Catholic counterparts, by the 17th century both the Dutch and the British had begun constructing colonial empires. In the 1640s and 1650s, the Dutch took over many of the former Portuguese possessions in Asia, including Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and the East Indies, and established a new colony on the southern cape of Africa as a stopover point for ships bound from the Netherlands to their holdings in the Far East. The Dutch Reformed faith was introduced to all of these areas, though only in South Africa would it prove to have a decisive, lasting influence.

Much more significant for the future worldwide growth of Protestantism were the British colonies in North America. The earliest permanent British settlement was established at Jamestown in Virginia in 1607. Two years later, the island of Bermuda was claimed for the crown and became the first of Britain's colonies in the West Indies (which would eventually include Barbados, the Bahamas, Trinidad, and Jamaica). But it was to the northeast, in the colonies that became known as New England, that American Protestantism enjoyed its true emergence.

The bulk of the English Protestants who eventually settled in New England were Puritans or members of one of the various Separatist movements who sought relief from the pro-Anglican policies of Charles I. The most famous such group coalesced around the spiritual leadership of Richard Clyfton (?–1616) and William Brewster (1567–1644) in Nottinghamshire shortly before 1600. A few years later, a portion of the congregation migrated to the Netherlands, where they settled first at Amsterdam and later at Leiden. In 1620, this band of Separatists, having secured a land charter that permitted them to settle in New England, sailed for America aboard the *Mayflower*. Upon arriving in what is now Massachusetts, the Pilgrims (as they have become popularly known) established Plymouth Colony.

Other Protestants soon followed the Pilgrims' lead. In 1629, a group of English Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, just to the north of Plymouth. Some of their number, under the spiritual leadership of Thomas Hooker (1586–1647), later founded the colony of Connecticut. Eventually, the Puritans and Separatists of New England largely merged and began establishing churches that adhered to the Westminster Confession and embraced a Congregationalist polity.

In principle, these early Protestant settlements were Christian commonwealths, and there were strong ties between church and state. The Congregationalist majority therefore sought to strictly enforce religious uniformity within the colonies, thus ironically mirroring the policies of the Church of England, which had provided much of the impetus for the Puritan migration to America.

Other early religious leaders, however, fought for greater religious toleration. Roger Williams (1603–1684), a Separatist minister who was banished from Massachusetts for holding nonconformist views, established a settlement at Providence (eventually part of the colony of Rhode Island) that offered full religious liberty, and it quickly became a haven for Baptists, Quakers, and others who dissented from the dominant Congregationalist views. The colony of Pennsylvania, founded in 1681 by the Quaker William Penn (1644–1718), offered a similar promise of toleration, and eventually attracted many Quakers from other colonies and from Europe, as well as other non-Congregationalist Protestants. The Pennsylvania Quakers were also among the first Christians in the colonies to make a concerted effort to establish friendly relations with the Native Americans.

Though the more radical forms of English Protestantism (whether Puritan, Congregationalist, Baptist, or Quaker) were predominant in the early decades of North American settlement, by 1700 the colonies boasted considerable religious diversity. Though they remained a distinct minority, Roman Catholics arrived from England and Ireland, and some of them established the colony of Maryland. More significantly, each of the four major expressions of the Protestant faith that were birthed during the Reformation was well-represented.

Reformed Christians from Scotland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany soon came to the New World, joining their spiritual kinsmen among the various descendents of the English Puritan movement. Most of the Reformed believers who settled outside New England established churches according to a Presbyterian polity, but they were largely in agreement on doctrinal matters with their Congregationalist counterparts, and the Reformed theological tradition thus emerged as the most vital in the colonies.

The Church of England initially struggled to establish itself in the Americas, largely because it placed the colonies under the direct spiritual authority of the bishop of London rather than appointing a resident bishop. Although ecclesiastical representatives of the Church of England were present in the colonies, they were unable to perform confirmations or ordinations, thus ensuring that Anglican churches in the Americas largely depended on England to supply them with priests. As a result of these difficulties, the Church of England struggled to compete with the various Reformed movements, and it failed to gain establishment in several of the colonies.

Toward the end of the 17th century, however, Thomas Bray (1656–1730), one of the bishop of London's representatives in America, helped to organize the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), both of which proved to be important aids to the Anglican cause. The former organization published and distributed books and aided in the education of Anglican clergy, while the latter raised money to send Anglican priests, missionaries, and schoolteachers to the colonies. Largely as a result of Bray's efforts, the Church of England would experience significant growth in North America during the 18th century. The various heirs of the classical Anabaptist tradition gradually made their way to the

North America as well, beginning with the Mennonites, the first of whom arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683. There they found a spiritual kinship with the neighboring Quakers, and together members of the two groups launched the first formal protest against slavery in the British colonies. The Amish followed a few decades later, while the Hutterites did not arrive in large numbers until the 19th century.

Lutheranism was firmly established in the Americas much later than the other major expressions of the Protestant faith, largely because the predominantly Lutheran nations of Europe were much less involved in colonial expansion than the British and the Dutch. Both Swedish and German Lutherans were present in the British colonies in limited numbers during the 16th century, but the true pioneer of the Lutheran Church in North America was Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787), who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1742 and organized the first Lutheran synod in the colonies.

The continued flourishing of these various forms of Protestant Christianity inarguably had a profound impact on the development of the future United States of America. The increasingly independent, activist character of American Protestantism (which stood in stark contrast to the largely passive and dependent Catholicism of Spanish and Portuguese America) stimulated its adherents to pursue the construction of an ideal Christian society. As a result, the moral values, central ideals, and formative institutions of the gestating nation were all shaped with reference to the Christian faith. Indeed, the classic Protestant emphases on individual salvation by faith and the priesthood of all believers and the characteristic Reformed/Presbyterian practice of plurality in leadership served as key materials in the construction of the social and intellectual foundations upon which American democracy would ultimately be built.

Yet we must be careful not to overemphasize the connection between Protestantism and America. While romanticized accounts give the impression that the early colonists all came to the New World seeking religious liberty, the majority came primarily for economic and social reasons. Free of the constraints and conventions of European society, in which baptism, confirmation, and regular church attendance were virtually required (by custom if not by law), many nominally Protestant settlers quickly abandoned their loosely-held faith, and only a small minority formally became members of a church in the colonies. Even as the values of the burgeoning society began to crystallize and the minds and hearts of the early colonists were gradually stirred toward political rebellion, the highly-diverse body of Christ in America found itself in great need of a similarly-revolutionary spiritual awakening.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR NOTES

[1]Of course, the true pioneer of missionary contextualization was the Apostle Paul, as evidenced by Acts 17, in which Paul first preaches to Jews in the synagogue at Thessalonica and attempts to explain the significance of Christ from an Old Testament perspective (1–4), and later presents the Gospel to the secular philosophers of Athens by quoting their own poets (17–32). For stimulating recent treatments of this issue, see Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), particularly 141–54, and David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991), particularly 420–57.

[2]As we have seen in earlier chapters, Christianity (particularly the Nestorian variety) had previously made inroads into China, but following the end of Mongol rule in the mid-14th century, the faith had all but disappeared.

[3]For more on the complex and tragic legacy of the Spanish conquests with special reference to the role of Christianity, see Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (reprint) (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999). For the disturbing account of Pizarro and Atahualpa, see Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1997), 70–74.

[4]France also eventually claimed sovereignty over the vast tracts of land known as the Louisiana Territory, but very little colonization took place in this region during the period of French control.

Unit Five

The Age of Reason and Revival
(c. 1700–1900)

Unit Five examines the multiple trajectories of the Christian faith during the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, an era that was largely characterized by the increasing doctrinal diversification and geographic expansion of Protestantism.

Chapter Twenty-Five highlights some of the significant philosophical, scientific, political, and theological developments associated with the Enlightenment, and discusses the ways in which the resulting climate of intellectual ferment contributed to both the increasing secularization of Western society and the emergence of liberal Protestantism.

Chapter Twenty-Six chronicles the rise of Methodism and surveys various expressions of the growing evangelical fervor associated with the series of major revival movements in Britain and the United States.

Chapter Twenty-Seven profiles a number of nonconformist movements derived from Protestantism that emerged during this era, including Unitarianism, Universalism, and the various expressions of Restorationism.

Chapter Twenty-Eight describes the growth of the Protestant missions movement and traces the ongoing geographic spread of the Christian faith during this period.

Chapter Twenty-Nine summarizes significant contemporary developments within the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, including the events of the First Vatican Council, the rise of the Oxford movement, and the publication of the *Philokalia*.

Chapter Twenty-Five
The Enlightenment and the Birth of Liberal Protestantism

In the wake of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, Western Europe found itself at the dawn of a new era, which is variously referred to as the Age of Reason or the Enlightenment.[1] This period roughly coincided with the 17th and 18th centuries, though its aftereffects dominated the 19th century as well. It was characterized by the emergence of a variety of innovations in the fields of philosophy, science, politics, and theology, and, more basically, by increasing confidence in the genius, progress, and self-sufficiency of humanity.

The complex array of intellectual and social forces to which the Age of Reason gave birth would exert a profound and lasting influence on the course of human history. The numerous significant breakthroughs in science and philosophy brought important insights into the mysteries of both the natural world and the human person, while the nascent political theories of the era provided fuel for the epochal events of the American and French Revolutions. The Enlightenment may thus be viewed as the primary catalyst for the eventual emergence of the modern worldview, with its characteristic emphases on human ability, the power of knowledge, the benefits of technology and industrialization, and the advantages of liberal democracy.

Yet while it is undeniable that the proponents of Enlightenment ideals made numerous positive contributions in a variety of fields, many of the most prominent among them viewed Christianity with ambivalence, if not outright hostility. Some rejected the faith altogether, while others sought to alter it in ways that would make it more palatable to the increasing number of people who viewed themselves as "rational" or "progressive." As the centuries passed, Enlightenment values continued to hold great appeal and exert considerable influence, both among Christianity's detractors and, increasingly, within the church itself. Thus, inevitably, the rapidly developing secular, modern worldview began to shape Western Christianity in subtle but powerful ways. From a Christian perspective, the results of such accommodation would prove to be problematic at best and profoundly troubling at worst.

ENLIGHTENMENT PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIANITY

Though the methods and assumptions of the Enlightenment eventually infiltrated a variety of academic disciplines, it is helpful to consider it first and foremost as a revolution in philosophy. The onset of the Enlightenment was essentially concurrent with the rise to prominence of a philosophical viewpoint known as rationalism, which held that the use of reason and logic constituted the only reliable way of gaining sure knowledge, and that, in principle, all forms of knowledge could be attained in this manner.[2] Though this

system of thought had roots in the writings of Plato and other classical Greek philosophers, the true pioneer of Enlightenment rationalism was the Frenchman René Descartes (1596–1650), who is often referred to as the father of modern philosophy.

Descartes, who was also a notable mathematician, sought to arrive at certain, uncontestable knowledge by applying the rigorous standards of mathematics to the field of philosophy. He resolved to doubt everything until he arrived at some philosophical proposition that was indubitably true, and to then construct a new system of knowledge on this unshakable foundation. After wrestling greatly with this problem, Descartes came to believe that he had at last discovered a basic, inarguable truth of existence, which he expressed in the famous maxim *Cogito ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am").[3] Thus, Descartes posited that the rational, autonomous human mind was the central and defining reality of the universe and the necessary starting point for the acquisition of knowledge.

Descartes' methodology subsequently proved to be immensely influential, and rationalism largely held sway in continental Europe during the Enlightenment's early decades. In Britain, however, the supremacy of rationalism was challenged by the emergence of a rival school of thought known as empiricism, which maintained that sensory experience, not pure reason, played the decisive role in the acquisition of knowledge. An important early proponent of empiricism was the British philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). Locke rejected the rationalist contention that there are certain basic ideas and logical truisms which are innate in all humans at birth, and argued instead that the human mind begins as a tabula rasa ("blank slate"), with all knowledge being derived from our subsequent experiences. This ongoing debate between rationalists and empiricists largely defined the intellectual climate of the 17th century.

Although a number of the individuals who embraced these philosophical systems remained professing believers, it quickly became clear that the claims of both rationalism and empiricism stood in profound tension with the central tenets of Christianity. Both philosophies made humanity (rather than God) central to their interpretations of reality. Rationalists insisted that unaided human reason was the ultimate foundation of all knowledge, thus denying the primacy of God's divine revelation and disallowing anything "unreasonable" (such as miracles). Empiricists argued that knowledge came only through those things that could be directly perceived and experienced by the senses, thus implicitly scorning the characteristic Christian practice of exercising faith in that which remains unseen.[4] Increasingly, the educated classes of Western Europe were forced to choose between adherence to their traditional faith and conformity with the dominant opinions of the day, and many chose the latter.

This triumph of Enlightenment philosophy in the intellectual life of Europe may be viewed as the utter defeat of the agenda of the medieval scholastic theologians. Men such as Anselm and Thomas Aquinas had endeavored to demonstrate that the respective claims of reason and faith were completely consistent with one another, but were ultimately

frustrated in their efforts. Beginning with William of Ockham, theologians were increasingly forced to admit that some central Christian beliefs could not be satisfactorily demonstrated by reason, but must be accepted solely on faith. With the advent of the Enlightenment, philosophers such as Descartes and Locke increasingly insisted that when reason and faith came into conflict, it was faith, and not reason, that must submit or be discarded.

The multiplicity of developments that took place in European philosophy during the 18th and 19th centuries proved to be even more harmful to Christianity. The Scottish thinker David Hume (1711–1776) embraced an extreme form of philosophical skepticism that caused him to reject even apparent empirical evidence for the existence of a higher being (such as the complex ordering of the natural world). Hume thus came very near to atheism, and many found his arguments compelling.

The great German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) had a more ambiguous relationship with Christianity. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) served both to bridge the gap between rationalism and empiricism and to reveal the inherent flaws in both systems. Kant posited that we do not gain knowledge either through purely analytic reasoning or the passive accumulation of sensory experiences. Rather, he believed that the human mind actively participates in the knowing process by organizing and systematizing data and creating an internal framework that imposes order on the world that we encounter through our senses.

Though Kant maintained that humankind could have no true scientific knowledge of things that they could not experience directly (such as God), he did not share Hume's complete disdain for metaphysical concepts. Rather, Kant insisted that all humans are guided by a common moral principle, a sense that we ought to act as we would wish others to act, and that this internal sense of obligation is evidence of the existence of a universal moral law that lies beyond the realm of our sensory experience (and, by extension, evidence of the existence of a higher being who set this law in place). Nevertheless, Kant viewed morality as primarily a matter of acting in accordance with one's sense of duty and the principles of reason, and his moral philosophy thus served to further divorce ethical behavior from biblical theology.

Kant's critique of the prevailing philosophical systems of his day heralded both the end of the Enlightenment proper and the emergence of new philosophical paradigms. As the 18th century drew to a close, the Age of Reason gradually gave way to the era of romanticism—an artistic, literary, and philosophical movement that was characterized by an increasing shift in focus from reason and logic to intuition, imagination, and emotion. This transition was roughly concurrent with the emergence of Germany as the new center of European intellectual life. It was there that the majority of the important philosophical speculation of the 19th century would take place, with much of it being carried out by individuals who were hostile to the Christian faith. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), a philosophical pessimist and an outspoken critic of Christianity, argued

that life was fundamentally evil and futile, that suffering was inevitable, that happiness was illusory, and that humans were the only intelligent beings in the universe. Similarly, Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872) maintained that Christianity had effectively vanished from the life of humankind, denied the reality of personal immortality, and insisted that God did not truly exist, but was merely a projection of humans' needs and desires.

Perhaps the most famous critic of Christianity to emerge during this period was Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Nietzsche's work represented a thoroughgoing denunciation of the values and aims of the Enlightenment, and he may thus be viewed as an important catalyst of the gradual shift from a modern to a postmodern worldview.[5] In particular, Nietzsche rejected the Enlightenment insistence on the objectivity of truth and morality. He argued that reality is purely subjective, that each individual inhabits a world of their own construction and views things from a particular, biased perspective. Thus, each person creates their own truth and morality. These beliefs led Nietzsche to offer the infamous appraisal, "God is dead"[6]—by which he meant that Christianity had permanently lost the power to exert a determinative influence within Western society, and that therefore Christians could no longer claim that their distinctive beliefs constituted a universal standard against which all other moral claims must be measured.

It is clear from this brief overview that the philosophical speculations of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries had a progressively corrosive effect on the European populace's perception of the validity of the Christian faith. Moreover, as we will soon see, philosophy was far from the only field of study in which the values of the Enlightenment clashed with the claims of Christianity.

ENLIGHTENMENT SCIENCE AND CHRISTIANITY

Enlightenment science was largely a product of the significant discoveries and advances made during the late Renaissance period. In 1543, the Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) published the seminal *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* ("On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres"), which set forth the evidence that the sun, not the earth, was the fixed center of the solar system. Copernicus' findings were later upheld by the German mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), who derived the laws of planetary motion, and, more famously, by the Italian scientist Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). It was Galileo who, by using a refracting telescope of his own devising, was able to visually confirm the theories of Copernicus.

The heliocentric theory of the solar system propounded by Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo proved extremely troubling to many Christians, as it seemed to contradict the literal sense of several passages of Scripture that describe the sun as naturally "rising" and "setting," and only supernaturally "standing still," as well as verses that speak of the "fixed" or "established" position of the earth.[7] In 1633, amid growing controversy over

the issue, Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644) summoned Galileo to Rome to appear before the court of the Inquisition. As a result of this trial, the heliocentric theory was condemned as heretical and the works of Galileo in which he had advanced this view were banned. The Catholic Church's apparent victory in the matter, however, was a hollow one. Subsequent scientific findings uniformly supported the contentions of Copernicus and Galileo, thus severely undermining the credibility of the Christian counterargument and causing some to question the literal accuracy of the Bible.

It was against this backdrop that there emerged the most significant scientific figure of the Enlightenment—the English physicist Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727). Early in his career, Newton made stunning advances in the fields of mathematics and optics, but he is best known for his 1687 work *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* ("Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy"), in which he set forth the three laws of motion and the law of universal gravitation. Newton sought to demonstrate that the physical world operates in an orderly and consistent way in accordance with a set of fundamental principles, and this view of reality subsequently became a defining hallmark of Enlightenment science.

In Newton's mind, belief in the governing principles of the physical world was not incompatible with faith in the Christian God. Indeed, Newton himself maintained that God was ultimately responsible for devising the physical laws that he had discovered, and that He governed the workings of the universe. Nevertheless, many others saw Newton's insights as a repudiation of the claims of Scripture and the church, and Enlightenment scientists increasingly began to view the natural world as a highly complex machine whose workings were observable, comprehensible, and fully consistent with human reason, thus leaving little room for the divine or the supernatural.

As was the case with philosophy, the dire threat that Enlightenment science posed to Christianity did not become fully apparent until the 19th century. If Nietzsche's work represented the ultimate philosophical rejection of the faith, the most damaging scientific critique of Christianity was put forth by the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882). Darwin spent five years participating in a geographical survey expedition, and during this voyage he made numerous observations concerning the native geology, flora, and fauna of different parts of the world. Puzzled by much of what he found, Darwin began developing hypotheses in the hopes of discovering an explanation for the biological variations that he had noted between animals of closely similar species that lived in different environments.

In 1859, Darwin presented his conclusions in *The Origin of Species*, in which he argued for the evolution of all living things (including humankind) from a single, primal organism through a process of natural selection. According to Darwin's theories, the remarkable variety in the natural world was the result of a millennia-long process by

which plant and animal species gradually developed unique characteristics as a means of adapting to the demands of their physical environment, thus propagating new, more viable, and more complex species.

Though Darwin was not the first to espouse such views, he was the first to systematize them so thoroughly and advocate them so strongly, and the publication of his book caused a great sensation. Many Christians were appalled by the implications of Darwin's claims and vigorously denounced their validity. As was the case with the heliocentric theory of the solar system, the theory of evolution seemed irreconcilable with a literal interpretation of the Bible, particularly the creation narratives of Genesis. Moreover, Darwin's proposals threatened the central Christian claim that humanity is fundamentally different from all other living things in that humans were created in the image of God.[8] Yet in spite of the vehement protests of the Christian community, Darwin's findings were eagerly embraced by the majority of the secular scientific community, and the continued defense of Darwin's theory of evolution by subsequent generations of scientists eventually led much of the population of the Western world to accept its veracity, and to jettison biblical creation theology in the process.

Thus, in science just as in philosophy, the tumultuous intellectual currents of the era buffeted the edifice of Christianity, posing a grave danger to the integrity of the faith and threatening to isolate and alienate those who continued to adhere to it. We will find that in the third characteristic area of Enlightenment innovation—the realm of politics—the story was much the same.

ENLIGHTENMENT POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

The context for the gradual emergence of the characteristic political perspectives of the Enlightenment was established by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), whose 1651 book *Leviathan* proved seminal to the development of the modern discipline of political philosophy. Hobbes (who lived through the turmoil of the English Civil War) argued that warfare and chaos could only be avoided through the establishment of a social contract between the citizenry of a nation and a strong central government to whom they relinquish a measure of their freedom in order to ensure the wellbeing of society. Hobbes also insisted that civil harmony should always take precedence over religious liberty, and that therefore the sovereign authority of the nation (whether it be a monarch or a more democratic governing body) had the right and duty to exercise absolute control over matters of faith and doctrine.

The theories of Hobbes were subsequently expanded upon and revised by men such as the English empiricist John Locke, the French thinkers Montesquieu (1689–1755) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and the English pamphleteer Thomas Paine (1737–1809). Both Locke and Montesquieu rejected Hobbes' model of absolute sovereignty and insisted that the ideal form of government is one that contains a separation

of powers and a system of checks and balances. Rousseau provided an alternative take on Hobbes' social contract, arguing that sovereignty should remain in the hands of the united citizenry, who would issue laws governing the society in accordance with the collective will of the people. His confidence in this approach stemmed from his belief that humans are good in their essential nature and are only corrupted by the evils of unjust societies. Paine's views were considerably more radical than those of his contemporaries, as he championed individual liberties, viewed government as a necessary evil that should be limited in its authority, and flatly rejected Christianity and all other forms of organized religion. Thus, the basic trend in political philosophy over the course of the Enlightenment period was the gradual de-emphasis of centralized authority in favor of the increased autonomy and influence of individual citizens.

More significant from a Christian perspective, however, was the fact that this shift in mindset was accompanied by a corresponding devaluation of the authority of the Christian faith, from Hobbes' insistence that all matters of faith be subject to the rulings of the secular authorities, to Rousseau's naïve belief that humans could be naturally good and selfless without divine aid, to Paine's outright denunciation of the validity of Christianity. Regardless of the differences among their political schemes, each of these figures remained essentially convinced that humanity was both fully responsible for its own governance and completely capable of governing itself justly and well without reference to God.

Initially, such optimism seemed justified. The ideas of Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Paine came to fruition in the momentous socio-political upheavals of the American Revolution (1775–1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1799), which together dramatically altered the political landscape of the Western world and laid the groundwork for the establishment of modern liberal democracies. It was assumed by many (particularly in America) that the tenets of democracy were fully consistent with the Christian faith, and indeed that the revolutionary forces had been divinely favored. Few noted the essential incompatibility between the emerging political ethos that placed its trust in the ingenuity and institutions of humanity, and the basic claims of Christianity, which called for utter dependence upon and unswerving allegiance to God.

In the 19th century there emerged a new political philosophy which would put such underlying contradictions in sharper relief: Marxism. It originated in the writings of the German philosopher and economist Karl Marx (1818–1883), who favored the establishment of a socialist form of government in which property, the means of production, and the allocation of wealth would be centrally controlled by the state so as to ensure (in theory) a more equitable distribution of resources among the populace.

Like most of the political philosophers of the Enlightenment, Marx rejected Christianity. He famously maintained that religion was "the opium of the people," by which he meant that it was merely an illusion that humans employed to give them temporary comfort

until they could achieve true happiness by establishing a just and peaceful society. It is worth noting that, while the advocates of liberal democracy would certainly have fiercely denounced many of the principles of the Marxist ideology, their own appraisals of the value of Christianity do not appear to have been significantly different. By rejecting God's authority, excluding the Christian church from the political process, and exhorting others to cherish individual liberties more than the well-being of others, the political theorists of the Enlightenment effectively hastened the onset of the corruption, exploitation, and brutality that later came to be associated with Marxist regimes.

———————————————

Thus we find that in each of the fields that we have surveyed—philosophy, the natural sciences, and politics—the theories and discoveries of Enlightenment scholars foreshadowed the 19th-century emergence of a Western intellectual worldview that had virtually no room for God, and that was thus profoundly at odds with the abiding claims of Christianity. Descartes' assertion that human reason (and not divine revelation) is the source of all knowledge, and Kant's proposal that the human mind actively imposes order on the world around it, helped to lay the foundation for Nietzsche's insistence that humanity had simply created—and subsequently destroyed—God. Similarly, Newton's presentation of the universe as a complex machine governed by observable principles eventually allowed Darwin and others to reject the notion of a divine Creator and to posit that the universe had, in effect, simply created itself. Finally, Hobbes' contention that the sovereignty of secular rulers should outweigh all other forms of authority (including that of the Scriptures and the church) and Rousseau's belief that humans could independently fashion an ideal society paved the way for Marx's claim that God was no more than a hallucinogenic figment of humanity's collective imagination who would disappear once socio-political harmony had been achieved. By making God secondary, the early proponents of Enlightenment ideals (whether wittingly or not) set in motion a process by which God increasingly came to be seen as unnecessary, and therefore unreal.

DEVELOPMENTS IN RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

The sweeping social and intellectual changes associated with the Enlightenment affected the character and quality of religious life in Europe and the Americas in a variety of ways. As we have already suggested, many responded to the philosophical suppositions and scientific discoveries of the era by abandoning the Christian faith altogether. Others attempted, with varying degrees of success, to effect some sort of reconciliation between the methods and assumptions of the Enlightenment and the traditional claims of Christian theology. Still others fiercely resisted the trend toward intellectualizing the faith and increasingly appealed to the authority of Scripture, the importance of moral living, and the centrality of a personal response to Christ. In the remainder of this chapter, we will detail the first two of these responses, reserving until the next chapter our discussion of the third.

Deism, Pantheism, and Atheism

A number of those who rejected Christianity during this period chose to embrace instead a religious philosophy known as deism, which found its earliest coherent expression in the writings of the British soldier and philosopher Edward Herbert (1583–1648) and reached the height of its influence between approximately 1690 and 1730 through the efforts of men such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Matthew Tindal (1657–1733). The deists were greatly influenced by the views of the Enlightenment, particularly the empiricism of John Locke and the scientific theories of Isaac Newton, and came to believe that the order and complexity of the natural world constituted empirical evidence for the existence of a rational, divine creator.

In the deist view, this supreme being simply created and ordered the natural world (setting in place a coherent system of physical and moral laws to govern its conduct) and then effectively removed himself from the affairs of humanity. Thus, although deists stressed the importance of virtuous living and believed in the immortality of the soul, they completely divorced these notions from the Christian doctrines of grace and redemption, substituting for them an optimistic belief in humankind's ability to follow the basic moral laws that the divine sovereign had established at creation. The deists argued that these essential laws constituted the basis of the true, universal religion, and maintained that the tenets of this faith were fully consistent with the suppositions of human reason. Consequently, they rejected the supernatural claims of Scripture and the metaphysical teachings of the church as fantastic or superstitious.

Deism proved to be highly influential among the intellectual elites of Europe, and men such as Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Kant were all persuaded by its claims to some degree. The French writer and philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778) did much to increase its popularity, as did Thomas Paine, whose pamphlet *The Age of Reason* contained diatribes against Christianity and an impassioned defense of deism. Paine's arguments eventually convinced many of America's founding fathers—including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison—to embrace deism as well.

Others drifted even further from the Christian faith. The Dutch rationalist philosopher Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677), for example, espoused and popularized a religious view that came to be known as pantheism. The pantheists believed that God and nature were essentially synonymous—that God was everything and everything was God. They thus maintained that the universe as a whole (and everything within it) was imbued with divine beauty and holiness, but argued that there was no personal, sentient creator or sovereign.

In addition to the deists and pantheists, there were many individuals who, under the influence of the Enlightenment, renounced allegiance to all forms of spirituality and thus must be labeled agnostics or atheists. As we have seen, Hume, Nietzsche, Darwin,

and Marx were all outstanding examples, and they were joined in their skepticism by an increasing number of less notorious men and women who found themselves unable to fully reconcile the demands of reason and the claims of science with the requirements of faith.

The tendency to reject Christianity in favor of deism, pantheism, or atheism was originally most pronounced in Britain, France, and America. Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, however, these alternative religious philosophies became widely influential throughout Western Europe, as well as in Russia. Thus, the secularizing tendencies and anti-supernaturalism associated with the Enlightenment eventually came to pose a considerable threat to the integrity of the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant expressions of Christianity alike.

The Rise of Liberal Protestantism

As we have hinted, not all those who were influenced by the philosophies and methods of the Enlightenment abandoned the Christian faith entirely. There were many who sought to appropriate the new insights of the secular sciences and apply them to the tasks of the church. This activity was largely centered in continental Europe and was particularly prevalent in Germany. It was there that a renaissance in the fields of theology, biblical criticism, and the history of religion would take place during the course of the 19th century, giving rise to the movement that would eventually be labeled liberal Protestantism.

A key figure in the emergence of liberal theology was the German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). At a young age, Schleiermacher became fascinated with philosophy, particularly the writings of Kant. His studies in philosophy and theology eventually led Schleiermacher to conclude that the true basis of the Christian faith was neither a set of coherent doctrines nor a system of ethical behavior, but rather a universal, internal religious experience or impulse, a key component of which was a profound sense of dependence on God.

In his best-known work, *The Christian Faith According to the Fundamentals of the Evangelical Church Systematically Set Forth* (1821–22), Schleiermacher attempted to construct a systematic theology based on this principle of the primacy of universal religious experience. This project reflected his contention that all of the central doctrines of Christianity were simply verbal expressions of beliefs that had been produced by earlier religious experience. In accordance with this view, Schleiermacher maintained that the teachings of the Bible could not be accepted at face value as an authoritative basis for faith in Christ, but rather that confidence in the Scriptures could only come as a result of one's experience of Christ. In setting out the remainder of his theology, Schleiermacher argued that sin arose as a result of humanity's failure to remain cognizant of its utter dependence on God, that redemption comes as people respond in faith to the fresh experience of God that was mediated through Jesus, and that all who experience this redemption are inwardly compelled to unite with other believers in the church.

The reaction to Schleiermacher's theology was predictably mixed. The work proved greatly influential among German theologians, some of whom hailed it as the greatest accomplishment in Protestant systematic theology since Calvin's *Institutes*. Because of its heavy emphasis on feeling and experience, Schleiermacher's thought also appealed greatly to many of the romanticists, who rejected both religious supernaturalism and the cold rationalism of the Enlightenment. Thus, Schleiermacher largely achieved his goal of presenting the Christian faith in a way that was credible within the intellectual context of his era, and, in the process, laid much of the groundwork for future developments in liberal Protestantism. Nevertheless, many believers denounced Schleiermacher's unique experiential theology as a dangerous deviation from the traditional faith claims of the Christian church, and his work may thus be viewed as contributing to the creation of a rift in opinion between conservative and liberal Protestants that would widen considerably in the succeeding decades.

Another important contributor to the development of liberal Protestant theology was Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889). In contrast to Schleiermacher, Ritschl constructed his theology not on a universal, internal religious experience, but rather on the words and deeds of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. Consequently, Ritschl stressed the ethical and activist aspects of the Christian faith and argued that the chief task of believers was to embody God's love by addressing the ills of society and the practical needs of individuals. Such activity, Ritschl claimed, served to bring about the accomplishment of God's will on earth and the establishment of the kingdom whose coming Jesus had proclaimed. Thus, Ritschl's theology served as an important precursor to the activist social consciousness which was later to emerge as a distinctive hallmark of liberal Protestantism.

Even as Schleiermacher and Ritschl were making great strides in theology, other German thinkers were contributing to the development of a radically new approach to the discipline of biblical studies that is often referred to as "higher criticism." Those who practiced this method of interpretation applied strict principles of historical inquiry to the study of the Bible in an effort to resolve questions concerning the authorship, literary composition, and historical accuracy of the Scriptures, and typically rejected as myth the Bible's supernatural claims. This critical impulse was in part a reaction to contemporary discoveries in the natural sciences and in archaeology, some of which seemed to contradict traditional, literal interpretations of the Bible.

One of the earliest significant advocates of higher criticism was Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), a deist philosopher whose rejection of the possibility of the miraculous led him to view the narratives of Scripture with extreme skepticism. Reimarus is often considered to be the initiator of the so-called "quest for the historical Jesus," by which is meant the attempt to determine how closely the Gospels' accounts of Jesus' words and deeds conform to the actual historical details of His life. Reimarus himself was convinced that Jesus was merely an ordinary man (albeit a profound moral teacher), and that the miraculous acts attributed to Him and the supernatural circumstances surrounding His birth and death

were merely inventions of the early church. Many of Reimarus' controversial writings remained unpublished during his lifetime, but upon their appearance in the 1770s they created a considerable stir, inspiring some and infuriating others.

One of those who adopted Reimarus' methods was the philosopher and theologian David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), who in the mid-1830s published a highly controversial book entitled *Leben Jesu* ("The Life of Jesus"). Like Reimarus, Strauss rejected the historicity of the miraculous and supernatural elements of the Gospel narratives. He speculated that as the words and deeds of Jesus were transmitted orally by the early Christian community, mythic elements were gradually introduced into the tradition, and that the New Testament texts reflected the incorporation of such myths into the historical record. Strauss also raised questions concerning the accuracy with which Jesus' teachings were recorded by the Gospel writers, and in a later book he went on to trace the historical development of certain key Christian doctrines in such a way as to cast doubt on their legitimacy. Much like the work of Reimarus, Strauss' *Leben Jesu* provoked a storm of criticism in some corners, but the skeptical historical approach he employed continued to grow in influence.

Another significant proponent of the historical-critical approach to the New Testament was Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), a professor of theology at the University of Tübingen. Rather than concentrating on the life of Jesus, Baur focused on the emergence of the early Christian church. He maintained that the pure Gospel of Jesus was contained in the Sermon on the Mount and the various discourses and parables recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, that it was essentially a form of messianic Judaism, and that it was this Gospel that was proclaimed by Peter and the other disciples. Baur went on to theorize that Paul later introduced a significantly different, universal form of the Gospel, and that the faith of the second-century church represented a synthesis of these two competing streams of tradition.

A contemporary of Baur, Christian Hermann Weisse (1801–1866), did a great deal of research on the so-called Synoptic problem—that is, the question of how to explain the complex interrelationship of the material contained in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In 1838, Weisse theorized that the occurrence of nearly-identical passages in each of the three Synoptic Gospels was best explained by assuming that both Matthew and Luke used the completed Gospel of Mark (the shortest of the three) in compiling their own accounts. Weisse further conjectured that both Matthew and Luke also had access to another common source (now lost to history), which would account for the presence of nearly-identical passages in Matthew and Luke that had no parallel in Mark. This hypothetical source eventually came to be referred to by scholars simply as "Q," from the German word *quelle* ("source"). Weisse's theory, which became known as the two-source hypothesis, stands as an early example of the implementation of the scholarly discipline of source criticism, which focuses on identifying and distinguishing among pre-existing oral or written sources that were incorporated into the final canon of Scripture.

Source criticism was also applied to the Old Testament during this period, most notably by Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). In 1885, Wellhausen published his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel,* in which he set out what has become known as the documentary hypothesis. According to Wellhausen's theory, the canon of the Old Testament (and more particularly the Pentateuch) shows evidence of having been compiled from a number of different literary sources which emerged at various points in Israel's history and which represented the interests and influence of particular factions within the community (such as the priests and the scribes). Wellhausen identified four such hypothetical sources of tradition—the Jahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomic, and Priestly sources.[10] While Wellhausen's thesis drew the ire of many Christians who remained committed to the traditional assumptions concerning the composition of the Old Testament (e.g. the notion that Moses was the sole author of the Pentateuch), the documentary hypothesis would remain a foundational theory of liberal Protestant Old Testament studies throughout much of the 20th century.

Finally, in addition to their contributions in the fields of theology and biblical criticism, German liberal Protestants also fashioned fresh approaches to the study of Christian history. Two figures who were significant in this regard were Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923). Harnack was notable for his contention that the early church had borrowed heavily from Hellenistic Greek philosophy in articulating its central doctrines, and that the true Gospel had thus been permanently distorted. Troeltsch maintained that every religion (including Christianity) is affected to some extent by the unique cultural contexts in which it is embedded at various points in its history, and sought to understand the relationship between unchanging divine truth and the ever-shifting, culturally specific interpretations of the Christian faith.

Our survey of notable German thinkers of the 19th century thus yields a mosaic of emphases—including Schleiermacher's accent on the centrality of universal religious experience, Ritschl's insistence on social activism, and the historical-critical approach to the Scriptures embodied by biblical scholars such as Baur, Weisse, and Wellhausen, and historians of religion such as Harnack and Troeltsch—that would prove to be determinative for the future character and agenda of liberal Protestantism. The relative merits of this liberal program were (and have continued to be) hotly debated. It was perceived by its supporters as an intellectually credible, socially aware alternative to more insular and seemingly superstitious expressions of Christianity. To its detractors, it appeared to represent an unholy compromise with the secularizing forces of the Enlightenment, and a dangerous distortion of the traditional Christian faith. Regardless of one's position, however, it must be admitted that the early proponents of liberal Protestantism made invaluable contributions to the life of the universal church by making the Christian faith comprehensible to many who had previously been swept along on the tides of secular Enlightenment philosophy, and by daring to ask new questions that would eventually provide fresh illumination for all believers.

The Contributions of Kierkegaard

It remains for us to discuss the significant philosophical and theological contributions of the great Danish thinker Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). Much like that of the liberal Protestants, Kierkegaard's work represented an attempt to critically engage both the ideas of the Enlightenment and the teachings of the church in the hope of gaining new insights into the true nature of the authentic Christian faith. While his conclusions differed greatly in character from those of his German contemporaries, they would eventually prove to be equally influential.

In his philosophical writings, Kierkegaard placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the self. In contrast with other philosophers of the age, he argued that humans do not acquire meaningful knowledge through objective reasoning, but rather through a subjective process of introspection and reflection by which they gain insight into their true inner selves, their potential, and their relationship to the world. According to Kierkegaard, human existence is marked by a tremendous degree of freedom and a capacity for choice, and, in order to truly live, one must exercise one's freedom to make decisions and act on them. Thus, Kierkegaard laid the foundation for the emergence of the philosophical system known as existentialism, which stresses the freedom, responsibility, and uniqueness of the individual.

Unlike many later existentialists, Kierkegaard saw important connections between the subjectivity of the human experience and the mysteries of the Christian faith. In his works *Either/Or* (1843) and *Stages on Life's Way* (1845), Kierkegaard theorized that there are three different levels of human existence among which individuals could freely choose. The first is the aesthetic level, which is marked by the spontaneous pursuit of entertainment and pleasure and the absence of any firm commitments, and which ultimately leads to despair. The second is the ethical level, where individuals become more fully aware of the existence of good and evil and the consequences of their actions, and develop some degree of passion and a commitment to living responsible, moral lives. The third and final level is the religious level, at which individuals become aware of the existence of a transcendent God and of their own sinfulness, and make a conscious commitment to enter into a relationship with God.

Kierkegaard described the process by which people move to the religious level of existence as a "leap of faith." By this he meant that one could never arrive at genuine Christian faith by obtaining objective evidence for the existence of God or the reliability of the Bible. Indeed, Kierkegaard contended that the great paradoxes inherent in Christian doctrine (such as the idea that Jesus was, at the same time, fully divine and fully human) make it impossible for humans to come to faith in a purely rational manner. Rather, he argued, true faith consists of a subjective commitment to embrace such doctrines in the belief that God is capable of transcending all paradoxes. Thus, the movement from

unbelief to faith always requires a conscious decision on the part of the individual, and always entails a measure of risk.

Later in his career, Kierkegaard came to view the union of church and state (as exemplified by the Established Lutheran Church in Denmark) as a profound threat to genuine faith, and consequently launched a concentrated attack on "Christendom," by which he meant Christianity as a political and social institution. He argued that the existence of a state church effectively permitted all citizens to consider themselves Christians without ever taking personal responsibility for their own relationship with God—without, in other words, ever making the leap of faith for themselves. Thus, in Kierkegaard's estimation, state-sponsored congregations were largely composed of members who had failed to make a genuine, subjective commitment to the Christian faith and who were therefore highly susceptible to corruption and immorality. This spiritual decay within the church, in turn, made it less likely that other individuals would be drawn to make the choice to follow Christ.

Thus, although he was primarily a philosopher who spent much of his time grappling with and critiquing the thought of contemporary secular thinkers, Kierkegaard's determination to wed his nascent existential philosophy to Christian faith provided a template for significant subsequent developments in theology. In this regard he was much like the liberal Protestants. Yet Kierkegaard's characteristic emphasis on the inner struggle and decision of the individual marked him as unique among the 19th-century continental theologians, and he remained a peculiarly compelling figure well into the 20th century.

We thus find that the relationship between the Christian faith and the intellectual and social milieu in which it was situated during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries was extraordinarily complicated and frequently tumultuous. As was the case in the days of the ante-Nicene apologists and the scholastic theologians, the defenders of the Christian faith found themselves confronted by hostile opponents who skillfully and relentlessly challenged the legitimacy of the faith and partially succeeded in undermining its intellectual credibility. Many were enthralled by the claims of rationalism, empiricism, romanticism, deism, pantheism, atheism, secular science, liberal democracy, Marxism, or one of the numerous other competing philosophies that were advanced during this period, and were thereby led to abandon the faith.

Yet this was also an era in which new, vital expressions of Christianity came into bloom. Figures such as Schleiermacher, Ritschl, and Kierkegaard (among many others) labored tirelessly to make Christianity comprehensible to the Enlightenment mind. Furthermore, as we will see in the next chapter, other Christians of the 18th and 19th centuries were simultaneously pursuing the complementary task of using the Gospel to capture the

heart. Though these two approaches have often been viewed as incompatible with (or even opposed to) one another, both were necessary responses to the challenges posed by the Enlightenment, and both remain integral parts of a holistic incarnation of the Christian faith in a world that still bears many traces of the Enlightenment's impact.

Chapter Twenty-Five Review

Albrecht Ritschl	John Locke
Charles Darwin	Julius Wellhausen
Christian Hermann Weisse	Karl Marx
Deism	Liberal Protestantism
Documentary Hypothesis	Pantheism
Empiricism	Q
Enlightenment	Quest for the Historical Jesus
Existentialism	Rationalism
Friedrich Nietzsche	René Descartes
Friedrich Schleiermacher	Søren Kierkegaard
Galileo Galilei	Source Criticism
Hermann Samuel Reimarus	Thomas Hobbes
Immanuel Kant	Thomas Paine
Isaac Newton	Two-Source Hypothesis

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE NOTES

[1]It must be admitted at the outset that these terms are employed in a variety of ways. The designation "Age of Reason" is sometimes used to denote the 17th century, with "Enlightenment" then referring to the 18th century. However, each term is also sometimes used to refer to the entire two hundred year period in question. To complicate matters further, some scholars prefer to date the Enlightenment 1650–1800 (e.g. Stanley J. Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 60). For the purposes of this chapter, the term "Enlightenment" is used to refer to the 17th and 18th centuries, though our discussion also traces developments through the end of the 19th century. Though such a presentation would be misleading and inappropriate for a history of philosophy (given the dramatic philosophical shifts that took place in the wake of Kant's work), it is helpful for our purposes because it allows us to survey the rapidly-declining fortunes of Christianity as a result of the increasing intellectualization and secularization of Europe, which were consistent themes across these three centuries.

[2]It should be noted that the designations used throughout this chapter to denote various philosophical systems (e.g. rationalism, empiricism, and existentialism) are largely the creations of later scholars, and were not necessarily employed by those whose writings laid their foundations.

[3]This statement first appeared in Descartes' *Discourse on Method* (1637).

[4]Cf. Hebrews 11:1; John 20:29; 2 Corinthians 4:18.

[5]For more on Nietzsche as a precursor to postmodernism, see Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism*, 88–98.

[6]The quote first appeared in The Gay Science (1882), and later in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1887).

[7]On the sun, see Psalms 50:1; 113:3; Ecclesiastes 1:5; Matthew 5:45; and, most significantly, Joshua 10:12–14. On the earth, see 1 Chronicles 16:30; Psalms 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; 119:90.

[8]See Genesis 1:26, 27.

[9]This quote originally appeared in Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1843).

[10]For this reason, the Documentary Hypothesis is also known as the JEDP theory.

Chapter Twenty-Six
The Revival Spirit and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism

Even as the Christian community attempted to come to grips with the profound and often troubling changes wrought by the ascendance of Enlightenment rationalism and secular science, it was bolstered by the advent of a new form of the faith that offered fresh spiritual vitality, and that may be broadly referred to as evangelical Protestantism.[1] The historical roots of this movement lay in the Lutheran offshoot known as Pietism and in the various forms of Puritanism, and its striking emergence may thus be viewed as an aftershock of the great upheavals of the Protestant Reformation. During the 18th and 19th centuries, it found expression in the Wesleyan Revival in Britain and the series of so-called "Great Awakenings" in America. These revival movements were marked by dramatic and emotional preaching, a pervasive sense of religious enthusiasm, appeals to the ultimate authority of Scripture, an insistence on strict principles of holy living, a deep concern for evangelism, and a strong emphasis on personal experiences of guilt, repentance, and salvation, and such characteristics would largely remain determinative for evangelical Protestantism in succeeding centuries.

Clearly, this form of Christianity stood in stark contrast to the liberal Protestantism that arose contemporaneously in continental Europe. While Schleiermacher, Ritschl, and their fellow countrymen earnestly sought to engage the ideas of the Enlightenment and to apply some of its methods to the study of God and the Bible, many leaders of the revival movement viewed the Age of Reason as the implacable foe of Christianity. Consequently, they often urged believers to resist the temptation to engage in rational critiques of the tenets of the faith, and to instead respond to God with their hearts. Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, a considerable number of people would embrace this call, with stunning repercussions for the course of Christian history.

The Pietists and Moravians

Though evangelical Protestantism would eventually blossom most fully in Britain and America, some of its earliest seeds were planted in continental Europe by heirs of the Lutheran tradition. As we have hinted previously, Lutheranism acquired an increasingly formal, intellectual, and dogmatic character during the decades following the death of Luther. Over the course of the 17th century, however, a variety of influences—including the medieval German mystical tradition, contemporary works of devotional piety, and the writings of English Puritans—combined to birth a fresh spirit of religious renewal among some German Lutherans.

Prominent among the advocates of reform was Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). While serving as a pastor in Frankfort in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, Spener began organizing small group meetings in his home for the purposes of prayer, Bible study, and spiritual enrichment, and this practice quickly spread among other reform-minded Lutherans. Although Spener himself had no intention of separating from the Lutheran Church, the resulting movement quickly took on a distinctive character, and came to be known as Pietism.

The Pietist outlook was characterized by a rejection of the contemporary Lutheran tendency to focus intently on matters of doctrinal precision at the expense of cultivating practical Christian living. In his foundational 1675 work *Pia Desideria* ("Pious Desire"), Spener stressed the importance of personal conversion and communion with God, promoted private and group study of the Bible, called on the laity to embrace their role as priests of God, emphasized that true Christian belief must be accompanied by action, and called for preaching that served to edify and inspire rather than merely communicating doctrine. Thus, the early Pietists endeavored to make Christianity both more personal and more communal, and to shift the focus of faith from the intellect to the emotions and the will.

Though the Pietists met with sharp criticism from many who believed they were abandoning essential Lutheran doctrines and thus betraying Luther's ideals, the movement flourished and spread. Among those who contributed greatly to its growth was August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), a university professor and a disciple of Spener. Shortly after joining the ranks of the Pietists, Francke was appointed to the theological faculty of the University of Halle, and through his influence that institution became an important center of Pietism. Francke trained many young men for pastoral and missionary work, thus ensuring that the Pietist principles he espoused would be further disseminated through the ministry of his students.

One of Francke's students at Halle was Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), a godson of Philipp Spener. After studying at Halle and at the University of Wittenberg, Zinzendorf settled on a large family estate in Saxony and attempted to establish a close-knit Pietist community among his tenants. Beginning in 1722, Zinzendorf offered sanctuary to the remnants of the *Unitas Fratrum* (the followers of Jan Hus), many of whom were forced to flee the Catholic-dominated nations of Bohemia and Moravia as a result of the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath. These refugees founded the village of Herrnhut on Zinzendorf's estate, and others with Pietist leanings soon settled there as well. The inhabitants of the village eventually came to be collectively known as the Moravian Church.

Under Zinzendorf's care, Herrnhut became a thriving center of Pietist spirituality. Beginning in 1727, the Moravians experienced a dramatic revival that was marked by prophecies, healings, and the establishment of a continuous communal prayer vigil that

ran uninterrupted for one hundred years. Following the onset of this period of renewal, many among the Moravians left Herrnhut to spread the ideals of the community abroad. Some traveled to other parts of Europe and established small Pietist societies that worked for reform within the existing Protestant denominations.

Others carried the Gospel to Africa and the Americas, and thus constituted the earliest well-organized Protestant missionary force. Wherever they went, the Moravians stressed the importance of personal conversion and championed the characteristic Pietist practices of prayer, worship, Bible study, simplicity, and passionate devotion to God. Their example made a profound impression on many, including one who was to become a central figure in the continuation and progression of the evangelical revival movement: John Wesley.

THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL AND THE GROWTH OF METHODISM

John Wesley (1703–1791) was born in Epworth, England, one of the nineteen children of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Samuel Wesley had at one time been a Separatist, but eventually became a priest in the Church of England, and thus John and his siblings were reared in the Anglican tradition. John attended university at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating in 1724. The following year, he was made a deacon in the Church of England, and in 1726 he was elected a fellow of one of Oxford's colleges. After assisting his father with his parish duties for two years, John was ordained as an Anglican priest.

In 1729, having achieved his ordination, John returned to Oxford to fulfill the obligations of his fellowship. In the interim, John's younger brother Charles Wesley (1707–1788) had come to Oxford to pursue his education and had formed a religious study group with two fellow students, Robert Kirkham and William Morgan. John Wesley quickly assumed leadership of this small band, which became known as the Holy Club. Together, the men engaged in intensive study of the Bible and other religious works, including the devotional writings of an older contemporary, William Law, whose *A Treatise on Christian Perfection* and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* influenced them profoundly. They also fasted twice a week, participated in regular communion services, and worked among prisoners and the poor. Some among their university fellows viewed these activities with derision and nicknamed the group "Methodists" because of their methodical and disciplined approach to spirituality. Yet the club also attracted a small number of new members who were impressed by the Wesleys' sincere devotion. Prominent among these was George Whitefield (1714–1770), who, as we will see, was later to play an important role in the emergence of the revival movement in America.

The Holy Club largely ceased to function in 1735 when John and Charles Wesley were persuaded to travel as missionaries to the newly-founded American colony of Georgia,

which had been established by James Oglethorpe as a haven for debtors and for persecuted Protestants from Central Europe. The brothers made the journey under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and were charged with strengthening the spiritual lives of the new colonists and preaching the Gospel to the Native American populations. Their efforts, however, were largely frustrated. Little progress was made among the Native Americans, and although John Wesley managed to gather a small number of like-minded believers into a group that resembled the Holy Club, the majority of his other congregants disliked his stiff, formal ministerial style (which was characteristic of high-church Anglicanism). Charles Wesley returned to England after falling ill in 1736, and John, feeling disillusioned and defeated, followed in 1738.

Nevertheless, John Wesley's stint in America was of great import for the future course of his life and ministry, for it was during this missionary endeavor that he first encountered members of the Moravian Church, some of whom had settled in Georgia. Wesley found their warm piety and spiritual peacefulness greatly appealing, and felt that they possessed some element of faith that he lacked. Consequently, upon returning to England he resolved to contact some of the Moravians who had settled in London. On May 24, 1738, he attended a religious meeting made up chiefly of Moravians on Aldersgate Street in London. There, while listening to a reading from the preface of Martin Luther's commentary on the book of Romans, Wesley had a profound spiritual experience which he later described as a strange warming of the heart and a feeling of assurance that Christ had saved him personally and forgiven his sins. This divine encounter gave Wesley the peace and reassurance he had sought and launched him fully into a life of fruitful ministry.

Following his Aldersgate experience, Wesley joined a Moravian society in London and began a preaching ministry through which he shared his newfound convictions. He promoted the doctrine of salvation by faith, stressed the importance of personal holiness, championed the theological views of Arminianism against those of Calvinism, and taught that the primary motivations of all believers should be love for God and love of neighbors.

Most famously, he maintained that all Christians could experience sanctification, a second definite work of grace following justification whereby believers might receive cleansing from the corrupting influence of original sin and be enabled to pursue a life of holiness. Wesley believed that this experience of sanctification involved both an instantaneous crisis and a gradual, ongoing process of transformation that both preceded and followed from such a critical moment.

Wesley's message and style quickly provoked opposition from many Anglicans, in much the same way that the German Pietists had incurred the hostility of strict Lutherans. As a result (and largely at the urging of Whitefield), Wesley soon embraced an itinerant form of ministry and began delivering his sermons primarily in informal, open-air settings. His preaching attracted many from among the lower and middle classes, and people often responded to his messages with great displays of emotion and spiritual enthusiasm.

Charles Wesley also contributed greatly to this revival by writing a considerable number of hymns that quickly gained wide usage, including "O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing" and "Christ the Lord is Risen Today."

In late 1739, having grown concerned with some of the quietistic practices of the Moravians (which he viewed as potentially heretical), Wesley decided to gather his followers into a distinct body, which he christened the Methodist Society. Shortly thereafter, another split occurred when Whitefield and others who adhered to the tenets of Calvinism departed from the main body of Methodists under the leadership of Wesley, who remained strongly Arminian in his theology. Following these separations, Wesley organized the remaining Methodists into several societies, each of which was further divided into smaller groups known as bands or classes. These more intimate gatherings promoted close interpersonal fellowship and spiritual accountability, and quickly became an important hallmark of the Methodist movement.

As the influence of the revival spread and the ranks of the Methodists continued to swell, Wesley found it necessary to sanction the preaching of the Gospel by itinerant laymen. Each of these traveling preachers was assigned a specific circuit in order to ensure that every society received regular spiritual care. Wesley himself oversaw the workings of the entire system and traveled thousands of miles on horseback each year in order to visit existing societies and to preach the Gospel in the hopes of winning new converts. As a result of his tireless labors and the appeal of his simple message of holy living and mutual love, the Methodists attracted over seventy thousand members in Great Britain during the course of the 18th century.

It should be noted that not all of those British Christians who were stirred by the spirit of revival joined the Methodist movement. Evangelical Protestantism was embraced by a number of Baptists and Congregationalists in England, and by some Scottish Presbyterians. A strong evangelical faction also arose within the Church of England, consisting largely of those who favored the Protestant elements of Anglicanism. Many of these evangelical Anglicans proved willing to cooperate with the evangelicals among the Separatist denominations, with whom they often had more in common than they did with Catholic-leaning Anglicans. Thus, over the course of the 18th century, the evangelical ideals championed by the Methodists gradually spread into every major expression of British Protestantism.

THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING

Even as the Evangelical Revival was beginning and gathering strength in England, the British colonies in North America were experiencing a dynamic spiritual renewal known as the First Great Awakening. As we have seen, early American society was characterized by a troubling degree of spiritual lethargy. The prevailing atmosphere of religious freedom (which stood in stark contrast to the socially-mandated and often state-enforced policies of religious conformity in Europe) encouraged many colonists to abandon the

nominally held faith that they had inherited from their ancestors. As a result, church membership—which was predicated on a sincere demonstration of spiritual rebirth and maturity—remained low relative to the total population.

In an effort to address this situation, some churches made compromises. In the late 17th century, some of the New England Congregationalists introduced a measure that became known by its critics as the Half-Way Covenant. According to its provisions, the children and grandchildren of church members were made eligible to receive baptism and to enjoy the civic benefits of membership, though they were not permitted to take communion or to vote on church-related business. While it was hoped that this arrangement would entice such "half-way" members to pursue full membership, in practice it often served to make church participation more of an empty formality.

It was in the context of this gradual deterioration of the quality of American religious life that the series of revivals which collectively became known as the First Great Awakening broke forth. The earliest stirrings of this spiritual renewal were felt in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Theodorus Frelinghuysen (1691–1747), a Dutch Reformed pastor with Pietist leanings, ministered in central New Jersey beginning in the early 1720s. Frelinghuysen employed a highly emotional style of preaching, condemned the formalism of much American religion, and stressed the necessity of inner transformation. In Pennsylvania, William Tennent (1673–1746), a Scottish immigrant and a Presbyterian minister, established a theological school in a log cabin in 1727. Tennent instilled in his pupils a decidedly evangelistic outlook, and the school, which became known as the Log College, subsequently produced a number of ministers who contributed to the later stages of the Great Awakening. Among these was Tennent's own son, Gilbert (1703–1764), who ministered among the Scotch-Irish population of the region and evangelized crowds throughout New England during the early 1740s.

More famous than these other early developments was the revival that began in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1734 under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). As a young man, Edwards received theological training at Yale, where he became acquainted with the ideas of Enlightenment philosophy and science, including the writings of John Locke and Isaac Newton. Thereafter, he consciously sought to make his preaching intellectually credible, yet he remained firmly committed to the veracity of traditional Calvinist doctrine.

In 1729, Edwards assumed the pastorate of the Congregational church at Northampton. He quickly grew troubled by what he perceived as a widespread attitude of spiritual self-sufficiency among New England's believers, and by his congregants' tendency to behave as though Christianity was simply a moral code to be followed. In his early sermons, Edwards launched an attack on these views (which he believed were derived from an Arminian theological outlook), defended the Calvinist conception of the sovereignty of God, and insisted that salvation came not through pious living, but through faith in Christ.

Beginning in the winter of 1734, Edwards addressed these issues more systematically through a series of sermons on the fundamental Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone. Contrary to the modern image of a revival preacher, Edwards was not noted for an impassioned or emotional style, and indeed tended to be solemn in his delivery. Nevertheless, his messages brought great conviction and sparked a dramatic revival that lasted for six months, during which time more than three hundred people professed their conversion. It may thus be surmised that the power of Edwards' sermons lay chiefly in the content rather than in the presentation.

Though the Northampton revival subsided in early 1735, the spirit of evangelical Protestantism had begun penetrating the American church, and a more widespread wave of spiritual renewal swept through the colonies between 1739 and 1742.[2] Jonathan Edwards remained a significant figure, and in 1741 delivered what would prove to be his most famous and enduring sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," which served as a model for countless subsequent evangelical messages that appealed to people's fear of divine judgment and condemnation as a means of inducing conversion.

This period was also marked by mass evangelism efforts and by the kind of intense emotionalism that would eventually come to be strongly associated with American revivalism. A significant figure in this regard was the English Methodist George Whitefield, who, as we have seen, was an early associate of the Wesleys at Oxford. Whitefield first traveled to America in 1738 and made several subsequent visits. Between 1739 and 1741, he undertook an evangelistic tour of the colonies, ministering to great crowds in the open air. In contrast to both Wesley and Edwards, Whitefield gained a reputation as an extremely dynamic speaker. As his fame increased, people flocked to hear him in ever-greater numbers, and he won a substantial number of converts through his emotional and persuasive preaching. More than any other single individual, Whitefield may legitimately be viewed as the precursor of the type of evangelical revivalism that would characterize the American religious landscape for the next century and a half.

Indeed, the First Great Awakening served as a harbinger of several significant changes in the prevailing nature of American religion, and it consequently gave rise to a great deal of controversy. Many religious leaders within the older Protestant denominations— particularly those who had been educated in the seminaries of Europe during the height of the Enlightenment—looked with disdain on the ministries of the uneducated lay evangelists and "Log College" graduates. In addition, many disapproved of the seemingly extreme emotional responses—including laughing, convulsing, screaming, and falling into trances—that were often manifested by revival crowds (and sometimes deliberately incited by preachers). Yet among the common people, the new methods of the evangelists were increasingly embraced, and there was a considerable backlash against the more formal, reserved character of traditional Protestant church services.

Thus, the colonies quickly became polarized between those who championed the "New Lights" (the fiery, emotional preachers of the Awakening) and those who preferred

the "Old Lights" (the more traditional, often intellectual pastors of the established denominations). Such divisions fueled the creation of the artificial rift between reason and faith, or between "intelligent religion" and "heartfelt religion," that would remain characteristic of American Protestantism for generations to come—though, as we have seen, Jonathan Edwards (among others) stood as an inspiration for those who would ultimately reject the validity of such false dichotomies.

In addition to these shifting preferences regarding preaching and worship styles, the First Great Awakening also spurred a gradual change in the contours of American theology. A majority of the important figures of the Great Awakening were Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and therefore advocates of Calvinism. Yet by issuing emotional religious appeals to the masses and impressing on them the urgency of accepting salvation (and thereby avoiding damnation), the revival preachers seemed to be tacitly acknowledging the individual's ability to choose to respond to God (and thus subtly undermining the strict Calvinistic view of election). This tension between a stated belief in the absolute sovereignty of God and an implicit recognition of the freedom of the individual to accept salvation led to the development of what is often known as New England theology, which sought to introduce a limited amount of human freedom into the traditional Calvinist system while avoiding wholesale acceptance of Arminian doctrine. This development marked the beginning of the decline of Calvinism's predominance within the American church, a decline that would be hastened by the growing appeal of Methodism and that would become more pronounced as a result of subsequent waves of revival.

THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

By 1750, the First Great Awakening had largely spent its strength. Over the course of the ensuing thirty years, the attention of the colonists was largely distracted from religious matters by the increasing socio-political tensions that culminated in the American Revolutionary War of 1775–1783, as a result of which the colonies secured their independence from England and were reconstituted as the United States of America. As we have seen, the integrity of American Christianity was also threatened during this period by the growing appeal of deism, which was embraced by Thomas Paine and many other influential figures. In the wake of the war, however, numerous fresh expressions of spiritual vitality emerged, and the period between approximately 1790 and 1840 is consequently referred to as the Second Great Awakening.

The Growth of Denominations

Soon after the colonies secured their independence, the various Protestant denominations in America began severing formal ties with their European counterparts and establishing autonomous national organizations. This step was particularly important for the Church of England, whose continuing viability in the United States was gravely threatened by the Revolutionary War because of its formal connection to the English government. The

majority of the Anglican clergy had demonstrated their loyalty to the British crown by fleeing the colonies when the revolution began, and most never returned. Faced with this lack of leadership, the Anglican laity reorganized themselves into the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1789. The Episcopalians (as they soon came to be known) subsequently ordained their own bishops and adopted a slightly modified version of the Book of Common Prayer for use in their corporate worship. Between 1789 and 1793, the Presbyterians, Swedish Lutherans, Dutch Reformed Churches, and German Reformed Churches likewise achieved self-governance and began constructing centralized organizations.

It was also during this period that Methodism was firmly established in America. Thousands had been won by Methodist missionaries during the Revolutionary period, and this striking growth, coupled with the departure of the Anglican clergy (from whom the Methodist laity continued to receive the sacraments), necessitated the creation of an autonomous Methodist organization in the United States. Accordingly, in 1784 John Wesley appointed Thomas Coke (1747–1814) and Francis Asbury (1745–1816) to serve as superintendents of the Methodist believers in America, and the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally established in the same year.[3]

It was Asbury who would prove to be the great organizer of American Methodism. He traveled throughout the country—from Georgia to New England and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River—and preached the Gospel to large crowds. Under his supervision a system of preaching circuits was established, and Methodist circuit riders won great numbers of converts, particularly in rural areas and along the western frontiers of expansion. As a result of these efforts, there were more than 200,000 Methodists in the United States by the time of Asbury's death.

The Baptists also enjoyed significant gains during this period. A majority of their ministers were men of humble background whose preaching style was simple and earnest, and the warmth and informality of their services greatly appealed to much of the rural populace. As a result, their numbers multiplied rapidly, particularly in the South, and the first national Baptist organization was established in 1814.

The dramatic growth of the Methodist and Baptist Churches both helped to spur and was in turn accelerated by the widespread outbreak of revivalism that followed the Revolution. By the close of the Second Great Awakening, they were the two largest Protestant denominations in the United States, greatly outstripping the membership of the Lutheran, Episcopalian, and continental Reformed Churches, and surpassing in numbers even the Presbyterians and Congregationalists who had dominated the colonial period.

Christian Social Activism

The earliest significant developments associated with the Second Great Awakening came in New England, where a wave of spiritual renewal crested in the 1790s. Though this

revival was not characterized by the same kind of emotional intensity that marked the First Great Awakening, it led to the establishment of missionary societies, seminaries, and Christian universities, and served to stimulate practical Christian involvement in the world. This burgeoning spirit of social activism would subsequently emerge as a major feature of the entire period, both in the United States and in Britain.

In 1780, Robert Raikes (1736–1811), an English newspaper publisher, launched the modern Sunday School movement by establishing Sunday classes for underprivileged youth in Gloucester. By the early 1790s Sunday Schools had appeared in Philadelphia and other U.S. cities, and they soon became a ubiquitous feature of the religious landscape. The original intent of such schools was to teach young people to read and write within a religious setting, but they eventually became more narrowly focused on offering biblical and moral instruction to churchgoing children (and later adults as well). This growing concern for Christian education and biblical training was also reflected in the creation of organizations that printed, translated, and distributed Bibles, including the British and Foreign Bible Society (founded in 1804) and the American Bible Society (founded in 1816).

Christians also played key roles in the emergence of the abolition and temperance movements. As we have seen, the Quakers and Mennonites were among the first Americans to protest slavery. The Quaker John Woolman (1720–1772), whose journal eventually became an enduring devotional classic, authored an early anti-slavery treatise and worked to mobilize support for abolition among his fellow Quakers, a number of whom petitioned Congress to end slavery in 1790, several years after Woolman's death. Through the efforts of the Quakers and others, all of the northern American states had formally abolished slavery by 1804 (though the fight for emancipation in the South would rage on, with tragic consequences for the nation).

In England, the abolition movement was spearheaded by William Wilberforce (1759–1833), a politician who decided against entering the ministry after his conversion in order to work for moral reform from within Parliament. Wilberforce was aided and encouraged in the struggle against slavery by the leading evangelical Anglican minister of his day, John Newton (1725–1807), a former slave ship captain who authored the hymn "Amazing Grace." Largely as a result of Wilberforce's tireless efforts, Parliament finally passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833.

One of the foremost advocates of temperance was Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), a Presbyterian minister and the father of the famous abolitionist author Harriet Beecher Stowe. Beecher's preaching sparked revivals in Connecticut and Massachusetts in the 1810s and 1820s, and his vocal opposition to alcohol use helped prepare the way for the founding of organizations such as the American Temperance Society, which was established in Boston in 1826.

Finally, the growing desire to engage the problems of society prompted the creation of Christian organizations that crossed denominational and confessional boundaries. One

of the most prominent of these was the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), founded in 1844 by George Williams (1821–1905), a British layman. Williams sought to create a place where young Christians could gather for prayer and Bible study and where other young men might be evangelized and led to salvation. This original conception was eventually expanded, as YMCA's added social, educational, and athletic programs, thus promoting the holistic development of young people within a wholesome, inviting Christian environment. The YMCA, along with its sister organization, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) would subsequently experience phenomenal growth and contribute greatly to the introduction of the Gospel into America's cities.

Camp Meetings, Revivalism, and the Holiness Movement

While the Second Great Awakening was partially characterized by multi-faceted Christian social involvement, it was also marked by a resurgence in the kind of evangelical fervor that had accompanied the ministries of men such as George Whitefield. This was particularly true on the infant nation's western frontiers. Beginning in 1800, a new form of evangelical revival emerged in southwestern Kentucky at sites such as Red River and Cane Ridge. These meetings attracted vast crowds and often boasted multiple preachers who might speak in succession for several hours. Many nonbelievers attended purely out of curiosity or a desire to escape the loneliness of the frontier, and large numbers of them were converted as a result of the persuasive preaching of the evangelists. Intense emotional responses, often accompanied by physical manifestations, were typical. Such gatherings became known as camp meetings because many of the attendees would travel great distances to the site of the revival and camp out on the grounds for the duration of the event. During the course of the 19th century, camp meetings appeared in other regions and continued to grow in popularity.

While some of the camp meeting preachers gained a certain amount of notoriety, by far the most prominent (and most controversial) evangelist associated with the Second Great Awakening was Charles G. Finney (1792–1875). Finney, a native of Connecticut, underwent a dramatic conversion at the age of twenty-nine and subsequently became a Presbyterian minister. During the late 1820s, he conducted a series of revivals in western New York, a region that was so heavily evangelized during the Second Great Awakening that it came to be known as the "burned-over district." Finney's preaching attracted great crowds, and many responded to his evangelistic sermons with intense and sometimes bizarre emotional displays. He often held protracted meetings, and employed a variety of new methods in an attempt to induce greater numbers of conversions. One of his most noteworthy innovations was the "anxious bench," a pew where unbelievers who were experiencing conviction could come to receive prayer. This stands as a clear precursor to the modern Evangelical practice of the altar call.

After leaving the revival circuit in the early 1830s, Finney founded and pastored the Broadway Tabernacle, a large Presbyterian church in New York City that accommodated

more than two thousand worshippers. During this time he campaigned vigorously on behalf of the abolition movement. Later in life he served first as a professor and then as president of Oberlin College in Ohio, the first American college to admit African-Americans along with whites.

In his theology, Finney embodied the ongoing shift from strict Calvinism to a more Arminian view of free will that had begun during the previous Awakening. In the 1820s, the Yale theologian Nathaniel William Taylor (1786–1858) introduced a variant on New England theology known as New Haven theology, which rejected several of the central tenets of classical Calvinism and encompassed a set of doctrines that were closer to Arminianism (or, according to Taylor's critics, even Pelagianism). Taylor maintained that God did not predestine all humanity to salvation or damnation, that humans had the power to resist sin and to choose what is right, and that the stain of sin came from one's sinful acts (not from inherited original sin).

Finney adopted much of this theological framework, adding to it a more pronounced emphasis on the doctrine of Christian perfection—a variation on John Wesley's doctrine of sanctification which held that believers (aided by the Holy Spirit) could successfully resist the lure of sin and thus live blameless before God, and that any sinful act required immediate repentance in order to reestablish this right standing. The resulting system of doctrine, though largely discontinuous with historical Protestant theology, proved highly applicable within the climate of revivalism, as it allowed Finney and other like-minded evangelists to stress the importance of personal morality and the urgent need for repentance among believers and unbelievers alike.

The doctrine of Christian perfection quickly gained many adherents. In 1835, a group of Methodist women in New York City started the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness, a weekly prayer gathering. This group was initially led by Sarah Lankford, but was taken over in 1837 by her sister, Phoebe Palmer (1807–1874). Palmer promoted the pursuit of Christian perfection, which she also referred to as "entire sanctification."

Under her leadership, these small weekly meetings gave rise to what became known as the Holiness movement, a loose confederation of evangelical Protestants who aspired to Christian perfection. Members of the Holiness movement emphasized the importance of a personal experience of salvation, a subsequent personal experience of sanctification, and an ongoing lifestyle of holiness marked by modesty, simplicity, and temperance.

Thus, as the Second Great Awakening drew to a close, evangelical Protestantism had begun dividing into separate streams. Some, modeling themselves after Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, were able to hold together a warm-hearted evangelical faith and a firm commitment to the historical doctrines of the Reformation. Those who followed in the footsteps of Charles Finney and the proponents of the Holiness movement, meanwhile, tended to embrace a sort of liberalized Arminianism, deemphasizing the

sovereignty of God and making free, individual decision the cornerstone of the Gospel. This plurality of theological opinions would lead to an increasing degree of diversity within evangelical Protestantism in later decades.

The Growth of African-American Spirituality

Closely related to a number of the developments we have noted in conjunction with the Second Great Awakening was the spread of Christianity among the African-American populace of the United States, most of whom remained enslaved during this period in spite of the growing pro-abolition sentiments of many Christians. At the dawn of the 19th century, the vast majority of African-Americans were unbelievers. Over the course of the succeeding decades, however, hundreds of thousands came to accept Christ. Most of these converts joined the rapidly-expanding Methodist and Baptist denominations, whose warm enthusiasm and relative lack of formality (particularly in the wake of the camp-meeting movement) greatly appealed to them.

African-Americans quickly began forming their own congregations and even distinct denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1821). Though such ecclesiastical segregation was partially at the insistence of white church members (especially in the South), it was also often embraced by African-Americans, many of whom viewed their churches as the only institutions over which they had full control. A unique culture of worship soon emerged within these congregations, marked by emotional preaching and the singing of "spirituals," a distinctively African-American form of hymn. In addition, these churches often served as social centers where African-Americans gathered regularly to enjoy fellowship, thus contributing to the creation of close-knit spiritual and cultural communities.

Following the emancipation of all slaves in the United States in 1863, African-American church membership increased dramatically, rising into the millions by the dawn of the 20th century. The majority of these remained in exclusively African-American Methodist and Baptist bodies, though a small percentage joined predominantly white Methodist or Baptist churches, and tiny minorities were Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Catholic. In the following century, these vibrant Christian communities would make significant contributions to the long and often tragic struggle to secure full civil rights for African-Americans in the United States.

THE THIRD GREAT AWAKENING

The period between approximately 1855 and 1900 is sometimes referred to as the Third Great Awakening. During this span of years, Christian activists in America continued to devote themselves to causes such as abolition, temperance, and women's suffrage, and redoubled their efforts to improve the nation's prevailing socio-economic conditions, a

task made more difficult by the widespread devastation wrought by the American Civil War of 1861–1865. Revivalism also remained a potent force, as the infant Holiness movement spread to Britain (where it gave rise to a similar yet distinct expression of piety known as the Higher Life movement), and tens of thousands attended a series of Holiness camp meetings in the northeastern United States.[4] Both the social activists and the revivalists continued to emphasize (in their different ways) the power and responsibility of the individual, thereby reinforcing the ongoing theological shift toward Arminianism. It thus becomes clear that, to some degree, this era was characterized by a continuation and amplification of the various spiritual trends that had marked the first two Awakenings.[5]

That is not to suggest, however, that the Third Great Awakening did not have a significant impact on the future course of evangelical Protestantism in its own right. Indeed, two of the most influential evangelical figures in the church's history flourished during this period. The first of these was the British minister Charles H. Spurgeon (1834–1892), who began pastoring a Baptist church in London at the age of nineteen. A naturally gifted sermon-writer and orator, Spurgeon soon acquired great fame as a preacher, and printed copies of his sermons enjoyed a wide circulation. As his audiences grew, he was eventually forced to hold services in large public meeting halls, where he sometimes preached to more than ten thousand people. In 1861, Spurgeon's congregation took up residence in the newly-constructed Metropolitan Tabernacle, which accommodated six thousand worshippers and is thus often considered to be the earliest example of a "megachurch."[6]

In contrast to many American evangelists of the period, Spurgeon was a staunch Calvinist (though, as a Baptist, he opposed infant baptism). Consequently, he rejected much of the emotionalism and individualism that characterized American revivalism. Yet his style was also more warm and plain-spoken than that which prevailed in the Church of England. Thus, Spurgeon struck an effective balance between theological orthodoxy and mass appeal, and brought many people to a saving knowledge of Christ through clear and compelling exposition of the Word.

The second notable evangelical personality of this period was the American minister Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899). After becoming a Christian as a teenager, Moody moved from Boston to Chicago, where he organized a large Sunday School for underprivileged children, worked with the YMCA, and started a nondenominational church. In 1873, Moody embarked on the first of several extended evangelistic tours of Great Britain. He was accompanied on this journey by Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908), a Gospel singer and songwriter who would perform hymns before Moody delivered his sermons. The two eventually attracted large crowds in Britain, and by the time they returned to America in 1875, Moody was in great demand as an evangelist. Over the course of the next decade, Moody and Sankey conducted several more evangelistic tours, dividing their time between Britain and America and eventually ministering to millions of people.

Moody proved to be a vocal critic of many of the developments associated with the Enlightenment and the growth of liberal Protestantism. He strongly opposed Darwin's theory of evolution, denounced the higher criticism of the Bible that was espoused by many European theologians, argued for a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and urged others to be prepared for the imminent second coming of Christ. In 1886, in an attempt to preserve and promote the evangelical ideals to which he subscribed, Moody founded the Chicago Bible Institute (later Moody Bible Institute). This school served as a training ground for young ministers and evangelists and, like many other contemporary institutions, helped ensure that evangelical Protestantism, which had emerged so dramatically during the 18th and 19th centuries, would continue to shape the American religious landscape in profound ways in the 20th century and beyond.

Having now examined many of the central themes, events, individuals, and movements related to the advent of British and American revivalism and the growth of evangelical Protestantism, we will spend the next two chapters examining a pair of concurrent and tangential developments: the emergence of a number of new religious groups that (in various ways and to various degrees) diverged from standard Protestant theology and practice, and the further spread of Christianity throughout the globe as a result of the efforts of Protestant missionaries.

Chapter Twenty-Six Review

Camp Meetings	Methodists
Charles G. Finney	Moravians
Charles H. Spurgeon	New Haven Theology
Dwight L. Moody	Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf
Evangelical Protestantism	Philipp Jakob Spener
Francis Asbury	Phoebe Palmer
George Whitefield	Pietism
Great Awakenings	Robert Raikes/Sunday Schools
Holiness Movement	Sanctification
John Wesley	William Wilberforce
Jonathan Edwards	

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX NOTES

[1] In this chapter, I have generally used the phrases "evangelical Protestantism" and "evangelical Protestants" to refer in broad terms to those believers of the 18th and 19th centuries who, in contrast to the liberal Protestants of the era, emphasized the reliability of the biblical narratives and promoted holy living, evangelistic preaching, and missionary activity. This usage should be distinguished from the use of the terms "Evangelicals" and "Evangelicalism," which are generally used to refer to a 20th-century Protestant phenomenon with more specific connotations.

[2] The term "Great Awakening" is sometimes used to refer more narrowly to this short span of years when the revival movement reached its peak.

[3] The Methodists in Britain began formalizing their independence from the Church of England around this same time.

[4] For more on these Holiness camp meetings, see Chapter Thirty-Two.

[5] The Third Great Awakening also witnessed the emergence of a multiplicity of new expressions of the Christian faith that fall outside the scope of our current examination of the rise of evangelical Protestantism (including the Social Gospel movement, the Student Volunteer Movement, the Salvation Army, and Christian Science). We will treat several such movements in later chapters.

[6] For more on megachurches, see Chapter Thirty-One.

Chapter Twenty-Seven
Nonconformist and
Restorationist Movements

In addition to the rise and diversification of liberal and evangelical Protestantism, the 18th and 19th centuries also witnessed the emergence of a variety of new religious groups with Christian rootage. Some of these had antecedents among the Pietists, the various proponents of the Radical Reformation, or the Nonconformists of the English Reformation. Others arose in conjunction with the intellectual shifts of the Enlightenment. Still others were birthed amidst the evangelical fervor of the Great Awakenings.

While a number of these movements maintained some degree of continuity with classical Protestant theology and practice (and thus may be viewed as legitimate extensions of the body of Christ), others distorted and departed from the central claims of Christianity to such a great extent that they must be labeled unorthodox or even heretical. Nevertheless, undertaking a survey of the origins and beliefs of such groups is a necessary and instructive part of any thorough exploration of Christian history.

THE SCHWARZENAU BRETHREN

In 1708, a German miller named Alexander Mack (1679–1735) founded a small religious community in the city of Schwarzenau. Like many German believers of the early 18th century, this group was heavily influenced by the emerging ideals of Pietism. Unlike such other Pietist groups as the Moravians, however, the Schwarzenau Brethren (as they became known) also sided with the classical Anabaptists by rejecting infant baptism, and hence were sometimes referred to as the ("New Baptists") or the Dunkers.

Between 1719 and 1729, the majority of the Schwarzenau Brethren migrated to America to escape persecution, settling mostly in religiously-tolerant Pennsylvania. Like their Mennonite and Quaker neighbors, the Brethren practiced pacifism and simplicity and promoted the concept of the priesthood of all believers, largely eschewing a formal ministerial hierarchy. They also rejected all written creeds, adopting the New Testament as their sole rule of faith. With reference to the sacraments, the Brethren performed a triple baptism of believers (immersing the candidate three times to symbolize the Trinity), regularly celebrated the love feast (a ceremony combining the taking of communion, ritual foot-washing, and a fellowship meal), and practiced the anointing of the sick with oil.

The original Schwarzenau Brethren group underwent a great number of disruptions and schisms over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries as opinions regarding doctrine and practice diversified. Nevertheless, several Brethren-derived denominations continue to exist today, with the largest and most notable being the Church of the Brethren.

THE SHAKERS

In 1758, Ann Lee (1736–1784), an English textile worker, joined a group of radical Quakers in the city of Manchester. This small sect practiced a number of unusual ecstatic rituals, including trembling, shouting, dancing, whirling in circles, and speaking in tongues, prompting some to refer to them derisively as the "Shaking Quakers." They believed that such physical manifestations served as evidence that their bodies were being purged of sin and purified by the Holy Spirit.

A few years after entering this community, Lee claimed to have experienced a series of revelations, as a result of which she became convinced that Christ's return was imminent and that she was the embodiment of the feminine aspect of God's dual nature, just as Jesus was the incarnation of the male aspect of God's divinity. Gathering around her a band of eight disciples who gave credence to her visions, Lee left for America in 1774 and settled near Albany, New York. The small group under her leadership styled itself the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, but they soon became more commonly known as the Shakers, as they retained many of the distinctive ecstatic practices of their precursors.

Lee came to believe that God would only establish His kingdom once His followers had cleansed themselves of lust, and the Shakers therefore pledged themselves to celibacy, thus eliminating the possibility of the movement growing through procreation. Nevertheless, they adopted some children into the community and soon attracted a considerable number of adult converts. Like other Quakers, the Shakers also embraced a strictly pacifistic ethic, and they were harshly persecuted for this stance during the American Revolutionary War.

Shortly after Ann Lee's death in 1784, the leadership of the community was assumed jointly by Joseph Meacham (1742–1796) and Lucy Wright (1760–1821). Meacham and Wright helped to establish the strict pattern of communal living, sharing of goods, and separation from the world that was to mark Shaker life from that time forward, and under their guidance the first formal Shaker community was founded at New Lebanon, New York in 1787. Shaker settlements were subsequently established throughout New England, and during the early years of the Second Great Awakening Shakerism spread into Kentucky and Ohio. The movement reached its zenith in the 1840s, when the total number of Shakers approached six thousand.

The daily lives of the Shakers in their isolated farms and villages were marked by great simplicity and admirable industry. They gained great renown for their architecture, furniture-making, and handicrafts, and introduced a number of significant inventions, including the flat broom and the clothespin. They were also among the first to sell packaged plant seeds, and were at one time the foremost supplier of medicinal herbs in the United States. Shaker music was also highly distinctive and widely admired. In all

of these ways, the Shakers exerted a considerable and lasting influence on American culture, though their numbers dwindled to a handful by the 20th century.

THE UNITARIANS AND UNIVERSALISTS

In both England and America, the 18th century witnessed the growth of Unitarianism, a religious perspective whose roots lay in the anti-Trinitarian theology of the controversial Radical Reformers Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus. As the name implies, Unitarians argued for the unity of God, thus rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus. Unitarianism had much in common with other religious views of the day, including both Enlightenment deism and the liberalized Arminianism that was gaining in popularity among evangelical Protestants. Like the former, Unitarianism arose in part as a reaction to the increasing Western emphasis on reason and the growing intellectual incredulity toward the supernatural. Like the latter, Unitarianism was marked by an emphasis on the basic goodness of humanity and a downplaying of the negative effects of original sin.

Unitarianism first gained prominence in England, where it was advocated by men such as Thomas Emlyn (1663–1741), who gathered one of the earliest Unitarian congregations in London in 1705, and Joseph Priestly (1733–1803), a prominent scientist who is often credited with the discovery of oxygen. Many of the Presbyterian churches in England (which had never been as robust as those in neighboring Scotland) became Unitarian, and a limited number of Anglicans also embraced Unitarian views. Foremost among these was Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808), whose formal secession from the Church of England in 1773 in sometimes cited as marking the origin of Unitarianism as a distinct denomination.

In America, Unitarian views emerged most strongly in and around Boston, where they were championed by influential Congregationalist pastors such as Charles Chauncy (1705–1787), Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766), and William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Channing became the outstanding organizer and theologian of the American Unitarian movement, and around the time of his rise to prominence a number of New England Congregationalist churches split along Unitarian/Trinitarian lines. In 1825, the Unitarians gained greater visibility and legitimacy through the organization of the American Unitarian Association.

A contemporary movement that would eventually be closely associated with Unitarianism was Universalism, which had roots in the theology of Origen and emerged as a distinct movement in mid-18th century America. The central claim of the Universalists was that it was unthinkable that a God who was both all-loving and all-powerful would knowingly condemn anyone to experience eternal, conscious torment in hell, and that therefore God intended the eventual salvation and glorification of all humanity. Many Universalists believed that this would be accomplished through a process by which a portion of humanity would be temporarily consigned to hell before finally being reconciled to God (a more extreme permutation of the doctrine of purgatory).

Notable early Universalists included George de Benneville (1703–1793), a former Huguenot who migrated to Pennsylvania in the 1740s and had contacts with some of the Schwarzenau Brethren, and John Murray (1741–1815), an Englishman who established the first Universalist congregation in America at Gloucester, Massachusetts in 1779. Universalist conventions were held in New England and Pennsylvania in the 1780s and 1790s, and out of these meetings emerged a formal denomination, the Universalist Church of America.

By far the most influential figure in the further development of Universalism was Hosea Ballou (1771–1852), a New England minister who proved to be more extreme in his theology than many other early Universalists. Ballou denied the existence of hell altogether and claimed that every soul would ascend to heaven at the moment of physical death. He also argued that Christ's death did not constitute an atonement for sin, but rather a demonstration of God's unfathomable love for all humanity. Furthermore, Ballou's rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus proved influential in steering the Universalists toward a Unitarian theology.

Unitarianism and Universalism would eventually become more closely identified when, in 1961, the American Unitarian Association and the Universalist Church of America formally merged to become the Unitarian Universalist Association. This organization is characterized by extreme liberality and diversity in the theological views of its members, a majority of whom no longer self-identify as Christians.[1] While the Unitarian Universalist Association now provides an umbrella for a majority of those who subscribe to either view, it should be noted that there are some Universalists who subscribe to a Trinitarian theology and some Unitarians who do not believe in universal salvation.

THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST AND DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

In 1801, at the dawn of the Second Great Awakening, a large camp meeting took place at Cane Ridge in southwestern Kentucky. This revival drew thousands of people and profoundly shaped the religious climate of the American frontier. One participant who was greatly impacted by the meeting was Barton W. Stone (1772–1844), a Presbyterian minister. Following the revival, Stone rejected the Calvinist view of election and began preaching that all humanity might be saved if they would believe.

As a result of this stance, Stone was forced to relinquish his Presbyterian pulpit, and he subsequently gathered around himself a small group of followers who supported his newfound views. The members of this movement rejected any formal denominational title, calling themselves simply "Christians." They renounced the historic creeds of the church, adopted the Bible as their only rule of faith, sought to model their practices on those of the New Testament believers, denounced infant baptism, and championed the reconciliation of all believers, arguing that God did not intend His church to be divided.

In the 1820's, Stone met Alexander Campbell (1788–1866), an Irish-American who, like Stone, had found himself at odds with Presbyterian orthodoxy during the early years of the Second Great Awakening. After allying himself and his followers with the Baptists for a number of years, Campbell had formed a distinct group known as the Disciples and began promoting believer's baptism and Christian unity. Stone and Campbell found that their two movements had much in common, and, in 1832, Stone and a number of his Christians formally merged with Campbell's Disciples. This newly-united group launched what became known as the Restoration movement, whose aim was to promote the restoration of New Testament Christianity and unity within the body of Christ.

Eventually, a number of differences emerged among the heirs of the Restoration movement. Some conservatives argued that any practices that were not specifically prescribed in the New Testament were to be avoided, and thus rejected the use of instruments in worship and the organization of formal missionary societies. Others believed that such innovations were perfectly acceptable, as they were neither forbidden by nor inconsistent with Scripture. Such disagreements led to a permanent split in the early 1900s, with the more conservative faction becoming known as the Churches of Christ and the more progressive as the Disciples of Christ. The Churches of Christ gradually tended to become more exclusive in their views, while the Disciples of Christ became more inclusive and more closely aligned with mainline Protestantism. Further divisions within each of the two groups of churches eventually resulted in the creation of a number of similarly-named bodies which share common roots in the Restoration movement.[2]

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMONS)

The Restoration movement of Stone and Campbell was merely one early expression of a broader spiritual trend known as Restorationism that came to define several different movements that emerged during the course of the Second and Third Great Awakenings. Broadly speaking, Restorationist groups are those who believe that, at some point in its history (typically near its inception), the Christian church deviated in some significant way from God's intended purposes for it (an event often referred to in retrospect as the "Great Apostasy"), and that God has therefore singled them out to restore His church to its proper state. As we have seen in the case of the Churches of Christ and Disciples of Christ, sometimes such a restoration was thought to require the dismantling of denominational barriers and the promotion of a primal Christian unity. In other instances, however, individuals or groups came to believe that they were the sole representatives of the "true faith," and that God had already achieved the restoration of His plan for the church by setting them aside as His chosen people. A striking example of such a Restorationist movement is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, also known as the Mormons.

On September 22, 1827, Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844), a young man who had grown up in the "burned-over district" of western New York during the Second Great Awakening, claimed that he had been given a book of inscribed gold plates by the angel Moroni.

Over the course of the next two years, Smith is said to have set about translating the cryptic language on the plates into English with the aid of special stones. The result of these labors was the Book of Mormon, a text purporting to describe the migration of Jews to the Americas shortly before the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, and the ministry of Jesus, prophets, and angels among various American peoples. Smith believed that he had been specially chosen by God to receive this revelation, and he soon managed to convince many others of the veracity of his claims.

Upon completing his translation work in 1830, Smith formally organized his followers into the denomination that would come to be known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (or, more informally, the Mormon Church). He believed that this event constituted the restoration of true Christianity, which had been concealed since the early church had fallen into apostasy. Smith's followers subsequently became convinced that he was a prophet from God, and the Book of Mormon was accepted as canonical Scripture alongside the Bible.

Over the course of the next several years, Smith and the Mormons successively relocated from New York to Ohio (where their ranks were swelled by a large number of former Disciples of Christ), to Missouri, and finally to Illinois. In each location they faced considerable opposition from the local populace, who often objected to their unusual beliefs, their sometimes questionable business conduct, and, eventually, their practice of polygamy.[3] In 1844, Joseph Smith was murdered by a mob in an Illinois jail, and leadership of the movement passed to Brigham Young (1801–1877), who led the bulk of the Latter-Day Saints to Utah, where they established a monolithic Mormon society that largely persists to the present day.

While the Latter-Day Saints view their faith as the legitimate restoration of New Testament Christianity, Mormon religion represents an extreme divergence from Christian orthodoxy in several respects. Notable features of Mormonism that are incompatible with historical Christianity include the acceptance of the Book of Mormon and other writings of Joseph Smith as inspired Scripture, the insistence that the three persons of the Trinity are completely separate and distinct beings, the claim that human spirits co-existed with God before the creation of the world, and the teaching that select humans may prove themselves worthy of deification.

THE MILLERITES AND SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

Another group with some Restorationist tendencies that appeared during the Second Great Awakening was the Millerites, named for their founder, William Miller (1782–1849). Shortly after 1800, Miller rejected his Baptist upbringing and became a deist, but after serving in the War of 1812 he slowly began reclaiming his faith in Christianity. Determined to reconcile the claims of Scripture with the intellectual objections raised

by his deist friends, Miller undertook a careful verse-by-verse study of the Bible, during the course of which he became fascinated by the eschatological prophecies contained in the books of Daniel and Revelation. Using these passages, Miller attempted to calculate the precise date of Christ's second coming, and predicted that it would occur between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844.

Miller first advanced his prediction in public in 1822, after which he began defending it through his sermons. He soon attracted a considerable number of followers, who were variously known as Millerites or Adventists (because of their belief in the impending advent of the age to come), and their ranks continued to swell as the assumed time of Christ's appearance approached. The hopes of the Millerites were dashed, however, when the second coming did not occur during the predicted time period. Further biblical research and fresh calculations led them to believe that the correct date was October 22, 1844, but this too proved incorrect, and resulted in what became known as the Great Disappointment, after which the Millerite movement largely disintegrated.

A minority of Miller's followers, however, came to the conclusion that his prediction concerning the year 1844 had been partially correct, but that his understanding of the prophecies had been flawed. Rather than marking the second coming of Christ, they came to believe that 1844 signified the beginning of what they termed the "investigative judgment" in heaven, during which Christ would determine the ultimate fate of every human in anticipation of His imminent return. These Millerites also began observing Saturday—the Jewish Sabbath—rather than Sunday, as they believed that this was God's will and that the practice might help accelerate Christ's return. In 1863, they organized themselves as a formal denomination, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church.

The Seventh-Day Adventists initially adopted a Unitarian form of theology that bordered on Arianism. In the 20th century, however, the denomination began embracing Trinitarianism and Arminianism, and in recent decades Adventism has been increasingly viewed not as an unorthodox sect, but as a variation of evangelical Protestantism. Nevertheless, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church retains several distinctive doctrines in addition to its focus on the Sabbath, most notably the belief that the souls of those who die do not ascend to heaven, but slumber until the second coming, and the belief that punishment in hell is not eternal, but that God eventually annihilates the souls of those who are confined there.

THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN

Among the most notable new Christian groups to emerge in the British Isles during the first half of the 19th century was the Plymouth Brethren. The key figure in the founding of this movement was John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), an Irishman and a former Anglican priest who, in the late 1820's, became convinced that the practices of the

Established Church in England and Ireland represented a distortion of God's intention for His body. After resigning from the ministry, Darby found fellowship with a small band of like-minded individuals in Dublin and began developing the theology that would give shape and direction to the fledgling movement. Similar groups were soon established in various cities in Ireland and England, including Plymouth, which became the movement's early stronghold, and in 1832 Darby and his compatriots formally broke with the Church of Ireland.

The Plymouth Brethren soon developed a number of characteristic beliefs and practices that distinguished them from other Protestant groups. They rejected any form of clergy, insisting that the Spirit must be free to minister through any male believer (though women were forbidden to speak in their gatherings). They also repudiated the classical creeds, holding to the Bible as their only standard of faith. They took communion weekly, and considered it to be the most important element of their services. They stressed separation from the world and largely avoided involvement in social reform, choosing instead to emphasize the importance of conversion and personal holiness.[4]

This tendency on the part of the Plymouth Brethren to focus on inner transformation at the expense of societal involvement was in large part a reflection of their conviction that the second coming of Christ was imminent. Indeed, Darby was a staunch defender of the doctrine of a premillennial rapture and was one of the earliest significant proponents of the theological system known as dispensationalism.[5] This eschatological focus led the Plymouth Brethren to become highly missionary-minded, and they eventually established evangelistic outposts on every continent.

THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC AND NEW APOSTOLIC CHURCHES

Another new expression of the Christian faith that arose in Great Britain during this period was the Catholic Apostolic Church, a millenarian movement that had its roots in the ministry of the Scottish Presbyterian Edward Irving (1792–1834). In the early 1830s, Irving assumed the pastorate of a London congregation, and he soon began predicting the imminent second coming of Christ and encouraging the manifestation of spiritual gifts such as prophesying and speaking in tongues. A number of Irving's congregants subsequently became convinced that the New Testament apostolate should be restored, and in 1835—the year after Irving's death—they formally set apart twelve of their number to serve as apostles. Each of these twelve men was assigned to oversee a specific region within the Christian world, and they traveled throughout Europe and America evangelizing and establishing new congregations. In addition, the apostles appointed prophets, evangelists, pastors, and deacons to serve the laity and carry out the work of the church. This group viewed itself as a continuation of the New Testament community, and eventually became known as the Catholic Apostolic Church, a designation that reflected the language of the Nicene Creed.

In 1855, after three of the twelve apostles had died, the remaining members of the apostolate declared that no new apostles would be appointed. This decision presumably reflected their continued belief that Christ's return was at hand. Members of the church's Hamburg congregation, however, defied the apostolate's wishes by setting forth a new apostle in 1862. This dissenting faction was excommunicated by the apostles, eventuating in a schism that produced a rival body known as the New Apostolic Church. This new organization continued to appoint new apostles, and it subsequently achieved strength in Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. The original Catholic Apostolic Church, meanwhile, suffered a dramatic decline following the death of its last surviving apostle in 1901.

THE SALVATION ARMY

As the 19th century passed its midpoint and the first stirrings of the Third Great Awakening were felt, new expressions of the Christian faith once again began to emerge. In 1865, a former Methodist evangelist named William Booth (1829–1912) and his wife Catherine (1829–1890) opened a center known as the Christian Mission in London. There they provided for the physical and spiritual needs of the poor, homeless, hungry, and desperate, offering them what they termed the "three S's": soup, soap, and salvation. In 1878, Booth changed the name of the infant movement, giving it the moniker by which it would subsequently become known the world over: the Salvation Army.

As the Booths and their helpers continued winning converts among the poor and disenfranchised, they saw the need to establish their own church, as many of the former alcoholics, drug addicts, and prostitutes who accepted the Gospel under their care would not have been accepted into more staid, traditional congregations. The Army's early worship gatherings were marked by an air of informality and exuberant worship, often accompanied by instrumental music. They did not participate in the sacraments, as the Booths sought to discourage anything that smacked of ritualistic formality, which they believed had compromised the spiritual health of many mainline denominations. However, in most other ways the Army's beliefs and practices were consistent with those of other Protestant groups, and in requiring complete abstinence from tobacco, alcohol, and gambling, their purity standards rivaled those of the Holiness movement.

In order to more efficiently conduct its mission and facilitate its expansion, the Salvation Army was organized along military lines. William Booth was appointed general for life, and under him served "officers" who performed many of the duties that were assigned to ministers and evangelists in other denominations. Individual members signed up as "soldiers" and took this commitment with great seriousness. Through the efforts of its officers and soldiers, the Army soon began to spread. In 1880, it was established in the United States and Australia, and by 1900, it was operating in 30 countries, including France, Germany, Italy, Japan, India, Indonesia, Argentina, and South Africa. The Army eventually expanded its programs to include the operation of thrift stores for charity,

the tracing of missing persons, and global disaster relief work, and has remained a remarkably effective ministry force for more than a century.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS

Around the same time that the Salvation Army was being established in England, a number of new religious groups were arising in America. One of the most significant of these was Christian Science. Its founder, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), experienced a variety of serious health problems in early life, but in 1866 she claimed to have received complete divine healing while reading an account of one of Jesus' miraculous healings in the New Testament. This experience prompted Eddy to begin exploring the connections between faith, illness, and healing, and she systematized her theories in a work entitled *Science and Health* (later retitled *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*), which was first published in 1875.

In this book, Eddy advanced a dualistic worldview, arguing that all reality was purely spiritual and that the material universe was therefore illusory. In particular, she argued that evil and its various manifestations (including physical illness and death) could not have been created by a loving God, and therefore could not truly be real. Rather, she claimed, such things were merely deceptions of the devil, and would be revealed as such when one drew near to God through prayer. Thus, Eddy maintained that prayer could always effect physical healing, as disease was simply an illusion in the mind of the afflicted person caused by sin, fear, or ignorance—an illusion that God could and would dispel.[6] Clearly, such claims represented an extreme divergence from the norms of Christian theology.

Eddy's writings soon attracted a number of followers, and stories of miraculous healings became widespread among members of the movement. In 1879, Eddy founded a formal denomination, the Church of Christ, Scientist (or the Christian Science Church).[7] The first congregation, which was established in Boston, served as the instrument through which Eddy continued to propagate her teachings regarding healing. Her disciples soon came to accept *Science and Health* as an authoritative source of instruction, and excerpts from it were typically read along with passages from the Bible in Christian Science services. As a result of this extreme commitment to the veracity of Eddy's beliefs, many members of the Church trusted only in prayer for healing, eschewing the services of physicians and the use of medicine.

In spite of its unorthodox doctrines, the Christian Science Church attracted numerous adherents in New England and elsewhere through its promises of physical healing. It also gained nationwide attention through its publication *The Christian Science Monitor,* a daily newspaper that garnered acclaim for its objectivity and lack of sensationalism. The Church remains active to the present day, though its membership numbers have declined considerably in recent decades.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

Another significant movement that emerged during the Third Great Awakening was the millenarian, Adventist sect that would eventually become known as Jehovah's Witnesses. The founder of this movement was Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916), a former Congregationalist who was greatly impacted as a young man by the ministry of Jonas Wendell (1815–1873), an Adventist in the Millerite tradition. Intrigued by Wendell's prophetic predictions concerning the end times, Russell founded the Bible Students movement in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the early 1870s for the purpose of exploring biblical eschatology.

Through contact with another Adventist, Nelson H. Barbour (1824–1905), Russell eventually became convinced that Christ had returned invisibly to earth in 1874, that the rapture would occur in 1878, and that the Tribulation would begin in 1914. In 1879, with the rapture having failed to take place as they had predicted, Russell and Barbour split. Russell subsequently founded an organization known as the *Watch Tower Bible* and Tract Society and began publishing a magazine entitled Zion's *Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence,* through which he continued to expound his Adventist predictions and other unorthodox theological views.

Russell and his Bible Students, like other earlier movements, adopted a Restorationist viewpoint, believing that the early church had fallen into apostasy and that they alone had been chosen to restore the true Christian faith. Consequently, they rejected the validity of all other forms of Christianity and discarded a number of central Christian doctrines that they viewed as illegitimate innovations of the post-apostasy church. Most notably, they denounced the doctrine of the Trinity, taught that Jesus was a created being, denied the literal existence of hell, and claimed that only 144,000 people from throughout history would be elected to dwell in heaven, with all other believers remaining in an earthly paradise following Christ's return.

Charles Taze Russell died in 1916, and the Bible Students movement was subsequently hurt by a series of schisms and a large number of defections, largely owing to the fact that its ever-changing eschatological predictions had repeatedly failed to come to pass. Nevertheless, the movement continued to advance its distinctive beliefs, attracting many new adherents in the process. In 1931, the organization was renamed Jehovah's Witnesses, and its subsequent existence has been characterized by increasing isolationism—Witnesses avoid association with members of other religious bodies and maintain a strict separation from secular governments, refusing to perform military service or to vote in public elections—and by a relentless commitment to door-to-door evangelism, with which their name has become synonymous.

Having completed, over the course of the three preceding chapters, a survey of the various forms of Protestantism (as well as the more unorthodox derivations thereof) that emerged in Europe and America during the 18th and 19th centuries, we now turn our attention to the rest of the world. In the next chapter, we will explore the means by which the Christian faith was carried to the ends of the earth during this period through the efforts of Protestant missionaries.

Chapter Twenty-Seven Review

Alexander Campbell	Mary Baker Eddy
Alexander Mack	Mormons/Latter-Day Saints
Ann Lee	Plymouth Brethren
Barton W. Stone	Restoration Movement
Catholic Apostolic Church	Restorationism
Charles Taze Russell	Salvation Army
Christian Science	Schwarzenau Brethren
Churches of Christ	Seventh Day Adventism
Disciples of Christ	Shakers
Edward Irving	Unitarianism
Hosea Ballou	Universalism
Jehovah's Witnesses	William and Catherine Booth
John Nelson Darby	William Ellery Channing
Joseph Smith	William Miller

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN NOTES

[1] John Dart, "UUism Unique: Churchgoers from Elsewhere," *The Christian Century,* December 5, 2001.

[2] It should be noted that the United Church of Christ (UCC), though it has some historical ties to Barton W. Stone's movement, is largely distinct theologically and historically from other heirs of the Restoration movement, and has more in common with liberal Presbyterianism and Congregationalism.

[3] The early Mormons accepted and even promoted polygamous marriages, and both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had multiple wives. However, despite popular conceptions to

the contrary, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints formally denounced polygamy in 1890, and its members no longer practice it (though polygamy is still practiced by some adherents of Mormonism who belong to other organizations).

[4]In later years, the Plymouth Brethren would become divided between those who increasingly embodied exclusivist attitudes (the Exclusive Brethren) and those who gradually began demonstrating greater receptivity toward other believers (the Open Brethren).

[5]For more on premillennialism and dispensationalism, see Chapter Thirty-One.

[6]The Christian Science view of the spiritual nature of reality is summed up in the Scientific Statement of Being, the central tenet of Christian Science belief: "There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness. Therefore man is not material; he is spiritual."

[7]Despite the similarity in designation, the Church of Christ, Scientist is in no way affiliated with the Churches of Christ descended from the Restoration Movement.

Chapter Twenty-Eight
The Protestant Missions Movement

As we saw in Chapter Twenty-Four, the first wave of global Christian evangelization was largely carried out under the auspices of Portugal and Spain—the earliest European colonial powers—and thus was predominantly Roman Catholic in character. Even when Protestant nations such as Britain and the Netherlands began extending their political and economic influence into new territories, the lack of monastic orders or formal missionary organizations within the churches of the Reformation hindered the spread of the Protestant form of the faith.

During the late 18th and 19th centuries, however, the evangelical fervor associated with the Pietist movement, the Wesleyan Revival, and the Great Awakenings increasingly gave rise to a spirit of missionary zeal among European and American Protestants. As a result, this period witnessed the creation of numerous Protestant evangelistic organizations and the birth of a coherent Protestant missions movement whose proponents would subsequently carry the Gospel to the far corners of the earth.[1]

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

While the Protestant missions movement would eventually enjoy great gains in Asia and Africa, some of the earliest concentrated Protestant evangelistic efforts were made in the Western Hemisphere. As we have noted, it was the Moravians who constituted the first organized Protestant missionary force. In 1732, Moravian missionaries landed on the Caribbean island of St. Thomas, where they sought to win converts among the African slaves. Within a few years, they had extended their operations to several of the surrounding islands that together comprised the Danish West Indies (later the U.S. Virgin Islands), and to the colony of Dutch Guiana (Suriname) on the mainland of South America. In 1733, Moravians arrived in Greenland, where they worked alongside Scandinavian Lutherans to evangelize the native Inuit population, and by 1750 they had established a presence in nearby Labrador. Beginning in 1740, Moravian missionaries also labored among the Native Americans in North America. They were particularly successful in New York, where they established a number of missions and organized the first Native American congregation in America in 1742.

Another notable pioneer in the evangelization of the native peoples of North America was David Brainerd (1718–1747), a Presbyterian minister and a close associate of Jonathan Edwards. In 1743, Brainerd began working as a missionary to a Native American tribe near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and he spent the few remaining years of his life ministering among the Delaware and Susquehanna tribes in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Though his successes were limited and his efforts were cut short by his premature death of tuberculosis, Brainerd's detailed diaries of his missionary labors among the Native

Americans were eventually published and served as a profound inspiration to future generations of Protestant missionaries.

Following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the British gained control of the formerly French possessions that would eventually constitute the nation of Canada. Under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and other agencies, Protestant missionaries subsequently began evangelizing both the Native Americans and the European immigrant population in the region. In contrast to the United States, where first the Congregationalists and later the Methodists and Baptists were dominant, the most prominent Protestant groups in Canada during this period were the Presbyterians (mostly of Scottish origin) and the Anglicans (a number of whom had fled the United States following the Revolutionary War).

The late 18th century also witnessed the ongoing evangelization of the British West Indies (including the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, and Trinidad), whose populations were predominantly of African descent. Here missionary efforts were largely carried out by Anglicans and Methodists. Thomas Coke, whom we have mentioned as one of the early organizers of Methodism in the United States, and who was greatly impacted by a biography of David Brainerd, made a series of missionary journeys to the West Indies between 1786 and 1793 and later authored a history of the region.

During the course of the 19th century, Protestantism gradually penetrated Latin America, which had previously been almost uniformly Roman Catholic. Protestant missionaries came from both Europe and the United States and won converts among the indigenous peoples and the often-nominal Catholics. In Brazil, where the Catholicism of the Portuguese immigrants had always been less robust than that of their Spanish neighbors, Protestantism made great inroads. Near the middle of the century, the South American Missionary Society was founded by the Anglican missionary Allen Gardiner (1794–1851). This organization initially focused on the evangelization of the native peoples of Patagonia and later expanded its operations throughout the continent.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

While men such as Brainerd, Coke, and the Moravian missionaries were important precursors to the worldwide evangelization that took place in the 19th century, the true progenitor of the Protestant missions movement was the English Baptist William Carey (1761–1834). Carey was raised in the Church of England and was originally a shoemaker by trade, but after becoming associated with a group of Particular Baptists in the early 1780s, he joined that denomination and became a schoolmaster and pastor. During this period, Carey read a biography of David Brainerd and the journals of the British explorer Captain James Cook. Both of these books stirred in Carey a desire to help spread the Gospel to other parts of the world, and he soon began attempting to convince others of the urgency of this task.

In seeking to win support for such large-scale missionary endeavors, Carey was forced to battle the prevailing mindset of his fellow English believers, a majority of whom were Calvinist in their theology. Many of those who held firmly to the Calvinistic doctrines of unconditional election, limited atonement, and irresistible grace felt little compulsion to engage in intentional evangelism, as they generally assumed that God would infallibly draw to Himself all those who had been elected for salvation, and that the efforts of missionaries could therefore have no decisive effect concerning the fates of individual souls. Carey rejected this attitude, which he viewed as inconsistent with Scripture, particularly Jesus' Great Commission.[2]

In an attempt to win others to his position, Carey published a pamphlet entitled *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* in 1792. The work consisted of five parts: a theological justification for missionary activity, a brief history of Christian missions, a series of tables listing demographic data for every country in the world, a series of responses to common objections to global evangelism, and a call for the formation of an organized Baptist missionary society. Carey supplemented the publication of this treatise by preaching a highly-publicized pro-missionary sermon that yielded what would become his most famous quotation: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God."

As a result of Carey's efforts, the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (later the Baptist Missionary Society) was founded in October 1792. The following year, Carey, a medical doctor named John Thomas, and their respective families sailed for India as the Society's first missionaries. In 1800, after having briefly ministered at Calcutta and Mudnabatty, Carey relocated to the Danish colony of Serampore, where he remained for more than thirty years. It was also in 1800 that the missionaries won their first convert from Hinduism, seven years after arriving in India.

At Serampore, the missionaries established a school and set up a printing press. Carey, who had shown a remarkable gift for mastering languages from a young age, quickly began learning the native dialects of India, many of which had never been printed before. He labored to translate the Bible into these languages and was soon able to produce printed New Testaments in the major tongues of Bengali and Sanskrit. By the time of Carey's death, all or part of the Bible had been published in 44 different Indian languages and dialects through the efforts of the small band of missionaries.

Carey also lived to see the establishment of Serampore College, which was founded in 1818 for the purpose of training indigenous ministers to oversee the life of the growing Christian church in India. Protestantism continued to flourish in the country after Carey's death, and by shortly after the turn of the 20th century there were nearly one million indigenous Protestant believers in India, along with about five thousand active missionaries, the majority of whom were Anglicans and Methodists. Most of the converts came from among the animistic tribes and lower castes, but a number of more prominent figures

were won to the faith, including Sadhu Sundar Singh (1889–c. 1929), a former Sikh who became a noted Christian mystic.

In addition to spurring further growth in India, William Carey's ministry had an immediate and profound impact on the subsequent course of global Protestant missions. Within twenty years of Carey's initial missionary voyage, a large number of British missionary societies were organized, including the London Missionary Society (1795, Congregationalist), the Scottish Missionary Society (1796, Presbyterian), the Church Missionary Society (1799, evangelical Anglican), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813). Groups such as these propagated the Gospel throughout the world, largely in conjunction with the expansion of the British Empire, which reached its height in the latter half of the 19th century. Similar organizations also soon appeared in America and in the Protestant nations of continental Europe.

One of those who were deeply inspired by Carey's example was Adoniram Judson (1788–1850), a native of Massachusetts and the son of a Congregationalist minister. While attending Andover Theological Seminary, Judson felt compelled by God to become a missionary, and in 1812 he and his wife sailed for Asia under the authority of the newly-founded American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. While aboard the ship, Judson engaged in intensive Bible study, as a result of which he became convinced of the necessity of believer's baptism and resolved to join the Baptist denomination.

Upon arriving in India, the Judsons faced opposition from both the natives and the British colonial authorities, so in 1813 they moved to Burma (present-day Myanmar). From there Judson sent word back to America, informing a group of American Baptists of his situation and offering to serve as their missionary representative in Burma. As a result (and in part through the urgings of William Carey, whom Judson had met in India), in 1814 Judson's contacts founded the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, the first national Baptist organization in America.

Judson faced considerable obstacles in Burma, including the predominance of Buddhism and the difficulty of the Burmese language. Nevertheless, he devoted himself to the task of learning Burmese and soon began public evangelism, though it would be six years before he would baptize his first convert. Judson eventually translated the entire Bible into Burmese, completed a Burmese grammar, and produced a Burmese-English dictionary. He labored in Burma for more than 30 years, and by the time of his death more than 7,000 Burmese had become believers as a result of his pioneering endeavors.

In addition to the major efforts of Carey and Judson and their successors in India and Burma, the 19th century also witnessed ongoing Protestant missionary activity in other parts of South and Southeast Asia, including Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines. In most of these regions the numerical gains

of Protestantism were limited, and the majority of those who became converts were practitioners of primitive, animist religions rather than adherents of the more established faiths of Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. Protestant missionaries did, however, meet with notable success in the Dutch East Indies, where by 1900 there were nearly half a million baptized Protestant converts.

OCEANIA

The spread of Protestantism in the islands of Oceania began with the British establishment of a penal colony in Australia in 1788. The first contingent of prisoners was accompanied by an evangelical Anglican clergyman, and in 1794 he was joined by a colleague, Samuel Marsden (1764–1838), who eventually became the Church Missionary Society's initial official representative in the region. As both prisoners and free immigrants continued to pour into Australia from the British Isles, the Anglicans began organizing a formal ministry structure, and they were soon joined by large numbers of Presbyterians and Methodists. These early missionaries ministered to the burgeoning white population, many of whom (especially among the convicts) were unbelievers, and also initiated evangelistic efforts aimed at the aboriginal peoples.

In addition, the Protestants of Australia soon began turning their sights to other neighboring islands. Marsden petitioned the Church Missionary Society to send workers to minister among the Maori tribes of New Zealand, and he accompanied the first missionaries to those islands in 1814. Marsden made several subsequent trips to New Zealand to oversee the evangelistic work there, and additional Anglican and Methodist missionaries soon journeyed there as well. Within 40 years, the vast majority of the Maoris were at least nominally Christian.

Protestantism also infiltrated several of the smaller island groups of the region. In 1796, the London Missionary Society inaugurated its work by sending a group of missionaries to several different locations in the South Pacific. The bulk of the party landed at Tahiti in the Society Islands (part of modern-day French Polynesia), while a lesser contingent sailed to Tonga. Both of these island groups saw mass conversions to Christianity in subsequent decades. In 1820, Congregationalist missionaries from New England brought the Protestant faith to Hawaii. Over the succeeding years, these missionaries helped give the native language written form, began a translation of the Bible, and opened a number of Christian schools, thus contributing to the eventual conversion of a substantial proportion of the populace.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

As was the case elsewhere, the 19th-century penetration of Christianity into Sub-Saharan Africa was closely connected with European colonial expansion. While the Catholic powers of Europe claimed much of Africa's western coast and interior, Protestantism

achieved its greatest gains in the southern and eastern portions of the continent. As we have seen, the Dutch were the first Protestant power to establish a presence in Africa, having founded a settlement at the southern cape in the mid-17th century. But although a number of Dutch Reformed congregations were subsequently established to minister to the colonists, little effort was made to evangelize the native African populations.

In 1805, however, the Cape Colony (present-day South Africa) was annexed by the British, and missionary activities soon commenced under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. Its first representative was a Dutchman, John Van Der Kemp (1747–1811), who ministered among the Xhosa and Khoikhoi people, opposed slavery, and was largely responsible for the establishment of the Netherlands Missionary Society. Shortly after Van Der Kemp's death, the London Missionary Society dispatched Robert Moffat (1795–1883), a Scottish Congregationalist, to the Cape. Moffat spent more than fifty years working as a missionary in South Africa and Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) and translated the Bible into the Tswana language.

In addition to the agents of the London Missionary Society, British Anglicans and Methodists and Scottish Presbyterians also initiated missionary efforts aimed at the indigenous populations of South Africa. Though the resident Dutch Reformed believers initially did little to supplement these British efforts, their missionary involvement increased following a revival led by Andrew Murray (1828–1917), a South African-born pastor of Scottish descent who championed the ideals of Pietism and the Evangelical Revival. By 1900, South Africa had the largest Christian population in Sub-Saharan Africa (with the possible exception of Ethiopia, where the ancient Monophysite form of the faith endured).

Protestantism also infiltrated the island of Madagascar off the southeast coast of Africa during the first third of the 19th century. Again, the earliest strides were made by representatives of the London Missionary Society, who baptized a number of the native Hòva people and produced a translation of the Bible in their language. After a period of anti-Christian reaction, Protestantism enjoyed a resurgence beginning in the late 1860s, and by 1900, it had gained close to three hundred thousand adherents in Madagascar.

The chief pioneer in the expansion of Protestantism into the southeastern interior of Africa was the Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone (1813–1873). Livingstone studied medicine at the University of Glasgow and later joined the London Missionary Society with the intention of becoming a medical missionary to the Chinese, but this desire was frustrated by the outbreak of the Opium Wars between Britain and China. After hearing of the work of Robert Moffat and of the incredible missionary opportunities in the interior of Africa, Livingstone opted to minister there instead, and sailed for South Africa in 1840.

Upon arriving in Africa in 1841, Livingstone joined Moffat in Bechuanaland, and eventually married Moffat's daughter. During the 1840s he set up a number of missions in the

northeastern part of present-day South Africa, but met with little initial evangelistic success. From 1852–56, Livingstone carried out an exploratory expedition into the African interior, becoming the first European to see the Mosi-oa-Tunya waterfall (which he renamed Victoria Falls). Through these travels, he gained a wealth of valuable information about the geography and culture of the region, and became determined to help spread both Christianity and commerce to the interior of the continent.

In 1857, Livingstone returned to Britain to present his findings and garner support for new ventures. He encouraged others to pursue the missionary work that he had begun, but resigned from the London Missionary Society and resolved to devote his energies fully to further exploration. The following year, he launched an expedition with the intention of charting the course of the Zambezi River, an endeavor that he was forced to abandon in 1864 after finding the river unnavigable beyond a certain point.

In 1866, Livingstone journeyed to Zanzibar and initiated a search for the source of the Nile. He soon disappeared into uncharted regions and was not heard from for several years. In 1869, the New York Herald newspaper sent the journalist Henry M. Stanley (1841–1904) on a highly publicized quest to locate Livingstone. Stanley finally found Livingstone at Ujiji in modern-day Tanzania in late 1871, greeting the missionary with the famous question, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" The two subsequently explored together for a few months, but never located the Nile's source. Stanley returned to England in 1872, and Livingstone died in the following year.

Livingstone's impact on the course of Protestantism in Africa was largely indirect and owed much to the efforts of those who followed in his footsteps. In 1858, following Livingstone's first return trip to Britain, a number of Anglicans who had been inspired by tales of his missionary exploits founded the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Its agents established headquarters at Zanzibar and began evangelizing much of East Africa. The Church of Scotland likewise started missions near Lake Nyasa, opened schools, and gathered thousands of converts. Stanley, who returned to Africa following Livingstone's death to continue his exploratory work, made contact with the king of Uganda and paved the way for the evangelization of that nation, which by 1900 was home to tens of thousands of Protestant believers.[3]

EAST ASIA

One of the most challenging missionary frontiers for Protestantism was East Asia, a region that encompassed highly-civilized nations and that was marked by the prevalence of the well-established religious philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Shinto. In 1800, both China and Japan were effectively closed to the Western world, with each country placing stringent limitations on foreign commerce and strictly forbidding Christian activity. Thus, the prospects for missionary success in the region seemed grim indeed.

Between 1840 and 1860, however, China became embroiled in the series of commercial and military clashes with Great Britain known as the Opium Wars. The treaties that finally brought an end to this protracted conflict provided for the opening of Chinese ports to foreign trade and, more significantly from the standpoint of Christianity, the toleration of missionary activity.

The most outstanding figure in the Protestant evangelization of China was the British missionary J. Hudson Taylor (1832–1905). Born into a Methodist household, Taylor briefly rejected the faith of his childhood before accepting Christ as a teenager, at which point he pledged to become a missionary. He prepared himself for this career by studying medicine, and in the fall of 1853 he departed England for China under the auspices of the Chinese Evangelization Society.

Taylor arrived in Shanghai in March 1854, during an interlude in the Opium Wars, and initiated a series of evangelistic tours of the country. He soon broke with the Chinese Evangelization Society and subsisted as an entirely independent missionary. During this period, he adopted the custom of clothing himself in traditional Chinese dress in an attempt to more fully contextualize the Gospel. Taylor won a modest number of converts and continued his labors until 1860, when he was forced by ill health to return to England for a time.

In 1865, Taylor and an associate founded the China Inland Mission, a nondenominational missionary organization committed to the evangelization of the interior provinces of China, which remained unreached by the Gospel. The following year, Taylor returned to China along with his family and sixteen others. The entire party adopted Chinese dress and launched a concentrated attempt to spread the Gospel to every part of the nation, establishing a number of inland mission stations and sometimes evangelizing from house to house.

Despite losing many family members and associates to illness, and in the face of increasing persecution (culminating in the anti-Western, anti-Christian violence of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900), Taylor steadfastly continued his efforts. He made periodic journeys to England and the United States to raise funds and recruit new missionaries, and the China Inland Mission continued to expand its influence and to attract new converts. By the time of Taylor's death in 1905 (during his 11th visit to China), the Gospel had been preached in all of China's provinces, the ranks of the China Inland Mission had swelled to nearly 800 missionaries, and the number of Protestant converts in China was approaching one hundred thousand.

At the same time that Taylor was laboring in China, Christianity was being gradually reintroduced to Japan. In 1854, at the insistence of the U.S. Navy's Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858), Japan concluded a commercial treaty with the United States that effected a partial reopening of its borders. During the remainder of the 19th century,

Protestant missionaries from the U.S. labored among the Japanese and won tens of thousands of converts, largely from among the educated and professional classes. Nevertheless, the predominance of Buddhism and Shinto ensured that Christians remained a distinct minority.

Protestant missionaries began establishing a presence in Korea in the 1880s, roughly a century after a Korean diplomat had become the first Christian convert in that country through contact with Catholic missionaries in China. The early Protestant evangelists—mostly American Presbyterians and Methodists—established churches and started Bible classes through which they trained Korean converts to carry the Gospel to their fellow countrymen. Thus the seeds were planted for the eventual emergence of one of the most vibrant evangelical communities in all of Asia.

It thus becomes clear that the Protestant missions movement of the 18th and 19th centuries was an incredibly vital and far-reaching phenomenon that imparted fresh momentum to the Christian faith in numerous locations around the globe. The exploits of pioneer missionaries such as William Carey, Adoniram Judson, David Livingstone, and Hudson Taylor inspired many, and the missionary spirit of the age quickly proved infectious. In combination with the revival fervor that marked the Second and Third Great Awakenings, this evangelistic impulse captured the hearts of a large number of young American and European believers and resulted in the establishment of several new missionary societies toward the close of the 19th century.

Particularly notable was the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, founded in 1886 at a student conference sponsored by Dwight L. Moody. This organization sought to recruit American university students to serve as the next generation of global missionaries, and its agents helped to perpetuate the spread of the Gospel in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Latin America. It adopted as its motto and goal "the evangelization of the world in this generation." The Student Volunteer Movement and similar organizations would also prove to be instrumental in spurring the eventual coalescence of the Ecumenical movement, which would emerge as an important vehicle for the maintenance of global Protestant missionary endeavors as the church entered the 20th century.[4]

Chapter Twenty-Eight Review

Adoniram Judson	Samuel Marsden
David Brainerd	Student Volunteer Movement
David Livingstone	William Carey
J. Hudson Taylor	

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT NOTES

[1]As we will see in the next chapter, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christians were also involved in spreading the Gospel to new locales during these centuries.

[2]See Matthew 28:19, 20.

[3]It is also worth noting that Livingstone's letters and journals, which described the barbarities of the African slave trade, helped to stir up much popular support for the abolition of slavery.

[4]For more on the subsequent course of Protestant missions, see Chapter Thirty-Four.

Chapter Twenty-Nine
Catholicism and Orthodoxy
in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Having completed our survey of the various expressions of Protestantism that emerged and flourished during the 18th and 19th centuries, we now turn our attention to concurrent developments within Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. Like Protestantism, both of these other major expressions of the Christian faith were deeply affected by the profound philosophical, scientific, and political shifts associated with the Enlightenment (albeit in unique ways and to varying degrees). Each of these historic Churches also joined the Protestant denominations in propagating the global spread of the faith. Yet in other ways the courses of Catholicism and Orthodoxy during this period were quite distinct, both from one another and from that of Protestantism. In this chapter, we will examine a number of the important developments that helped shape each movement during these highly turbulent centuries.

CATHOLICISM IN EUROPE

In the wake of the effective defeat of the Catholic powers in the Thirty Years' War, the Roman Catholic Church found itself confronted by a number of severe challenges in continental Europe. Partially as a result of the war, the political fortunes of the solidly Catholic nations of Spain and Portugal—which had helped launch both the Catholic Reformation and the global expansion of Catholicism—began declining precipitously in the early 18th century. This development was troubling from the Church's perspective not only because it represented a weakening of two of Catholicism's staunchest supporters, but also because it posed a threat to the political and spiritual integrity of the Catholic colonies that Spain and Portugal had planted in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

The Catholic Church was also forced to contend with a variety of difficulties associated with the increasing ascendancy of Enlightenment ideals. The claims of rationalistic, individualistic philosophy constituted a direct challenge to the Church's authority. The findings of secular science served to undermine the perceived validity of the Church's traditional interpretations of Scripture. The growing appeal of deism and pantheism threatened to lure educated Catholics away from the true faith. The liberal theology and skeptical biblical criticism pioneered by German Protestants slowly infiltrated Catholic Europe, culminating in the work of the Frenchman Ernest Renan (1823–1891), whose *Vie de Jésus* ("Life of Jesus") showed an intellectual debt to the work of Reimarus and Strauss and sparked a considerable controversy among Catholics as to whether the Bible should be subjected to the same rigorous critical scrutiny that was applied to other historical documents.

Most immediately troubling for the Church, however, was the Enlightenment's contribution to the heightened sense of nationalism among the Catholic powers of Europe. During the latter half of the 18th century, the monarchs of Portugal, Spain, France, and Austria—several of whom were greatly influenced by Enlightenment views—increasingly asserted their authority over the affairs of their states, including matters of religion. Joseph II of Austria (reigned 1765–1790) implemented a number of anti-clerical measures, including confiscating Church landholdings, dissolving religious orders, placing the nomination of bishops under his direct control, and forbidding the publication of papal decrees without his consent. Joseph I of Portugal (reigned 1750–1777), Louis XV of France (reigned 1715–1774), and Charles III of Spain (reigned 1759–1788) successively expelled the Jesuits from their domains, thus greatly weakening the vitality of Catholicism in those nations. In 1773, in the face of mounting royal pressure, Pope Clement XIV (reigned 1769–1774) signed a decree suppressing the Society of Jesus in all Catholic countries, forcing many Jesuits to take refuge in Russia, where papal authority was not recognized. This development represented another crushing blow to the integrity of Catholic missionary efforts, as the Jesuits were largely responsible for initiating and staffing Catholic missions abroad.

With the onset of the French Revolution in 1789, the Catholic Church faced even greater perils. The French National Assembly abolished tithes, seized all Church properties, dissolved monasteries, and provided for the public election of priests and bishops. The new French constitution of 1791 guaranteed complete freedom of religion for all citizens, thus eliminating Catholicism's position of privilege. In 1794, the leaders of the radical National Convention denounced Christianity as mere superstition and championed a new form of religion that amounted to deism. The following year, the Convention was replaced by the Directory, which created a republic in Rome and carried Pope Pius VI (reigned 1775–1799) to France as a prisoner. The revolutionary general Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), who first came to power in 1799 and declared himself emperor of France in 1804, initially made a number of concessions to the Church and restored much of its property. Later in his reign, however, Napoleon occupied Rome, absorbed the Papal States into the French Empire, and imprisoned Pope Pius VII (reigned 1800–1823).

Following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the monarchs of Europe largely sought to reestablish the pre-revolutionary status quo, and the fortunes of the Catholic Church consequently improved to some degree. Rome and the majority of the Papal States were restored to the pope, and the Jesuit order was formally revived and reintroduced to its former areas of operation. A number of new monastic bodies also emerged in France and Italy. These nascent orders tended to be socially oriented rather than cloistered and contemplative, and their adherents devoted themselves to promoting education, caring for the sick and poor, and engaging in missionary work.

The 19th century also witnessed a revival among the Catholic laity of Europe in terms of personal piety. There was a renewed emphasis on the kind of mystical devotion that had

characterized the Catholic Reformation in France, including the veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary. A number of individuals associated with this climate of spiritual reawakening gained substantial popular acclaim and were subsequently canonized as saints. Among the most notable of these were Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney (1786–1859) and Thérèse of Lisieux (1873–1897). Vianney served as the curé (parish priest) of the village of Ars in France, and was renowned for his severe asceticism and his skill in spiritual direction. Thérèse, a Carmelite nun, advocated a simple, heartfelt approach to spirituality that became known as the Little Way, and gained fame through the publication of her spiritual autobiography, *The Story of a Soul*.

A final significant manifestation of the resurgence of the 19th-century Catholic Church was the increasing vitality and heightened authority of the papacy. The reign of Pope Pius IX (reigned 1846–1878) was the longest in the history of the office, and during the three decades of his pontificate Pius established himself as the undisputed head of the worldwide Catholic Church. He forcefully asserted the pope's right to define doctrine, and exercised this privilege in 1854 by formally declaring that the Immaculate Conception of Mary was an official dogma of the Catholic Church that was to be embraced by all its members.

In 1864, Pius IX issued a document known as the *Syllabus of Errors*, in which he condemned many of the views of rationalistic philosophy, Protestantism, and nationalism, thus defending the traditional claims of Catholicism. The *Syllabus* attacked much of the philosophical foundation of the Enlightenment, citing as erroneous the beliefs that human reason was the ultimate authority in matters of truth and that the assertions of the Christian faith stood in contradiction to reason. It stressed the unique character of the Catholic faith, denying that people were free to adopt any religion, that any religion might lead to eternal life, and that Protestantism was an equally legitimate expression of Christianity. It came out strongly against socialism, communism, and secret societies, all of which were seen as potential enemies of the Church. Finally, it dealt extensively with the proper relationship between church and state, arguing that the two should not be strictly separated, that the Church should retain some measure of temporal power, that the Church should be the final arbiter concerning all matters of religion and morality, that the pope should retain full authority over national churches, and that the Church, not the state, should be allowed to assume responsibility for the performance of marriages and the education of young people. Pius IX thus defined the Catholic Church's stance as one of firm commitment to its traditional beliefs and uncompromising opposition to the competing claims of all other authorities, whether religious or secular. In so doing, he attacked several of the most basic values of the emerging Western liberalism, including freedom of religion and separation of church and state.

In an attempt to more explicitly promulgate these views, Pius IX summoned and presided over the First Vatican Council (1869–1870), the first general council of the Catholic Church since the Council of Trent. The council approved the *Dogmatic Constitution*

on the Catholic Faith, which set forth the central tenets of Catholicism and emphasized their discontinuity with the claims of Protestantism, rationalism, and liberalism. More famously, the council also produced the constitution known as *Pastor Aeturnus*, which emphasized the complete administrative authority of the pope over all Catholic clergy in every nation and addressed the controversial question of papal infallibility. According to this document, any doctrinal ruling regarding faith or morals issued by the pope in his official capacity as head of the Church was considered to be divinely informed and infallibly correct, and therefore could not be subject to review or dissent.

A number of German, Austrian, and Swiss Catholics rejected the First Vatican Council's ruling on papal infallibility and subsequently left the Roman Catholic Church. Many of them eventually united with the autonomous Dutch Catholics who had supported Jansenist views during the Catholic Reformation, thus forming what became known as the Old Catholic Church. The majority of Roman Catholics, however, quietly submitted to the council, thus lending their tacit support to the further consolidation of spiritual authority in the figure of the pope.

But while the Church itself largely accepted the pope's right to exercise complete administrative and spiritual control over its affairs, the actions of Pius IX and the First Vatican Council served to further alienate non-Catholic Christians, who increasingly viewed the pope's rule as an ecclesiastical form of totalitarianism. Moreover, the Catholic Church soon found that the momentum of Enlightenment nationalism could not be slowed, and that the increasingly-liberalized states of Europe were no longer willing to passively submit to papal authority. Indeed, the latter half of the 19th century was marked by recurrent political turmoil in several Catholic countries, much of which involved conflict between pro-Church and anti-Church factions.

In Spain and Portugal, the majority of the populace remained loyally Catholic, but secular liberalism won many adherents, especially among the upper classes. Each country experienced periods of anti-clerical rule during the mid-19th century, but toward the end of Pius IX's reign, the monarchies of both nations were again pro-Catholic. Nevertheless, increasing concessions were made to the ideals of the Enlightenment, and neither government fully embraced the agenda of the Church as it had been set out in the *Syllabus of Errors* and the constitutions of the First Vatican Council.

The political situation in France was characterized by ongoing enmity between the supporters of revolution and the defenders of the Church. In 1870, the pro-Catholic Second Empire was replaced by the anti-clerical Third Republic, which imposed stringent restrictions on the Church and helped to accelerate the de-Christianization of the urban French populace. In neighboring Belgium, which had gained independence from the Netherlands in 1830 and was overwhelmingly Catholic in its religious makeup, anti-clericals controlled the government until the mid-1880s and enacted a number of secularizing reforms.

In Germany, the years immediately following the First Vatican Council were marked both by the defection of many Catholics to the Old Catholic Church and by the increasing dominance of Protestantism. In 1871, the various German states—excluding traditionally Catholic Austria—were formally unified as an empire centered on the strongly Protestant kingdom of Prussia. The first chancellor of the new German state, Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), quickly enacted a number of anti-Catholic measures, including expelling the Jesuits and severing diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Though Bismarck was later forced by popular opposition to make limited concessions to Catholicism, the Church's direct influence over German affairs remained minimal.

Of greatest immediate concern to the Catholic Church was the ongoing campaign for the unification of the Italian kingdoms, which Pius IX strongly opposed. The pope sought (with the aid of French armies) to retain political control of Rome and its environs, but in 1870, Italian forces took the city and absorbed the Papal States into the new state of Italy, leaving the pope confined to the Vatican and stripped of his temporal authority. Though the Italian government made certain concessions to the Church, Pius IX remained firm in his opposition to the new state, refused to leave the Vatican and enter Italian-controlled territory, and forbade Italian Catholics from voting or holding public office. Many of the nation's most devoted Catholics heeded this papal prohibition, thus ensuring that the governance of the Italian nation would largely remain in the hands of those who were unsympathetic to the Church.

Pius IX died in 1878 and was succeeded by Pope Leo XIII (reigned 1878–1903), who largely upheld the former's policies regarding the relationship between the papacy and the Italian state. In other areas, however, Leo XIII proved himself to be somewhat more diplomatic and progressive than his predecessor. In an attempt to win over those who were swayed by Enlightenment ideals, he stressed that the Catholic Church did not reject outright the discoveries of modern science. He also argued that faith and reason need not be mutually contradictory, and promoted a revival in the study of Thomas Aquinas' teachings on the subject. In addition, he insisted that the Church was not unequivocally hostile towards the principles of liberalism or democratic forms of government and urged French Catholics to support the Third Republic rather than seeking the restoration of the monarchy. Finally, Leo XIII denounced socialism, supported the formation of labor unions, and favored increased rights for workers (an important issue in the rapidly industrializing nations of Europe), thus earning himself the moniker "the workingman's pope."

It should by now be clear that the course of Roman Catholicism in continental Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries was a complicated one, marked by both advances and retreats. While the Church experienced a noteworthy spiritual revival and, through the actions of the First Vatican Council, became more tightly integrated under papal control, the epochal worldview shifts associated with the Enlightenment posed a continual threat to the Church's broader societal legitimacy. If the Roman Catholic Church was stronger internally at the end of the 19th century than it had been 200 years previously, it

had also become more isolated as a result of its uncompromising insistence on the superiority of its beliefs to all other ideologies, whether religious or secular. Nevertheless, the conciliatory attitude evidenced by Pope Leo XIII at the end of the 19th century served to foreshadow the development of the more positive, proactive, and humble stance that would be embraced by several of the Church's subsequent leaders.

CATHOLICISM IN THE BRITISH ISLES

The late 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a pronounced increase in the vitality of Catholicism in the British Isles. As we have seen, in the 17th century the considerable Catholic population of Ireland was stripped of many of its rights and made largely subservient to a landholding Protestant minority. In the early decades of the 18th century, this state of affairs continued, leading to increasing impoverishment and desperation among Irish Catholics. Beginning in 1778, however, a series of parliamentary acts gave increasing relief to the Catholics populations of both Great Britain and Ireland. The right to own land and the right to vote were restored, greater freedom of worship was established, and Catholics slowly began gaining limited access to the many professions from which they had previously been excluded.

The struggle for full political and civic rights would continue for several more decades. Following the official union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800, the newly-united Parliament faced increasing public pressure to address the injustices suffered by Catholics. In the 1820s, the Irish lawyer and politician Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) spearheaded a vigorous campaign for Catholic Emancipation that culminated in the 1829 passage of the Catholic Relief Act. This legislation allowed British and Irish Catholics to hold political offices and serve as members of Parliament, thereby ensuring them a voice in the political process. In 1869, the Anglican Church of Ireland was formally disestablished and separated from the mechanisms of the state. As a result, the Roman Catholic majority of Ireland was no longer legally compelled to tithe to the Anglican Church. During the remainder of the 19th century, Irish Catholicism continued to enjoy a renaissance, though the north of the island remained solidly Protestant.

The passage of the Catholic Relief Act also paved the way for the reintroduction of Roman Catholicism to Great Britain. In 1850, Pope Pius IX formally restored the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England by establishing the archbishopric of Westminster, with Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman (1802–1865) serving as the first archbishop. The size of the Catholic laity in Great Britain subsequently swelled due to a great influx of Irish Catholics, who migrated to the larger island because of a potato blight that precipitated famine in Ireland. During the latter half of the 19th century, the newly enfranchised Catholics of England worked to construct a sustainable physical and spiritual infrastructure, erecting churches, founding parochial schools, training priests, and reestablishing monastic communities.

The vitality of Catholicism in England was also boosted during this period through defections from the Anglican Church. In the early 1830s, a number of Anglican

clergy with high-church sympathies—including John Keble (1792–1866), Edward Pusey (1800–1882), Richard Hurrell Froude (1803–1836), John Henry Newman (1801–1890), and Henry Edward Manning (1808–1892)—launched what became variously known as the Tractarian movement or the Oxford movement. In contrast to the evangelical Anglicans, those associated with the Oxford movement typically prized the historic Catholic roots of the Anglican Church, greatly esteemed the writings of the early Church Fathers, emphasized the importance of the sacraments, and valued beauty, solemnity, and ritual in worship. They also rejected many of the intellectual trends associated with the Enlightenment, denounced the increasing liberalization of theology, and disputed the right of the state to interfere in matters of religion.

In 1833, John Henry Newman began authoring a series of religious pamphlets known as *Tracts for the Times,* in which he expounded the beliefs and values of the Oxford movement's members. In the ninetieth such tract, published in 1841, Newman argued that the claims of the Thirty-Nine Articles (which largely defined the contours of Anglican doctrine) could be successfully reconciled with the essentials of the Catholic faith as set forth by the Council of Trent, and that those Catholic beliefs and practices that the articles condemned were in fact distortions of normative Catholic teaching.

The appearance of Tract Ninety ignited a great controversy within the Anglican Church, and the bishop of Oxford subsequently ordered Newman to cease publishing the series. This partial suppression of the Oxford movement by the Anglican hierarchy convinced several of the movement's more prominent figures to convert to Catholicism. Newman joined the Catholic Church in 1845, and though he was initially distrusted by some who suspected him of liberalism, he eventually won wide acclaim among Catholics through the publication of his spiritual autobiography and was made a cardinal by Pope Leo XIII in 1879. Henry Edward Manning gave his allegiance to the Catholic Church in 1851, became archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and was made a cardinal in 1875. Manning was a strong supporter of the doctrine of papal infallibility, and, like Leo XIII, also proved to be firmly committed to the cause of laborers and the pursuit of social justice. Newman and Manning were joined in their conversions by a substantial number of high-church Anglicans, and their considerable prominence on the national scene helped provide British Catholicism with an important degree of legitimacy.

CATHOLICISM IN THE AMERICAS

We now move to a consideration of the condition of the Catholic faith in the Americas during the 18th and 19th centuries, beginning with Canada and working our way southward to Latin America. In 1700, Canada was a French colonial possession and thus predominantly Catholic. With the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, however, control of Canada passed to the British. As a result, the French-speaking Catholic populations largely became concentrated in the province of Quebec, and Protestantism began to make substantial inroads. But while these developments might have seemed to

foreshadow the decline of Catholicism in Canada, such was not to be the case. Instead, Catholicism quickly became an important symbol of national identity for French Canadians, much as it had for the Irish. The British, meanwhile, proved remarkably tolerant of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, largely because they sought to avoid giving the French an incentive to join the American side in the Revolutionary War.

Under these circumstances, Catholicism continued to flourish in Canada throughout the remainder of the 18th century. In spite of their close connection to France, the great majority of French Canadian Catholics rejected the revolutionary ideology and anti-clerical attitudes that emerged in their mother country during this period. Indeed, during the age of revolutions they constituted one of the most fiercely loyal Catholic communities in the world, and were unflagging in their support of the papacy. While the 19th century witnessed the continued penetration of Protestantism into Canada, it also brought a considerable influx of Irish Catholic immigrants (most of whom settled outside of French-speaking Quebec), and Catholics thus remained a majority in the nation as a whole.

In the British colonies that were soon to become the United States, Roman Catholics remained a distinct minority throughout the 18th century, with the bulk of them being concentrated in Maryland (which had been founded by Catholics) and in religiously-tolerant Pennsylvania. During the British colonial period, Catholics in America were under the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of London, and thus lacked a native hierarchy. In 1789, following the achievement of American independence, Pope Pius VI appointed the former Jesuit John Carroll (1735–1815) as the bishop of Baltimore, making him the first Catholic bishop in the United States.[1] Carroll capably oversaw the early development of American Catholicism and founded Georgetown University as a training ground for Catholic clergy.

During the 19th century, the Catholic Church in the United States experienced stunning growth through the immigration of millions of European Catholics—chiefly Irish and Germans initially, and later Italians. Predictably, this rapid introduction of such an immense number of Catholic laypeople into a nation with a relatively underdeveloped ecclesiastical infrastructure presented considerable challenges, but the Church managed the situation commendably. Over the course of the succeeding decades, substantial financial aid and clerical support arrived from Europe, churches were constructed, parochial schools and seminaries were established, religious orders were founded, and large numbers of Americans were trained for the priesthood.

As a result of these concerted efforts, by shortly after the turn of the 20th century Roman Catholics constituted the single largest family of believers in the United States (though they were greatly outnumbered by the combined ranks of the various forms of Protestantism). Most of their strength was concentrated in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, where German, Irish, and Italian immigrants had established tight-knit ethnic and religious communities. Catholicism was also predominant in Louisiana

(whose population was largely of French descent) and in the southwest, where Spanish Catholics had established a series of missions in New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and California between the 1590s and the 1820s. In 1908, this large and widespread American Catholic community was granted full administrative autonomy by the Vatican, thus signaling that it had succeeded in attaining health and maturity.

In Latin America, by contrast, the 18th and 19th centuries constituted an era of severe hardship for the Catholic Church. As we have seen, the spiritual vitality of Latin American congregations had been threatened from the outset by the policies of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, who maintained tight administrative control, forbade papal intervention, and appointed all bishops from Europe, thus encouraging passivity and stagnation among the native clergy and laity. The sharp decline in the political fortunes of Spain and Portugal following the Thirty Years' War, coupled with the expulsion of the Jesuits from their missions in Latin America, only exacerbated this situation.

To complicate matters further, over the course of the 19th century the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America began winning their political independence. In spite of the transfer of secular power, however, the Spanish crown insisted on its continuing right to appoint the bishops of the Catholic Church in its former territories. Though the new governments demanded that they be allowed to appoint their own clergy, the popes were slow to give their assent for fear of alienating the considerable Catholic population of Spain. As a result, a number of bishoprics remained vacant or disputed for long periods of time. In addition, many of the new regimes had been heavily influenced by the anti-clerical revolutionary ideals that were current in Europe, and thus proved hostile to the Church.

This combination of factors resulted in a situation in which the integrity of Latin American Catholicism was greatly compromised. Large numbers of the population, particularly among the upper classes, drifted from the faith. Immorality and spiritual ignorance became alarmingly widespread among both clergy and laity, and no major developments were made in popular piety, monastic spirituality, or theology. The Church increasingly found itself looking inward, and few efforts were made to carry the faith to the surrounding Native American populations. Though many European missionaries and monastic clergy arrived in later decades and made concerted attempts to promote spiritual renewal, the Catholic Church in Latin America was far from healthy at the turn of the 20th century.

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN ASIA AND AFRICA

As we have already found to be the case with Protestantism, the Roman Catholic expression of the faith was carried to every part of the globe through missionary expansion during the 19th century. As was the case throughout the Church's history, much of this work was accomplished through the agency of monastic orders, including the newly reconstituted

Jesuits. In addition, Catholic evangelistic efforts were bolstered by a variety of new missionary organizations that arose during the period of Catholic spiritual renewal that followed the defeat of Napoleon. One of the most notable of these was the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in France in 1822. The Society recruited members who agreed to pray daily and provide regular donations for the cause of missions, and was thus able to subsidize a large number of other organizations that sponsored missionaries.

Many Catholic missionaries traveled to South, East, and Southeast Asia during this period, thus carrying on the evangelistic work that had been begun by 16th-century pioneers such as Francis Xavier and Matteo Ricci. In India, Jesuits and others carried Catholicism beyond the traditional boundaries of the Portuguese enclaves. In 1886, the pope established a formal episcopal hierarchy for the nation, and by 1900 there were more than a million Catholics in India. Fresh attempts were also made during this period to evangelize the populations of Ceylon, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indochina, though only in the latter (largely through the extension of French colonial rule) did Catholicism register significant numerical growth.

A number of missionary orders journeyed to the Philippines, where Catholicism had become largely nominal among much of the populace since its introduction by the Spanish. Near the turn of the 20th century, increasing efforts were made to win new converts, improve Christian education, and train up a native Filipino clergy. Further south and east in Oceania, Irish immigrants brought Catholicism to Australia and New Zealand, while French missionaries carried the faith to some of the other island groups.

In the latter decades of the 19th century, Catholic missionaries, like their Protestant counterparts, gained increased access to the previously impregnable East Asian nations of China, Japan, and Korea. A large number of Catholic missionary orders, mostly of French origin, were active in China, and by the dawn of the 20th century there were close to a million Chinese Catholics. Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans were active in Japan, and in the 1860s a number of Japanese Christian communities that had survived in hiding since the early years of the 17th century were reunited with the Catholic Church. Limited advances were also made in Korea by French missionaries, though in both Korea and Japan Catholicism gained substantially fewer adherents than did Protestantism.

Catholicism also penetrated much of Africa during this period, largely in conjunction with the colonizing efforts of the European Catholic powers (particularly France). During the course of the 19th century, the French occupied Algeria and Tunisia, thus giving Christianity a toehold on the predominantly-Muslim north coast of Africa. Though few converts were made, substantial numbers of European Catholics settled in these regions, and in 1884 the historic archbishopric of Carthage was reestablished. The first archbishop was Charles Lavigerie (1825–1892), a French clergyman who in 1868 founded a missionary order known as the White Fathers. The original goal of this organization was to evangelize the Muslims of North Africa, but they soon expanded their

operations south of the Sahara into the predominantly French colonies of western Africa. A significant center of Catholicism also developed in the Congo, where Belgian missionaries won a substantial numbers of converts beginning in the 1870s.

While it must be admitted that the spread of Catholicism in the 19th century did not match the striking expansion of Protestantism that occurred during the same period, our brief survey of Catholic missionary activity gives clear evidence that, by the mid-1800s, the Catholic form of the faith had regained much of the vitality that had marked its earlier evangelistic efforts. Thus, as the 20th century dawned, Catholicism, like Protestantism, had become a truly global faith, and appeared poised to experience continued growth and vigor on every continent in spite of the various challenges that had confronted it during this period.

ORTHODOXY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Having thus surveyed the complex and often paradoxical record of Roman Catholicism in the 18th and 19th centuries, we now turn our attention to the other ancient branch of the Christian faith, Eastern Orthodoxy. During the 18th century, the Orthodox believers of Eastern Europe and Asia Minor continued to suffer suppression at the hands of their political overlords, the Muslim Ottomans. Nevertheless, there were faint signs of spiritual vigor during this period.

One of the most notable Orthodox personalities of the 18th century was Nicodemus the Hagiorite (1748–1809), a Greek monk who spent time in the famous monastery at Mount Athos. Nicodemus spent much time studying both the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, and was instrumental in translating many of the works of Western theologians into Greek. In cooperation with Macarius of Corinth (1731–1805), Nicodemus also compiled a number of the classic texts on Eastern mystical spirituality and Hesychasm, including works by Evagrius Ponticus, John Cassian, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Symeon the New Theologian, and Gregory Palamas.[2] This collection, which was known as the *Philokalia* ("Love of the Beautiful"), was first published in 1782, and it has subsequently become perhaps the most widely read and highly esteemed volume on Orthodox spirituality.

In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire slowly began to crumble as nationalist movements mounted in the Balkan Peninsula. These indigenous uprisings, coupled with a series of wars between Russia and the Ottomans in 1828–29, 1853–56, and 1877–78, resulted in the establishment of full political independence for Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania by the end of the 19th century, as well as partial autonomy for Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Cyprus. These drastic changes in the political landscape were accompanied by a corresponding increase in the vitality of Orthodoxy. The historically independent Churches of Serbia and Bulgaria were reconstituted, and new autocephalous bodies were established in Greece and Romania. The ecumenical

patriarchs of Constantinople, who remained subject to the Ottomans, were thus forced to relinquish direct oversight of the Orthodox Churches in the Balkan nations and were left to govern the small minority of believers in Asia Minor (though the new national churches remained in full spiritual communion with the historical patriarchates). The patriarchs initially vigorously protested this development, fearing that nationalist sentiments were producing unnecessary divisions in the body of Christ, but they were eventually forced to recognize the autocephalous status of the churches in the newly liberated nations. Thus, after roughly four hundred years of Muslim occupation and repression, Eastern Orthodoxy reemerged as a free and legitimate expression of the Christian faith in Eastern Europe.

ORTHODOXY IN RUSSIA

In Russia, meanwhile, the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a variety of significant developments with respect to the Orthodox faith. Throughout this period, the patriarchate of Moscow—which had been left unfilled by Peter the Great in 1700—remained vacant, and religious authority was vested in the legislative body known as the Holy Synod. The increasing enmeshment of church and state that had begun under earlier rulers continued, and the vitality of Russian Orthodoxy was thus closely tied to the attitudes and programs of the various tsars who ascended the imperial throne during this period.

In 1762, Tsar Peter III died following a reign of only six months and was replaced as ruler of Russia by his German consort, who reigned as Catherine II ("Catherine the Great") until her death in 1796. Catherine, who had been greatly influenced by the intellectual currents and religious skepticism of the Enlightenment, proved to be no great friend of Orthodoxy. Most notably, she seized the lands and serfs of the monasteries for state use, thus contributing to a striking decline in the vitality of Russian monasticism. Her successor, Tsar Paul I (reigned 1796–1801) was similarly antagonistic in his approach to the Church, and during his reign parishes were stripped of the right to elect their own clergy, who were thereafter appointed directly by the state. During this period, the integrity of Russian Orthodoxy was also threatened by the increasing prominence of the anti-clerical attitudes that were prevalent among the revolutionaries of Western Europe.

Tsar Alexander I (reigned 1801–1825) underwent a genuine religious awakening through contact with several forms of Western Christianity, including Pietism, and his reign witnessed several improvements in the condition of the Russian Church. In 1813, the Russian Bible Society was founded and began producing translations of Scripture in various vernaculars. The Holy Synod took a more positive role in promoting Christian education. Alexander himself urged his fellow European monarchs to subscribe to what became known as the Holy Alliance, a coalition of nations whose leaders agreed to rule their domains in accordance with Christian principles.

This period of increased Christian zeal and Western influence was followed by a conservative, nationalistic backlash under the next three tsars—Nicholas I (reigned 1825–1855),

Alexander II (reigned 1855–1881), and Alexander III (reigned 1881–1894). During this time, increasing numbers of the populace embraced anti-Western, Slavophilic ideals, rejecting the influences of Catholicism, Protestantism, and Enlightenment rationalism and emphasizing the unifying power of Slavic ethnicity, Russian national identity, and strict Orthodoxy. Accordingly, the Russian Bible Society was suppressed, seminaries were forbidden from employing the training methods of the Jesuits (who had gained prominence in Russia under Alexander I before being expelled in 1819), and state control over the Church was tightened. Thus, at the end of the 19th century, the Russian Orthodox Church remained largely at the mercy of the secular authorities, with few prospects for meaningful autonomy or widespread spiritual revival.

Despite the generally adverse conditions that Russian Orthodoxy faced during the 18th and 19th centuries, however, the Church produced a number of notable figures who contributed in various ways to the maintenance of vibrant streams of Russian spirituality. As had been the case throughout the history of Russian Christianity, many of these individuals were monks, several of whom eventually became esteemed as *startsy* (spiritual leaders who were thought to possess special charismatic gifts).[3] One of the earliest of these *startsy* was Paisius Velichkovsky (1722–1794), who translated the *Philokalia* into Church Slavonic, leading to a great revival of interest in Greek theology and Hesychasm among Russian believers.

A contemporary of Velichkovsky was Tikhon of Zadonsk (1727–1783), a monk who practiced traditional Russian kenoticism while also being greatly influenced by Catholic and Pietist spirituality. Seraphim of Sarov (1759–1833) was an eremitic monk who gained acclaim as a *starets* and was credited with a variety of visions and miraculous healings. Theophan the Recluse (1815–1894) wrote extensively on the Christian life and translated the *Philokalia* from Slavonic into Russian. The anonymous 19th-century author of the autobiographical Russian devotional classics *The Way of a Pilgrim* and *The Pilgrim Continues His Way* inspired further interest in Hesychasm and the Jesus Prayer among the masses. Each of these individuals contributed in significant ways to the shaping of a distinctly Russian form of mystical piety.

One of the most influential figures in the 19th century Russian Orthodox Church was Philaret Drozdov (1783–1867), a highly visible churchman who was eventually made metropolitan of Moscow. Drozdov wrote extensively in the fields of theology and religious history, and also authored biblical commentaries and spiritual poetry. He was instrumental in promoting the production of a Bible and catechism in the Russian vernacular rather than ancient Slavonic, and his counsel was sought both by other Church leaders and by Tsar Alexander II, for whom Drozdov drafted the imperial proclamation which freed the Russian serfs in 1861.

Other outstanding Russian Orthodox believers of the 19th century served as missionaries and aided in the territorial expansion of the faith. The two most famous of these were Ivan

Veniaminov (1797–1879) and Nikolai Kasatkin (1836–1912). In the 1820s, Veniaminov traveled to Alaska, where an initial Orthodox mission had been established in 1794. He translated parts of the Bible into the native Aleutian tongue, established a seminary for the training of native clergy, and made several missionary journeys to remote islands. He was eventually made archbishop of the entire region, and through his efforts Alaska became the chief entry point from which the Orthodox form of the faith would subsequently spread throughout North America.[4]

In the 1860s, Kasatkin carried the Orthodox faith to Japan, where he initially served as a chaplain at the Russian consulate. After mastering the native language, he began evangelizing and translated portions of the Orthodox liturgy into Japanese. He was eventually made archbishop of Japan and moved his headquarters to the capital, Tokyo, from where he oversaw the expanding missionary campaign. By the time of his death, there were close to thirty thousand Orthodox converts in Japan.

––––––––––––––––––

We have now completed our extensive survey of the course of each of the three major branches of the Christian faith during the 18th and 19th centuries, a period which was marked by sweeping intellectual, scientific, social, and political changes, widespread and varied experiences of spiritual revival and renewal, and the continued spread of the Gospel around the world through the efforts of Christian missionaries. In the next unit, we will conclude our exploration of Christian history by examining the striking and diverse developments that have taken place since the dawn of the 20th century.

Chapter Twenty-Nine Review

Archbishopric of Westminster	Nikolai Kasatkin
Daniel O'Connell	Oxford Movement
First Vatican Council	Papal Infallibility
Ivan Veniaminov	*Philokalia*
John Carroll	Pius IX
John Henry Newman	*Startsy*
Leo XIII	

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE NOTES

[1]Carroll would likewise become the first American archbishop in 1808, when Baltimore was made an archdiocese.

[2]While John Climacus' *Ladder of Divine Ascent,* one of the classics of Eastern mystical spirituality, was not included in the *Philokalia*, it was considered an important companion piece to it.

[3]*Startsy* is plural. The singular form is *starets*.

[4]Veniaminov is also known as Innocent of Alaska.

Unit Six

The 20th Century and Beyond
(c. 1900–present)

Unit Six offers a survey of the complex and diverse religious landscape of the 20th century—a century that was characterized by appalling violence and brutality, rapid advances in technology, increasing globalization, and the gradual-yet-pronounced de-Christianization of Western society. Within the church, the period was paradoxically marked by both heightened theological tensions and increased cooperation among denominations.

Chapter Thirty focuses on various 20th-century expressions of mainline Protestantism, including Karl Barth's neo-orthodox theology, liberal biblical criticism, and the Social Gospel movement.

Chapter Thirty-One examines the more conservative expressions of 20th-century Protestantism, including fundamentalism and Evangelicalism.

Chapter Thirty-Two traces the emergence of a new and vital stream of Christianity—the Pentecostal and Charismatic tradition.

Chapter Thirty-Three explores significant concurrent developments within the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, highlighting the reforms of the Second Vatican Council and the struggle between Orthodoxy and communism.

Chapter Thirty-Four describes the further spread of the Gospel during the 20th century, highlighting the emergence of interdenominational missions and the rise of indigenous leadership.

Chapter Thirty-Five offers a final appraisal of the current health and future prospects of the various expressions of the Christian faith.

Chapter Thirty
20th-Century Protestantism:
Liberalism and Neo-Orthodoxy

The 20th century was characterized by unprecedented turmoil and radical change on a global scale. Two World Wars and dozens of smaller conflicts ravaged the human population and profoundly disrupted entire societies, thereby dealing a series of crushing blows to Enlightenment optimism. Political revolutions were widespread, and the world increasingly became divided between the adherents of two radically different and mutually hostile socio-political ideologies: capitalist democracy and communism. Advances in medicine produced increased life expectancy, thereby contributing to a global population explosion that put increasing pressure on the earth's limited resources. Technological innovations in fields such as manufacturing, transportation, and telecommunications brought increased productivity and global integration, while also encouraging exploitative economic practices and wreaking havoc on the natural environment.

Against this complex backdrop of political, economic, and social upheaval, there were a number of significant developments in religion and the life of the Christian church, many of which appear contradictory at first glance. The global spread of the faith that had been a striking feature of the 19th century continued, and vibrant new Christian communities emerged in Latin America, Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet the century also witnessed the progressive de-Christianization of many of the traditional centers of the faith, including Russia, Western Europe, and, to a lesser extent, the United States. Partially in response to this threat, many Christians demonstrated greater solidarity with one another, as ecumenical endeavors multiplied and fresh attempts were made to promote Catholic-Orthodox and even Catholic-Protestant dialogue. However, divisive attitudes persisted, and the Protestant denominations of Europe and America increasingly became arenas of conflict between hostile factions with competing theological and social agendas.

For convenience, we may follow the conventional practice of referring to these two rival versions of 20th-century Protestantism as "liberal" or "mainline" Protestantism and "conservative" or "evangelical" Protestantism (though it must be admitted that such labels are oversimplifications at best and dangerous distortions at worst). In general, 20th-century liberal Protestants tended to demonstrate greater sympathy for the ideals of the Enlightenment. They characteristically produced complex systematic theologies, subjected the Bible to rigorous critical scrutiny, downplayed the supernatural, emphasized human progress and potential, sought to promote social justice, and took a relatively permissive stance on many political and moral issues. Twentieth-century evangelical Protestants, by contrast, adopted many of the views of the great revival preachers of the 18th and 19th centuries. They typically defended the dependability of the Bible and accepted its claims uncritically, stressed the importance of an individual salvation

experience, placed a strong emphasis on morality and personal holiness, promoted evangelism, and insisted on the imminence of Christ's return.

While such broad characterizations give insight into the important differences that divided Protestants in the 20th century, the reality was far too complex to be explained by any neat dichotomy. There were many Protestants who fell somewhere in between such ideal types, as well as some who affirmed elements of both positions. Over the course of the next two chapters, we will examine the full spectrum of Protestant opinion, beginning with the more liberal expressions before moving to the more conservative ones. Our goal in undertaking such an exploration is not to definitively adjudicate the competing claims of the various parties, but rather to gain a full, multifaceted perspective on some of the challenging, contentious issues that still confront the Christian church in our own day.

An Overview of the Course of Mainline Protestantism in the 20th Century

Before proceeding to a closer consideration of some of the specific individuals and movements that gave shape to the various expressions of 20th-century Protestantism that might be labeled "liberal" or "mainline," it will be helpful to briefly examine the evolutionary course of liberal theology and practice from a broader perspective. At the dawn of the 20th century, the ideals and insights of the great German Protestant innovators of the 18th and 19th centuries—men such as Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Strauss, Baur, Weisse, and Wellhausen—had been embraced by an ever-increasing number of believers in Europe and America, particularly within the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Schleiermacher's contention that shared religious experience constituted the basis for faith remained widely influential. Ritschl's insistence that Christians were called to actively address social problems and injustice proved persuasive, and many came to believe that by earnestly seeking to improve the conditions of their societies they might create a sort of Christian utopia, thus effectively ushering in the kingdom of God. The historical-critical approach to biblical studies continued to dominate the field, and it was broadly assumed that careful study would eventually allow scholars to uncover the full truth concerning the historicity of the biblical narratives and the processes by which the canon of Scripture achieved its final form.

Thus, the essential attitude of many liberal Protestants in the first decades of the 20th century was one of profound optimism and enthusiasm. Humankind, so it was thought, was fully capable of experiencing God, mastering the Bible, and transforming society. However, with the onset of World War I, the utopian dreams of many liberal believers were swept away by the flood tide of horrific brutality and unimaginable destruction. In the wake of this catastrophe, great numbers of Christians were forced to question their most basic beliefs regarding the meaning of life, the nature of humanity, the goal of faith, and the character of God. Many drifted from the faith altogether, and Western Europe

became increasingly de-Christianized. As a result, the United States gradually became the indisputable center of Protestant vigor.

A substantial proportion of those who remained within the church rejected the prevailing assumptions of 19th-century liberalism and began advancing alternative proposals. In the field of theology, there was a renewed emphasis on the sovereignty and inscrutability of God. Kierkegaard's existentialist thought also gained increasing notoriety, and many came to believe that true Christianity required not careful reasoning and analysis, but rather a "leap of faith." In the area of biblical studies, the confident historical claims of earlier scholars were replaced by an increasing critical skepticism. Protestant activists who had previously sought to create a utopian Christian society were suddenly forced to wrestle with the question of how to present the Christian faith credibly within a cultural context that was becoming increasingly secularized. In all of these ways, the monolithic façade of 19th-century liberal Protestantism was dismantled, and a variety of new approaches sprung up to take its place.

Following the Second World War, the situation became even more complex. While the various new theological systems, biblical paradigms, and social agendas that had emerged in the years between the wars continued to attract adherents and to develop in a multitude of directions, the last half of the 20th century also witnessed a resurgence in the vitality of classical liberalism and the attempted rehabilitation of some of its characteristic emphases. Thus, by the end of the century, it was indeed necessary to speak of a broad spectrum of "liberal" or "mainline" expressions of Protestantism, some of which acknowledged a continuing debt to 19th-century liberal Protestantism, and some of which firmly refuted many of its central claims, but all of which were shaped by it to some degree and were therefore to be distinguished from the more conservative, "evangelical" forms of Protestantism. Having thus established the broad context for what follows, we will now proceed to trace more explicitly the respective series of developments in the fields of theology, biblical studies, and social involvement.

LANDMARKS IN LIBERAL AND NEO-ORTHODOX THEOLOGY

The 20th century bore witness to the emergence of a plethora of theological systems that might reasonably be located on the "liberal" half of the doctrinal spectrum. Some of these owed a great debt to the earlier theological formulations of scholars like Schleiermacher, though even those who professed allegiance to the ideals of classical liberal theology often introduced new nuances of thought that distanced them from the opinions of their predecessors. Others arose in explicit challenge to 19th-century liberalism and attracted many who sought fresh theological solutions to the existential crises presented by the First World War and its aftermath. Since it is impossible to trace with any precision the entire developmental course of mainline theology in its numerous variations, we will content

ourselves with a survey of the thought of a few representative figures, each of whom proved widely influential.

Rudolf Otto

One of the most highly regarded liberal theologians of the early 20th century was the German scholar Rudolf Otto (1869–1937). Taking his initial cues from the work of Schleiermacher, Otto refined the former's concept of a universal religious experience. In his seminal work *The Idea of the Holy* (1917), Otto argued that the most basic such shared experience was not of a sense of dependence (as Schleiermacher had claimed), but rather a non-rational, non-sensory perception of that which is numinous, or wholly other than the human self. Otto labeled this fundamental spiritual reality the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*—a mystery that is terrifying and fascinating in equal measure. Otto's firm insistence on the transcendence of God represented a clear step away from classical liberalism, and served to foreshadow several later theological developments.

Karl Barth

By far the most significant and influential figure among 20th-century theologians was the Swiss pastor and scholar Karl Barth (1886–1968). As a young man, Barth studied the works of the prominent 19th-century German Protestant scholars, and he originally embraced traditional liberal theology. In the wake of World War I, however, Barth became increasingly convinced that the ideals of liberal Protestantism were dangerously subjective, optimistic, and anthropocentric, and he began seeking new alternatives.

Barth first began expounding his unique theological views in his commentary *The Epistle to the Romans,* which he published in 1918 while serving as the pastor of a Reformed congregation. Shortly after the appearance of this work, Barth left the pastorate and assumed a series of theological professorships in German universities, where he introduced new generations to his ideas.

Barth's theology—which has been variously termed dialectical theology, theology of crisis, or, perhaps most commonly, neo-orthodoxy—was characterized by a number of distinct emphases. First and foremost, Barth stressed the sovereignty, transcendence, and "otherness" of God, rejecting the liberal tendency to remake God in humanity's image. He argued for the centrality of the Word of God, insisting that the Bible should not be viewed as a record of humanity's claims about God, but rather as a conduit of God's divine revelation of Himself to humankind. Barth believed that such revelation was essential to faith, and rejected the idea that humanity could truly come to know God through either nature or reason. Finally, he emphasized the power of sin, the reality of God's judgment, and the utter dependence of humanity on divine grace, which has been inexplicably mediated to us through the work of Jesus Christ.

It is thus clear that the theological program of Barth had very little in common with that of the 19th-century liberal Protestants. Nevertheless, certain elements of Barth's theology—particularly his rejection of the doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture and his ambiguous position on the doctrine of universal salvation—also led him to be largely rejected by fundamentalists and other evangelical Protestants. Thus, Barth's neo-orthodoxy failed to conform fully to either of the prevailing agendas within 19th- and 20th-century Protestantism, but it quickly won much admiration from moderates within each camp.

During the 1930s, Barth became a vocal leader in the Confessing Church (an underground, pan-Protestant resistance movement that opposed the nationalist and anti-Semitic ideology of the Nazi regime), and he was one of the principal authors of the 1934 Barmen Declaration, in which the movement's leaders denounced the Nazi state's attempts to exert direct control over the church in Germany.[1] Because of his involvement in the Confessing Church, Barth was forced to flee Germany in 1935. He subsequently became a professor of theology in his native Basel, where he continued to work on his *magnum opus,* a multi-volume systematic theology entitled *Church Dogmatics,* which remained unfinished at the time of his death.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer

A younger contemporary of Barth's who was much influenced by neo-orthodox theology was the German Lutheran pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945). Like Barth, Bonhoeffer was prominently involved in the leadership of the Confessing Church in Nazi Germany in the 1930's. In 1937, Bonhoeffer published what would become his best-known book, *The Cost of Discipleship.* In this work, he asserted that many European Protestants had become disturbingly lax in their ethical practice because they had misconstrued God's willingness to forgive sin as an offer of "cheap grace." Bonhoeffer, drawing on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, summoned the church to a life of radical, costly discipleship.

Bonhoeffer's uncompromising sermons increasingly drew the ire of the Nazi regime, which eventually banned him from speaking in public. Bonhoeffer continued to minister in secret, however, and eventually became part of a group of conspirators who planned to assassinate Hitler. In 1943, Bonhoeffer was arrested by the Nazis when it was discovered that he had helped a number of Jews escape to Switzerland. When the attempt on Hitler's life was thwarted in July 1944, Bonhoeffer's connection to the plot was discovered, and he was executed by hanging at the concentration camp at Flossenburg in April 1945.

During his imprisonment, Bonhoeffer wrote extensively, producing a treatise that was later published as *Ethics* and an extensive correspondence that was eventually compiled as *Letters and Papers from Prison.* These late works gave evidence of the further evolution of Bonhoeffer's theology. In them, Bonhoeffer rejected any division of the world into "sacred" and "secular" spheres and argued that many Christians had become overly

preoccupied with otherworldly matters and individual salvation, thus neglecting their charge to be agents for Christ in the midst of the present world. Thus, Bonhoeffer's mature theology combined a call for a radical commitment to holiness and obedience with an insistence on the duty of Christians to enter fully into the world and share in the sufferings of Christ.

Paul Tillich

Another widely influential mainline Protestant theologian whose thought was distinct from both 19th-century liberalism and the neo-orthodoxy of Barth was the German-American scholar Paul Tillich (1886–1965). After serving as a military chaplain during World War I, Tillich largely abandoned the liberal theological ideals that had dominated the Germany of his youth, and he eventually embraced existentialist views. He was an outspoken critic of Hitler and the Nazis, and was consequently barred from teaching in German universities in 1933, after which he immigrated to America and became a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His major piece of work, a three-volume *Systematic Theology*, was published between 1951 and 1963.

In his theology, Tillich combined an existentialist interest in the nature of being with a determination to bridge the gap between the Christian faith and modern secular culture. He sought to demonstrate that faith was not incompatible with the experiences of ordinary men and women who were grappling with the uncertainties of daily life in an increasingly secularized, post-war society. To this end, Tillich proposed that the basic contents of the Christian faith could be presented as theological solutions to the common existential problems voiced in secular culture. Thus, for example, universal queries about the nature of being could prepare the way for a presentation of God as the source of all being, and uncertainty about the ultimate destiny of humanity could be addressed in terms of God's intended new creation. In short, Tillich believed that the best way to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Christian faith within secular culture was to show people that theology provided credible answers to the questions they were already asking.

———————————————

Following the passing of figures such as Barth, Bonhoeffer, and Tillich, who had collectively dominated the theological landscape of the first half of the 20th century, mainline theological opinion became increasingly diversified. The latter half of the century witnessed the emergence of a seemingly limitless array of theological schools and opinions, none of which could claim hegemony, and each of which contributed unique insights. These included the panentheistic "process theology" developed by Charles Hartshorne (1897–2000), the eschatologically oriented "theology of hope" advocated by Jürgen Moltmann (b. 1926), the narrative-driven "postliberal theology" of Hans Frei (1922–1988), and the unique theological program of Wolfhart Pannenberg (b. 1928), who insisted on the coherence of the claims of Christianity with all other forms of human knowledge. Such fresh reappraisals of the true character of the Christian faith in turn

inspired younger generations to reflect critically on their own beliefs, thus ensuring that the restless, probing inquiry that had long been a hallmark of mainline Protestant theology would continue well into the next millennium.

SHIFTING CURRENTS IN BIBLICAL STUDIES

As the 20th century began, the assumptions and techniques of the 19th-century German practitioners of higher biblical criticism continued to dominate the hermeneutical landscape. Liberal biblical interpreters persisted in their pursuit of reliable historical information regarding the events recorded in Scripture, and interest in "historical Jesus" research remained high. Scholars also continued to devote much attention to questions regarding the authorship, editorial shaping, and transmission of the canonical narratives, and the church's traditional views on these literary questions were largely discarded as source-critical theories such as Weisse's two-source hypothesis of the Synoptic Gospels and Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch increasingly became standard. But while the historical-critical approach would remain dominant among liberal Protestants throughout the 20th century, its core assumptions and concerns were continually modified by new generations of scholars.

Albert Schweitzer

A major turning point in New Testament studies came in 1906, when the German theologian and physician Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) published *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. In this volume, Schweitzer surveyed the works of several of the major contributors to "historical Jesus" research—including Reimarus, Strauss, and Renan—and argued that these liberal scholars had simply reconstructed Jesus in their own image, imbuing Him with their own worldviews and opinions rather than examining Him within the cultural context of first-century Judaism.

Discarding the 19th-century portrayals of Jesus as a relatively benign teacher of ethics, Schweitzer painted a portrait of Jesus as an enormously powerful and compelling figure and argued that humans could never come to a true understanding of Him through historical inquiry, but only by obeying His summons. He also emphasized Jesus' eschatological teachings, and argued that the New Testament suggested that the kingdom of God would be established through the sudden and decisive intervention of God in human history, and not (as was believed by many in Schweitzer's day) through the efforts of believers to construct an ideal Christian society. Schweitzer's landmark work thus served to discredit the earlier histories of Jesus while simultaneously opening up broad new avenues for critical reflection on the true nature of Jesus' ministry.

Form Criticism

Another significant development in the field of biblical studies during the early years of the century was the introduction of form criticism. This discipline, pioneered by scholars

such as Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) and Martin Dibelius (1883–1947), involved closely analyzing the literary genres of specific biblical texts. Gunkel, for example, used form criticism to develop a typology of the Psalms, dividing them into categories such as communal hymns of praise, communal laments, individual songs of thanksgiving, and individual songs of complaint, among others. The Gospels were similarly divided into narrative segments, discourses, parables, apocalyptic fragments, and so forth.

The early form critics believed that by identifying the genre, or form, of a particular unit of text in this way, it was possible to gain valuable insights regarding the sociological setting within which the text was originally composed, thus shedding light on the beliefs, values, and intentions of those who had preserved the material and helped incorporate it into the larger body of Scripture. Form criticism quickly became a popular methodological tool among liberal Protestant scholars, as did the related discipline of redaction criticism, which sought to determine why the authors of Scripture—and more particularly the Gospel writers—selected particular material for inclusion and arranged it in certain ways.

Rudolf Bultmann

Unquestionably the most important and influential biblical scholar during the period between the two World Wars was Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), an accomplished theologian and professor of New Testament studies at the University of Marburg. Like Schweitzer, Bultmann rejected the validity of the earlier liberal portrayals of the life of Jesus. Unlike him, however, Bultmann went so far as to claim that no historical reconstruction of Jesus' life was possible, and that the task should not even be attempted. Instead, Bultmann turned his attention to an investigation of the history and beliefs of the early church. Believing that the New Testament accounts of Jesus' teachings had been greatly shaped by the Gospel writers (each of whom he supposed to have been heavily influenced by various cultural factors and personal agendas), Bultmann resolved to apply the methods of form criticism to the Synoptic Gospels. He hoped thereby to "strip away" the later additions of the Evangelists and thus reveal the true, timeless Gospel message. He presented his findings in *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1921), which subsequently became widely influential in the field.

Bultmann's skeptical hermeneutical approach eventually contributed to his formulation of a distinctive theology based on the belief that the proper object of faith was not the historical Jesus, but the timeless, transcendent Christ. This conviction led Bultmann to advocate a program of "demythologization" with regard to the Scriptures. By this, Bultmann meant disregarding most of the concrete historical claims of the Gospels (which he regarded as unprovable and therefore unhelpful), including particularly the supernatural elements of the New Testament accounts (which he viewed as nothing more than the literary residue of a pre-critical worldview), in favor of emphasizing God's eternal summons to faith and obedience.

In taking this position, Bultmann was seeking to make the Gospel credible and compelling within the prevailing worldview of his day, a worldview marked by post-war disillusionment and an increasing attraction to existentialist thought. Bultmann believed that by redefining faith in terms of God's eternal call and humanity's freedom to respond to Him through an act of the will, he was merely performing the same task that the New Testament writers had undertaken before him: presenting the essential core of the Gospel in language that was appropriate to his particular historical and cultural context. While this theological proposal proved highly controversial, Bultmann remained an immensely influential figure, and his methods of biblical interpretation were subsequently adopted by many.

The New Quest and the Third Quest

The years following World War II witnessed a resurgence of interest in the question of the historical Jesus among liberal New Testament scholars. This "new quest" was initiated by some of Bultmann's former students—most notably Ernst Käsemann (1906–1998) and Günther Bornkamm (1905–1990)—and represented a partial rejection of his agenda. Käsemann and others argued that Jesus must be situated in history in order to keep humankind from devising whatever kind of "Jesus" served their purposes (a threat that seemed all too real in the wake of the Nazi regime's attempts to construct a non-Jewish Jesus). In an attempt to address this serious concern, the proponents of the "new quest" sought to ascertain which of the sayings attributed to Jesus by the Gospel writers could credibly be considered historical. They employed a number of criteria in seeking to make these determinations, including the criterion of dissimilarity, which stated that if a saying that was credited to Jesus could not credibly have been invented by either the Jews or the early church, it was most likely spoken by Him.[2]

Beginning in 1985, the "new quest" experienced a renaissance through the foundation of the Jesus Seminar, a research team of New Testament scholars founded by Robert W. Funk (1926–2005). This group's explicitly stated purpose is to employ historical methods in order to determine which of Jesus' recorded sayings and deeds are likely to be authentic. The works produced by the Jesus Seminar give evidence of an extreme critical skepticism, as they characteristically consider the Gospels to be filled with outright fabrications, reject the historicity of all of the supernatural aspects of Jesus' life and ministry (including His virgin birth, His miracles, and His bodily resurrection from the dead), deny the eschatological element of Jesus' ministry, and view Jesus as essentially a wandering sage who dispensed spiritual and ethical wisdom and advocated social justice. These conclusions have been rejected by many Christians, both liberal and conservative, who believe that the members of the Jesus Seminar have simply repeated the mistakes of 19th-century writers like Strauss and Renan by constructing a Jesus that suits their personal tastes while hiding behind the façade of "serious history."

Finally, in recent decades an alternative movement in New Testament studies known as the "third quest" has arisen, headed by scholars such as Géza Vermes (b. 1924) and

E. P. Sanders (b. 1937). Belatedly following the lead of Schweitzer, the proponents of the "third quest" have sought to closely examine the life of Jesus within the broader historical and cultural milieu of first-century Judaism.[3] Many (though not all) of them have also rejected the Jesus Seminar's portrayal of Jesus as a wisdom teacher, viewing Him instead as an eschatological prophet whose intention was to announce and usher in the kingdom of God.[4]

The Traditional-Historical Approach to the Old Testament

In addition to this complex succession of scholarly movements related to the study of the New Testament, the 20th century also witnessed substantial developments in Old Testament interpretation. Two of the most outstanding figures in this field were the German scholars Martin Noth (1902–1968) and Gerhard von Rad (1901–1971). Both of these men were greatly influenced by the earlier work of Wellhausen, including his documentary hypothesis, but both moved beyond the 19th-century liberal consensus on the Old Testament by applying the insights of form criticism to the Pentateuch and other Old Testament literature, thus producing what became known as the traditional-historical approach to biblical studies.

While Wellhausen had maintained that the Pentateuch had been created through the combination of four pre-existing documents, both Noth and von Rad argued for a more organic means of narrative formation. Noth believed that the Pentateuch had developed through a process whereby oral traditions concerning a number of key themes (such as the covenant with the patriarchs, the Exodus, the revelation at Sinai, and the entry into the Promised Land) gradually achieved written form, eventually giving rise to more fully developed narratives that were composed to support and illustrate the most basic tenets of Israel's faith. Similarly, von Rad proposed that Israelite religion had originally been based on a series of liturgical, confessional creeds concerning God's historic provision and deliverance, and that such creeds were incrementally expanded upon by each successive generation, eventually resulting in the formation of the fully developed narratives of the Pentateuch.

Thus, while the traditional-historical scholars assumed that Israel's life of faith had developed as a result of some primal, shared historical experiences, they tended to view the narratives of the Pentateuch as later, stylized creations of the worshipping community rather than as accurate records of historical events. Their chief interest lay in attempting to reconstruct a credible history of the Israelite faith community that would account for the variety of emphases and interpretive perspectives that are evident in the Old Testament text. Though many variations on the programs of Noth and von Rad subsequently emerged, the broad assumptions of their approach remained definitive for Old Testament studies throughout the 20th century.

It thus becomes clear that, as we have already found to be the case with theology, the 20th century bore witness to a broad spectrum of "liberal" opinions in the field of biblical studies. While certain 19th-century theories unquestionably remained foundational, each generation of scholars explored new avenues of interpretation, sometimes building on the work of their immediate predecessors and sometimes vehemently rejecting it. Yet there was one characteristic assumption that served to unify these scholars—and to separate them from many evangelical Protestants, Catholics, and Orthodox believers—in spite of their widely divergent opinions. This was their shared conviction that, regardless of the interpretive tools that one chose to employ, and irrespective of the conclusions that one reached, the Bible must be engaged critically—that, in other words, neither the Bible itself nor the church's long-held opinions about it could be accepted at face value any longer.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FACET OF MAINLINE PROTESTANTISM

While 20th-century European liberalism and neo-orthodoxy were strongly intellectual and endlessly concerned with the systematization of theology and the critical study of the Bible, various expressions of mainline Protestantism also increasingly took an interest in concrete political and social issues. This was particularly the case in the United States. Here classical European liberal theology combined with the activist ethic of the Second and Third Great Awakenings to produce a form of Protestantism that was uniquely committed to reshaping society according to Christian principles.

Early American Liberalism and the Social Gospel Movement

As we have seen, the succession of evangelical revival movements largely dominated the religious life of 18th- and 19th-century America. By the latter half of the 19th century, however, the liberal Protestant ideals that increasingly held sway in continental Europe had begun to make substantial inroads.

A key figure in the development of American religious liberalism was the Congregationalist minister Horace Bushnell (1802–1876). Bushnell came out in opposition to both revivalism and dry intellectualism, asserting (in agreement with Schleiermacher) that the true basis of faith was to be found in humanity's interior spiritual experience. He also argued (against the revivalists) that the church's focus should not be on producing conversions, but rather on instilling within the young a holistic Christian worldview that they need never question.

In the last decades of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, a number of American Protestants who had been influenced by the optimistic liberalism of Bushnell and

others began turning their attention to many of the profound social problems of the era, including poverty, alcoholism, racial and gender inequality, and the exploitative economic practices associated with the rapid rise of industrialization. These concerns gave rise to what became known as the Social Gospel movement, whose most notable leaders included Washington Gladden (1836–1918) and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918).

The proponents of the Social Gospel believed that the primary aim of the church should not be the salvation of individual souls, but rather the complete transformation of society in accordance with Christian principles. They urged love for neighbors, an attitude of willing service, and a firm commitment to the pursuit of justice. The majority of them subscribed to the eschatological view known as postmillennialism, which holds that God has entrusted humanity with the task of helping to bring about the kingdom of God and that the return of Christ will be delayed until Christians have vanquished the evils of society.

Working in concert with its secular counterpart, the Progressive movement, the Social Gospel movement managed to secure several important social reforms, including the prohibition of alcohol, the establishment of women's suffrage, and the passage of a number of labor reform laws. In spite of such successes, however, World War I and its aftermath served as a grim repudiation of the utopian optimism that was characteristic of the movement. As it became increasingly clear that the pervasive evil of humanity precluded the construction of an ideal Christian society, the Social Gospel movement lost much of its momentum. Nevertheless, its commendable commitments to justice, equality, and public service would remain important hallmarks of mainline Christianity in subsequent decades.

Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr

During the middle third of the 20th century, some of the most significant Protestant reflections on the intersection between Christianity and social ethics were produced by the German-American brothers Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr, both of whom were heavily influenced by the neo-orthodoxy of Karl Barth. Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971) served as a pastor in Detroit in the 1910s and 1920s, during which time he became appalled by the often deplorable working conditions in the automobile plants. His experiences in the city eventually led him to denounce capitalism and embrace socialism for a time.

Though he thus shared some of the concerns of the proponents of the Social Gospel, Niebuhr harshly criticized the social utopianism of many liberals, arguing instead for a perspective that he dubbed Christian Realism. This philosophy was predicated on the claim that sinfulness was an inescapable reality of human existence, and that therefore the full establishment of the kingdom of God on earth was impossible. Nevertheless, Niebuhr insisted that Christians should not give in to either despair or complacency, but

should actively oppose social injustice and trust in God's ability to achieve the seemingly impossible through His grace. During and after World War II, Niebuhr also gained considerable acclaim for his efforts to reconcile the claims of Christianity with the realities of modern warfare, politics, and diplomacy.

Niebuhr's younger brother H. Richard (1894–1962) served as a professor of theology at Yale University for more than three decades, combining the neo-orthodoxy of Barth with elements of Tillich's existentialism. Like his brother, one of his primary concerns was social ethics. His most famous work, *Christ and Culture* (1951), represented a seminal treatment of the issue of the proper relationship of the Christian church to secular society. Niebuhr argued that it was the task of Christians to enter fully into their broader cultural context, acting as God's agents in the expectation that He will act decisively through the church to transform the culture.

In his later ethical treatise *The Responsible Self* (1962), H. Richard Niebuhr explored the ways in which human beings relate to God, one another, their societies, and the world as a whole. He claimed that humans are continuously acting in response to some influence (whether it comes from within themselves, from others, or from God), and that it was the responsibility of Christians to respond to God by assuming responsibility for others and seeking to make a positive difference in society. Thus, Niebuhr placed a distinct emphasis on the dual nature of the Christian responsibility—a responsibility *to* God *for* others—and insisted that any attempt to uncouple the two—either by trying to address social ills without maintaining a vital relationship with God, or by trying to cultivate intimacy with God without showing concern for the needs of others—represented a betrayal of the true Christian faith.

Contemporary Developments

In the decades since 1950, political involvement, social ethics, and cultural relevance have remained abiding concerns of American mainline Protestantism. Liberal Christian activists provided critical leadership to the African-American Civil Rights movement in America during the 1950s and 1960s, and the fight to end Apartheid in South Africa during the 1980s and 1990s. Many have campaigned on behalf of other high-profile issues such as the reduction of global poverty and hunger, increased educational and employment opportunities for the underprivileged, and the protection of the environment. In recent years, increasing numbers of mainline Protestants have advocated complete social equality—including equality in terms of ecclesiastical roles and opportunities—regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or (in some instances) sexual orientation.

The modern socio-political agenda of American liberal Protestants has often served to distance them from their conservative counterparts, particularly with reference to the controversial issues of abortion and homosexuality, on which mainline Christians hold

a broad range of opinions. While it may credibly be argued that liberal Protestants have often been in danger of allowing mainstream socio-political values to lead them astray from traditional Christian orthodoxy, it is important to acknowledge that their broad commitment to concerned involvement in causes that promote social justice and human well-being serves as an important corrective to the insular self-focus that constantly threatens to undermine the witness of the Christian community.

We have thus completed a rough sketch of several of the significant figures and characteristic emphases that together helped to give color to the complex mosaic of 20th-century liberal and neo-orthodox Protestantism. As should by now be clear, no easy summation is possible. For although there were certain key themes—a focus on systematic theology, a commitment to the critical interpretation of the Bible, a concern for social issues—that served to partially unify the diverse forms of mainline Protestantism, important differences and even sharp disagreements abounded among such groups, and the variations of belief and practice were virtually limitless. Thus, while it is possible to identify many elements of 20th-century mainline Protestantism that drew (and perhaps deserved) harsh criticism from other Christians (including other "liberals"), there was unquestionably also much in these expressions of the faith that was worth affirming. As we will find in the next chapter, much the same could also be said about 20th-century evangelical Protestantism.

Chapter Thirty Review

Albert Schweitzer	Neo-Orthodoxy
Confessing Church	Paul Tillich
Dietrich Bonhoeffer	Postmillennialism
Form Criticism	Reinhold Niebuhr
Gerhard von Rad	Rudolf Bultmann
H. Richard Niebuhr	Rudolf Otto
Jesus Seminar	Social Gospel Movement
Karl Barth	Traditional-Historical Criticism
Martin Noth	

CHAPTER THIRTY NOTES

[1]The cooperation of German Lutherans and Reformed believers in the Confessing Church was predated and foreshadowed by the 19th-century creation of the Evangelical Christian Church, which merged the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Prussia. Following World War II, a number of regional Protestant churches would unite as the Evangelical Church in Germany, a development that reflected the growing spirit of Protestant ecumenism in the mid-20th century (on which see Chapter Thirty-Four).

[2]As an example of the way in which this criterion might be applied, consider Jesus' rebuke of Peter in Matthew 16:23. It is incomprehensible that loyal Jews would have concocted a story in which Jesus vehemently defends His messianic task, and it is equally unbelievable that the early church would have undermined its legitimacy by inventing a story in which Jesus refers to one of its most prominent leaders as "Satan." Therefore, it is likely that Jesus really did say something like this.

[3]This increasing fascination with the Jewish world of Jesus' day in part constituted a reaction to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran in the 1940's and 1950's.

[4]For a fascinating overview of the history of "historical Jesus" research, including appraisals of Schweitzer, Bultmann, the "new quest," the Jesus Seminar, and the "third quest," see N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), pp. 3–124.

Chapter Thirty-One
20th-Century Protestantism:
Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism

As we have seen in previous chapters, the claims of liberal theology, higher biblical criticism, and secular science began to exert a profound influence on the religious climate of the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A large number of believers within the most prominent American Protestant denominations—the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists—embraced these liberalizing trends to various degrees. In so doing, they were earnestly seeking to reconcile their inherited faith with the new scientific discoveries and intellectual currents that were rapidly revolutionizing their society.

There were many others, however, who held firmly to traditional orthodoxy and feared that secular intellectual ideals stemming from the Enlightenment were progressively eroding the character of the Protestant faith. Thus, during the early decades of the 20th century, a rapidly hardening resistance to the proliferation of liberal attitudes within the mainline denominations led to the emergence of a number of theologically conservative expressions of Protestantism.

As we found to be the case with the various forms of "liberal" Protestantism, these groups characteristically held a few central features in common, while simultaneously displaying a great deal of diversity. In general, conservative Protestants based their faith on the complete authority and reliability of the Bible, practiced evangelistic preaching, emphasized the importance of a personal experience of salvation, and supported missionary endeavors. Some were firmly committed to upholding the confessional creeds of the Reformation, while others were more heavily influenced by the evangelical zeal and modified-Arminian theology of the great revivalists. Many held to a premillennialist eschatology, stressing the imminence of Christ's return and downplaying the importance of social improvements. Others believed strongly in social involvement and thus pursued "liberal" social and political reforms while remaining conservative theologically. Some urged strict separation from the increasingly liberal mainline denominations, while others promoted unity and cooperation with other believers. Gradually, such differences of opinion led to splits within the conservative camp, thus producing further fragmentation and complexity within the American religious landscape. Nevertheless, conservative Protestantism's core contentions would eventually win broad support, and its advocates would profoundly shape the 20th century course of Christianity in a number of important ways.

The Birth of Fundamentalism

During the last three decades of the 19th century, concerned conservative American Protestants began holding "Bible conferences" at which they engaged in Bible study

and discussed various doctrines that they viewed as central to the Christian faith. Such gatherings served to galvanize conservative opposition to higher biblical criticism, postmillennialist eschatology, Darwinian science, and other liberal beliefs, and eventually contributed to the formation of distinct conservative factions within several of the mainline Protestant denominations, most notably the Presbyterian Church in the USA.

During the 19th century, American Presbyterians had become increasingly divided between liberal and conservative factions. The traditional faith set forth in the Westminster Confession was vigorously defended by many, and it found contemporary expression in the so-called "Princeton theology" that was promoted by several of the 19th century leaders of Princeton Theological Seminary, including Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), Charles Hodge (1797–1878), A. A. Hodge (1823–1886), and B. B. Warfield (1851–1921). The Princeton theologians placed a great deal of emphasis on the authority of Scripture and the creeds of the church, and they viewed higher criticism as a profound threat. Other Presbyterians, however, dissented from these views, embracing the insights of higher criticism and rejecting the dogmatic conservatism that characterized traditional Presbyterian orthodoxy.

This festering conflict within the Presbyterian Church first came to a head in 1910, when the Church's General Assembly issued a Doctrinal Deliverance outlining five beliefs that were declared to be necessary and essential to the Christian faith: the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth of Jesus, the substitutionary atonement theory of the crucifixion, the bodily resurrection of Jesus, and the historicity of Jesus' miracles.[1] The General Assembly's affirmation of these core doctrines—which, in later years, would come to be known as the Five Fundamentals—served to bolster the conservative position and represented an effective rejection of the skeptical attitudes of 19th century liberalism.

The same year, Lyman Stewart (1840–1923), a wealthy Presbyterian layman, financed the publication of the first in a series of pamphlets containing doctrinal essays by conservative scholars from several denominations. A total of 12 of these volumes were produced between 1910 and 1915 under the general title *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*. The series' contributors defended the Five Fundamentals and other related conservative convictions such as the deity of Jesus and the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, promoted personal salvation, evangelistic efforts, and global missions, and attacked higher criticism, Darwinian teachings, socialism, Mormonism, Christian Science, and a number of other controversial viewpoints. Gradually, those who espoused the views set forth in *The Fundamentals* became popularly known as fundamentalists.

THE EMERGENCE OF DISPENSATIONALISM

As the early fundamentalist movement continued to develop, it increasingly became characterized by a premillennialist eschatology. The term *premillennialism* refers to the

belief that Christ's second coming will precede the establishment of His kingdom and the advent of His 1,000-year reign on earth. Thus, in contrast to the postmillennialist eschatology that was popular among the proponents of the Social Gospel, premillennialism assumes that there is nothing that Christians can do to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God, and that therefore their only responsibilities are to ensure that they are spiritually prepared for Jesus' return and, derivatively, to encourage others to do the same.

More specifically, a number of fundamentalists embraced the form of premillennialist thought known as dispensationalism, a theological view that sees history as consisting of a series of distinct, divinely ordered ages (during each of which God relates to humanity in a specific way), culminating in the second coming of Christ and His millennial reign. Proponents of dispensationalism believed that, by studying biblical history and prophecy (particularly the apocalyptic Books of Daniel and Revelation), it was possible to interpret contemporary events in terms of their potential eschatological significance. They also claimed that Jesus' establishment of the church did not in any way supersede God's existing covenant with Israel, that the Promised Land would eventually be restored to the Jews, and that the large majority of Jews would ultimately accept Jesus as the Messiah.

As we have seen, dispensationalist thought was pioneered by John Nelson Darby, the founder of the Plymouth Brethren. Its growth in appeal among the early fundamentalists, however, was largely due to the work of the Congregationalist pastor Cyrus Scofield (1843–1921). In 1909, Scofield published the *Scofield Reference Bible*, which contained extensive annotations reflecting a dispensationalist interpretation of the text. The revised edition of 1917 also included a detailed chronology of biblical events dating back to Creation.

The detailed notes and charts of the Scofield Bible seemed to lend great scholarly weight to a premillennialist, dispensationalist interpretation of the Scriptures, and many fundamentalists subsequently adopted these eschatological views. Indeed, by the 1920s, some had begun substituting the premillennial return of Christ for the historicity of Jesus' miracles in the list of the Five Fundamentals. It must be stressed, however, that not all of those who originally subscribed to the fundamentalist viewpoint—nor even all of those who held a premillennialist view of eschatology—embraced dispensationalism, and a rift increasingly developed between those fundamentalists who based their objections to liberalism on their adherence to the classical creeds of the Reformation, and those with dispensationalist leanings.

The Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy

The increasing prominence of fundamentalism and dispensationalist theology inevitably led to a backlash among those American Protestants who espoused more liberal, modernist views. One of the most notable of these was Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878–1969), a prominent preacher who was ordained as a Baptist but served as pastor

of First Presbyterian Church in New York City beginning in the late 1910s. In 1922, Fosdick delivered a sermon entitled "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" in which he defended the rights of Protestant believers to honestly question traditional religious assumptions in light of new historical and scientific discoveries, and he attacked the fundamentalist position as naïve and intolerant.

Fosdick's message was subsequently printed in a pamphlet and distributed to all Protestant clergy in the nation. The conservative pastor Clarence Macartney (1879–1957) responded to Fosdick's arguments with a sermon entitled "Shall Unbelief Win?" and battle lines were quickly drawn within the Presbyterian Church. While Fosdick was eventually forced to resign his pastorate, it was becoming increasingly evident that his modernist views and opposition to the forced imposition of the Five Fundamentals were echoed by a large number of ministers and laity within mainline denominations.

Around this same time, Protestant unity was further threatened by the growing controversy surrounding Darwin's theory of evolution. A number of believers (both liberal and conservative) insisted that the scientific evidence in support of Darwin's claims was overwhelming, and that it was not impossible to reconcile acceptance of some evolutionary principles with a firm belief that God was ultimately responsible for initiating and guiding the process of Creation. Many conservative Protestants (including the fundamentalists), however, rejected the notion of evolution as completely incompatible with the Creation accounts of the Bible, and thus viewed it as a serious threat to Christianity.

The conservative campaign against Darwinism was spearheaded by the prominent Baptist fundamentalist William Bell Riley (1861–1947) and the Presbyterian lawyer and politician William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925). At the General Assembly of 1923, Bryan urged the Presbyterian Church to suspend the donation of funds to any educational institution that taught evolution, but his plea was rebuffed by the Assembly, as even a number of conservative Presbyterian leaders were unwilling to take such a step. Both Riley and Bryan also attempted to persuade state lawmakers to ban the teaching of evolution in public schools, and their campaigns contributed to the passage of anti-evolution legislation in a number of states, including Tennessee. In 1925, Riley convinced Bryan to serve on the prosecution team in the trial of John T. Scopes (1900–1970), a high school teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, who was accused of teaching evolutionary principles in violation of state law. Scopes was defended by the American Civil Liberties Union (which was determined to demonstrate that such anti-evolution laws were unconstitutional), and by Clarence Darrow (1857–1938), a famous attorney and a committed agnostic. The trial became a media spectacle and attracted national attention; and although Scopes was ultimately found guilty, the trial paradoxically served to convince many that the fundamentalist position was intolerant, ill-informed, and ultimately untenable, and thus represented a qualified triumph for the modernist viewpoint.

Indeed, by the mid-1920s, the claims of evolutionary science, higher criticism, and liberal socio-political ideology were proving persuasive to many American Protestants,

and it was becoming increasingly clear that the fundamentalists had little hope of controlling the agenda within the majority of mainline Protestant denominations. The Lutheran, continental Reformed, Congregationalist, Episcopal, Methodist, and Northern Baptist Churches all demonstrated a willingness to accommodate modernist views to some degree. By contrast, the Southern Baptist Convention was the only major Protestant denomination that demonstrated a broad commitment to the fundamentalist position.

The Presbyterians, meanwhile, remained deeply divided. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the conservative faction within the Presbyterian Church was led by J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937), a Princeton University professor who embraced the traditional theology that had long been characteristic of that institution. Machen staunchly defended the Westminster Confession and subscribed to the Five Fundamentals, though he rejected the dispensationalism and anti-intellectualism that characterized much of the fundamentalist movement.

In 1929, the Presbyterian General Assembly voted to reorganize Princeton Seminary in an effort to address the growing intra-faculty tensions between the conservative majority and the moderates and liberals who sought greater freedom to instruct students in liberal theology and higher criticism. Machen and other conservatives reacted to this perceived attack by founding a rival school, Westminster Theological Seminary. Conflict between the opposing factions continued to mount until 1936, when Machen and a number of other Presbyterians with fundamentalist views left the denomination to establish the Presbyterian Church of America (later the Orthodox Presbyterian Church), which committed itself to protecting the historical doctrines of Calvinism.

This strategy of separation eventually became a defining feature of fundamentalism. Fundamentalist groups within other mainline churches soon split off to form new denominations, often renouncing any further contact or cooperation with their more liberal parent churches for fear of contaminating the "pure faith" that they claimed to uphold. Thus, although they had largely failed in their attempts to purge American Protestantism of liberal theology and modernist views, the fundamentalists refused to relinquish their deeply held theological convictions, and they instead largely elected to redefine the "true church" in terms of adherence to those beliefs.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE REVIVAL TRADITION AND THE BIRTH OF EVANGELICALISM

While the fundamentalists committed themselves to the defense of orthodox doctrine, other conservative Protestants emphasized the importance of personal conversion and sought to continue the zealous revival tradition of the 19th century. An outstanding early exemplar of this evangelical fervor was the revival preacher William Ashley ("Billy") Sunday (1862–1935). Sunday, an Iowa native who played professional baseball as a young man, was converted to Christianity in 1886. In 1891, he left baseball and took a

ministerial position at the Chicago YMCA; and two years later, he became the personal assistant to J. Wilbur Chapman (1859–1918), a prominent traveling evangelist.

Sunday learned much from Chapman's example; and when Chapman returned to pastoring in 1896, Sunday launched his own evangelistic ministry. Over the next several years, he conducted a series of tent revivals, mostly in rural Illinois and Iowa. These meetings drew substantial crowds and were characterized by spirited worship and theatrical preaching. As Sunday's popularity as an evangelist grew, he began holding longer revivals and staging them in larger cities, culminating in a major evangelistic campaign in New York City in 1917. During this period, Sunday's ministry received a great deal of publicity and media coverage, and he became a nationally known figure. Crowds subsequently flocked to his meetings by the tens of thousands; and it is estimated that over the course of his evangelistic career, Sunday preached the Gospel to nearly one hundred million people.

Sunday's religious and social views were somewhat mixed. Though he was ordained as a Presbyterian, he was not a strict Calvinist, and (like many revival preachers) he emphasized the importance of individual decision in the salvation process. He tended toward fundamentalism, affirming basic conservative doctrines such as the inerrancy of the Bible and the imminent return of Christ, and attacked liberal theology and Darwinism. Yet he also supported social causes that were championed by many liberal Christians, including labor reform, women's suffrage, and, most emphatically, Prohibition. Furthermore, Sunday's ministry was strictly nondenominational, and he thus largely rejected the separatist policies of most fundamentalists. He cooperated with a variety of Protestant groups, encouraged his converts to get involved with the church of their choice, and even demonstrated respect for Roman Catholics.

As the 20th century progressed, other conservative Protestants likewise began to question the wisdom of the fundamentalists' increasingly isolationist stance. One of these was Harold Ockenga (1905–1985), who began his theological training at Princeton Theological Seminary and later followed J. Gresham Machen and the other conservative members of the faculty to the newly founded Westminster Theological Seminary. In 1936, Ockenga accepted the pastorate of a Congregationalist church in Boston, where he would remain for more than 30 years.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Ockenga began to grow uneasy with the prevailing views of many of his fellow conservatives. While he largely concurred with the theological position of the fundamentalists, he became convinced that their refusal to cooperate with other believers, their relative lack of involvement in social issues, and their increasingly anti-intellectual attitudes were misguided and damaging to the character of the Christian faith. In 1942, Ockenga helped to establish the National Association of Evangelicals—an organization whose aim was to foster cooperation among various conservative Protestant groups and to mobilize them for greater social involvement—and was named its first

president. In 1947, he was also made president of the newly founded Fuller Theological Seminary in California, an institution that sought to embody a commitment to conservative orthodoxy while still encouraging rigorous scholarship and critical engagement with liberal Protestant and secular ideas.

Thus, Ockenga and his likeminded contemporaries did much to promote the emergence of a distinct expression of conservative Protestantism that functioned as a sort of "middle way" between the modernist views of liberalism and neo-orthodoxy on the one hand and the separatist tendencies of fundamentalism on the other. In a 1948 address, Ockenga labeled this new movement Neo-evangelicalism. In later years, however, it would increasingly be referred to simply as Evangelicalism, and its proponents would become known as Evangelicals.

The man who soon emerged as the chief figurehead of the new Evangelical movement was the evangelist William Franklin ("Billy") Graham (b. 1918). Born in Charlotte, North Carolina, to a Presbyterian family, Graham was ordained as a Southern Baptist minister in 1939 and graduated from the strongly Evangelical Wheaton College in 1943. Shortly thereafter, Graham launched a career as an itinerant evangelist that would eventually earn him acclaim and respect the world over.

Like Billy Sunday and other earlier evangelists, Billy Graham began conducting large-scale evangelistic revivals (or "crusades," as he termed them). He first gained national notoriety as a result of a crusade that took place in Los Angeles in 1949. Though originally scheduled to last three weeks, the revival was extended due to extraordinary response and ran for nearly two months. During the 1950s, Graham conducted similarly long-lasting and impactful crusades in London (1954), New York (1957), and San Francisco (1958). In 1959 and 1960, he ministered in Australia and New Zealand; and in later decades, he was able to preach in several places that were virtually inaccessible to other Christians, including the Soviet Union during the Cold War, South Africa during the height of Apartheid, and communist China and North Korea. By the end of the century, Graham had proclaimed the Gospel throughout the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa, ministering in person to an estimated 250 million individuals.

Over the years, Graham aided in the development of a number of ministries that served to further the spread of the Gospel and to increase the prominence of Evangelicalism. In 1944, he helped to establish Youth for Christ, an interdenominational Evangelical organization aimed at evangelizing young people and equipping them for ministry. In 1950, he founded the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, which provided support services for his crusades and eventually expanded its operations to include radio, television, newspaper, magazine, and film ministries. In 1956, he contributed to the founding of *Christianity Today,* a magazine that was designed to provide scholarly and inspirational content from an Evangelical perspective, thus serving as a unifying influence within the burgeoning Evangelical community. In addition to such activities, Graham also engaged

in cooperative ministry efforts with Protestants of various denominations and theological persuasions, as well as with Roman Catholics, and his openness to genuine dialogue with other believers helped to confirm and reinforce the non-separatist stance of the early Evangelical movement.

CONTRIBUTORS TO CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT AND THEOLOGY

As Evangelicalism gained momentum during the middle decades of the 20th century, conservative Protestants increasingly rejected the anti-intellectual stance of some earlier fundamentalists, and a number of capable scholars began expounding conservative views more explicitly. In contrast to the systematic and speculative works of the great 20th-century liberal and neo-orthodox theologians such as Bultmann, Barth, and Tillich, the writings of prominent conservatives tended to be largely apologetic in character. Thus, they characteristically focused on defending the validity of the Christian faith against the claims of an increasingly secularized Western society, and, more specifically, on defending foundational conservative beliefs (such as the inerrancy of Scripture and the historicity of Jesus' resurrection) against more liberal interpretations of Christian doctrine.

Undoubtedly the most celebrated Protestant apologist of the 20th century was the Irish scholar, author, and Oxford professor C. S. Lewis (1898–1963). An avowed atheist as a young man, Lewis converted to Christianity in 1931 and subsequently became a lay member of the Church of England. Thereafter, Lewis authored a number of widely read books in the genres of theology, apologetics, and religious fantasy, including *The Problem of Pain, Miracles, The Great Divorce, The Screwtape Letters*, and *The Chronicles of Narnia*. Among his notable works was *Mere Christianity* (1952), an apologetic treatise in which Lewis attempted to thoroughly explain and defend the essential elements of the historical Christian faith.

Lewis' work gave evidence of a certain degree of eclecticism in his religious thought. Though he was generally committed to classical orthodoxy (and thus could be considered a conservative to some extent), he was far from a fundamentalist. He subtly questioned the ways in which Evangelicals understood the inerrancy of Scripture, and he refused to subscribe fully to the substitutionary theory of the atonement, instead advancing an alternate view that is sometimes termed the "perfect penitent" theory.[2] Yet in spite of such potentially divisive claims, Lewis' writings were held in high esteem by many conservative believers, and his refined apologetic arguments also proved persuasive to many non-Christians.

Another noted conservative apologist from the British Isles was the Scottish scholar F. F. Bruce (1910–1990), who lectured on biblical history and criticism at the Universities of Sheffield and Manchester. In 1943, Bruce published *Are the New Testament Documents*

Reliable? which was to become a classic work in the field of biblical apologetics. In this volume, Bruce argued that the New Testament narratives exhibited a high degree of historical and cultural accuracy, and that, when judged according to the criteria of historians, they were much more reliable than similarly antiquated documents. Bruce believed that presenting such evidence of the Bible's historical credibility was a necessary first step in demonstrating the veracity of its spiritual and supernatural claims, and his writings helped to shape the emerging Evangelical perspective on biblical authority.

One of the most notable American apologists of the 20th century was the Presbyterian theologian Francis Schaeffer (1912–1984). Schaeffer was the first minister to be ordained by the Bible Presbyterian Church, a strongly fundamentalist denomination that split from J. Gresham Machen's Presbyterian Church of America in the late 1930s. In 1948, Schaeffer moved to Switzerland, where, in 1955, he established the first of the L'Abri communities—unique retreat centers combining informal theological study and spiritual direction with communal living and labor.

Through conversations with the young people who came to L'Abri—many of whom were skeptical of the claims of Christianity—Schaeffer began honing his approach to apologetics. He sought to engage non-believers relationally, encouraging them to share their deepest longings and challenging them to confront the logical conclusions of their own presuppositions concerning the nature of reality. He found that such an approach inevitably allowed him to identify a point of contact between the Christian worldview and the honest thoughts and desires of his listeners, thus opening a door for the truth of the Gospel. Schaeffer's classic exposition of this basic method was found in his 1968 work *The God Who Is There*.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Schaeffer turned his attention to the moral decay of American society, arguing that it was the result of a gradual shift from a Christian worldview to an increasingly pluralistic and humanistic one. In his 1982 book *A Christian Manifesto*, Schaeffer urged Christians to become more vocal in the political and social arenas in order to counteract the rising tide of secularization. Such political activism would subsequently become a hallmark of American Evangelicalism.

A contemporary of both Bruce and Schaeffer was the American Evangelical theologian Carl F. H. Henry (1913–2003). Henry was a close associate of Harold Ockenga and Billy Graham and was heavily involved in the establishment of the Evangelical movement, participating in the foundation of the National Association of Evangelicals, helping to establish Fuller Theological Seminary, and serving as the first editor-in-chief of *Christianity Today* magazine. In 1947, Henry authored his first book, *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism*, in which he rejected both the liberal and the fundamentalist versions of Protestantism, thus contributing further to the emerging perception of Evangelicalism as a "middle way" between the two.

In his later multi-volume theological opus *God, Revelation, and Authority* (published between 1976 and 1983), Henry engaged the theologies of prominent liberal Protestant scholars and presented a systematic, Evangelical alternative to their approaches. He began by emphasizing the inerrancy and ultimate authority of Scripture and proceeded to construct his entire theology upon this foundation. Henry argued that the Bible constitutes the divine self-revelation of God, that it is thus completely trustworthy in all its claims, and that the truths it contains about God can be clearly stated in propositional form. Thus, according to Henry, the true task of theology is merely to present the truth claims of Scripture in an organized way. This, clearly, was a very different approach to systematic theology than that which had held sway since the time of Schleiermacher, but it quickly became largely definitive for Evangelical thought.

Another conservative theologian whose writings were widely read during the latter decades of the century was the British-Canadian scholar J. I. Packer (b. 1926). After studying theology at Oxford University, Packer was ordained as an Anglican priest, and he subsequently became a leader of the Evangelical movement within the Church of England. In 1973, he published *Knowing God*, a concise yet comprehensive presentation of Evangelical theology that proved greatly appealing to a broad base of conservative Protestants from a variety of denominations. In later years, Packer taught at Regent College in Vancouver, served as executive editor of *Christianity Today,* and acted as general editor for the English Standard Version of the Bible, a new Evangelical translation that appeared in 2001. He thus remained an active and influential figure within Evangelical circles at the end of the 20th century.

THE INCREASING DIVERSIFICATION OF CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANTISM

As we have already found to be the case with the more liberal expressions of Protestantism, conservative Protestantism became increasingly diversified during the latter half of the 20th century. As Evangelicalism grew in its appeal and influence, it spawned a wide variety of movements and initiatives, each of which made significant and distinctive contributions to the developing character of conservative Protestantism.

One important development was the proliferation of parachurch ministries—nondenominational or interdenominational Christian organizations that worked to promote evangelism, discipleship, and social involvement among various constituencies. Prominent parachurch ministries that appeared during the 20th century included the high-school outreach organization Young Life (1941), college-based discipleship groups such as the Navigators (1933), InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (1941), and Campus Crusade for Christ (1951), missionary endeavors such as Youth With a Mission (1960), socially minded benevolence organizations such as Samaritan's Purse (1970) and Habitat for Humanity (1976), the family values-oriented Focus on the Family (1977), and the men's spiritual renewal movement Promise Keepers (1990).[3] These organizations

(along with many others) facilitated the further spread of Evangelical ideals throughout the global church, and their many successes served as heartening reminders of the power of Christian cooperation.

Another significant nondenominational expression of conservative Protestantism was the Jesus movement, a Christian offshoot of the counter-cultural hippie movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Jesus movement's members were mostly former hippies who had converted to Christianity, and they retained many of the characteristic emphases of the hippie movement, including a passion for social issues, an attraction to communal living, and a love for music. Yet they transformed such formerly secular interests by combining them with a warm, evangelistic faith. Indeed, Jesus People (as members of the movement were often known) were greatly influential in the development of modern praise and worship music and the contemporary Christian music industry. Members of the Jesus movement also became closely associated with Calvary Chapel, a fellowship of churches that began in southern California in the late 1960s under the leadership of Chuck Smith (b. 1927). Smith welcomed the Jesus People into his home and church, worked alongside them to evangelize their hippie peers, and provided new converts with basic Christian instruction. Calvary Chapel's outlook was strongly Evangelical, stressing adherence to foundational conservative doctrines, articulating a premillennialist view of eschatology, and promoting expository, chapter-by-chapter preaching of Scripture.[4]

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Evangelicals increasingly assumed a vocal role in American politics. Such activism was largely launched in response to a series of Supreme Court decisions that many conservative Christians viewed as oppressive and antithetical to their beliefs. These included rulings prohibiting prayer and Bible reading in public schools, as well as the landmark Roe vs. Wade decision of 1973, which legalized abortion.

One of the earliest conservative Christian political lobbying groups was Christian Voice, founded in 1978 by Robert Grant (b. 1936). Soon after this organization's founding, a bitter leadership struggle ensued. Grant ultimately retained control of Christian Voice, while his former associates recruited the Baptist televangelist Jerry Falwell (1933–2007) to head a new Christian lobby. In 1979, Falwell founded the Moral Majority, a conservative political action group that championed traditional Christian values, supported the government of Israel, and actively campaigned against abortion, pornography, obscenity, and increased rights for homosexuals.

Throughout the 1980s, the Moral Majority mobilized large numbers of voters to support conservative political candidates and led boycotts of companies whose values were viewed as incompatible with those of Evangelical Christianity. Though the lobby enjoyed moderate successes, Falwell disbanded it in 1989. It was succeeded by the closely similar Christian Coalition, founded in 1989 by the Baptist televangelist Pat Robertson (b. 1930). This organization, however, largely proved unable to stem the increasing secularization of American society, and its influence and funding steadily diminished

throughout the 1990s. Nevertheless, in spite of the declining health of broad-based conservative lobbies, political activism remains an important hallmark of American Evangelical Protestantism.

A final contemporary development within conservative Protestantism that deserves attention is the increasing prevalence of "megachurches" (congregations with weekly attendance numbering in the thousands), which began emerging in large urban areas during the last few decades of the 20th century. Such churches were overwhelmingly nondenominational, Baptist, or Pentecostal in affiliation, and were typically founded by leaders who possessed great personal charisma.

One of the earliest American megachurches was the Crystal Cathedral, founded in 1955 in Orange County, California, by Robert H. Schuller (b. 1926). Schuller began televising services from the Crystal Cathedral in 1970, and this weekly program (known as *The Hour of Power*) subsequently became the most widely viewed Christian broadcast in the world. Schuller greatly influenced an entire generation of future Evangelical leaders, including Bill Hybels (b. 1952) and Rick Warren (b. 1954), each of whom eventually became a prominent megachurch pastor. In 1975, Hybels founded Willow Creek Community Church in a Chicago suburb. This congregation helped to popularize the "seeker-sensitive" approach to ministry, in which church services are conducted in modern, technologically appointed facilities, constructed around high-energy worship and inspirational preaching, and largely stripped of overtly spiritual language and ritual, all in an attempt to make the worship experience more intelligible and palatable to those with no religious background. Warren, meanwhile, founded Saddleback Church in southern California in 1980 and developed a "purpose-driven" ministry model that focused on five essential tasks of the church: worship, fellowship, discipleship, evangelism, and ministry.

––––––––––––––––––––––––––

As should by now be clear, 20th-century conservative Protestantism was just as diverse a phenomenon as its more liberal counterpart. Nevertheless, there were a few common themes that served to unify its various expressions. Most basically, conservative Protestants displayed a firm commitment to the authority of the Bible and staunchly defended traditional orthodoxy against the claims of liberal theology and secularism (though they occasionally disagreed amongst themselves as to the precise interpretation of even the most "fundamental" doctrines). In addition, conservative Christians (and Evangelicals in particular) consistently demonstrated a deep and abiding concern for the salvation of souls, and their evangelistic efforts helped to bring hope and healing to countless individuals. This dual focus on preserving traditional doctrine and bringing others to faith in Christ served as a powerful and necessary counterbalance to the liberal preoccupation with scholarly inquiry and social justice. Thus, while it is undeniable that many abuses of power and distortions of the Gospel have been propagated by the advocates of conservative Protestantism in recent decades, it must also be stressed that

20th-century Evangelicals and fundamentalists made vital and distinctive contributions to the character of the Christian faith, contributions for which millions of believers around the world are deeply indebted to them.

<div style="border:1px solid">

Chapter Thirty-One Review

Billy Graham	Harry Emerson Fosdick
Billy Sunday	J. Gresham Machen
C. S. Lewis	J. I. Packer
Carl F. H. Henry	Jesus Movement
Cyrus Scofield	Megachurch
Dispensationalism	Moral Majority
Evangelicalism	National Association of Evangelicals
F. F. Bruce	Parachurch Organizations
Francis Schaeffer	Premillennialism
Fundamentalism	Princeton Theology
Harold Ockenga	

</div>

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE NOTES

[1]In some later lists, the virgin birth of Jesus was combined with or replaced by the deity of Jesus.

[2]See C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (revised edition) (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001), pp. 53–59.

[3]The organization that eventually became InterVarsity Christian Fellowship actually had its roots in British student groups that began meeting in the 1870s. Other significant 19th-century parachurch endeavors included the YMCA and YWCA and the Bible-distribution initiative known as Gideons International (founded in 1899).

[4]The Jesus movement and Calvary Chapel may both be said to straddle the line between Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, as charismatic manifestations of the Spirit were often associated with the movement during its early days. However, in light of the fact that Pentecostal theology as such was never either the central thrust of the Jesus movement or a defining tenet of Calvary Chapel's doctrine, it seems better to classify the movement as an alternative expression of Evangelicalism.

Chapter Thirty-Two
Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity

In addition to the various expressions of Protestantism that we have surveyed in the previous two chapters, the 20th century also witnessed the emergence of a new and unique stream of the Christian faith that sprang from the Protestant tradition—Pentecostalism. This movement had historical roots in Methodism, the camp-meeting revivalism of the Second Great Awakening, and the Holiness movement, and it was closely similar to fundamentalism and Evangelicalism in several respects. It was distinguished from such movements, however, by a characteristic emphasis on charismatic manifestations of the power of the Holy Spirit, particularly glossolalia (speaking in tongues), prophecy, and miraculous healings. Over the course of the 20th century, Pentecostal theology and practice penetrated a number of existing Christian denominations and spawned many new ones. By the century's end, Pentecostalism had attracted millions of adherents from around the globe and had emerged as one of the most vibrant and rapidly growing forms of the Christian faith.

ROOTS IN THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

The immediate precursor of Pentecostalism was the Holiness movement, which (as we have seen) emerged in the mid-19th century under the leadership of Phoebe Palmer and other American Methodists and was characterized by an insistence on holy living and an emphasis on the importance of a personal experience of sanctification subsequent to salvation. During the latter half of the 19th century, as the Holiness movement continued to attract new members, large Holiness camp meetings began to be conducted in the northeastern United States. It was in these revival services that the first seeds of Pentecostalism were planted.

The first Holiness camp meeting was held in 1867 at Vineland, New Jersey, under the direction of the Methodist ministers William Osborn (1832–1902) and John Inskip (1816–1884). The stated purpose of the meeting was that believers from various Protestant denominations might "realize together a Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Ghost."[1] Thousands of people flocked to this meeting, and the revival was considered such a success that it spawned a formal organization, the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness. Under the auspices of this new association, dozens of subsequent Holiness camp meetings were conducted prior to 1900.

As the influence of the Holiness movement grew, a rift gradually developed between its adherents and more mainstream Methodists. Many Methodists believed that the members of the Holiness movement had overemphasized holiness and sanctification to

the exclusion of other essential doctrines, and viewed the pronounced emotionalism of the Holiness movement with suspicion. Holiness believers, meanwhile, increasingly came to regard traditional Methodist worship as overly cold and formal. The issue came to a head in 1894, when the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South issued an official denunciation of the Holiness movement, thus presenting Holiness believers with a choice between abandoning their distinctive beliefs and practices or departing from the Methodist Church.

Many chose the latter course; and over the succeeding decades, a number of new Holiness denominations began to appear. Among these were the Church of the Nazarene, founded in Los Angeles in 1895 by Phineas Bresee, the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, established in Iowa in 1895 by Benjamin Hardin Irwin, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, organized in Cincinnati in 1897 by Martin Knapp and Seth Rees, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church, founded in North Carolina in 1898 by Abner Crumpler.

Of these new churches, Irwin's Fire-Baptized group became particularly prominent during the years immediately preceding the turn of the 20th century. In his sermons, Irwin argued for the existence of a third essential spiritual experience beyond salvation and sanctification, which he termed "the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire."[2] This experience was accompanied by shouting, shaking, speaking in tongues, falling into trances, and other emotional manifestations. Irwin carried this "fire-baptized" message from the Midwest to the Southeast, and Holiness revivals subsequently broke out in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee.

The most notable such meeting occurred in 1896 at the Shearer Schoolhouse in Cherokee County, North Carolina. This revival was led by William Martin, a Methodist minister, and three Baptist preachers—Joseph Tipton, Milton McNabb, and William Hamby. According to contemporary reports, numbers of attendees spoke in tongues and experienced divine healing, and the meeting subsequently attracted great interest throughout the region. The Shearer Schoolhouse Revival thus stands as one of the earliest recorded examples of the modern Pentecostal phenomenon. Its impact, however, proved to be relatively small and localized, and it would be several more years before the nascent Pentecostal movement truly emerged as a distinct entity.

BETHEL BIBLE COLLEGE AND THE AZUSA STREET REVIVAL

The next crucial development in the history of Pentecostalism came in 1900, when the Holiness preacher Charles Fox Parham (1873–1929) established Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. Parham attracted a small group of students to this school and began instructing them in the basic tenets of Holiness doctrine. In particular, Parham and his students were concerned with determining the full meaning of the New Testament references to being "baptized with" or "filled with" the Holy Spirit.[3] After studying the

accounts of the Book of Acts, the members of Parham's group noted that the Spirit Baptisms recorded in Scripture were characteristically accompanied by glossolalia. On this basis, they concluded that speaking in another tongue—whether a foreign language unknown to the speaker, or a heavenly language—constituted the initial evidence that a person had been filled with the Spirit.

Parham and his students greatly desired to experience Spirit Baptism as they now understood it, and they resolved to pray earnestly to that effect. In the early hours of January 1, 1901, during a New Year's prayer vigil at the college, a student named Agnes Ozman began speaking in another language (purportedly Chinese) as others prayed for her to receive the Holy Spirit. This occurrence is often considered to mark the true beginning of the modern Pentecostal movement.

Following the events at Bethel Bible College, Parham began an evangelistic tour of the region, during which he promoted Spirit Baptism and presented his newly held belief that speaking in tongues constituted the normative initial evidence of such an experience. Parham eventually settled in Houston, Texas, where he founded another Bible school for the purpose of instructing others regarding this foundational Pentecostal doctrine.

One of those who attended Parham's classes in Houston and quickly embraced the doctrine of Spirit Baptism accompanied by tongues was an African-American Holiness minister named William J. Seymour (1870–1922).[4] In early 1906, Seymour was invited to assume pastoral duties at a small Holiness church in Los Angeles. Upon arriving, however, he found that several of the influential members of the congregation strongly disapproved of the Pentecostal doctrine he was now espousing, and he was quickly removed from the pastorate as a result. Seymour then began conducting Holiness meetings in the home of a local couple, Richard and Ruth Asberry.

In April 1906, a number of the believers who had begun gathering in the Asberry home, including Seymour himself, experienced the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. As news of these happenings spread, the prayer gatherings began to draw substantial crowds, and Seymour was soon forced to secure a larger meeting space. He rented a modest-sized structure at 312 Azusa Street that had at one time been a Methodist church, and meetings quickly commenced at this new location, which was christened the Apostolic Faith Mission.

The revival services at the Azusa Street mission were characterized by various charismatic manifestations, including speaking in tongues, shaking, shouting, and falling down as if unconscious. As a result, the revival quickly became a media spectacle, and newspaper stories regarding the unusual happenings circulated nationwide. In response to such reports, thousands of people—convinced believers and curiosity seekers alike—flocked to Los Angeles. This throng included men and women of several different races and ethnic groups, a fact that bears witness to the remarkably inclusive spirit of the early Pentecostal movement.

The Azusa Street revival continued day and night for three years, during which time a considerable number of participants received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and embraced the core tenets of Pentecostal theology—salvation by grace through faith, sanctification as a second definite work of grace, Baptism with the Holy Spirit (accompanied by the initial evidence of speaking in tongues), the availability of divine healing, and the imminent, premillennial return of Christ. These men and women subsequently carried the accounts of their experiences back to their respective homes; and within a few years, Pentecostalism had spread throughout the United States and to more than 50 countries worldwide. In the decades that followed, the Pentecostal movement would rapidly grow from an isolated curiosity into a robust, global phenomenon.

THE RISE OF PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATIONS

As had been the case with the Holiness believers before them, those who had been impacted by the Azusa Street revival and had accepted the emerging doctrines of Pentecostalism quickly found themselves at odds with mainstream Protestants, who tended to view the Pentecostals as misguided radicals (if not heretics). Consequently, Pentecostal believers were largely forced to leave the major denominations and establish churches within which they could freely proclaim their distinctive teachings and carry on their exuberant forms of worship.

This task was accomplished in part through the successful introduction of Pentecostal theology and practice into a number of the independent Holiness denominations that had arisen a few decades earlier. To be sure, not all of the older Holiness churches accepted Pentecostal doctrine. The Church of the Nazarene, for example, was careful to distance itself from the practice of speaking in tongues, and focused instead on continuing to promote the Wesleyan idea of sanctification. Several other Holiness churches, however, proved to be more amenable to Pentecostalism in the decades following the Azusa Street revival.

The Pentecostal Holiness Church, the Church of God, and the Church of God in Christ

A figure who was instrumental in carrying the claims of Pentecostalism from Azusa Street to the Holiness churches of the eastern United States was the Holiness minister G. B. Cashwell (1860–1916). Cashwell traveled from North Carolina to Los Angeles in late 1906 and received the Pentecostal Baptism of the Holy Spirit at the Azusa Street revival. Upon returning to North Carolina, Cashwell conducted a lengthy revival during which he presented the Pentecostal message to members of various Holiness bodies. These meetings drew significant crowds and were marked by various Pentecostal manifestations; and as a result of Cashwell's efforts, a number of Holiness denominations in the region fully embraced Pentecostalism. These included the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church and the Pentecostal Holiness Church, which united in 1911 under the latter name.

Another Holiness denomination upon which Cashwell exerted an important influence was the Church of God.[5] This movement traced its roots to the work of the Baptist minister Richard Spurling (1810–1891) and his son R. G. Spurling (1857–1935), who together organized a small nonconformist group known as the Christian Union in eastern Tennessee in 1886. A decade later, through the influence of Fire-Baptized Holiness evangelists and the nearby Shearer Schoolhouse Revival, Spurling's group was brought into contact with Holiness believers, including a small band in western North Carolina led by W. F. Bryant (1863–1949), a Baptist layman. In May 1902, Spurling and Bryant organized their followers into a congregation known as the Holiness Church at Camp Creek.

Around this time, A. J. Tomlinson (1865–1943), a traveling missionary and a former Quaker, became acquainted with the infant church at Camp Creek. On June 13, 1903, while visiting the Bryant family, Tomlinson felt moved by God to join the small congregation, and he quickly became the leader of the group. The fledgling denomination subsequently expanded into the surrounding states, and its headquarters were established at Cleveland, Tennessee. In 1907, it officially adopted the name "Church of God."

It was at about this point that Tomlinson became aware of the ministry of G. B. Cashwell. In 1908, Cashwell was invited by Tomlinson to speak to the Church of God congregation in Cleveland, to which he presented the Pentecostal message that he had been sharing since the time of the Azusa Street revival. Several members of the Church of God, including Tomlinson himself, received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues at this gathering, and the denomination formally adopted the doctrine of Spirit Baptism with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues in 1911.[6]

Cashwell was not the only attendee of the Azusa Street revival who introduced Pentecostal theology into the Holiness denominations. Another prominent figure in this regard was C. H. Mason (1866–1961), a former Baptist minister who embraced Holiness doctrines in the 1890s. In 1897, following a revival in Jackson, Mississippi, Mason and some associates organized a new Holiness denomination that was originally known as the Church of God, and later as the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). In 1907, Mason traveled to Azusa Street, where he experienced the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Following his return to the Southeast, he reorganized the Church of God in Christ as a Pentecostal denomination, and it subsequently grew to become one of the largest predominantly African-American Pentecostal churches.

The Assemblies of God and the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel

Another individual who made significant contributions to the development of the early Pentecostal denominations was the Canadian minister A. B. Simpson (1843–1919). In contrast to figures such as G. B. Cashwell and C. H. Mason, Simpson had no direct ties to the Azusa Street revival. Nor was he involved with any of the Holiness denominations that

had sprung from the camp meetings of the late 19th century. Indeed, for several years Simpson served as a Presbyterian minister, first in Canada and later in the United States. In 1881, however, Simpson resigned the pastorate of a Presbyterian church in New York City and launched an independent ministry to unbelieving and underprivileged immigrants.

This new ministry was characterized by distinct emphases on global missions, sanctification, and divine healing. In accord with these values, Simpson began proclaiming the Christian message by means of a unique structure known as the Fourfold Gospel, which emphasized that Christ was humanity's Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King. In 1882, Simpson established the Missionary Training Institute, a school that instructed students in the tenets of the Fourfold Gospel and trained them for missionary service. In 1887, he founded a pair of complementary parachurch organizations that promoted holy living and evangelism; and in 1897, the two were combined as a quasi-denomination known as the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), which would eventually emerge as a major agent of world evangelization.

It was through the Missionary Training Institute that Simpson and the CMA became closely connected with the infant Pentecostal movement. Because the fledgling Holiness and Pentecostal denominations lacked seminaries of their own, many early Pentecostal pastors and evangelists received their ministerial training at Simpson's institute. While the CMA eventually distanced itself from Pentecostal theology, Simpson's Fourfold Gospel and strong emphasis on evangelism helped spur the emergence of several significant Pentecostal denominations.

One of the most notable of these was the Assemblies of God, which arose in response to increasing concern among a number of early Pentecostal leaders regarding the long-term viability of the Pentecostal movement. These individuals believed that the rapid proliferation of autonomous Pentecostal denominations and congregations threatened to limit the movement's effectiveness, and they stressed the need for doctrinal unity and for mutual cooperation and accountability in the areas of ministerial training, formal recognition of clergy, and the supporting of missionaries.

In 1914, close to 300 Pentecostal ministers and laypeople gathered at Hot Springs, Arkansas, for a general council to discuss these issues. This meeting resulted in the establishment of a cooperative fellowship of Pentecostal churches that became known as the General Council of the Assemblies of God. Eudorus Bell (1866–1923), a former Southern Baptist minister, was elected to serve as the first chairman of the organization. In later years, additional councils were established in other countries as the Assemblies of God expanded its borders. These national councils were eventually more formally united as the World Assemblies of God Fellowship in 1988.[7]

The Assemblies of God differed from the earlier Pentecostal/Holiness denominations in a number of significant respects. To begin with, individual congregations under the

Assemblies of God umbrella remained essentially self-governing and self-supporting, with the General Council exercising only broad administrative and doctrinal oversight. In addition, a substantial number of the organizers of the Assemblies of God had close ties to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and that organization's commitment to global evangelism and emphasis on divine healing consequently became especially pronounced within the Assemblies. The Assemblies of God also espoused the Fourfold Gospel of A. B. Simpson, though they often replaced "Christ the Sanctifier" with "Christ the Baptizer with the Holy Spirit" in accordance with Pentecostal theology.

Another Pentecostal figure who embraced this revised version of Simpson's Fourfold Gospel was the controversial evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944). McPherson was converted to Pentecostalism by her first husband, Robert Semple, with whom she briefly served as a missionary in China before his death in 1910. After returning to the United States, she launched an itinerant evangelistic ministry, traveling throughout the country in her "Gospel Car" and proclaiming the Gospel in large revival meetings.

Eventually settling in Los Angeles, McPherson oversaw the construction of a large church known as Angelus Temple, which was opened in 1923. McPherson served as pastor of the congregation and quickly gained widespread notoriety for her uniquely entertaining and theatrical presentations of the Gospel. She also became the first female to preach a sermon over the radio; and in 1924, she launched her own radio ministry, thus becoming a national religious celebrity. Through her tireless efforts, what began as a single church quickly evolved into a formal denomination, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Though McPherson herself was somewhat discredited following a bizarre scandal involving her alleged kidnapping in 1926, the Foursquare Church remained an influential Pentecostal denomination and continued to make important strides in ministerial training, evangelism, and urban ministry.

The Global Spread of Pentecostalism

Though Pentecostalism is often viewed as having exclusively American origins, the Azusa Street revival was actually paralleled by similarly dramatic happenings in other parts of the world. In 1904, a major revival with Pentecostal manifestations broke out in Wales under the leadership of Evan Roberts (1878–1951). Between 1903 and 1907, similar revivals were reported in India and South Korea. Thus, it seems probable that Pentecostalism began emerging nearly simultaneously in several different regions, and that not all of its expressions can be traced directly back to Azusa Street.

What is inarguable, however, is that, whether from one source or several, Pentecostalism rapidly spread to every continent in the years immediately following the Azusa Street revival. Thomas Barratt, a Methodist minister from Norway who was visiting New York City in 1906, was inspired by reports of the happenings at Azusa Street and subsequently received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Upon returning to Norway, he conducted the

first explicitly Pentecostal services in Europe; and through his evangelistic efforts, Pentecostalism spread to Sweden, Germany, France, and England.

Among the early English converts to Pentecostalism was Smith Wigglesworth (1859–1947), who became one of the most influential early Pentecostal evangelists and carried the faith to India, Australia, and the South Pacific. As Pentecostalism attracted more adherents in the United Kingdom, a number of Pentecostal groups in that nation united in a denomination known as the Apostolic Church, which subsequently spread to many of the countries of Europe.[8]

In 1908, the former Methodist minister John Graham Lake (1870–1935), who had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit in Chicago in 1907, carried the Pentecostal message to South Africa, from whence it began to spread to other parts of the continent. During the 1910s, missionaries with ties to the Assemblies of God carried Pentecostalism to South America, resulting in the emergence of a vibrant Pentecostal community in Brazil. The Church of God sent its first missionaries to the Bahamas in 1910 and quickly established a strong presence throughout the West Indies. Thus, within a decade of the Azusa Street revival, Pentecostalism was well on its way to becoming a truly global expression of the Christian faith.

INCREASING DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY

Over the course of the half century between 1910 and 1960, Pentecostalism underwent a number of striking changes and faced a variety of profound challenges. Internal theological disputes created power struggles within several denominations, eventually precipitating a number of schisms that threatened the vitality of the Pentecostal movement. At the same time, however, the movement was strengthened as a result of heightened cooperation among several of the older Pentecostal denominations and increasing contact between Pentecostals and other conservative Protestants. This period also witnessed the emergence of several new expressions of Pentecostal piety, each of which contributed in unique ways to the rapid diversification of the movement. As a result of this combination of factors, Pentecostalism branched off in multiple directions from its historical roots and quickly became an incredibly complex and highly nuanced religious phenomenon.

Controversies and Fragmentation

The first major theological controversy among the early Pentecostals was precipitated by the teachings of W. H. Durham (1873–1912), a former Baptist pastor from Chicago who received the baptism of the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street. In 1910, Durham began advancing a view of sanctification that differed substantially from the classical Wesleyan/ Holiness conception. He insisted that sanctification was not a discrete, instantaneous experience subsequent to salvation, but rather that it was an ongoing process that was initiated at the time of salvation. Thus, in Durham's view, salvation and sanctification

essentially occurred concurrently and together represented a "finished work" of Christ in the life of an individual. Baptism with the Holy Spirit, then, was seen as a second (not third) distinct spiritual experience available to the believer.

The major Pentecostal denominations that had roots in the Holiness movement—the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the Church of God, and the Church of God in Christ— rejected Durham's "two-stage" thesis and defended the traditional "three-stage" view. However, the Assemblies of God and the Foursquare Church (both of which emerged after Durham came to prominence) were heavily influenced by Finished Work theology—a fact which helps to explain their substitution of "Christ the Baptizer with the Holy Spirit" for "Christ the Sanctifier" within their formulations of the Fourfold Gospel. Thus, Durham's teachings served to drive a wedge between the two groups of churches, which subsequently became known as Holiness Pentecostals and Baptistic Pentecostals, respectively.

The second major schism within Pentecostalism occurred as the result of a disagreement concerning baptism and the Trinity. Around 1913, a number of Pentecostals became troubled by an apparent discrepancy between the various scriptural injunctions concerning water baptism. Whereas Matthew 28:19 records that Jesus instructed His disciples to baptize "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," the Book of Acts asserts that early Christian baptisms were performed "in the name of Jesus."[9] In an attempt to reconcile the two accounts (and thus remain true to their strict commitment to the inerrancy of Scripture), some Pentecostals posited that, for the early Christians, the single name "Jesus" had come to signify God in all His fullness. This belief, in turn, gave rise to a non-Trinitarian understanding of the Godhead that resembled Sabellianism (the belief that there is a single God who manifests Himself in different modes throughout history). Thus, the "Jesus only" baptismal formula quickly came to represent a rejection of orthodox Trinitarian theology.

This controversial doctrine, whose adherents became known as Oneness Pentecostals, quickly polarized the early Pentecostal movement. In 1916, the Fourth General Council of the Assemblies of God officially adopted the doctrine of the Trinity, prompting the Oneness believers within its ranks to withdraw and form their own organization. As it became increasingly clear that Oneness theology would not prevail in any of the major Pentecostal denominations, other independent Oneness bodies began to appear. In succeeding decades, a number of these groups underwent a series of mergers in an attempt to maintain their viability. This process reached its culmination in 1945 with the formation of the United Pentecostal Church, which remains the largest body of Oneness Pentecostals.

In addition to the divisions produced by the Finished Work and Oneness controversies, a number of other schisms marred the Pentecostal movement during the early decades of the 20th century. In 1923, disagreements regarding governmental structure and financial accountability provoked a split in the Church of God. The majority ousted the

movement's founder, A. J. Tomlinson, and retained the denomination's original name, while the minority formed a new organization that eventually came to be known as the Church of God of Prophecy under Tomlinson's leadership. Several other Pentecostal groups experienced divisions along racial lines, as many white believers abandoned the inclusiveness that had characterized the Azusa Street revival in favor of the segregationist policies that dominated secular American society. A small number of individuals left the established Pentecostal denominations and established new sects that practiced bizarre religious rituals such as handling snakes and drinking poison.[10] In all of these ways, the unity and legitimacy of the early Pentecostal movement was severely compromised.

Attempts at Cooperation

In an effort to counter this trend toward fragmentation, a number of Pentecostal denominations eventually began promoting mutual cooperation, both with one another and with other conservative Protestants. In the 1940s and 1950s, several prominent Pentecostal denominations—including the Assemblies of God, Church of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Foursquare Church, and Open Bible Standard Church—joined the infant National Association for Evangelicals, thus implicitly rejecting the isolationist policies associated with fundamentalism. In 1948, many of these same denominations founded the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, an organization whose aim was to foster greater understanding of the differences among Pentecostals and to promote cooperation regardless of doctrinal distinctives.

While such efforts were laudable, reconciliation along racial lines was to be a much longer and more difficult process. Though some denominations (notably the Church of God of Prophecy) had an impressive record with regard to racial integration, Pentecostalism as a whole remained deeply divided by race for much of the 20th century. This grim reality was highlighted by the fact that all of the founding members of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America were historically-white denominations, while none of the significant African-American Pentecostal groups were invited to join. Through the influence of monumental Christian figures such as Billy Graham and Martin Luther King, Jr., however, such prejudices were gradually exposed and confronted. Finally, in 1994, the leaders of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America met with the heads of the Church of God in Christ and other historically-African-American Pentecostal churches to ask for forgiveness, and together they launched a fully integrated, pan-Pentecostal organization, the Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches of North America (PCCNA).[11] This historic event constituted an important step in the ongoing process of fostering reconciliation and unity among Pentecostals.

The Emergence of New Movements

The middle decades of the 20th century witnessed the appearance of a number of expressions of Pentecostalism that diverged from the mainstream. These movements largely emerged through the efforts of a new generation of captivating evangelists, many of whom quickly abandoned denominational ties in order to promote their individual

ministries. As a result, such movements often deviated significantly from classical Pentecostal theology and practice, and many within the older Pentecostal churches came to view them as unorthodox.

In the late 1940s, a number of itinerant Pentecostal evangelists began holding tent revivals whose chief focus was the promotion of divine healing. Prominent proponents of this faith healing movement included William Branham (1909–1965), A. A. Allen (1911–1970), Kathryn Kuhlman (1907–1976), Jack Coe (1918–1956), and, most notably, Oral Roberts (b. 1918), who later became a highly-visible televangelist and founded a major Pentecostal university bearing his name. These revivalists drew large crowds and were credited with performing many miraculous healings, driving out demons, and even raising people from the dead.

In spite of their considerable successes, however, the proponents of the healing movement attracted considerable criticism from other believers. Many questioned the legitimacy of the miracles they claimed to have performed. Others denounced the tendency on the part of some of the healing evangelists to oppose modern medical care. Still others felt that the emotional manifestations that often accompanied healing services were not truly the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, widespread disagreement arose as to whether such evangelists were genuine prophets of God or dangerous religious charlatans.

Similar to the faith healing movement in some respects was a phenomenon known as the Latter Rain movement, which emerged among Canadian Pentecostals in 1948 and quickly spread to the United States. Its proponents believed that traditional Pentecostalism was becoming increasingly dry and formal, and they split from the existing Pentecostal denominations in order to pursue more emotional and dynamic forms of worship. They often practiced spontaneous praise marked by dancing, the lifting of hands, and other expressions of enthusiasm. They also placed a heavy emphasis on spiritual gifts, which they believed could be directly conferred to individuals through the laying on of hands.

As the Latter Rain movement progressed, its advocates began advancing unique theological claims. They believed that God intended to fully restore the "fivefold ministry" described in Ephesians 4:11, and thus maintained that He would raise up modern-day prophets and apostles whose ministries would echo those of their biblical predecessors. They adopted a strikingly optimistic view of eschatology, arguing that the church would enjoy ever-increasing victory over the world until the time of Christ's return. Most troublingly, some of the movement's leaders taught that certain individuals would receive a special divine anointing by means of which they would be able to perform healings and other miracles. It was believed that these "Manifest Sons of God" would attain full and complete Christlikeness, thus essentially becoming divine themselves. Although this doctrine and other radical aspects of Latter Rain theology were largely rejected by mainstream Pentecostals, several features of the movement infiltrated other Pentecostal groups, and late 20th-century phenomena such as the Brownsville/Pensacola Revival and the Toronto Blessing demonstrated a certain degree of continuity with the Latter Rain movement.

A third innovative expression of Pentecostalism that emerged during this period was the Word of Faith movement, whose most notable proponents included E. W. Kenyon (1867–1948), Kenneth Hagin (1917–2003), and Kenneth Copeland (b. 1936). The central tenet of this movement is that God desires to bless every believer with physical health and financial prosperity, and that Christians may receive these and other blessings freely by making positive, verbal confessions of faith.[12] Word of Faith ministers quickly attracted a number of vocal critics who argued that many of their teachings were unscriptural and that their version of the faith was humanity-centered rather than God-centered. In spite of such legitimate protests, however, the popularity of Word of Faith preachers rapidly increased during the last few decades of the 20th century, and many of them became globally known celebrities.

THE CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT AND THE THIRD WAVE

Even as the classical Pentecostal denominations were attempting to cope with the rapid emergence of new and diverse strains of theology and practice, other Christian churches began to be profoundly affected by Pentecostal beliefs. In 1960, Dennis Bennett (1917–1991), an Episcopalian priest in Van Nuys, California, informed his congregation that he had experienced the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit. Bennett subsequently began conducting seminars in which he spoke to Anglicans and Episcopalians about the work of the Spirit. Around the same time, David du Plessis (1905–1987), a South African-born Pentecostal minister who was heavily involved in ecumenical efforts, made attempts to share the message of Pentecostalism with prominent Catholics and mainline Protestants.

Through the efforts of individuals such as Bennett and du Plessis, substantial numbers of Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox believers, Anglicans/Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists began embracing elements of the Pentecostal experience during the 1960s and 1970s. This emerging trend toward the acceptance of the gifts of the Spirit within the traditional denominations became known as the Charismatic movement.

Predictably, the Charismatic movement quickly occasioned considerable controversy. Some Catholic and mainline Protestant congregations welcomed the influx of Charismatic influence. Others tolerated the presence of Charismatic clergy and laity without fully subscribing to the movement's ideals. A substantial number of believers (particularly Southern Baptists), however, flatly rejected the validity of the Charismatic movement and held firmly to the doctrine of cessationism—the view that miraculous gifts of the Spirit such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, and divine healing ceased at the end of the New Testament period and are no longer available to the church.

The relationship between Charismatics and other Pentecostals was also troubled at times. While much of the impetus behind the Charismatic movement had come from

classical Pentecostalism, a majority of Charismatics rejected the distinctively Pentecostal doctrine that speaking in tongues was a necessary accompaniment of baptism with the Holy Spirit (though speaking in tongues remained a common practice among many Charismatics). In addition, the fact that many Charismatics came from a Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, or Anglican theological background (rather than a Wesleyan/Holiness one) ensured that, in spite of their shared acceptance of the ministry of the Spirit, Pentecostals and Charismatics remained divided on many theological issues.

Faced with this often-uneasy existence between Pentecostalism and mainline Protestantism (neither of which accepted them fully), Charismatics responded in a number of different ways. Many chose to remain within the Catholic Church or the various Protestant denominations, patiently working from within in an attempt to bring spiritual renewal to these bodies. Others renounced their traditional affiliations and joined the existing Pentecostal churches, whose worship cultures and views on the work of the Spirit were in many ways similar to their own. Still others elected to establish new denominations which emphasized the distinctive elements of the Charismatic faith that separated it from both Pentecostalism and the more traditional forms of Christianity.

Many of those groups that chose this last course were associated with what became variously known as the neo-Charismatic movement or the Third Wave of the Holy Spirit, which emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s under the leadership of individuals such as C. Peter Wagner (b. 1930), a key figure within the Church Growth movement, and John Wimber (1934–1997), the founder of the Vineyard movement.[13] Proponents of the Third Wave largely downplayed the importance of speaking in tongues while emphasizing prophecy and divine healing, and the movement thus shared some similarities with earlier divergent expressions of Pentecostalism such as the Latter Rain and Word of Faith movements. While Third Wave groups were therefore often viewed with distaste by other Pentecostals and Charismatics, they quickly attracted large numbers of adherents, thus further confusing and complexifying that portion of the religious landscape inhabited by Spirit-filled believers.

In closing, it must be noted that, although Pentecostalism represents the youngest major expression of the Christian faith, the significance of its impact on Christian history can hardly be overstated. Classical Pentecostalism, the Charismatic movement, and the Third Wave have spread throughout the world and drawn millions of men and women to Christ during the course of the last one hundred years, and together they constitute one of the most vibrant and rapidly-growing forms of the faith. While the legitimacy of these movements has undeniably been undermined by damaging internal dissension, lamentable theological fragmentation, and bizarre deviations from biblical Christianity, the Holy Spirit has consistently proved Himself capable of working in transformative ways in spite of the considerable flaws of those who have proclaimed His activity in the life of the church. Thus, the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements stand as living testimonies

to the enduring power and grace of the One who not only manifests Himself through supernatural gifts, but continues to guide, instruct, correct, convict, and bless believers, just as Christ promised He would.[14]

Chapter Thirty-Two Review

A. B. Simpson

A. J. Tomlinson

Aimee Semple McPherson

Assemblies of God

Azusa Street Revival

C. H. Mason

Cessationism

Charismatic Movement

Charles Fox Parham

Christian and Missionary Alliance

Church of God

Church of God in Christ

Church of God of Prophecy

Dennis Bennett

Faith Healing Movement

Finished Work Theology

Foursquare Church

G. B. Cashwell

Glossolalia

Latter Rain Movement

Oneness Pentecostals

PCCNA

Pentecostal Holiness Church

Pentecostalism

Third Wave

United Pentecostal Church

W. H. Durham

William J. Seymour

Word of Faith Movement

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO NOTES

[1]Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 36.

[2]Irwin's "fire-baptized" doctrine was reportedly derived from the teachings of John Fletcher (1729–1785), an associate of John Wesley and one of the earliest prominent Methodist theologians.

[3]See Acts 1:5; 2:4; 9:17; 11:16, and cf. also Acts 1:8; 8:15–17; 10:44–46; 19:6.

[4]Several sources maintain that Seymour was forced to receive this instruction while sitting outside the door of the classroom because of Parham's policy of classroom segregation.

[5]The Church of God that emerged under the leadership of A. J. Tomlinson had no connection to (and thus must be distinguished from) earlier groups of the same name, most of which

were descended from a Pietist organization known as the General Eldership of the Church of God. This denomination was founded in 1830 by John Winebrenner (1797–1860), a former minister in the German Reformed Church. Though this church and its various descendants, such as the Church of God (Anderson, IN), embraced elements of Holiness doctrine, they were never Pentecostal in character.

[6]For a more in-depth history of the Church of God of Prophecy, as well as an account of its connection with the Holiness and Pentecostal movements and a description of its theology regarding baptism with the Holy Spirit, see the *Foundations* course *Fitly Joined Together: Concise History, Polity, and Doctrine of the Church of God of Prophecy* (Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 1999), 77–90, 153–180.

[7]While the term "Assemblies of God" is generally used to refer to those bodies that united as the General Council of the Assemblies of God in 1914 (and later as the World Assemblies of God Fellowship), it should be noted that there are a variety of similarly-named Pentecostal groups of unrelated origin that are not affiliated with the WAGF. These include the Assemblies of God International Fellowship, the International Assemblies of God Fellowship, and the Independent Assemblies of God, Incorporated.

[8]This Apostolic Church should not be confused with the millenarian Catholic Apostolic or New Apostolic Churches, nor with the several Oneness Pentecostal bodies that use the terminology "apostolic church."

[9]See Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5.

[10]Such practices were based on a literal interpretation of passages such as Mark 16:18 and Luke 10:19.

[11]The spirit of increased unity evidenced by the formation of the PCCNA has also been reflected in the recent cooperative efforts between the Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy, whose leaders have been actively attempting to dismantle the barriers of distrust and animosity that have long divided the two denominations.

[12]For this reason, the movement's teachings are often referred to by its critics as "the Prosperity Gospel" or "Name It and Claim It" Christianity.

[13]The Vineyard movement broke away from Calvary Chapel in 1982 as a result of the latter organization's increasing de-emphasis of charismatic gifts of the Spirit.

[14]See John 14:16, 17, 25, 26; 16:7–15.

Chapter Thirty-Three
20th-Century
Catholicism and Orthodoxy

For the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, the 20th century proved to be an era of tremendous testing. The wars and revolutions that reshaped Europe during the first half of the century had a number of detrimental effects on each of these ancient bastions of the Christian faith. The First World War was ignited by conflict among the newly-liberated states of the Balkan Peninsula, and the resultant social disruption and military devastation greatly compromised Orthodoxy's ongoing recovery in the region (which had begun with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire in the previous century). In 1917, communist revolutionaries seized control of Russia, and the fiercely anti-Christian policies of the new regime greatly threatened the survival of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the wake of World War II, anti-clerical communist governments were likewise established in the historically-Orthodox nations of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina (the latter three of which had become constituent parts of the new state of Yugoslavia following World War I). Thus, by the midpoint of the century, the Orthodox form of the faith was under great duress in most of its traditional strongholds.

The Roman Catholic Church faced similar challenges during this period. During the early decades of the century, the popes remained embroiled in a dispute with the newly constituted Italian state, as a result of which the Church's influence on Italian affairs was greatly weakened. In 1905, France passed a law officially separating church and state, thus bringing an end to centuries of Catholic predominance in that nation. World War I precipitated the disintegration of the Habsburg-controlled Austro-Hungarian Empire, a bulwark of Catholicism in Central Europe. During the decades between the World Wars, other centers of Catholic power experienced significant turmoil—Mussolini and his fascist regime assumed power in Italy in 1922, civil war erupted in Spain in 1936, and Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany in 1938. Following World War II, communist regimes assumed control of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Croatia (each of which had a considerable Catholic majority), thus further compromising the integrity of the Catholic Church on the European continent.

In spite of such formidable obstacles, however, both Catholicism and Orthodoxy survived, and indeed experienced surges of fresh vitality during the course of the 20th century. The Roman Catholic Church profited from the leadership of a succession of able and admirable popes, pursued momentous reforms with respect to its ecclesiology, and experienced a marked theological reinvigoration. The Orthodox form of the faith, meanwhile, benefited from the reinstatement of the patriarchate of Moscow, the increasing strength of the Orthodox Church in Greece, and the continuing spread of Orthodoxy in North America. By the dawn of the third millennium AD, both Catholicism and Orthodoxy—

having successfully weathered the storms of the 20th century—appeared poised to make significant, positive contributions to the character of the Christian faith in the 21st century.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

As the 20th century dawned, the Roman Catholic Church continued to wage the struggle against modernism that had preoccupied it for much of the previous century. While the Catholic establishment maintained that the true wisdom which humanity sought was only to be found in the teachings of Scripture as interpreted by the Church, the competing claims of Enlightenment rationalism, secular science, liberal nationalism, and higher biblical criticism remained highly influential. As an increasingly secularized European society was thrown into further turmoil by the outbreak of wars and revolutions during the early decades of the century, the Church steadily came to view itself as an endangered minority in a hostile environment. As a result, over the course of the century's first half, the defenders of the Catholic faith strove to consolidate the Church's strength and restore its public persuasiveness by promoting theological and liturgical renewal, mobilizing the laity for involvement in the affairs of society, and, above all, emphasizing the power and authority of the popes.

The Papacy in a Troubled Age

The first man to ascend to the papal throne during the 20th century took the regnal name of Pius X (reigned 1903–1914). In contrast to his predecessor, the relatively conciliatory Leo XIII, Pius quickly proved himself to be a fierce opponent of modernist ideals. In 1907, he issued a papal decree entitled *Lamentabili sane exitu* ("A Lamentable Departure Indeed"), in which he formally condemned a number of prominent modernist views concerning such matters as the nature of the Church, divine revelation, the sacraments, biblical interpretation, and the divinity of Christ. In addition, Pius X banned several books that were deemed to contain unorthodox teaching, excommunicated members of the clergy who displayed strong modernist leanings, proscribed the use of higher criticism in biblical study, and forbade Catholics from becoming involved with trade unions or social action movements whose membership was not exclusively Catholic. Finally, in 1910 the pope required all Catholic clergy and religious educators to take a comprehensive oath against modernism, whereby they swore to accept without question the traditional doctrinal positions of the Church and to reject liberal interpretations of Scripture. Thus, much like his esteemed predecessor and namesake Pius IX, Pope Pius X fervently attempted to slow the tide of modernism that increasingly threatened to engulf the Catholic Church even as it had inundated many of the Protestant denominations.[1]

While the next pontiff, Pope Benedict XV (reigned 1914–1922), largely upheld the anti-modernist policies of his predecessor, he was chiefly concerned with graver dangers, as the initial years of his pontificate coincided with World War I. Benedict dedicated himself

to promoting peace among the various combatants, though his repeated attempts to negotiate a ceasefire were ultimately unsuccessful. In addition, the pope engaged in humanitarian efforts such as organizing relief measures for war-torn areas and facilitating communication between prisoners of war and their families. In these ways, Benedict XV sought to restore the papacy to its former place of prominence in European politics. His actions during the war also served to highlight the contrast between the horrific brutality that had been wrought by the proponents of Enlightenment ideals and the courage and compassion embodied by those who followed after Christ.

The reign of Pope Pius XI (reigned 1922–1939) was characterized by a strong emphasis on the Church's obligation to engage with and transform every element of society rather than withdrawing into isolation. In support of this goal, Pius issued a number of encyclicals in which he held up Christian marriage and family life as the model foundation for a successful society, insisted on the superiority of a Christian education, promoted the formation of Catholic trade unions, and argued for the establishment of a truly Christian economic system based on mutual cooperation and charity as an alternative to both capitalism and socialism.

Pius XI also involved himself heavily in European political affairs and actively sought to improve the position of the Church through diplomacy. In 1924, he succeeded in securing limited privileges for the Catholic Church in France, whose government had increasingly pursued anti-clerical policies following the 1905 separation of church and state. More significantly, in 1929 Pius XI and Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), the fascist prime minister of Italy, concluded the Lateran Treaties. This accord formally restored the temporal sovereignty of the popes by creating the independent territorial enclave of Vatican City within Rome, established Catholicism as the official state religion of Italy, and provided financial compensation to the Church for the loss of the Papal States.[2]

During the 1930s, the increasingly dictatorial and anti-clerical nature of Mussolini's rule led Pius XI to condemn the actions of the Italian state. In later years, he issued similar denouncements of the racism, anti-Semitism, and totalitarianism of the Nazi government in Germany, as well as the brutally repressive policies of the atheistic communist regime in Russia. In making these pronouncements, Pius XI stressed that such ideologies were utterly incompatible with the Christian faith, a claim that would soon be vindicated by the incomprehensibly evil actions of those who championed them.

Shortly before World War II erupted, the papal tiara passed to Pius XII (reigned 1939–1958). Much like Benedict XV, Pius sought to promote peace and alleviate suffering during the conflict. The proximity of Mussolini, however, compromised his ability to speak freely concerning the atrocities perpetrated by the Axis Powers, and he subsequently came under criticism for having failed to denounce the horrors of the Holocaust more strongly. Following the war, Pius urged the victorious powers to exercise lenience in their treatment of the vanquished nations in order to avoid a tragic reprise of

the circumstances that had arisen in Europe following World War I. He also came out in opposition to communism, and in 1949 he made provision for the excommunication of any Catholic who joined a communist party.

In addition to his involvement in global politics, Pius XII enacted a number of significant measures concerning the doctrines and practice of the Church. In 1950, he issued the apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus,* which proclaimed that the doctrine of Mary's bodily assumption into heaven was to be held by all Catholics. He thus became the first pope since Pius IX (and the first since the First Vatican Council had affirmed the doctrine of papal infallibility) to solemnly define a dogma. His important encyclicals included *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), which encouraged Catholic theologians and scholars to study the earliest available manuscripts of the biblical texts (rather than relying exclusively on the Latin Vulgate), and *Humani Generis* (1950), in which the pope undertook a nuanced exploration of the relationship between evolutionary science and creation theology. While Pius XII remained firmly opposed to the secularizing aspects of modernism, both of these documents reflected a partial softening of the papacy's previously implacable stance on such issues, thus serving to foreshadow the eventual emergence of an increasing willingness on the part of the Church's leadership to engage in constructive and respectful dialogue with other elements of society. Indeed, as we will later see, such an attitude would prove to be a major hallmark of the papacy in the latter half of the century.

Developments in Catholic Practice and Theology

Concurrent with these complex happenings related to the papacy were a number of significant developments in the life of the Catholic laity. One of these was the growth of the liturgical movement, which emerged in 19th-century France and subsequently spread throughout Western Europe. The goal of this movement was to invigorate the corporate life of the Church by promoting a return to ancient liturgical practices and encouraging greater participation in the Mass on the part of the laity, who had increasingly become mere spectators of the priests. In pursuance of these aims, a diverse array of reforms was initiated in various countries. Several elements of the medieval Mass were restored, including Gregorian chant. Missals (liturgical service books) were distributed to the laity in order to help them follow the progression of the liturgy. The so-called "dialogue Mass," in which the congregants were instructed to give verbal responses to the priest as part of the liturgy, was established. Eventually, lay participation in the Mass was significantly bolstered by the translation of portions of the liturgy into vernacular languages (though the central elements were still performed in Latin).

Another vehicle for the fuller involvement of the laity in the life of the Church was the multiform initiative known as Catholic Action. This movement encompassed the activities of a large number of Catholic lay associations that sought in a variety of ways to shape society in accordance with the tenets of the Catholic faith. Unlike similar social action

groups, Catholic Action generally avoided explicit involvement in political matters, choosing instead to focus on encouraging moral and spiritual transformation at every level of society. To this end, the proponents of Catholic Action promoted Christian values concerning marriage and family life, supported the liturgical movement, practiced personal evangelism, championed Christian education, endorsed Christian literature, encouraged moral responsibility with regard to the pursuit of recreation, opposed exploitative economic practices, and combated social injustice. In short, Catholic Action was guided by the conviction that a dedicated, mobilized laity (acting under the strict supervision of the Catholic hierarchy) could serve as an effective advance force of the kingdom of God.

In the United States, the ideals of Catholic Action were given one of their most outstanding expressions by the Catholic Worker Movement, founded in 1933 by Dorothy Day (1897–1980). Day, a former journalist and a prominent social activist even before her conversion to Catholicism, championed the cause of the poor, hungry, and homeless in America's cities, and the Catholic Worker Movement established hundreds of centers providing social services to the underprivileged in the name of Christ.

The firm commitment to traditional Catholic values that was reflected by the activities of both papacy and laity during the early decades of the 20th century was equally evident in the field of theology. The dominant theological perspective during this period was one that embraced the classic doctrinal system of Thomas Aquinas and attempted to apply its insights to the unique challenges that modernist thought posed to the Christian faith. This school of theology became known as Neo-Thomism.

Among the most notable 20th century exponents of Neo-Thomism were the French scholars Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) and Étienne Gilson (1884–1978). Maritain argued that Western intellectuals had erred greatly by embracing the atheistic philosophical systems of men such as Descartes, Kant, and Rousseau, and that it was this abandonment of Christian principles that had precipitated the warfare and chaos that threatened to destroy contemporary European society. Similarly, Gilson maintained that the thinkers of the Enlightenment had done great violence to philosophy by divorcing it from theology, and that this estrangement had inevitably led to the emergence of militantly atheistic systems of thought such as Nietzschean existentialism and Marxism. Thus, the Neo-Thomists believed that the only hope for modern civilization lay in the reconciliation of enlightened reason with the Christian faith, an enterprise that stood at the center of Thomas Aquinas' theology.

The early years of the 20th century also bore witness to the career of one of the great popular apologists of the Catholic faith—the English layman G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936). As a young man, Chesterton underwent a gradual conversion from agnosticism to Christianity, though he did not formally join the Catholic Church until 1922. A prolific writer and a keen observer of the human condition, Chesterton authored a broad variety

of works, including literary and social criticism, poetry, plays, short stories, novels, and theological treatises. Chesterton's apologetic works (of which the most notable are 1908s *Orthodoxy* and 1925s *The Everlasting Man*) proved widely influential among both liberal and conservative Christians, and the latter was instrumental in the conversion of C. S. Lewis. Like other prominent Catholic thinkers of his day, Chesterton was a warm admirer of Thomas Aquinas, whose theology he viewed as a sensible and admirable antidote to the obtuse complexities of Enlightenment philosophy.

We thus find that, in each of its various aspects, the life of the Catholic Church in the first half of the 20th century was largely characterized by a firm refusal to compromise with the secular ideologies of the age and a tenacious determination to revive and uphold the traditional beliefs, practices, and values of the Christian community. While this largely defensive posture served the Church well during this era fraught with turmoil, new voices within the Catholic establishment would soon begin calling for radical innovations that were designed to prevent the Church from stagnating in the midst of a rapidly changing world.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The second half of the 20th century witnessed a dramatic shift in the attitudes and orientation of the Catholic Church. The papal successors of Pius XII increasingly demonstrated a willingness to examine and revise the historical positions of the Church, and committed themselves to meaningful cooperation with other believers. In addition, a new generation of scholars made substantive and distinctive contributions to Catholic theology, thus evoking fresh insights and stimulating widespread and diverse theological reflection. By century's end, the Church had taken important steps toward incarnating the Gospel more faithfully and credibly within the context of contemporary society.

The Second Vatican Council and the Subsequent Course of the Papacy

Following the death of Pius XII in 1958, a papal conclave elected as his successor the Italian cardinal Angelo Roncalli, who assumed the regnal name John XXIII (reigned 1958–1963). The election of the elderly John was viewed by many as a short-term compromise, as it was assumed that he would not live long enough to make a major impact. This assessment, however, proved to be profoundly flawed, as Pope John XXIII soon set in motion a series of reforms that would shake the Catholic Church to its foundations.

In contrast to previous 20th-century popes, many of whom had been stern intellectuals, John XXIII quickly became noted for his warm, genial manner. During the early days of his pontificate, he ventured outside the Vatican to visit prisoners and the sick, an

uncharacteristic papal gesture that won him the admiration of much of the Catholic laity. The new pontiff also removed language that was offensive to Jews from the liturgy, promoted dialogue with Orthodox and Protestant Christians, and became the first pope since the Elizabethan period to meet with a sitting archbishop of Canterbury. Thus, from the beginning of his reign, Pope John established himself as an innovator and a champion of compassion and reconciliation.

In 1959, John XXIII announced his intention to convene a general council for the purpose of considering several issues that were of vital importance to the life of the Church. This meeting, which became known as the Second Vatican Council (or, more informally, Vatican II), opened in October 1962.[3] Though John XXIII died in June 1963 (with the council having completed only its first session), his successor, Pope Paul VI (reigned 1963–1978), insisted that the council's work would continue. In the autumn of 1963, Paul VI inaugurated the second session of the Second Vatican Council by articulating four goals for its activities: to more fully define the nature of the Church and its leadership, to promote the spiritual renewal of the Church, to work for the restoration of unity within the body of Christ, and to encourage dialogue with contemporary society.

The Second Vatican Council proved to be an epochal gathering, as the sixteen official statements it produced contained a wealth of new teaching, some of which evidenced a significant departure from traditional Catholic thought and practice. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) tacitly conceded that other forms of the Christian faith might be viewed as legitimate instruments of God's salvation, and thus represented a step away from the rigid exclusivism that had long characterized Roman Catholicism. This document also provided for an increase in the influence of the bishops within the Church hierarchy, which was intended to serve as a check against the virtually despotic powers granted to the popes by the First Vatican Council. The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (*Dei Verbum*) affirmed the inspiration and sacred authority of Scripture while simultaneously demonstrating openness to critical methods of biblical interpretation, provided that the findings of scholars were not permitted to supplant the teachings of the Church. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) provided for a dramatic revision and simplification of the liturgy (including the limited use of vernacular languages), and urged greater participation in the Mass on the part of the laity, thus reflecting the values of the liturgical movement. Finally, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*) acknowledged the profound changes and challenges associated with the rise of modern society, and explored ways in which the Church could credibly engage with and transform secular culture.

In addition to these four central constitutions, the Second Vatican Council also produced a number of other significant decrees and declarations, including the Decree on Mission Activity of the Church (*Ad Gentes*), which championed a dynamic, holistic understanding of the Church's mission in the world, the Decree on Ecumenism (*Unitatas Redintegratio*), which stated the Church's willingness to cooperate with other believers and its desire for

the eventual reunification of the Christian church, the Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanæ*), which recognized the right of individuals to choose their religion and condemned coercive attempts to force conversions to Christianity, and the Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra Aetate*), which affirmed those elements of other religions that reflect the eternal truths of God and proscribed any display of discrimination or hatred toward those who adhered to other faiths. Other documents dealt with the pastoral duties of the bishops, the ministry of the priests, the role of the laity, the liturgical autonomy of the Eastern Rite Catholic Churches, and the use of mass media in propagating the Gospel.

The Second Vatican Council concluded its activities in December 1965. During one of the final sessions, as a testimony to the Church's firm commitment to the principles that the council had set forth, Paul VI issued a joint declaration with the patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras I, in which the two leaders jointly expressed regret for the longstanding hostility between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, withdrew the mutual excommunications of 1054, and pledged to work together to promote increasing unity between the two bodies. Paul VI also quickly took steps to implement other aspects of the council's decisions, including reorganizing the papal bureaucratic apparatus and authorizing a commission to produce the revised version of the Catholic liturgy (which subsequently became known as the Mass of Paul VI).

A majority of Catholics viewed the measures passed by the Second Vatican Council as welcome and necessary adjustments to the life of the Church and embraced them eagerly. Others, however, worried that the council's declarations represented a departure from the true Catholic faith. Such opponents of the council's positions tended particularly to criticize its statements regarding the validity of other forms of Christianity and the principle of religious liberty, as well as its decision to revise the liturgy. The more radical among these dissenters eventually went so far as to claim that the actions of the Second Vatican Council constituted a departure from true Catholicism into heresy, and that therefore neither Paul VI nor any of his successors could be considered legitimate popes. As a result of this conviction, members of this faction declared that the papal throne was in effect vacant, and they thus became known as sedevacantists (from the Latin *sede vacante*—"while the seat is empty"). Though this position won a considerable following (largely in the United States, Mexico, and France), its adherents remained a small minority, and the reforms of the Second Vatican Council subsequently remained determinative for the life of the Catholic Church as a whole.

Paul VI continued to promote the agenda of the Second Vatican Council until his death in 1978. Paul's successor, who took the name John Paul I as a means of honoring each of his two immediate predecessors, likewise embraced the emerging spirit of renewal. He took limited steps toward humanizing the office of the papacy by refusing the traditional papal coronation ceremony and issuing public speeches in a more informal, less pretentious style than was customary. However, John Paul's reforms were cut short by his sudden

death in September of 1978, just 33 days into his reign. He was succeeded by the Polish cardinal Karol Wojtyła—the first non-Italian to ascend to the papacy in four and a half centuries—who assumed the regnal name of John Paul II (reigned 1978–2005).

During his lengthy reign, Pope John Paul II proved himself to be both a firm supporter of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council and a staunch traditionalist concerning moral issues such as abortion, contraception, divorce, and homosexuality. He traveled more widely than any previous pope, visiting dozens of countries on every continent and speaking before tens of millions of believers. The pope thus became a major figure in the international political scene, and his encouragement of the anti-communist resistance movement Solidarity in his native Poland was instrumental in bringing about the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

John Paul II also took steps to improve the Catholic Church's relationships with other Christians and members of other religions, personally meeting with prominent leaders of other faiths and performing significant symbolic actions in an attempt to promote dialogue with Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, and other Christians. During his 1979 visit to Turkey, John Paul and Patriarch Dimitrios I of Constantinople established a mixed commission for the purpose of promoting ongoing theological discourse between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. In 1984, John Paul concluded a common declaration with Patriarch Ignatius Zakka I I was of the Syriac Orthodox Church, in which the longstanding Christological differences between the Catholic Church and the Oriental Orthodox (Monophysite) Churches were largely dismissed as semantic questions that no longer provided any firm basis for division. In 1994, the pope reached a similar agreement with Patriarch Mar Dinkha IV of the (Nestorian) Assyrian Church of the East.

Perhaps the most notable achievement of John Paul II with regard to the life of the Catholic Church itself was the 1992 publication of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which replaced the 16th-century Tridentine Catechism as the Church's official statement of faith. The appearance of this new catechism reflected the increasingly felt need for a fresh exposition of the central tenets of Catholicism in light of the momentous events of the Second Vatican Council, and the council's doctrinal adjustments and clarifications were faithfully incorporated into the text. The catechism proved widely popular among both Catholics and curious non-Catholics, and thus served as a highly effective vehicle for the dissemination of the Christian faith.

New Currents in Catholic Theology

The profound shift in the Catholic Church's orientation toward the world that ultimately found expression in the decrees of the Second Vatican Council was stimulated and accompanied by the emergence of a number of vibrant and provocative theological voices. As it became increasingly clear that the rise of modernism and the rapid de-Christianization of Western society constituted immense challenges that could not be adequately addressed

through the repetition of traditional theological formulas, many Catholic scholars began to consider alternative ways of exploring and explaining the relationship between God and humanity.

An early theological innovator who attracted much controversy was the French Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955). A philosopher and paleontologist, Teilhard de Chardin embraced many of the insights of Enlightenment philosophy and evolutionary science and sought to reconcile them with Christian theology and eschatology. In his major philosophical work *The Phenomenon of Man*, Teilhard de Chardin posited that all of creation is undergoing a holistic evolutionary process that involves the development of the natural world, the transformation of the human consciousness, the emergence of complex human societies, and the purification of the soul. He maintained that God was thus continually redeeming the cosmos and directing it toward an ultimate end in which all of creation would reach its full potential and achieve complete unity with God. Though many of Teilhard de Chardin's teachings were eventually denounced by the Catholic Church, his restless, probing theological inquiry served as a model for many subsequent Catholic thinkers.

During the decades leading up to the Second Vatican Council, a number of continental Catholic scholars rejected the prevailing Neo-Thomist theological system, which they viewed as promoting a dangerous form of dualism in which God's divine grace was presented as a supernatural embellishment of humanity's essential nature, rather than an integral part of it. Against this view, the French theologian Henri de Lubac (1896–1991) advanced the claims that God's grace is always present and active within humanity and that the desire for God is an innate characteristic of human nature. Gradually, other Catholic theologians began to concur with de Lubac's position, and they concluded that this inseparable connection between God and all humanity would have to become a central tenet of Catholic theology if the Church was to effectively minister the Gospel in the midst of an increasingly self-centered and atheistic society.

This loose coalition of like-minded theologians—which, in addition to de Lubac, included men such as Karl Rahner (1904–1984), Yves Congar (1904–1995), Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), Edward Schillebeeckx (b. 1914), and Hans Küng (b. 1928)—was instrumental in shaping the agenda of the Second Vatican Council. As a result of their heavy involvement in the council's proceedings, their theological perspective—which was referred to as *la nouvelle théologie* ("the new theology")—gained increasing influence within the Church, and the older Neo-Thomist approach was progressively abandoned. In later years, however, this coterie of theologians became divided between those (most notably de Lubac and von Balthasar) who advocated returning to the writings of the early Church Fathers as the source for a renewed Catholic theology, and those (led by Rahner, Schillebeeckx, and Küng) who favored more substantive engagement with the ideas of the Enlightenment in the service of theological construction.

Ultimately, Hans Urs von Balthasar and Karl Rahner emerged as the chief exponents of these respective positions. Von Balthasar engaged in intensive study of the works of the Church Fathers, and was also the first Catholic theologians to offer a full appraisal of the theological insights of Karl Barth. Rather than seeking to accommodate the ideas of modernity, von Balthasar argued that the true Christian faith should challenge and subvert the assumptions of all forms of philosophy. He denounced the ways in which theology had often been reduced to a dry, intellectual exercise and asserted that the true subject of theology ought to be the glory of God, which represents the fullest expression of those things—truth, love, and beauty—for which all humans long. He set forth these ideas in his magnum opus, the seven-volume *The Glory of the Lord*.

Rahner, by contrast, embraced many aspects of post-Enlightenment thought, combining the theological insights of Thomas Aquinas with elements of existentialism and the transcendental philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Rahner argued that all humans have an innate awareness of God's existence that surfaces when they are confronted with profoundly meaningful experiences, including those experiences that demonstrate the limits of their knowledge, freedom, and love. According to Rahner, such concrete reminders of our limitations constitute an important aspect of the self-revelation of God, the mysterious One who represents the perfect embodiment of the qualities we seek. Like that of von Balthasar, Rahner's attempt to trace the connections between human nature and divine grace proved widely influential.

A final significant 20th-century development in Catholic theology was the emergence of the school of thought known as liberation theology. This movement had its roots in the activities of the Latin American Episcopal Conference in the late 1960s, and was given its classic expression by the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutiérrez (b. 1928) in his 1971 work *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, Salvation*. The proponents of liberation theology focused on the intersection between Christianity and the issues of social justice, poverty, and human rights, and approached theology from the perspective of the poor, oppressed, and marginalized members of society. Thus, they frequently emphasized God's special love and concern for the poor, highlighted Jesus' role as the liberator of the oppressed, and called on the Church to engage in social activism aimed at dismantling oppressive political, social, and economic structures and securing the equitable treatment of all humanity.

While liberation theology was widely embraced by Catholics in Latin America (where poverty and social injustice were particularly acute during this period), the Catholic hierarchy expressed serious reservations about the movement due to its similarities with Marxist thought, and it has thus remained well outside the mainstream of Catholic theology. Nevertheless, many of the tenets of liberation theology have been embraced and adapted by liberal Protestants (who have historically shared the liberation theologians' deep concern for societal ills), and it thus stands as another important

Catholic contribution to the ever-changing and increasingly complex contemporary theological landscape.

As should be clear after even such a limited summary, the second half of the 20th century constituted one of the most remarkable periods in the long history of the Catholic Church. In stark contrast to the preceding centuries, which had been marked by the increasing assumption of an insular posture and the continuing centralization of authority in the person of the pope, it was an era characterized by a renewed commitment to pursue meaningful dialogue both with other believers and with secular society, by an increased willingness to admit mistakes and limitations, and by the emergence of fresh theological perspectives whose proponents sought to more faithfully articulate the essentials of Christian belief and practice. While many important challenges remained to be addressed at the turn of the millennium, the accomplishments of the Second Vatican Council and the post-World War II popes served to inspire hope among Catholics and non-Catholic believers alike that the Roman Catholic Church might assume an even more central, vital role in the advancement of the Christian mission in the 21st century.

ORTHODOXY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

For the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the 20th century began with great promise. The liberation of the Balkan Peninsula from Ottoman rule had promoted a resurgence in the vitality of Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, while the 19th-century missionary activities of the Russian Church had resulted in the transmission of the Orthodox faith to Japan and North America. In addition, the continuing popularity of devotional works such as the *Philokalia* and *The Way of a Pilgrim* had contributed to significant spiritual renewal among the Orthodox laity. But while the century would indeed witness important gains for the Orthodox form of the faith, it would also prove to be a period of great adversity for Orthodox believers in many countries as a result of the rise of communism.

Russian Orthodoxy Under Communist Rule

In the spring of 1917, as World War I continued to exact a terrible toll on Russia, the increasingly disenchanted Russian populace launched a series of strikes and riots that culminated in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II (reigned 1894–1917). The monarchy was abolished and political power passed into the hands of a provisional government headed by liberal and moderate political leaders.

Initially, it seemed as though these developments boded well for the Russian Orthodox Church. In the autumn of 1917, a synod of the Church voted to revive the patriarchate of Moscow (which had remained vacant by order of the tsars since the time of Peter the Great), and Tikhon (1865–1925), the metropolitan of Moscow, was elected to serve as the first of the new patriarchs. In October 1917, however, the provisional government

was overthrown by the communist Bolsheviks, whose triumph inaugurated an era of extreme hardship for the Russian Church.

The communist government, whose leaders were fiercely atheistic, swiftly took steps to disenfranchise the Russian Church. In January 1918, church and state were formally separated and state payment of clerical salaries was discontinued. The Church's considerable land holdings were seized by the government, as were a large number of church buildings and monasteries. Education was placed under the control of a secular commission, and religious instruction was banned in all schools nationwide. Thus, while the communist regime ostensibly supported religious toleration and continued to allow the citizenry to conduct Christian services, its policies were clearly designed to weaken the Church and promote its own atheistic ideology.

The vitality of the Russian Orthodox Church was further compromised by a series of schisms. In 1922, a number of believers who were sympathetic with the Bolshevik government denounced the leadership of the staunchly anti-communist Patriarch Tikhon and formed a rival body known as the Living Church. Following Tikhon's death in 1925, the patriarchate was once again left vacant as a result of state intervention, and de facto leadership of the Church passed to Sergius, the metropolitan of Moscow (1867–1944). Sergius reversed the policy of Tikhon by pledging that the Church would cooperate with the Soviet state and urging the Orthodox laity to refrain from engaging in political controversy. This conciliatory stance proved unpopular with many believers, and some who opposed it subsequently founded both the Russian True Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, the latter of which was led by Russian Orthodox bishops who resided in Europe.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, during the dictatorial reign of Joseph Stalin (1878–1953), more repressive anti-Christian measures were enacted by the Soviet government.[4] A number of Orthodox priests were arrested and interred in labor camps, itinerant preaching was prohibited, the publication of Christian literature was greatly restricted, and Christians were barred from many prominent professions, including education. Anti-religious propaganda was widely distributed, and an increasing number of Soviet citizens joined atheist groups such as the Union of the Godless. By 1940, thousands of the Christian churches that had existed in pre-revolutionary Russia had been destroyed or converted to secular use by the state, and the ranks of the Orthodox clergy had been utterly decimated.

In spite of these grim circumstances, however, a faithful minority of the Russian populace clung firmly to Orthodoxy. A small number of monastic communities flourished in secret and provided clerical training. Some believers gathered in homes to baptize their children and receive religious instruction from those who had memorized portions of Scripture. Others fled to Europe or America, where they vocally opposed the communist regime and sought to preserve the integrity of the Orthodox faith. Prominent among

these was the philosopher and theologian Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), who was deported by the Soviet authorities in the early 1920s and took refuge in Paris. Berdyaev championed a form of Christian existentialism that emphasized freedom and creativity, and decried the progressive secularization of Western society that had begun with the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and had ultimately given rise to the de-humanizing policies of communism.

Following the outbreak of World War II, the Soviet state greatly relaxed its anti-Christian policies in an effort to promote national unity and secure the support of Orthodox believers for the country's war aims. In 1943, Stalin met with some of the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church and made a number of important concessions in exchange for their promises of loyalty. Most significantly, the patriarchate of Moscow was reestablished, with Sergius, the former metropolitan, becoming the new patriarch. In addition, a substantial amount of property was returned to the Church, several members of the clergy were released from prison, and the Moscow Theological Seminary was permitted to reopen.

In spite of this limited easing of tensions, the relationship between the Soviet government and the Russian Orthodox Church remained tenuous during subsequent decades, and the state-sponsored repression of religion and harassment of believers was occasionally revived. As communism waned in strength during the late 1980's, however, Russian Christianity slowly began to regain its vitality and legitimacy. A key step in this process came in 1988, when the Soviet government sponsored a celebration of the millennial anniversary of the baptism of Prince Vladimir I of Kiev—a pivotal development in the history of both the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church. In connection with the occasion, a number of churches and monasteries were reopened and, for the first time, broadcasts of Orthodox services were aired on Soviet television.

Over the course of the following three years, the communist regimes of Eastern Europe rapidly crumbled, culminating in the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. This stunning development paved the way for the reemergence of Christianity as a dynamic force in the life of the nation. With the advent of democracy in Russia, governmental restrictions on the Church's conduct were removed. Many ecclesiastical properties were returned to the Church, new theological schools were established, and religious participation on the part of the populace increased dramatically. Thus, by the turn of the century, the Russian Orthodox Church—while still undeniably weakened as a result of three quarters of a century of communist repression—had taken important steps toward regaining its former status as a vital agent of the Gospel.

Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe

As we have hinted, the Orthodox Churches of Eastern Europe suffered considerable adversity during the first half of the 20th century as a result of the regional political

instability that precipitated World War I. Yet this period also witnessed significant positive developments within the European Orthodox communities. Having finally been freed from Ottoman rule, the Orthodox Church in Greece enjoyed substantial growth and was invigorated by the emergence of various expressions of popular piety and an increasing emphasis on Christian education. New autocephalous national churches were established in Poland, Albania, and Czechoslovakia, and large numbers of Eastern Rite Catholics throughout the region were reunited with the Orthodox Church.

Following World War II, communist rule was imposed in all of the Orthodox nations of the Balkan Peninsula except for Greece. As was the case in Russia, the communist regimes of Eastern Europe tended to be staunchly anti-Christian, and repressive measures were enacted against the Churches of Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania during the second half of the century. With the collapse of communist rule between 1989 and 1991, however, the churches in these nations were freed from governmental restraints, and allegiance to Orthodoxy quickly became a key element of the emerging nationalist sentiments in the region. Thus, having finally emerged from the shadows cast by both Islam and communism, the Orthodox Churches of Eastern Europe appeared poised to enjoy a meaningful rebirth as the century drew to a close.

The Growth of Orthodoxy in North America

In North America, meanwhile, the Orthodox faith experienced remarkable growth over the course of the 20th century. Following the pioneering work of Ivan Veniaminov in Alaska in the early 19th century, Orthodoxy had gradually made its way into the contiguous United States, beginning with the establishment of a Greek-speaking Orthodox congregation in New Orleans in 1864. In the 1870's, the Russian Orthodox Church transferred the headquarters of its Diocese of the Aleutians and Alaska to San Francisco, thus encouraging the spread of Orthodoxy in the western United States. Tikhon, the future patriarch of Moscow, served as bishop of this diocese from 1898 to 1907, and during his tenure its name was changed to the more inclusive Diocese of the Aleutians and North America, and its headquarters were relocated again, this time to New York City. Tikhon also oversaw the establishment of the first Orthodox seminary and monasteries in the United States.

Up to this point, the Russian Orthodox Church oversaw all Orthodox congregations in North America, regardless of their ethnic makeup. Following the Russian Revolution and the triumph of the communists, however, Tikhon (in his new position as patriarch of Moscow) urged all Russian Orthodox bishops outside of Russia to set up independent organizations for the maintenance of their faith communities. Thus, in 1924, a large number of the Orthodox believers in North America formally established the independent Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America. Many others chose instead to align themselves with other national Orthodox Churches along ethnic lines, leading to the formation of bodies such as the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (1918), the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America (1922), and the Antiochan Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America (1924).

The controversies within the Russian Orthodox Church that resulted in the formation of the Living Church and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia during the 1920s led to further fragmentation among Orthodox believers in America. A majority of the Russian immigrants in North America were staunchly opposed to communism, and many therefore chose to align themselves with the anti-communist Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. As a result, the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America increasingly became less distinctively Russian in character, and its subsequent growth occurred largely through the winning of English-speaking converts.

In the early 1930s, Patriarch Sergius of Moscow declared the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America to be schismatic, thus leaving it as a self-governing body without official ties to the Russian patriarchate. This situation persisted until the 1960s, when the Church began working to reestablish full communion with Moscow. The relationship was eventually repaired, and in 1970 Patriarch Alexius I of Moscow granted full autocephaly to the American body, which was renamed the Orthodox Church in America. The legitimacy of this unilateral action, however, was challenged by a majority of the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches, and the heads of the four ancient Orthodox patriarchates have persistently refused to formally recognize the autocephaly of the American Church.

In spite of this controversy concerning its status, however, the Orthodox Church in America continued to flourish and grow during the remainder of the century, establishing hundreds of new parishes, winning a considerable number of converts, and participating in ecumenical dialogue with Catholics and Protestants. Through its activities (along with those of the other major Orthodox bodies in North America), Western believers were increasingly enabled to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the unique characteristics of the Orthodox form of the faith, which for so many centuries had remained largely shrouded in mystery.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE NOTES

[1]Pius X was canonized in 1954, making him the first pope since Pius V in 1712 (and the last to date) to achieve sainthood, though both Pope Pius XI and Pope John XXIII were beatified in 2000.

[2]Catholicism lost its standing as the official religion of Italy in 1984.

[3]As a testament to John XXIII's conciliatory attitude toward other believers, representatives of a number of Orthodox Churches and Protestant denominations were allowed to attend the Second Vatican Council as observers.

[4]The Russian state was officially reorganized as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922.

Chapter Thirty-Four
The Spread of the Faith
in the 20th Century

Over the course of the 20th century, the strong commitment to global evangelism that had characterized the 19th century was increasingly embraced and embodied by the universal church. As a result of this burgeoning dedication to the propagation of the faith, a number of important new missionary trends emerged. Foremost among these was a renewed emphasis on interdenominational cooperation in missions, which served as a crucial counterpoint to the ongoing theological and ecclesiological fragmentation that threatened the 20th-century church. This heightened spirit of ecumenism was accompanied by a fresh accent on the necessity of holistic missionary endeavors that addressed unbelievers' physical needs as well as their spiritual ones. In addition, this period was marked by a recognition of the unique evangelistic challenge presented by "unreached" people groups and a consequent formulation of missionary strategies designed to penetrate the barriers to the Gospel that surrounded such cultural enclaves. Finally, the century witnessed the gradual establishment of vibrant, indigenous Christian communities throughout the world, with the result that global evangelism increasingly became the province of regional leadership rather than missionaries from the West. Thus, by the dawn of the new millennium, the church had made great strides toward fulfilling Christ's Great Commission and, simultaneously, taken crucial steps toward embodying an answer to Jesus' prayer that His followers might be fully united.[1]

THE RISE OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL MISSIONS AND THE GROWTH OF ECUMENISM

As the 20th century dawned, the missionary fervor that had marked the efforts of earlier pioneers such as William Carey, Adoniram Judson, and Hudson Taylor continued to grow in strength among Protestant believers. So, too, did the spirit of interdenominational cooperation that had characterized such late 19th-century initiatives as the YMCA, YWCA, and Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Gradually, these dual emphases became increasingly intertwined as a result of the emerging conviction that broad-based interdenominational cooperation was crucial to the successful global dissemination of the Gospel.

Among those individuals who fully embodied both a passion for missions and a heart for unity was the American Methodist layman John R. Mott (1865–1955). As a young man, Mott was heavily involved with a number of 19th-century interdenominational initiatives. In 1886, he became one of the first to sign up for service in the newly established Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, and he was eventually made chairman of the organization's executive committee. In 1888, Mott began a tenure of 27 years as the

national secretary of the Intercollegiate YMCA of the United States and Canada, in which capacity he traveled throughout North America, addressing groups of college students and urging them to become involved in Christian service. In 1895, he was instrumental in the foundation of the World Student Christian Federation, an interdenominational organization whose aims were to facilitate cooperation among the various student fellowship groups that were arising throughout Europe and North America, to promote Christian discipleship among young people, and to equip students for the task of evangelism.

During the first decade of the 20th century, Mott—in cooperation with the Scotsman Joseph H. Oldham (1874–1969) and a number of other Protestant leaders—began conducting intensive research, formulating comprehensive evangelistic strategies, and planning for ecumenical missionary gatherings. These labors came to fruition in 1910 with the convening of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, over which Mott presided. This meeting, which brought together representatives from Protestant missionary organizations throughout the world, was to have a profound effect on the future course of both Christian missions and Christian ecumenism.

While similar meetings had taken place in previous decades, the Edinburgh Conference was unprecedented in terms of its diversity. Whereas previous interdenominational gatherings had been dominated by delegates from Britain and America, the Protestant nations of continental Europe were strongly represented at Edinburgh, and small but influential contingents from the younger churches of Africa and Asia were also in attendance. Moreover, while earlier interdenominational initiatives were largely the province of evangelical believers, the Edinburgh Conference was attended by representatives of a variety of Protestant perspectives, including even a number of Anglicans with Catholic leanings. This atmosphere of inclusiveness fostered mutual respect among the participants and, most significantly, established a strong foundation upon which future cooperative efforts could be built.

Indeed, the decades following the World Missionary Conference of 1910 were marked by a proliferation of ecumenical endeavors spearheaded by those who had been in attendance. The International Missionary Council, a permanent body that sought to coordinate the evangelistic efforts of national and regional missions organizations, was founded in 1921, with John Mott serving as its first chairman. In 1925, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, which focused on the church's proper response to social and political issues, was established. Its chief organizer was Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), primate of the Lutheran Church of Sweden. The World Conference on Faith and Order, which strove to promote interdenominational dialogue on controversial and divisive issues of doctrine and practice, convened for the first time in 1927. It received much of its early leadership from William Temple (1881–1944), a prominent Anglican churchman who would later serve as archbishop of Canterbury. Each of these organizations diligently sought to carry on the work of spreading the Gospel and promoting Christian unity.

In the late 1930s, a number of leaders within the burgeoning Ecumenical movement began to advocate merging the Council for Life and Work and the Conference on Faith and Order into a more comprehensive body that would represent all the churches that desired to work together for the propagation of the Christian faith. A constitution for this new organization, the World Council of Churches, was drafted at Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1938, though the outbreak of World War II delayed the council's first formal assembly until 1948.

The World Council of Churches was by far the most inclusive organization yet to emerge from the Ecumenical movement. Its initial meeting gathered representatives of 147 churches from more than forty countries. These included the Anglican Communion, a substantial number of Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, and Baptist denominations, several of the Orthodox Churches, and even a few of the Old Catholic groups that had split with Rome following the First Vatican Council. Although the Roman Catholic Church itself abstained from participation in the council, a number of Catholic leaders expressed their admiration for its efforts, particularly in the wake of the ecumenically-minded reforms of the Second Vatican Council. In later years, the World Council of Churches would continue to expand rapidly, and its current membership includes more than 340 Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox, Old Catholic, Pentecostal, and independent churches.

The council quickly assumed most of the functions that had previously been performed by earlier ecumenical organizations such as the Council for Life and Work, the Conference on Faith and Order, and the International Missionary Council (which was integrated into the World Council of Churches in 1961). In order to effectively address the broad variety of issues that thus fell under the council's purview, a number of commissions were established and assigned to focus on the various specific issues that are of concern to Christians worldwide, including evangelism, theological dialogue, service ministries, social justice, human rights, and peacemaking. Through these initiatives, the World Council of Churches was able to encourage constructive dialogue and foster mutual toleration and understanding within the body of Christ, while simultaneously mobilizing the combined resources of the global Christian community for the purpose of spreading the Gospel and advancing the kingdom of God. Its early achievements thus stood as a striking testimony to the power of Christian unity to transform both the world and the church.

THE EVANGELICAL RESPONSE

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, a number of prominent Evangelical leaders began to grow increasingly uncomfortable with the missionary agenda of the Ecumenical movement. While the Evangelicals were strongly missionary minded and had been heavily involved with the International Missionary Council, many of them were less firmly committed to the idea of denominational unity, and were thus troubled by the Ecumenical movement's insistence that evangelism and unity were intrinsically linked. The Evangelicals' uneasiness was further heightened by the absorption of the International Missionary

Council into the World Council of Churches in 1961, an event that seemed to represent a clear victory for the Ecumenical perspective.

In addition, these years witnessed an increasing divergence of opinion between Evangelicals and the mainline members of the Ecumenical movement with regard to missionary aims. While the World Council of Churches viewed missionary activity as a holistic endeavor involving education, medical care, humanitarian aid, philanthropy, and the pursuit of social justice in addition to its purely spiritual component, Evangelicals insisted that the goal of evangelism was the proclamation of the Gospel and the salvation of individual souls, and maintained that the promotion of social improvements, though commendable, was incidental to the main task of the church. This fundamental disagreement regarding the nature of mission inevitably exacerbated the existing tension between the two factions.

As a result of these developments, many Evangelicals subsequently began distancing themselves from the Ecumenical movement in order to formulate their own distinctive missionary strategies. In 1966, they conducted two large scale congresses on missions, one at Wheaton College in Illinois and one in Berlin. Both of these meetings were marked by a firm commitment to the evangelization of individuals and by unequivocal denunciations of the missionary agenda of the Ecumenical movement, which the Evangelicals increasingly viewed as dangerously humanistic in its focus.[2] These concerns were heightened by the events of the World Council of Churches' 1968 assembly in Sweden and its 1973 evangelism conference at Bangkok, both of which placed a heavy emphasis on the social aspects of the church's mission and decried the Evangelical tendency to ignore people's physical needs while attending to their spiritual needs. Thus, the battle lines between the two groups were drawn with increasing sharpness during this period.

Limited reconciliation between the Evangelical and Ecumenical perspectives began in earnest with the First International Congress on World Evangelization, held in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1974. This meeting, sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, had as its aim the promotion of broad-based Evangelical cooperation in missions and the consideration of significant contemporary issues related to evangelism. In contrast to earlier Evangelical gatherings, which were dominated by Western leaders, the Lausanne Congress brought together more than 2300 participants from over 150 countries, many of which were in the developing world.

At this gathering, a number of Evangelical leaders—including the prominent Anglican clergyman John R. W. Stott (b. 1921)—expressed contrition for their part in precipitating the Evangelical-Ecumenical feud, and confessed that they had much to learn from their critics. The congress's participants engaged in an honest and critical appraisal of their missionary theology, ultimately reaching the conclusion that both traditional evangelism and social action were crucial aspects of Christian mission and that the two should not

be separated or viewed as mutually exclusive. This conviction was formally expressed in the Lausanne Covenant, a document crafted by a committee under Stott's leadership.

The adoption of the Lausanne Covenant was hailed by all parties as a great step forward in Evangelical missiology, and it served as an important first step in bridging the gap between Evangelicals and the World Council of Churches. The council responded in kind by conducting a critical review of its stance on evangelism and seeking to recapture its passion for sharing the Gospel. At its 1975 assembly in Nairobi, Kenya, the Bolivian bishop Mortimer Arias called for a holistic approach to missions that equally rejected the simple equation of evangelism with "soul-winning" and the reduction of the Gospel to a program of social action. This type of approach was summarized as "the proclamation of the whole Gospel to the whole person throughout the whole world by the whole church." Thus, while significant differences of opinion between the two groups remained, the Lausanne and Nairobi gatherings inarguably helped to mitigate the conflict between Evangelicals and the Ecumenical movement and provided important correctives to each of their traditional viewpoints, thus imparting to the church a fresh infusion of the vitality and conviction that are essential to the faithful completion of its ongoing missionary task.

THE FOCUS ON UNREACHED PEOPLE GROUPS

Another important 20th-century development in the field of missions was the emergence of a focus on the evangelization of what became known as "unreached" or "hidden" people groups—small-scale societies defined by a common language, caste, or tribal identity that had yet to be effectively penetrated by the Gospel. Whereas earlier missionaries had tended to interpret Jesus' commission to take the Gospel to all nations in terms of the evangelization of discrete geographic regions, there was an increasing realization during this period that many Latin American, Asian, and African countries contained a multiplicity of people groups, each of which possessed a distinct culture and was thus in need of a unique, contextualized presentation of the Gospel.

One of the earliest pioneers to call attention to these issues was the American missionary Cameron Townsend (1896–1982). While serving as a Bible salesman in Guatemala in 1917, Townsend came into contact with a group of Native Americans, the Cakchiquel, who did not understand Spanish (the language in which Townsend's Bibles were printed), and who were thus completely unreceptive to the Gospel. This encounter brought Townsend to the realization that the linguistic and cultural diversity of Latin America represented a tremendous barrier to effective evangelism, and he dedicated himself to the task of making the Scriptures intelligible to the native peoples. He settled among the Cakchiquel and began learning their complex native language, a process that required closely analyzing its grammar and devising an alphabet by means of which it could be expressed in written form. Within ten years, he had produced a translation of the New Testament in Cakchiquel.

Recognizing the profound need for similar efforts throughout Latin America, Townsend soon resolved to enlist others in this important missionary task. In 1934, he conducted a summer institute in rural Arkansas during which he trained a small number of volunteers in the basic principles of linguistics, translation, and anthropology. This humble gathering sparked the creation of two complementary organizations—the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and Wycliffe Bible Translators—whose members dedicated themselves to the task of mastering the languages of isolated people groups and creating a translation of the Bible in every language that lacked one. During the remainder of the century, these efforts resulted in the translation of all or part of the Bible into more than seven hundred different languages and dialects, with preparatory work being done on several hundred more translation projects.

A contemporary of Cameron Townsend who also did much to promote the evangelization of unreached people groups was Donald McGavran (1897–1990). Born in India to missionary parents, McGavran received his education in the United States before returning to India as a missionary in 1923. Upon arriving, he found that the indelible economic and class distinctions that defined Indian society constituted serious barriers to the spread of the Gospel, as Indian converts who belonged to one caste could not effectively evangelize members of other castes. Thus, just as Townsend had realized that linguistic differences greatly multiplied the number of "nations" to which the Gospel must be carried, McGavran concluded that class stratification within a society had a similar effect.

Building on his initial observations, McGavran conducted important research into the question of how unbelieving societies respond to the Gospel. In his 1955 book *The Bridges of God*, he maintained that the central task of missionaries was not to promote the salvation and "Christianization" of individuals (which often resulted in the new believers being systematically ostracized by the larger community), but rather to analyze the complex family, kinship, and leadership structures within each culture and to utilize these ties among the members of the society as a means of encouraging the systemic conversion of the entire group. This conclusion was based on McGavran's conviction (drawn from his experiences in India) that most unbelievers would not accept Christianity if doing so required them to relinquish their basic cultural identity. In later years, McGavran applied these missionary insights to the broader study of church growth principles (thus initiating what became known as the Church Growth movement) and founded the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary.[3]

At the 1974 Lausanne Congress, the missiologist Ralph D. Winter—a colleague of McGavran's at Fuller—delivered a plenary address in which he stressed the importance of sustained efforts to evangelize unreached people groups throughout the world. This speech effectively served to place the concerns of figures such as Townsend and McGavran at the forefront of the Evangelical missionary agenda. In later decades, the increasing Evangelical burden for unreached groups birthed initiatives such as Window of Opportunity, an organization that has focused its attention on evangelizing the predominantly

non-Christian cultures of the "10/40 Window"—the region between 10° and 40° north of the Equator in the Eastern Hemisphere (which encompasses North Africa, the Middle East, India and South Asia, Southeast Asia, and China). This area is characterized by the prevalence of non-Christian religions (including Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism) and by widespread socioeconomic problems, and is home to hundreds of distinct cultural groups, many of which have yet to be penetrated by the Gospel. It thus stands as an enormously challenging yet potentially rewarding field for Christian mission, and is indeed increasingly viewed by many as the most important remaining frontier for future generations of evangelists.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE RISE OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

Having thus examined the emphases on ecumenical cooperation, holistic evangelism, and unreached people groups that largely defined Western missionary thinking in the 20th century, we now turn our attention to contemporary developments in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. As we have seen, the maturation of the young Christian communities in these regions was greatly complicated by political instability, poverty, and the prevalence of other religions, and the native populations long remained heavily dependent on the churches of Europe and America for leadership and support. But while these conditions persisted to some degree during the course of the 20th century, this period also witnessed the emergence of strong indigenous leadership and the proliferation of vibrant, independent churches throughout these areas. Thus, the story of the Christian faith in the developing world during this era was one marked by both formidable challenges and dramatic growth.

Latin America

At the outset of the 20th century, the quality of the Christian faith in Latin America was troublingly poor. The local Catholic communities had remained parasitically dependent on European aid for centuries, and they continued to lack enough qualified native clergy to meet the pastoral needs of the laity. Furthermore, the Latin American Church had largely failed to embrace the missionary spirit, both in terms of global evangelism and with regard to the sharing of the Gospel with neighboring indigenous tribes.

As we have suggested, the legitimacy of the Catholic Church in Central and South America was also seriously undermined by the 19th-century wave of independence movements that freed most of Latin America from European control. Secular ideals proliferated in the wake of these revolutions, and anti-clerical reactions took place in a number of countries. They were particularly harsh in Mexico, where, in the 1920s and 1930s, several states expelled all priests and outlawed the performance of the Mass and the administration of the sacraments. In later decades, the rise of military or socialist controlled dictatorships in countries such as Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru posed a further threat to the autonomy of the Catholic

Church and the vibrancy of the Christian faith throughout much of the region. As a result of the interplay between the ongoing lethargy of the Church and the intensifying secular backlash, immorality, corruption, and spiritual ignorance multiplied at an alarming rate.

Beginning near mid-century, however, spiritual conditions in Latin America began to improve. A key factor in this resurgence was the influx of a large number of Catholic missionaries from North America. Some of these sought to win converts among the various indigenous tribes, but the majority labored among the largely-nominal Catholic populations. Notable gains were made as a result of these efforts, and capable indigenous clergy subsequently emerged in a number of Latin American countries. In 1955, the Latin American Episcopal Conference—a body that united the Roman Catholic bishops of the region—was created. As we have seen, this body was responsible for the initial formulation of liberation theology, which contributed to a limited intellectual and social revitalization of Latin American Catholicism during the last three decades of the century.

The various Protestant churches of North America also sent a number of missionaries to Latin America during the 20th century. Some of these believers worked among the nominal Catholic populations, winning considerable numbers of converts. Protestantism consequently enjoyed striking growth, particularly in Brazil and Mexico. Ecumenical Protestant missionary conferences began to be conducted on a periodic basis, and were increasingly guided by indigenous leaders. National associations of Evangelical churches emerged in several nations. Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement also flourished during the latter decades of the century, bringing a fresh surge of spiritual vitality to the Latin American churches.

Other Protestant evangelists ministered to the various unreached, indigenous tribal groups of the region. A notable effort of this kind came in 1956, when a team of five American missionaries led by Jim Elliott and Nate Saint attempted to evangelize the previously-unreached Huaorani (Auca) tribe in Ecuador. Though the men were all killed by the Huaorani, Elliott's widow Elizabeth and Saint's sister Rachel, in cooperation with Cameron Townsend's SIL, were later able to establish friendly communications with the Huaorani, and a significant proportion of the tribe became believers.

To be sure, serious challenges to the legitimacy of the Christian faith in Latin America remained as the 21st century dawned, and the twin legacies of passive, nominal Catholicism and political turmoil continued to exact a heavy toll. Yet the increasing spiritual vigor evidenced by the development of liberation theology, the rise of indigenous Protestant leadership, the growth of Pentecostalism, and the evangelization of unreached peoples inspired hope that the region would emerge as a more generative hub of the Christian faith in generations to come.

Africa

Following the rapid European colonization of Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were increasingly active throughout

the continent. With the rapid disintegration of much of traditional African culture due to the effects of imperialism, Christianity quickly became a dominant cultural feature, and mass conversions occurred in many areas. In an effort to provide adequate spiritual care for these new believers, both the Catholic and Protestant establishments placed a heavy emphasis on the recruitment and training of native African clergy—a policy that stood in stark contrast to that embraced by the European powers during the early history of Christianity in Latin America.

This focus on the development of indigenous leadership contributed to the eventual emergence of a number of African-founded denominations that asserted their independence from the missionary churches, which were viewed by some African believers as instruments of European control. Several of these independent denominations blended Christianity with pagan tribal religious practices, and some went so far as to ascribe messianic roles to their leaders, but many others were essentially orthodox. A number of these new churches embraced Pentecostal theology and promoted spiritual revival, thus augmenting the vibrancy and legitimacy of the Christian faith on the continent.[4]

The second half of the century brought both new difficulties and fresh opportunities. Following World War II, the European colonial empires collapsed and dozens of African nations gained political independence. Inevitably, these developments were accompanied by strong nationalist and anti-European sentiments, which often stimulated a return to traditional cultural and religious practices and occasionally gave rise to state-sponsored anti-Christian measures. In addition, the widespread political anarchy, military violence, and ethnic warfare that characterized much of the history of Africa during subsequent decades constituted a grave threat to the wellbeing of the continent's Christian communities.

Yet in spite of these considerable challenges, the Christian churches of Africa continued to prosper, and the number of African believers multiplied at a remarkable rate. By the end of the century, Africa was home to thousands of denominations boasting a combined membership of tens of millions. Many of these churches were led by second- or third-generation Christians, a fact that testified both to the sustained vitality of Christianity as a cultural force and to the continuing emergence of capable indigenous leadership. As was the case in Latin America, Pentecostalism continued to expand its influence, and remarkable charismatic experiences were widely reported. Thus, by the turn of the 21st century, Africa had emerged as a new center of Christian dynamism that boasted impressive prospects for continued, dramatic growth.

Asia

In Asia, the 20th-century spread of the faith was greatly complicated by the prevalence of Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, and by a series of wars and revolutions. Thus, the gains of Christianity in the region were not as striking or widespread as was the case in Africa. Nevertheless, capable indigenous leaders emerged in several areas, and in a handful of nations the growth of the Christian community was truly spectacular.

India was the site of a number of significant developments. While the majority of believers in India had historically been concentrated in the south, the early decades of the century saw an explosion of missionary activity in the northeastern part of the country, and the three states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland became overwhelmingly Christian. Many other parts of the nation remained firmly resistant to Christianity, however, and the majority of converts continued to come from the poorest classes.

During the first half of the century, India labored to gain its independence from the British Empire under the political and spiritual leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948). Though he practiced Hinduism, Gandhi was also a great admirer of the teachings of Jesus, and had contact with many believers. Through his example of simplicity and non-violent resistance, Christian principles gradually and subtly infiltrated much of Indian society. The arrival of Indian independence in 1947 also brought fresh challenges to the legitimacy of Christianity in South Asia, however, as it resulted in the eventual formation of the staunchly Muslim independent nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh, both of which proved largely inhospitable to the Gospel.

Catholic and Protestant missionaries alike continued to be active in India throughout the century. The outstanding exemplar of the Catholic faith was Mother Teresa (1910–1997), an Albanian nun who journeyed to India in 1929. After spending a number of years in a convent, Teresa embraced a missionary calling and began working among the poor and the sick in Calcutta. In 1950, she founded the Missionaries of Charity, an organization whose mission was, in Teresa's words, to minister to "the hungry, the naked, the homeless, the crippled, the blind, the lepers, all those people who feel unwanted, unloved, uncared for throughout society, people that have become a burden to the society and are shunned by everyone." This order eventually spread throughout the world, and Teresa received the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of her efforts to combat poverty and suffering.

Among the notable 20th-century Protestant missionaries to India was Amy Carmichael (1867–1951), an Irish Presbyterian who was inspired by Hudson Taylor to embrace a life of missionary service. She founded an organization known as the Dohnavur Fellowship, which provided a haven for orphaned and underprivileged children, many of whom were thus saved from lives of begging or prostitution. Carmichael remained in India for fifty-five years, and her example inspired future generations of missionaries, including Jim and Elisabeth Elliott.

As was the case elsewhere, the course of Protestantism in India during this period was marked by the rise of indigenous leadership and ecumenical cooperation. V. S. Azariah (1874–1945), the first Indian to be made an Anglican bishop, was a prominent figure at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, served as vice-chairman of the International Missionary Council, and promoted the evangelism of unbelievers. The National Christian Council of India, which was established in 1923, helped to foster greater cooperation

among Protestants at the local and regional level. In 1947, a number of Reformed, Congregational, Presbyterian, Anglican, and Methodist congregations in the southern part of the nation united as the Church of South India. Similarly, the Church of North India was established in 1970 through a merger of Anglican, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Brethren, and Disciples of Christ churches. The creation of these ecumenical bodies allowed the Christians of India to consolidate their strength and become a more viable force of transformation in the midst of the nation's massive and largely unbelieving population.[5]

The 20th-century record of Christianity in Southeast Asia was uneven, and was heavily influenced by the political and military developments that threw much of the region into turmoil beginning in the 1940s, including the Japanese occupation of Burma, Malaysia, Indochina, Indonesia, and the Philippines during World War II and the series of conflicts in Vietnam between 1946 and 1975. The Christian communities in Sri Lanka and Thailand continued to be heavily outnumbered by the Buddhist populations, and made little substantive headway. The church in Burma was threatened by a bloody civil war that erupted following the country's gaining of independence in 1948, and the nation became a center of anti-Christian persecution in later decades. The Muslim majority in Malaysia likewise remained hostile to the Gospel, though a significant Christian community did emerge in neighboring Singapore. The vigor of the faith in Indonesia was greatly compromised by the expulsion of many Dutch missionaries following the recognition of the islands' independence in 1949, and militant Islamic elements increasingly dominated the life of that nation. While the Catholic Church enjoyed substantial growth in Vietnam during the first half of the century, its vigor was undermined by the advent of communist rule in the northern part of the country in 1954 and by the subsequent war, and Protestants remained a tiny minority. Nevertheless, in all of these nations, the church continued to add to its membership in spite of the severe trials it faced.

Catholicism continued to be the dominant form of religion in the Philippines, though many of its adherents were only nominal believers. During the early decades of the century, Protestant missionaries also won a considerable number of converts (many from among the Catholic communities), and many Filipino Protestants subsequently became involved with the International Missionary Council and the Ecumenical movement. Though the Japanese occupation of the islands during World War II briefly disrupted the work of the churches, Christianity reemerged with renewed vitality when the conflict ended. Both Catholics and Protestants began raising up an indigenous clergy, and a number of Protestant groups merged to form the United Church of Christ of the Philippines. The country remains the only Southeast Asian nation with a Christian majority, and in recent decades Filipino missionaries have labored to carry the Gospel to the rest of the region.

In China, the first quarter of the 20th century was a period marked by both political upheaval and the unprecedented growth of Christianity. The overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1912 ushered in an era during which various factions—including regional

warlords, communists, and the nationalist party known as the Kuomintang—struggled to gain control of the government. During this period, missionaries were active throughout the country, and both Catholicism and Protestantism achieved rapid growth. Capable indigenous leaders soon emerged, including Cheng Jingyi (1881–1940), who addressed the Edinburgh Missionary Conference and helped to establish ecumenical organizations such as the National Christian Council of China and the pan-denominational Church of Christ in China.

In 1927, civil war erupted in China between the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976). This conflict was interrupted by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, an event that served to spark the Sino-Japanese War, which was later subsumed into World War II. Though this series of events greatly disrupted the life of the nation and created many hardships for the church, Chinese Christianity continued to flourish. Indeed, this period witnessed the rise to prominence of such influential figures as John Sung (1901–1944), a zealous itinerant evangelist who led thousands to Christ, and Watchman Nee (1903–1972), a persuasive Protestant preacher who impacted many through his sermons and writings.

In 1949, however, the communists took control of the country and initiated a period of severe anti-Christian repression. Virtually all foreign missionaries were forced to leave the country, and prominent indigenous church leaders such as Watchman Nee were imprisoned. Although the communist government did not seek to completely eradicate Christianity, both Catholics and Protestants were forced to sever all formal ties with Western elements (including the Vatican) and were gathered into state-sanctioned national churches that promised to support the communist government. During the years of the violent and chaotic Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), restrictions on all religions were tightened, and many Chinese Christians were subjected to arrest, interrogation, and other forms of persecution.

In the decades following the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese state softened its stance toward Christianity to some degree, though it continued to insist that all believers be gathered in the highly compromised state-sponsored churches. In response to this requirement, a substantial number of Chinese Christians (both Catholic and Protestant) began meeting in unregistered house churches, where they were free to practice the faith without government oversight or censorship. Because of the illegality of such gatherings, the members of the Chinese house church movement have continued to face considerable persecution and danger, even as their activities have injected fresh spiritual vigor into the life of the Christian community in China.[6]

During the first three decades of the 20th century, Christianity flourished in Japan, with Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Protestantism all recording modest gains in membership and enjoying the formal recognition of the state. As we have found to be the case in

several other nations, the Protestant churches of Japan embraced the ecumenical spirit of the age and established a National Christian Council in 1922. A number of indigenous leaders emerged, including Toyohiko Kagawa (1888–1960), a Protestant evangelist who ministered among the nation's urban poor and sought to promote social reform.

With the rise of Japanese nationalism and militarism in the 1930s, Christianity was greatly tested. The Japanese government placed a heavy emphasis on traditional religious practices, and required all citizens to observe Shinto rituals. As anti-Western attitudes intensified, substantial numbers of foreign missionaries fled the country, and the Japanese churches were largely left in the hands of the native clergy. In 1941, the majority of the Protestant denominations, responding to increasing pressure from the government, merged to form the pan-denominational Church of Christ in Japan.

While World War II brought considerable hardships for Japanese Christians (as it did for the Japanese people as a whole), the postwar decades were marked by a resurgence in the vitality of the faith, and the Christian communities made considerable contributions to the rebuilding of the war-torn nation. Large numbers of foreign missionaries returned, new churches were constructed, and a Christian university was established in Tokyo. Though Christians remained a distinct minority in Japan throughout the remainder of the century, they constituted a visible and positive social force and continued to win converts from among the educated classes.

Because Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, the history of Christianity in that nation during the first half of the 20th century followed a similar course. Thus, an early period of growth was followed in the 1930s by an anti-Western backlash that forced many foreign missionaries to leave the country. While the defeat of the Japanese in World War II seemed to herald a return to normalcy for the Korean church, such was not to be the case. Rather, the nation was partitioned between Russia and the United States, and an anti-Christian communist regime came to power in the north of the country. Christians in the north were thus subjected to heavy anti-Christian persecution, and many of them fled to the south.

Following the Korean War (1950–1953), however, Christianity (particularly Protestantism) experienced several decades of stunning, exponential growth in South Korea. A number of Protestant seminaries were founded, and they had soon enrolled more students than could be found in the seminaries of any other nation in Latin America, Africa, or Asia. Many of those who emerged from these schools became missionaries to other countries, and by the end of the century South Korea had become the second-largest missionary-sending nation in the world, behind only the United States. Hundreds of Protestant churches were established throughout the nation, several of which soon boasted thousands of members. Among the most notable of these was the Yoido Full Gospel Church, a Pentecostal church founded in Seoul in 1958 by David Yonggi Cho (b. 1936), a former Buddhist who espoused a message that resembled that of the Word of Faith movement. This church is

currently the largest Christian congregation in the world, with a membership of more than 800,000. Thus, perhaps more than any other nation outside of traditional Christendom, South Korea has emerged as a vibrant center of Christianity and has positioned itself to be a global leader in the continued propagation of the faith in the 21st century.[7]

Thus we find that, over the course of the 20th century, Christianity quickened the pace of its global spread and achieved increasing levels of strength and legitimacy throughout much of the developing world. The growth of interdenominational missionary endeavors, the evangelization of unreached people groups, and the rise of robust indigenous leadership in Latin America, Africa, and Asia all contributed significantly to the faith's substantial territorial and numerical gains during this period.

Simultaneously, however, the vitality of the faith was slowly ebbing in several of Christianity's historical strongholds. In the Middle East, where Christianity was birthed, increasingly-radical Islamic regimes held sway, and the ancient churches (whether Orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian) dwindled in numbers and influence. In Russia and Eastern Europe, the Orthodox Churches struggled to reestablish themselves after centuries of subjugation. Perhaps most troublingly, Western Europe grew increasingly de-Christianized and fell victim to pronounced spiritual stagnation, and the same was true (though to a lesser extent) of the United States. Indeed, near the end of the century, the prominent British missiologist Lesslie Newbigin (1909–1998) opined that modern Western culture was proving more resistant to the Gospel than any other culture on earth.[8]

In light of these sobering developments, the dramatic growth of Christianity in the developing world took on an even greater significance. As the 20th century drew to a close, it seemed increasingly clear that Christians in these regions would assume a prominent role in the worldwide propagation of the faith in subsequent generations, and, indeed, that they might one day be responsible for the revitalization of those churches in the West whose representatives had originally carried the Gospel to their shores. The possibility of such an outcome stands as a striking reminder of the interconnectedness and interdependence of the global Christian community, and highlights the important truth that evangelism is a task that is entrusted to every believer in every land.

Chapter Thirty-Four Review

10/40 Window	John R. Mott
Cameron Townsend	Lausanne Congress
Donald McGavran	Mother Teresa
Ecumenical Movement	Summer Institute of Linguistics
Edinburgh Missionary Conference	World Council of Churches
International Missionary Council	Wycliffe Bible Translators

Chapter Thirty-Four Notes

[1]See Matthew 28:19, 29; John 17:11.

[2]It is worth noting that, while the participants in these congresses were generally opposed to the ecumenical agenda of the World Council of Churches, the congresses themselves were very much ecumenical gatherings, as they included Evangelicals from a variety of denominations, as well as Pentecostals.

[3]McGavran would later become one of the chief opponents of the World Council of Churches' approach to evangelism during the Evangelical Ecumenical conflict of the 1960s and 1970s.

[4]The most notable of these indigenous African denominations was the Kimbanguist Church, founded in 1921 in the Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) by Simon Kimbangu, who was considered a prophet and credited with miraculous healings by his followers. This movement continues to have a membership numbering in the millions.

[5]The 20th century also witnessed the establishment of similar pan Protestant united churches in Canada (1925) and Australia (1977).

[6]Sizeable Christian minorities are also to be found in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau, all of which escaped the harsh anti-Christian persecutions perpetuated by the communist government of mainland China.

[7]It may be noted in passing that postwar South Korea also witnessed the birth of the Unification Church, which was founded in 1954 by Sun Myung Moon (b. 1920). This movement attracted a considerable number of adherents in Korea and Japan, and became increasingly popular in the United States during the 1970's. While Moon originally employed ecumenical rhetoric and championed the unification of all Christian churches, his theology proved increasingly unorthodox, and the Unification Church is considered to be a heretical cult by a majority of Christians.

[8]Lesslie Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), p. 3.

Chapter Thirty-Five
Prospects at the Dawn
of a New Millennium

Having now traced the history of Christianity from its beginnings to the end of the 20th century, it only remains for us to fashion a fitting postscript by offering a broad appraisal of the present state of the faith. Thus, in this final chapter, we will conduct an assessment of the contemporary vitality of the various streams of the Christian tradition, highlighting both the major challenges confronting the universal church at the dawn of the 21st century, as well as the positive developments and opportunities that are currently providing fresh hope for the future.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND DIVERSITY

The Christian church, which began as a small band of frightened believers huddled in a room in Jerusalem nearly 2,000 years ago, now consists of a great company of more than two billion believers—roughly a third of the world's population—spread throughout virtually every country on earth.[1] Of course, as we have observed repeatedly during our lengthy exploration of Christian history, the unity that characterized the New Testament church did not long endure, and over the centuries the body of Christ has splintered into an ever-increasing number of fragments. Thus, to speak of "the church" in the 21st century is actually to refer to a bewildering variety of denominations and movements. We may briefly survey the current state of several of the more significant tributaries of the Christian faith, proceeding in the order in which they broke off from the mainstream.

The first major schism in Christian history took place following the Council of Ephesus in 431, and resulted in the formation of the Nestorian Church. This body, which once stretched from Mesopotamia to China, exists today as the Assyrian Church of the East. It currently has perhaps half a million members, most of whom are scattered throughout Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, the United States, and India (where it is known as the Chaldean Syrian Church).

Similarly, following the Council of Chalcedon in 451, those believers who embraced a Monophysite Christology broke away from the rest of the church. These Monophysite communities are now collectively known as the Oriental Orthodox Churches. They have a combined membership of around seventy million, mostly in North Africa, Armenia, Syria, and India. The major bodies within this family of believers include the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Syriac Orthodox Church, and the Indian Orthodox Church.

In 1054, the church underwent a much more serious division, as the four historical patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem separated from the patriarchate of Rome. Those churches that remained under the supervision of the Eastern patriarchs became known as the Eastern Orthodox Churches, while the believing community that followed the bishops of Rome eventually styled itself the Roman Catholic Church.

The Eastern Orthodox Churches now have a combined worldwide membership of approximately 225 million, with slightly over half that number belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church alone. There are now fifteen autocephalous national Orthodox Churches: the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Orthodox Church of Alexandria, the Orthodox Church of Antioch, the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Georgian Orthodox and Apostolic Church, the Cypriot Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Polish Orthodox Church, the Albanian Orthodox Church, the Czech and Slovak Orthodox Church, and the Orthodox Church in America. Semi-autonomous national Orthodox Churches also exist in Ukraine, Moldova, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, China, and Japan.

The Roman Catholic Church, meanwhile, constitutes not only the single largest branch of the Christian faith, but the largest organized body of any world religion. It has more than one billion members worldwide, and its adherents constitute a nominal majority of the population in more than 50 different nations, including Ireland, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Lithuania, most of Latin America, a handful of African nations, and the Philippines. In addition to these substantial numbers, there are also approximately 15 million Eastern Rite Catholics associated with the twenty-two semi-autonomous Eastern Catholic Churches.

With the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation in 1517, a multiplicity of new Christian movements came into existence. It is estimated that, as a whole, the various expressions of Protestantism (including Pentecostalism) now account for almost 600 million believers worldwide. Just over half the population of the United States is nominally Protestant.

The first Protestant body to appear was the Lutheran Church, which was founded by Martin Luther in the early 16th century. There are now around 66 million Lutheran believers, and Lutheran churches may be found on every continent. Lutheranism is the nominal majority religion of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, and it also remains strong in its birthplace of Germany. In the United States, the two major Lutheran denominations are the liberal-leaning Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the more conservative Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

The second major expression of Protestantism to emerge was the Reformed tradition, which was championed by men such as Huldrych Zwingli, John Calvin, and John Knox. This stream of the Christian faith is now represented by the various continental Reformed, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, whose membership totals about 75 million.

Reformed Christianity remains highly influential in its traditional centers of strength (including Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Scotland), has large numbers of adherents throughout the former British domains (especially the United States, Canada, and Australia), and is well represented in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In the United States, the largest Reformed body is the Presbyterian Church (USA).

The third significant group to arise from the Protestant Reformation were the Anabaptists, whose descendants today number only about 1.5 million. The largest surviving Anabaptist body is the Mennonite community, which is represented on every continent. Though the number of Mennonites in Europe has declined considerably in recent years, Mennonite churches have multiplied exponentially in Africa, particularly in Ethiopia. In addition to the Mennonites, other direct descendants of the Radical Reformation include the Amish and the Hutterites, both of which are found mainly in isolated communities in North America.

The Church of England's separation from Rome in the 1530s marked the beginning of the worldwide Anglican Communion, which today includes some 73 million believers. The communion consists of 38 independent national and regional churches spread throughout every continent, all of which maintain full communion with the Church of England and its head, the archbishop of Canterbury. In the United States, the communion is represented by the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and thus American Anglicans are generally referred to as Episcopalians. A majority of Anglicans and Episcopalians continue to view their tradition as a *via media* ("middle way") that incorporates features of both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism while not being fully identifiable with either.

During the long course of the English Reformation, a number of Puritan and Separatist groups broke with the Church of England. In addition to the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, these included the Baptists and the Quakers. The Baptist faith now constitutes the single largest expression of Protestantism (with more than 90 million members worldwide), and it has experienced dramatic growth in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe in recent decades. Baptists also make up the largest family of Protestants in the United States (and the second largest Christian body overall, behind only the Roman Catholic Church). The world's largest Baptist group is the U.S.-based Southern Baptist Convention, which became a separate body in 1845, largely because of disagreements among American Baptists concerning the issue of slavery. Other significant Baptist organizations in the U.S. include the American Baptist Churches in the USA (the descendant of the Northern Baptist Convention), and the historically African-American National Baptist Convention, USA.

The Quakers, much like the Anabaptists (with whom they share the distinction of being a peace church) have remained a relatively small group throughout their history. They currently number only about 350 thousand. The majority of these are to be found in Africa (particularly Kenya) and North America, with smaller concentrations in England, Australia, and Latin America.

An important post-Reformation strain of the Protestant faith was Pietism (an offshoot of Lutheranism), which contributed to the formation of a variety of bodies, including the Moravian Church, the Church of the Brethren, and, most significantly, the Methodist Church, which emerged from within the Church of England during the 18th century under the leadership of John Wesley. Methodism currently claims roughly 75 million adherents, and is thus comparable in size to the Reformed and Anglican traditions. The largest Methodist body in the United States (and the second largest American Protestant denomination) is the United Methodist Church, which was formed in 1968 through the merger of a number of older Methodist groups. Large Methodist communities are also to be found in the United Kingdom and South Korea.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the Methodist tradition gave rise to the numerous denominations associated with the Holiness movement, several of which embraced Pentecostalism following the Azusa Street revival. Soon, additional Pentecostal denominations with no explicit ties to the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition also arose, and Pentecostalism subsequently became a globally significant expression of Christianity. There are currently more than 120 million Pentecostals worldwide, with close to 80 million of those being in the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This vast company of believers is divided among thousands of distinct Pentecostal organizations, the largest of which is the Assemblies of God.

As we have noted, the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed the emergence of a variety of new religious movements with Protestant roots, several of which—including Unitarianism, Universalism, Mormonism, Christian Science, and Jehovah's Witnesses—are generally not considered by other believers to represent legitimate expressions of Christianity. Those nonconformist or Restorationist bodies that often are reckoned as genuine members of the Christian community include the Seventh Day Adventists (14 million members), the New Apostolic Church (11 million members, of which more than 8 million are in Africa), the Churches of Christ and Disciples of Christ (4 million members total), the Plymouth Brethren (1 million members), and the Salvation Army (1 million members).

This brief survey merely hints at the complexity and diversity of the contemporary Christian community. Within every major movement we have mentioned, there have occurred dozens if not hundreds of minor schisms, and the resulting varieties of the Christian faith are virtually endless. Nevertheless, it is still entirely appropriate (and indeed, biblical) to view this variegated company of believers as, in some sense, a single organism.[3] Because this is the case, the health and fortunes of each part of the body of Christ must be of great concern to all its members. Thus, in the remainder of this chapter, we will examine a number of the significant trends (both negative and positive) that are currently shaping the life of the universal Christian church.

Challenges and Controversies

As the preceding section should make abundantly clear, one of the gravest threats confronting today's church is disunity and internal conflict. Since the Protestant Reformation, Christians have increasingly viewed any minor difference of opinion concerning matters of doctrine, polity, or practice as grounds for separation from one another, whether on a denominational or a congregational level. As a result, believers now routinely take great pride in their particular ecclesiological allegiances, fiercely defending their distinctive views while downplaying or denying the common Christian identity that they share with members of other churches.

This is not to suggest, of course, that all disagreements about doctrine or practice are unimportant, or that the substantive differences among the world's various Christian traditions are easily resolvable. Yet it must be admitted that, far too often, denominational distinctives—from the *filioque* clause to the Five Points of Calvinism to speaking in tongues—have been allowed to displace love of God and love of neighbor as the central concerns of the church. Predictably, this marginalization of love within our corporate identities has resulted in the hardening of our hearts, which in turn has merely accelerated the pace of fragmentation within the body of Christ.

In addition to such internal obstacles to its wellbeing, the universal church also faces a number of considerable challenges from the unbelieving world. In some nations— including China, Iran, Myanmar, North Korea, the Sudan, and Vietnam—Christians still live under the threat of the sort of violent persecution and repression that the early church endured at the hands of the Roman emperors. Remaining true to the Gospel in the midst of such an environment demands tremendous faith and courage, and often requires unimaginable sacrifices.

In those countries where the Christian faith is tolerated or even sponsored by the state, meanwhile, the church faces a different, subtler, yet no less urgent peril—the ongoing erosion of its influence and credibility as a result of the progressive secularization of contemporary society.[4] The post-Enlightenment ideologies of rational skepticism, militant individualism, materialistic consumerism, and moral relativism have largely eclipsed the core values of Christianity throughout much of the Western world, and the church has consequently been relegated to the periphery of society in many nations. In the face of such extensive marginalization, some churches have gradually turned inward and faded into societal irrelevance, while others have assumed a shrill, defensive posture that has generally failed to result in the restoration of their former influence (and, indeed, that has often reinforced the negative opinions of their secular critics).

The most critical problems afflicting the church, however, are neither those that reflect internal tensions, nor those that have resulted from the actions or attitudes of secular

agents, but rather those that give evidence of diminished spiritual vitality and weakened moral integrity—problems, that is, which expose serious defects in the church's relationship with God. In recent years, such failings have been readily apparent within each of the major expressions of the Christian faith. Roman Catholic clergy have repeatedly been accused of sexually abusing their parishioners.

Financial scandals have plagued a number of the Eastern Orthodox Churches, including the Orthodox Church in America. The Episcopal Church has ordained practicing homosexuals, thus generating intense controversy within the Anglican Communion. The mainline Protestant denominations have increasingly demonstrated a willingness to compromise with secular culture by exchanging a firm commitment to biblical theology and morality for a more nebulous, relativistic system of social ethics. Finally, while Evangelicals and Pentecostals have tended to present themselves as the most loyal defenders of traditional Christian values, they have also contributed significantly to the emergence of a conservative Christian subculture that is characterized by a number of troubling trends, including the rapid commoditization of the Gospel, the promotion of personality cults, and the prevalence of strident, judgmental political rhetoric. Each of these various developments has greatly compromised both the church's intimacy with God and its witness to the world.

The various challenges we have noted—disunity, societal opposition, and spiritual transgressions—are closely linked, and each one may serve to intensify the others. For example, denominational schisms often foster pride and resentment, which serve to promote more widespread spiritual decay, which in turn often intensifies secular opposition to the church. In an effort to counter such criticism, the church may seek to win public approval by making certain concessions to secular culture, thereby further weakening its spiritual legitimacy and, inevitably, producing fresh internal divisions.

Thus, although it must be admitted that certain dangers facing the Christian community (such as state-sponsored persecution) are chiefly the result of the wickedness of unbelievers, many of the church's deepest, most life-threatening wounds have been self-inflicted. While Jesus warned His followers that they would suffer for being like Him, it seems clear that, far too often, today's church is instead reaping the bitter consequences of not being like Him.[5] This tragic irony must birth in our hearts a commitment to pursue meaningful reconciliation with God, one another, and the unbelieving world that awaits a faithful presentation and embodiment of the Gospel.

RECONCILIATION AND RENEWAL

Indeed, important signs of such healing and renewal are, even now, being manifested within the global church. As we have seen, the 20th century witnessed a number of remarkable strides toward reconciliation and unity within the church, including the birth of the Ecumenical movement, the creation of pan-denominational "united and uniting churches" in countries such as Canada, India, and Australia, the formation of the National

Association of Evangelicals, the racial rapprochement among Pentecostals that led to the emergence of the PCCNA, the softening of the Roman Catholic Church's traditionally exclusivist stance in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, and the conclusion of common Christological declarations between the Roman Catholic Church and both the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Assyrian Church of the East. Such developments served to nurture the hope that the universal church would not remain indefinitely crippled by internal divisions.

Further significant steps toward reconciliation within the body of Christ have been taken in the last decade. In 1999, representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Council—an organization that represents two-thirds of the world's Lutherans, including the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the national churches of the Nordic countries—issued the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification. In this document, the two sides set forth compatible definitions of the doctrine of justification and acknowledged each other's views as orthodox, thus effectively resolving one of the central disputes that precipitated the Protestant Reformation.[6]

In 2002, ten mainline American denominations—including the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Episcopal Church, the United Methodist Church, and the United Church of Christ, as well as historically African-American churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church—entered into a relationship of intercommunion under the name Churches Uniting in Christ. The agreement between these groups provides for each to recognize the others as representatives of the true church and to acknowledge the validity of their rites and ministry. This organization thus stands as a significant champion of both ecclesiological and racial unity within Protestantism.

Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, in November 2006 the heads of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches—Pope Benedict XVI and Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople—issued a common declaration during the pope's historic visit to Turkey. In this document, the two leaders pronounced their commitment to the continued pursuit of mutual dialogue and cooperation between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, with an eye toward the eventual reestablishment of full communion between the two bodies. The declaration also reflected the two Churches' mutual concerns for evangelism, global peace, the protection of religious freedoms, and the preservation of the environment.[7]

The global church is also currently laboring to address its troubled relationship with secular society. As we have noted, the phenomenal growth of Christianity in Latin America, Africa, and Asia during the 20th century contributed to the evangelization of numerous previously unreached peoples and resulted in the establishment of vibrant indigenous communities that now appear poised to carry the faith to many areas that remain shrouded by spiritual darkness. In addition, courageous believers in nations such as China and North Korea continue to risk persecution, imprisonment, and martyrdom in order to proclaim the Gospel to unbelievers.

In North America and Europe, meanwhile, a number of church leaders have begun promoting a greater degree of critical engagement with the increasingly pluralistic, postmodern cultural milieu that largely defines contemporary Western society. One important expression of this trend is what is known as the Emerging Church movement—a loose, diverse collective of Christians from a variety of denominations and traditions that coalesced in the late 1990s, and whose members share a commitment to holistic spirituality, creative worship, authentic relationship-building, social justice, and missional involvement in their local cultural contexts. While some of the theological views and distinctive practices associated with the Emerging Church have drawn sharp criticism from Protestant leaders who question the movement's orthodoxy, a growing number of believers (particularly from younger generations) have found this community's approach to the Christian life compelling, and "emerging" congregations have proved to be highly effective instruments of evangelism in many North American cities, drawing large numbers of the teenagers and young adults who have been increasingly and conspicuously absent from traditional churches in recent decades.

Finally, and most importantly, the church is also showing signs of a renewed commitment to its relationship with God. Dramatic revivals have been a hallmark of Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in recent years, with hundreds of thousands of believers around the world repenting before God and experiencing both physical and spiritual healing. Mainline Protestantism, meanwhile, has witnessed the emergence of the Confessing movement, a grassroots effort that has sprung up concurrently within several churches, including the Presbyterian Church (USA), the United Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, and the Episcopal Church. The aim of this movement is to restore confessional orthodoxy and an evangelical focus to those mainline denominations that have allowed an influx of liberal social views to erode their commitment to traditional biblical norms. In these and other ways, the worldwide Christian community is demonstrating that it will not remain complacent in the face of the dire spiritual malaise that has recently threatened to undermine the legitimacy of its witness.

It should by now be apparent that the Christian church—which has exerted such a profound influence on the course of human history for nearly two millennia—will continue to be a significant actor on the world stage in the decades to come. What is less clear is the nature of the role it will assume. Will the numerous challenges and controversies facing the church leave it discredited, marginalized, and powerless to stop the rapid secularization of society? Or will the spirit of reconciliation and renewal breathe new life into the body of Christ, allowing it to become a powerful, transformative instrument of God's purposes for the world? The way in which future historians of Christianity will depict the 21st century depends, in large part, on how the global community of believers, in all its rich diversity, answers these questions in the years ahead.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE NOTES

[1]All statistics in this chapter related to the size of the worldwide Christian community and its various branches are approximations based on comparisons of the following internet sources: Adherents.com. 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.adherents.com>. Wikipedia. "List of Christian denominations by number of members." 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Christian_ denominations_by_number_of_members>. Wikipedia. "Major religious groups." 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Major_religious_groups>.

[2]As we have previously noted, the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in America is not recognized by all of the other autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches.

[3]On the unity of the body of Christ, see 1 Corinthians 12.

[4]It is also important to note that in some places where certain forms of Christianity are tolerated, Christians from other traditions continue to face harassment. Thus, for example, Evangelicals often face restrictions and repression in Orthodox nations, particularly within the former Soviet Union.

[5]See John 15:18–16:4.

[6]In 2006, members of the World Methodist Council voted to adopt this declaration as well. The document has not been approved, however, by a number of the more conservative Lutheran bodies.

[7]An additional contemporary development that may be seen in part as evidence of increasing reconciliation within the body of Christ is the emergence of Messianic Judaism. This movement—which arose in the 19th century and has grown significantly in the last half century—is comprised mostly of ethnic Jews who have embraced Jesus as the true Messiah. Messianic believers tend to accept the bulk of Christian doctrine while also maintaining many characteristically Jewish rituals and emphases, and they are thus often considered by their critics to be neither truly Jewish nor entirely Christian. Nevertheless, the appearance of a vigorous belief in the divinity and Messiahship of Jesus among the Jews clearly constitutes an important development in Christian history, and is believed by many to foreshadow a more extensive future restoration of God's chosen nation of Israel.

Afterword

Humanity has a vast array of fascinating historical narratives at its disposal—stories about King Tut and Genghis Khan, stories about Aztecs and Aborigines, stories about the grand empires of Persia, Greece, Rome, and China. The story that we have explored in these pages, however, touches on all of these other stories and, in so doing, outstrips them all.

But it does more than that: it envelops them, subsumes them, and gives them their full meaning. For in the end, there is only one story—the story of God and His creation, the story of His ongoing relationship with the people that He has called to Himself, the story of His eternal purposes. Everything else is just plot twists.

This all-encompassing story began with creation, and the climax toward which it is now building is new creation. Those of us who inhabit the chapters in the middle are called to enter fully into the story, to allow it to enter fully into us, and to carry it forward toward the Author's intended completion.

So may we never fall into the trap of viewing the history of the Christian faith as a mere academic pursuit, a wearisome parade of names and dates. It is much more than that. It is the old, old story. It is the never-ending story. It is our story. May our contributions to the ongoing narrative be pleasing to the One who has entrusted it to us.

Works Consulted

Adherents.com. 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.adherents.com>.

Bosch, David. *Transforming Mission*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991.

Dart, John. "UUism Unique: Churchgoers From Elsewhere." *The Christian Century* December 5, 2001.

Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel*: *The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: Norton, 1997.

Doniger, Wendy, ed. *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions.* Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1999.

Duncan, John M. *Foundations: Introduction to the Bible*. Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 2006.

Foster, Richard J. *Streams of Living Water*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998.

Grenz, Stanley J. *A Primer on Postmodernism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996.

Grenz, Stanley J., and John R. Franke. *Beyond Foundationalism: Shaping Theology in a Postmodern Context.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Hyatt, Melvin, and Rob Allen. *Bible Lessons on the History of Christianity*. Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1984.

Jones, Tony. *The Sacred Way.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004.

Latourette, Kenneth S. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age Volume 1: The 19th Century in Europe.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969.

—. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age Volume 2*: *The 19th Century in Europe.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969.

—. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age Volume 3*: *The 19th Century Outside Europe*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969.

—. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age Volume 4*: *The 20th Century in Europe.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969.

—. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age Volume 5: The 20th Century Outside Europe.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969.

—. *A History of Christianity Volume 1: Beginnings to 1500* (revised edition). New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

—. *A History of Christianity Volume 2: Reformation to the Present* (revised edition). New York: Harper and Row, 1975.

Lewis, C. S. *Mere Christianity* (revised edition). San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001.

Lewis, Paul W. "Reflections on a Hundred Years of Pentecostal Theology." *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 12, 2003.

Newbigin, Lesslie. *Foolishness to the Greeks*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986.

—. *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989.

Peterson, Eugene. *Eat This Book*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006.

Radice, Betty, ed. *The Letters of Abélard and Heloise*. London: Penguin Classics, 1974.

Synan, Vinson. *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* (reprint) Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Wikipedia. "List of Christian denominations by number of members." 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Christian_denominations_by_number_of_members>.

Wikipedia. "Major religious groups." 10 Apr. 2007 <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Major_religious_groups>.

Williamson, W. Paul. *Foundations: Fitly Joined Together: Concise History, Polity, and Doctrine of the Church of God of Prophecy.* Cleveland, TN: White Wing Publishing House, 1999.

Wright, N.T. *The New Testament and the People of God.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.

—. *Jesus and the Victory of God.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.

—. *The Resurrection of the Son of God.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.

Foundations Course–
History of Christianity
Registration Form

Students taking this course for credit of any kind should complete this registration form. Anyone doing individual study should submit the form to the state/regional/national office, along with his or her completed examination. Those doing group study should return their completed registration forms and examinations to the instructor.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Local Church: _____

Pastor: _____

Any student who completes the exam with a score of at least 90 percent (open-book) or 70 percent (closed-book) will receive one LDU credit. Those who are pursuing additional forms of credit/certification/licensure should check any of the following boxes that are applicable. (For more information about these options, see the *Introduction*.)

❐ I am pursuing a CBL Leadership Certificate.

❐ I am pursuing a Teacher's Certificate.

❐ I am pursuing state/regional/national credit (if applicable).

❐ I am pursuing a Minister's License.

❐ I am a minister pursuing Ministerial Upgrading.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

(Office use) **Grade:** _____ **Open or Closed Book Exam?** _____

Foundations Course–
History of Christianity
Self-Administered Examination

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

If taken as part of a group study:

Instructor: _____

Open or Closed Book Exam? _____

Instructions: The following exam consists of 200 questions based on the material covered in this book. There are three types of questions: true/false, multiple choice, and matching. For true/false questions, place a check mark or X in the blank that corresponds to your answer. For matching and multiple choice questions, write the letter corresponding to your answer in the blank provided.

In order to pass this exam, you must answer at least 180 of the 200 questions correctly (140 if the exam is conducted on a closed-book basis). You may refer to the contents of this book as you complete the exam unless instructed otherwise in the context of a group study. Any student taking the exam individually should send his or her completed exam, along with the accompanying registration form, to the state/regional/national office for grading. Students taking the exam in a group study setting should give their completed examinations, along with the accompanying registration form, to the instructor for grading.

UNIT ONE: BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS (CREATION–c. AD 70)

1. _____ Which of the following events may be said to mark the true beginning of the Christian story?

   a. The birth of Jesus
   b. The creation of the world
   c. The baptism of Jesus
   d. The resurrection of Jesus
   e. The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost

2. _____ Which of the following was not a major contextual factor in the emergence of Christianity?

   a. The birth of the Roman Empire
   b. The establishment of God's covenant with Abraham
   c. The Jews' return from Babylonian exile
   d. The rapid spread of the Hebrew language
   e. Adam and Eve's disobedience in the Garden of Eden

3. _____ To which of the following was Jesus referring when He spoke of the coming of "the kingdom of God"?

   a. The ultimate defeat of evil
   b. The advent of God's reign on earth and in heaven
   c. The fulfillment of God's eternal purposes
   d. The redefinition of the people of God as those who followed Jesus
   e. All of the above

4. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

   The teachings of Jesus subverted both the Greco-Roman worldview and traditional Jewish expectation.

5. _____ Which of the following events marked the visible beginning of the Christian church?

   a. The calling of the 12 disciples
   b. The conversion of Saul
   c. The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost
   d. The convening of the council at Jerusalem
   e. The conversion of Cornelius

6. _____ Which of the following men was the first recorded Christian martyr?

   a. James the brother of John

b. Stephen
c. James the brother of Jesus
d. Barnabas
e. Gamaliel

7. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The term "Christian" was first used at Jerusalem.

UNIT TWO: FROM PERSECUTION TO PATRONAGE (C. 70–500)

8. _____ Under which of the following Roman emperors did the persecution of
Christians reach its peak?

a. Decius
b. Diocletian
c. Nero
d. Septimius Severus
e. Valerian

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding heresies.

9. _____ Claimed that the Creator God of the Old   a. Gnosticism
Testament was an evil Demiurge in conflict
with the God of Love revealed by Jesus

10. _____ Emphasized strict moralism and ecstatic   b. Marcionism
spiritual experiences and predicted
the imminent end of the world

11. _____ Propounded a dualistic view of reality and   c. Montanism
emphasized the acquisition of secret spiritual knowledge

12. _____ According to the principle of apostolic succession, which of the following
groups were viewed as the rightful ecclesiastical successors of Jesus'
disciples and the heirs to their spiritual authority?

a. the bishops
b. the deacons
c. the elders
d. the presbyters
e. the priests

13. _____ Which of the following was an early summary of essential Christian beliefs
that was employed to refute the claims of the Gnostics and Marcionites?

a. Apostles' Creed

b. Athanasian Creed
c. Chalcedonian Creed
d. Constantinopolitan Creed
e. Nicene Creed

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Ante-Nicene Fathers.

14. _____ Apologist and theologian who described
the sacramental practices of the early church

a. Clement of Alexandria

15. _____ Formulated a doctrine of the Trinity and is
considered the father of Western theology

b. Clement of Rome

16. _____ Best known for his work describing and
refuting the teachings of various heretical groups

c. Ignatius of Antioch

17. _____ Produced a parallel Old Testament and
one of the earliest systematic theologies

d. Irenaeus

18. _____ Wrote an epistle to Corinth to address
a controversy about church leadership

e. Justin Martyr

19. _____ Head of a catechetical school and
an early proponent of free will

f. Origen

20. _____ The first to refer to the universal body
of believers as "the catholic church"

g. Polycarp

21. _____ A disciple of the apostle John whose
martyrdom became legendary

h. Tertullian

22. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Roman Emperor Constantine granted official toleration to Christianity in the Edict of Milan in AD 313.

23. _____ Which of the following was the First Ecumenical Council of the church?

a. The Council of Chalcedon
b. The Council of Constantinople
c. The Council of Ephesus
d. The Council of Jerusalem
e. The Council of Nicaea

24. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Nicene Creed, unlike nearly every other major Christian statement of faith, is accepted by Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant Christians alike.

25. _____ Which of the following creeds presented the definitive orthodox view of Christology and refuted the claims of the Nestorians and Monophysites?

a. Apostles' Creed
b. Athanasian Creed
c. Chalcedonian Creed
d. Constantinopolitan Creed
e. Nicene Creed

Match the following Christological claims with the corresponding heresies.

26. _____ Jesus possessed both a divine nature   a. Apollinarianism
and a human nature, but the two were separate.

27. _____ Jesus had a purely divine mind and   b. Arianism
was therefore less than fully human.

28. _____ Jesus was a created being and was   c. Monophysitism
therefore less than fully divine.

29. _____ Jesus possessed a single nature that   d. Nestorianism
encompassed both divine and human elements.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.

30. _____ Championed the Nicene cause and   a. Ambrose of
opposed Arianism and Apollinarianism   Milan

31. _____ Produced the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible   b. Athanasius

32. _____ Preached sermons that helped transmit   c. Augustine of
Greek theology to the West   Hippo

33. _____ Produced the earliest surviving list of   d. Cappadocian
the books of the New Testament that   Fathers
corresponds exactly to the final canon

34. _____ Renowned for his oratorical skill and his   e. Eusebius
        commitment to the literal interpretation of Scripture

35. _____ Developed the doctrines of original   f. Jerome
        sin and predestination, Pelagianism,   combated
        and authored *The City of God*

36. _____ Authored an early history of the church Chrysostom   g. John

37. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

        The two basic types of early monasticism were *cenobitic*, meaning solitary,
        and *eremitic*, meaning communal.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding early monastic figures.

38. _____ Founded the first formally organized   a. Anthony of
        Christian monastic community   Egypt

39. _____ Authored the *Institutes* and *Conferences* and   b. Basil of
        was a proponent of Semi-Pelagianism   Caesarea

40. _____ Egyptian hermit who is often considered the   c. John
        earliest significant Christian monastic figure   Cassian

41. _____ Authored the *Longer Rules* and *Shorter Rules*,   d. Martin
        which served as templates for both Eastern   of Tours
        and Western monastic rules

42. _____ Important pioneer of Western monasticism   e. Pachomius
        who founded the first monastery in Gaul

43. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the early missionary
        expansion of the church is incorrect?

        a. Ulfilas was a notable early missionary among the Goths.
        b. During the fifth century, converts were made among the
           Turks and Huns of Central Asia.
        c. Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia before AD 500.
        d. Patrick was a native of Ireland who baptized thousands
           and established monasticism in that nation.
        e. Nestorian Christianity was planted in Persia, and was
           later carried to India and China.

44. _____ Which of the following is the correct order in which new converts were brought fully into the life of the early church?

    a. Baptism–Catechesis–Participation in the Eucharist
    b. Baptism–Participation in the Eucharist–Catechesis
    c. Catechesis–Baptism–Participation in the Eucharist
    d. Catechesis–Participation in the Eucharist–Baptism
    e. Participation in the Eucharist–Baptism–Catechesis

45. _____ Which of the following statements about Pope Leo I (the Great) is incorrect?

    a. As bishop of Rome, he served as a key architect of the medieval papacy.
    b. His Tome concerning Monophysitism influenced the outcome of the Council of Ephesus.
    c. He forcefully rejected the principle of co-equality between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.
    d. He built on the accomplishments of predecessors such as Damasus I and Innocent I.
    e. He successfully defended Rome from invasions by the Huns and Vandals.

46. _____ Which of the following events marked the downfall of the Western Roman Empire in AD 476?

    a. The victory of the Goths over the Roman legions at the Battle of Adrianople
    b. The Visigoth general Alaric's sack of Rome
    c. The defeat of the Emperor Romulus Augustulus by the Germanic tribes under Odoacer
    d. Attila the Hun's attack on Rome
    e. The death of the Emperor Valens

UNIT THREE: THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD (C. 500–1500)

47. _____ The Emperor Justinian I's achievements included all but which of the following?

    a. The promulgation of a comprehensive legal code
    b. The implementation of clerical reforms
    c. The completion of a large-scale construction program
    d. Military conquests in Italy and North Africa
    e. The successful suppression of Monophysitism

48. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Byzantine period is incorrect?

    a. Monothelitism, which maintained that Jesus had a single, divine will, was denounced as a heresy by the Sixth Ecumenical Council.
    b. The iconoclasts were Eastern Christians who favored the use of icons in personal devotion and religious instruction.

c. The term *caesaropapism* refers to control of the church by the head of state.

d. The autocephalous Eastern Churches exercised self-governance while maintaining communion with each other.

e. The "Three Chapters" controversy involved the suppression of Nestorian doctrine.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Eastern Christian figures.

49. _____ Authored *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* and promoted mystical communion with God

    a. Cyril and Methodius

50. _____ Opposed Monothelitism and argued for a balance between contemplative spirituality and practical compassion

    b. John Climacus

51. _____ Opposed iconoclasm and was influential in the development of Byzantine monasticism

    c. John of Damascus

52. _____ The last of the Post-Nicene Fathers, and the last great Eastern theologian

    d. Maximus the Confessor

53. _____ Carried the Gospel to the Slavic nations and translated the Bible the Studite into Slavonic

    e. Theodore

54. _____ Which of the following was not a distinctive characteristic of Byzantine Christianity?

    a. A significant degree of subordination to the Byzantine emperors

    b. A tendency to focus on the liturgy as the central element in the life of the Christian community

    c. A high degree of cultural and doctrinal uniformity

    d. A preoccupation with extravagance and opulence

    e. A fascination with the mystical and supernatural elements of the faith

55. _____ Which of the following statements about Pope Gregory I (the Great) is incorrect?

    a. He initiated liturgical reforms and codified the Latin Mass.

    b. He was the first bishop of Rome to be recognized by the Byzantine emperor as "universal bishop" of the church.

    c. He advanced one of the earliest comprehensive doctrines of purgatory.

    d. He authored the *Pastoral Rule*, a definitive work regarding the role and function of the bishops within the church.

    e. He negotiated a treaty with the Lombard armies and helped convert them from Arianism to orthodox Christianity.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding figures.

56. _____ Reform-minded leader whose coronation   a. Augustine of
      marked the birth of the Holy Roman Empire   Canterbury

57. _____ Irish priest who established a monastic   b. Bede the
      community on the island of Iona   Venerable

58. _____ Monk who led the evangelization   c. Boniface
      of the pagan peoples of Britain

59. _____ Authored an important ecclesiastical   d. Charlemagne
      history and introduced the
      chronological designations B.C. and AD

60. _____ English missionary who became known   e. Columba
      as the "Apostle to Germany"

61. _____ The first Carolingian to be crowned Roman emperor   f. Otto I

62. _____ Which of the following was not a substantial contributing factor to the
      Great Schism of 1054?

      a. The growing threat posed by the Seljuk Turks
      b. A controversy surrounding the election of Photius to the patriarchate of
        Constantinople
      c. The growing contrast between the moral and ethical concerns of Western
        theology and the mystical emphases of Eastern theology
      d. Linguistic and cultural differences between the Latin West and the Greek East
      e. An ongoing disagreement concerning the validity of the *filioque* clause in
        the Nicene Creed

63. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

      The leaders of the Eastern and Western Churches at the time of the Great
      Schism were Patriarch Michael I Cerularius and Pope Leo IX.

64. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Muhammad is incorrect?

      a. Muhammad's journey from Mecca to Medina is known as the *Hijra*.
      b. Muhammad established a faith known as *Islam*, which means "surrender."
      c. Muhammad claimed to have received divine revelations, which he
        recorded in written form in the *Qur'an*.

d. After his journey to Medina, the content of Muhammad's teaching
   largely shifted from spiritual and ethical matters to political and
   social concerns.
e. Muhammad saw himself as the last in a long line of prophets from God.

65. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Christianity and Islam is
   incorrect?

   a. The orthodox believers who remained in territories conquered by the
      Muslims were referred to as *Melkites*.
   b. The Muslims' dramatic territorial advance was accomplished under the
      leadership of the successors of Muhammad, who were known as *caliphs*.
   c. The term *Reconquista* refers to the centuries-long process by which
      Christians reclaimed Spain from Muslim control.
   d. As fellow "people of the book," Christians were permitted by their
      Muslim conquerors to practice their religion without any restrictions.
   e. The Frankish victory at the Battle of Tours marked the decisive turning
      point in the conflict between Christians and Muslims in Western Europe.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Crusades.

66. _____ Launched in response to the Muslim   a. The First
         victory at Hattin and directed by three   Crusade
         of Europe's most powerful monarchs

67. _____ Resulted in the Christian conquest   b. The Second
         of Jerusalem and the establishment   Crusade
         of Crusader states in Syria and Palestine

68. _____ Sparked by the Muslim capture of   c. The Third
         Edessa and concluded by the defeat   Crusade
         of the Crusaders at Damascus

69. _____ Resulted in the conquest of   d. The Fourth
         Constantinople by the Crusaders,   Crusade
         an action that widened the breach
         between the Eastern and Western Churches

70. _____ Which of the following medieval monastic orders was greatly influenced
         by the example of the Desert Fathers and characterized by a blend of
         eremitic and cenobitic features?

   a. The Benedictines
   b. The Cluniacs

c. The Carthusians
d. The Cistercians
e. The Franciscans

71. _____ Which of the following medieval monastic orders emphasized corporate worship above all other elements of monastic life and helped spark a large-scale religious renewal movement?

a. The Benedictines
b. The Franciscans
c. The Dominicans
d. The Cluniacs
e. The Cistercians

72. _____ Which of the following medieval monastic orders was the first to pursue the full and formal integration of all of its monastic houses?

a. The Cistercians
b. The Benedictines
c. The Franciscans
d. The Dominicans
e. The Carthusians

73. _____ Which of the following medieval monastic orders was not a mendicant order?

a. The Franciscans
b. The Carthusians
c. The Carmelites
d. The Augustinian Hermits
e. The Dominicans

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding monastic figures.

74. _____ Placed great emphasis on the importance of education and intellectually persuasive preaching

a. Benedict of Nursia

75. _____ Authored a rule that became normative for much of Western monasticism

b. Bernard of Clairvaux

76. _____ Humble preacher and great lover of nature

c. Dominic

77. _____ Influential abbot, theologian, and promoter of the Crusades

d. Francis of Assisi

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Eastern Orthodox and Russian Orthodox figures.

78. _____ Regarded as the true originator of Hesychastic mysticism

a. Gregory Palamas

79. _____ Pioneered the monastic discipline known as kenoticism

b. Nil Sorsky

80. _____ Founded the most famous Russian monastic house and led a group of disciples that eventually founded hundreds of monasteries

c. Sergius of Radonezh

81. _____ Defender of Hesychasm whose writings exerted a profound influence on the further development of Eastern mysticism

d. Symeon the New Theologian

82. _____ Russian monk and mystic who headed the Non-Possessor faction

e. Theodosius

83. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Pope Gregory VII is incorrect?

a. His birth name was Hildebrand.
b. He made sweeping claims concerning the nature and power of the papacy that became determinative for Catholic thought.
c. He helped bring an end to the Investiture Controversy by concluding the Concordat of Worms.
d. He strongly opposed simony and nicolaitism.
e. He was eventually deposed and died in exile.

84. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The most powerful pope of the Medieval Period was Innocent III, whose reign was marked by a striking degree of involvement in European politics.

85. _____ Which of the following scholastic theologians first advanced the substitutionary theory of the atonement?

a. Anselm
b. Bonaventure
c. Peter Abélard
d. Peter Lombard
e. Thomas Aquinas

86. _____ Which of the following scholastic theologians challenged the Augustinian view of original sin and maintained that sinfulness is determined not by actions but by intentions?

    a. Anselm
    b. Bonaventure
    c. Peter Abélard
    d. Peter Lombard
    e. Thomas Aquinas

87. _____ Which of the following scholastic theologians authored the *Four Books of Sentences* and helped codify the list of the seven sacraments?

    a. Anselm
    b. Bonaventure
    c. Peter Abélard
    d. Peter Lombard
    e. Thomas Aquinas

88. _____ Which of the following scholastic theologians produced the classic interpretation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception?

    a. Anselm
    b. John Duns Scotus
    c. Peter Abélard
    d. Thomas Aquinas
    e. William of Ockham

89. _____ Which of the following scholastic theologians maintained that the existence of God can only be proven by a combination of faith and reason, and stressed the distinction between the natural law and the divine law?

    a. Bonaventure
    b. John Duns Scotus
    c. Peter Lombard
    d. Thomas Aquinas
    e. William of Ockham

90. _____ Which of the following was not a major contributing factor to the Catholic Church's loss of vitality during the 14th and 15th centuries?

    a. The onset of the Black Death
    b. The growth of the Mongol Empire
    c. The birth of Renaissance humanism
    d. The increasing corruption of the high clergy
    e. The rise of the modern nation-state

91. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Western Schism began in 1309 with the relocation of the papacy from Rome to Avignon.

92. _____ Which of the following popes was considered the most wicked and corrupt of the Medieval Period?

a. Alexander V
b. Alexander VI
c. Benedict XIII
d. Clement V
e. Clement VII

93. _____ Which of the following female mystics helped convince Pope Gregory XI to return the papacy from Avignon to Rome?

a. Bridget of Sweden
b. Catherine of Siena
c. Hildegard of Bingen
d. Joan of Arc
e. Julian of Norwich

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding reform-minded figures.

94. _____ Florentine friar and preacher   a. Desiderius
who promoted strict moral reforms Erasmus

95. _____ Bohemian reformer who was burned   b. Girolamo
at the stake   Savonarola

96. _____ Advocate of the *Devotio Moderna*   c. Jan Hus
and author of *The Imitation of Christ*

97. _____ Humanist who was said to have "laid   d. John
the egg that hatched the Reformation"   Wycliffe

98. _____ Oversaw the production of the first   e. Thomas á
complete English translation of the Bible   Kempis

99. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The three core doctrines of the Protestant Reformation were justification by faith alone, the priesthood of all believers, and the ultimate authority of Scripture.

100. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Martin Luther is incorrect?

   a. He posted his Ninety-Five Theses in response to a controversy regarding the sale and purchase of indulgences.
   b. He advanced a theory of the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist that has come to be known as *consubstantiation*.
   c. He produced a German Bible, Mass, hymnal, baptism book, and catechism.
   d. His staunch opposition to indulgences, papal supremacy, and the Catholic view of the sacraments led to his martyrdom.
   e. His teachings were formally condemned by the imperial Diet in the Edict of Worms.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Lutheran statements of faith.

101. _____ Composed after Luther's death in an attempt   a. Augsburg
to reiterate basic Lutheran Confession
convictions and promote increased unity

102. _____ Authored by Philipp Melanchthon, it   b. Formula of
presented basic Protestant doctrines and detailed   Concord
elements of Catholic theology that the Lutherans rejected.

103. _____ Authored by Martin Luther and conceived as a   c. Schmalkaldic
systematic statement of Lutheran doctrine, but   Articles
denied formal approval by some Lutheran leaders

104. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the course
of Lutheranism following Luther's death is incorrect?

   a. Lutheranism enjoyed its greatest territorial gains in northern Germany and Scandinavia.
   b. Philipp Melanchthon was perceived as being more conciliatory toward both Catholics and Reformed Protestants than Luther had been.
   c. Under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, Catholicism and Lutheranism were to be tolerated, but other forms of Protestantism were outlawed.

    d. A number of documents representing the complete,
       normative statement of Lutheran doctrine were assembled
       as the Book of Concord.

    e. The Emperor Charles V ultimately defeated the Lutheran
       princes in the Schmalkaldic Wars.

105. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Huldrych Zwingli is incorrect?

    a. His program of reform tended to be somewhat less radical than Martin Luther's.
    b. He rose to prominence at Zürich.
    c. He produced a German translation of the Bible that was
       completed before Luther's version.
    d. He viewed the Eucharist as primarily a memorial of Jesus' death, and believed
       that Christ was not in any sense physically present in the bread and wine.
    e. He died in armed combat against Catholic forces.

106. _____ Which of the following Reformed leaders was notable for his efforts to
promote unity between Lutherans and Reformed Protestants?

    a. Theodore Beza
    b. Martin Bucer
    c. Heinrich Bullinger
    d. Guillaume Farel
    e. Johannes Oecolampadius

107. _____ Which of the following statements concerning John Calvin is incorrect?

    a. He believed that ecclesiastical leaders should be
       democratically elected by those whom they served.
    b. He codified his views on predestination and free will by
       creating the Five Points of Calvinism.
    c. He transformed the city of Geneva into a virtual theocracy
       under his leadership.
    d. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* was the first
       systematic theology written from a Protestant perspective.
    e. He held a view of the Eucharist that differed from the
       Catholic, Lutheran, and Zwinglian positions.

108. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

Jacob Arminius argued that God's election of individuals for salvation was
based on His divine foreknowledge of their eventual faith in Jesus, and thus
that free will played a determinative role in securing their eternal destiny.

109. _____ Which of the following doctrines does not correspond to one of the Five Articles of Remonstrance?

    a. Conditional Election
    b. Human Ability
    c. Irresistible Grace
    d. Universal Atonement
    e. Conditional Preservation

110. _____ Which of the following Reformed leaders was most responsible for firmly establishing and explicating the Presbyterian form of church government?

    a. Jacob Arminius
    b. Theodore Beza
    c. John Calvin
    d. John Knox
    e. Huldrych Zwingli

111. _____ Which of the following documents became the primary statement of faith for the English-speaking Reformed Churches?

    a. Belgic Confession
    b. Canons of the Synod of Dort
    c. Heidelberg Catechism
    d. Second Helvetic Confession
    e. Westminster Confession

112. _____ Which of the following groups was the first to practice adult baptism during the Reformation?

    a. The Amish
    b. The Hutterites
    c. The Mennonites
    d. The Swiss Brethren
    e. The Zwickau Prophets

113. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The earliest significant Anabaptist statement of faith was the Confession of Dordrecht.

114. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Anabaptists is incorrect?

    a. The Moravian Anabaptist community from which the Hutterites emerged was the first Anabaptist group to fully establish communal ownership of property.
    b. All Anabaptists were strict pacifists.

c. The early leaders of the Swiss Brethren were at one time disciples of Zwingli.

d. A number of prominent Anabaptist leaders were killed following their participation in the Martyrs' Synod.

e. Three key Anabaptist doctrines were the insistence on adult baptism, the full separation of church and state, and the public shunning of believers who had fallen into immorality.

115. _____ Which of the following individuals associated with the Radical Reformation was chiefly responsible for inciting the Peasants' War?

    a. George Blaurock
    b. Melchior Hoffman
    c. Balthasar Hubmaier
    d. Hans Hut
    e. Thomas Müntzer

116. _____ The Münster Rebellion was led by disciples of which of the following Radical Reformers?

    a. Andreas Carlstadt
    b. Melchior Hoffman
    c. Hans Hut
    d. Thomas Müntzer
    e. Nicholas Storch

117. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Mennonites is incorrect?

    a. The Dutch Mennonites set out their essential beliefs in the Schleitheim Confession.

    b. Though they are most often associated with Menno Simons, the Mennonites actually trace their origins to the leadership of Obbe Philips.

    c. The Amish broke from the main body of Mennonites as a result of a dispute concerning the practice of shunning lapsed members.

    d. The Mennonites eventually absorbed the remnants of the Swiss Brethren movement.

    e. The Dutch Mennonites were one of the earliest groups to practice ritual feet-washing.

118. _____ Which of the following individuals associated with the Rationalist wing of the Radical Reformation was executed for anti-Trinitarian views by order of John Calvin?

    a. Sebastian Castellio
    b. Bernardino Ochino
    c. Michael Servetus
    d. Faustus Socinus
    e. Juan de Valdés

119. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the English Reformation
is incorrect?

a. The English Reformation began with the commencement of Henry VIII's
"Great Matter" in 1527 and did not finally end until the passage of the Act
of Toleration in 1689.
b. Anglicans espoused a Presbyterian form of government, while Puritans
favored an Episcopal system.
c. Henry VIII's chief aim was not to convert England to Protestantism, but to
establish an English Catholic Church that was completely independent of
the pope.
d. English Protestants were more influenced by the Reformed tradition than
by Lutheranism.
e. An important precursor to the English Reformation was William Tyndale,
who produced the first printed English New Testament.

120. _____ Which of the following English monarchs was the strongest supporter of
Roman Catholicism?

a. Charles I
b. Edward VI
c. Elizabeth I
d. James I
e. Mary I

121. _____ Which of the following figures was chiefly responsible for producing the
Book of Common Prayer and the Forty-Two Articles, both of which helped
propel England toward Protestantism?

a. Thomas Cartwright
b. Thomas Cranmer
c. Thomas Cromwell
d. Thomas More
e. Thomas Wolsey

122. _____ Which of the following translations was the first English Bible to be translated
completely from the original languages, the first to divide chapters into
verses, and the first to include marginal commentary?

a. The Bishops' Bible
b. The Douay-Rheims Bible
c. The Geneva Bible
d. The Great Bible
e. The King James Version

123. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Elizabethan Settlement paved the way for the establishment of Anglicanism as a "middle way" between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

124. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the various Protestant Separatist movements is incorrect?

a. Those Separatists who insisted on the full autonomy of each local church were known as Congregationalists.
b. The Separatists were convinced that the church should be made up of only those who had made a personal commitment to Christ, and they therefore rejected the Anglican model of a national church.
c. The Quakers had no clergy, produced no formal statement of faith, and did not participate in the sacraments.
d. The Particular Baptists embraced both the Calvinist view of predestination and the Anabaptist insistence on adult baptism.
e. Radical Separatists led an unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament with gunpowder.

125. _____ The English Civil War was sparked by the anti-Puritan measures of which of the following monarchs?

a. Charles I
b. Charles II
c. James I
d. James II
e. William of Orange

126. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Spanish Inquisition largely targeted Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity who had secretly continued practicing their former faiths.

127. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Jesuits is incorrect?

a. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, authored the *Spiritual Exercises* that were used by the Jesuits to instruct others in the Christian faith, and served as the first general of the order.
b. The Jesuits, unlike many other monastic orders, were organized along military lines and owned no permanent property.
c. The Jesuits were viewed with suspicion and fear by fellow Catholics because of their lack of loyalty to the pope.
d. The Dutch Jesuit Peter Canisius served as an agent of the Catholic Reformation in Germany and Austria and authored an important Catholic catechism.
e. The Jesuits gained great renown for their efforts in the areas of education and evangelization.

128. _____ Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross founded which of the following monastic orders during the Catholic Reformation?

    a. The Barnabites
    b. The Capuchins
    c. The Discalced Carmelites
    d. The Theatines
    e. The Trappists

129. _____ Which of the following Catholic mystics is viewed as the founder of Quietism?

    a. Pierre de Bérulle
    b. François Fénelon
    c. Luis de Molina
    d. Miguel de Molinos
    e. Juan de Yepes

130. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Council of Trent is incorrect?

    a. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the legitimacy of all seven Catholic sacraments.
    b. In order to instruct the laity in the essentials of the Catholic faith as set out by the Council of Trent, the Church issued the Tridentine Catechism.
    c. The Council of Trent was convened by Pope Paul III, who presided over all its sessions.
    d. The Council of Trent denounced or undermined all of the central tenets of Protestantism.
    e. The Council of Trent took important steps to address moral corruption and improve the quality of leadership within the Catholic Church.

131. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the Catholic Reformation in France is incorrect?

    a. Among those French figures who authored enduring spiritual classics during this period were Francis de Sales, Brother Lawrence, Blaise Pascal, and Madame Guyon.
    b. The French school of spirituality stressed meditation on and identification with Jesus and the veneration of Mary.
    c. The Jansenists sought to restore a strict Augustinian view of original sin and predestination.
    d. The most important monastic order to originate in France during the Catholic Reformation was that of the Lazarists.
    e. The Catholic Reformation blossomed later in France than in Spain and Italy.

132. _____ Which of the following was not among the significant effects of the Peace of Westphalia, which brought an end to the Thirty Years' War?

   a. The establishment of enduring territorial and religious boundaries in Europe
   b. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire
   c. The reestablishment of the terms of the Peace of Augsburg and the granting to Reformed Protestants of the same privileges enjoyed by Catholics and Lutherans
   d. The curtailment of Catholic missionary activity in Protestant lands
   e. The granting of independence to Switzerland and the Netherlands

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding Eastern Orthodox and Russian Orthodox figures.

133. _____ Patriarch of Moscow who promoted sweeping ecclesiastical reforms and was eventually deposed at the insistence of his enemies   a. Cyril Lucaris

134. _____ Metropolitan of Kiev who produced a seminal Orthodox catechism   b. Nikon

135. _____ Reform-minded patriarch of Constantinople who was suspected of having Protestant sympathies   c. Peter Mogila

136. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Eastern Christianity during the 16th and 17th centuries is incorrect?

   a. The Synod of Jerusalem produced an important articulation of the essentials of the Eastern Orthodox faith as they differed from the claims of both Catholics and Protestants.
   b. The Russian archbishop Macarius was instrumental in achieving the creation of the patriarchate of Moscow.
   c. The patriarchate of Moscow was temporarily abolished at the command of Tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible."
   d. Those Russian Orthodox Christians who rebelled against the reforms introduced by Nikon were known as the Old Believers.
   e. One of the earliest notable groups of Eastern Christians to reestablish ties with the Catholic Church was the Maronites.

137. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the progress of Catholic Christianity in Africa and Asia is incorrect?

   a. The introduction of Christianity to Sub-Saharan Africa and South and East Asia was made possible by Bartolomeu Dias' discovery of the sea route from Portugal to India.

b. Matteo Ricci won many converts in China by presenting Christianity in a way that did not require the Chinese to forsake certain cultural practices that were associated with Confucianism.

c. Converts to Catholicism in India came mostly from the higher, more educated castes.

d. The only Southeast Asian nation in which a majority of the population accepted Christianity was the Philippines.

e. Francis Xavier first developed his theory of missionary contextualization while ministering in Japan.

138. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the progress of Catholic Christianity in the Americas is incorrect?

a. Spanish Catholics established a number of missions throughout the Americas to aid in the evangelization of the Native Americans populations on the frontiers of colonial expansion.

b. Bartolomé de Las Casas lobbied to secure the rights of the Native American populations, while Pedro Claver labored on behalf of the African slaves.

c. The quality of Christianity in the Portuguese colony of Brazil was relatively poor in comparison with the Catholicism of the Spanish territories.

d. The conquests of the major Native American civilizations by the Spanish *conquistadores* were followed by mass conversions to Christianity.

e. The expansion of Catholicism in the Americas was directly overseen from Rome by the popes.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding early American Protestant figures.

139. _____ Quaker who founded a colony that was eventually settled by Muhlenberg many Quakers and Anabaptists

a. Henry Melchior

140. _____ Protestant nonconformist who founded a colony that offered complete religious toleration

b. Roger Williams

141. _____ Anglican minister who founded the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

c. Thomas Bray

142. _____ Pioneer organizer of the Lutheran Church in America

d. William Penn

143. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Enlightenment philosophy
        is incorrect?

    a. Rationalists such as Descartes claimed that human reason was the source
        of all knowledge, thereby denying the validity of the supernatural claims
        of Christianity.

    b. Empiricists such as John Locke asserted that all knowledge was gained
        through sensory experience, thus scorning the Christian practice of
        exercising faith in an unseen God.

    c. The Enlightenment was followed by the era of romanticism, which placed
        a greater emphasis on intuition and imagination than on reason.

    d. The German philosophers Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, and Nietzsche were
        all vocal opponents of Christianity.

    e. The philosophy of Immanuel Kant served to unite ethical behavior with
        biblical theology.

144. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Enlightenment science is incorrect?

    a. The key contention of Enlightenment science was that the universe
        operated in an orderly and consistent way in accordance with a set of
        fundamental principles.

    b. The heliocentric theory of the solar system propounded by Copernicus
        and Galileo was condemned by the Catholic Church as heretical and
        contradictory to Scripture.

    c. Isaac Newton maintained that belief in the principles of the physical world
        was incompatible with the Christian faith.

    d. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution through natural selection was viewed
        by Christians as a direct assault on the credibility of the biblical creation
        narratives.

    e. In spite of the church's protests, subsequent experimental inquiry largely
        confirmed the views of Enlightenment science, leading many to question
        the Christian faith.

145. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Enlightenment politics is
        incorrect?

    a. The gradual de-emphasis of centralized political authority during the
        Enlightenment was accompanied by a devaluation of the authority of
        Christianity.

    b. Jean-Jacques Rousseau insisted that government should be based on the
        collective will of the people, and argued that humanity is good in its
        essential nature.

c. Karl Marx claimed that religion was merely an illusion that humans employed to gain temporary comfort until they could achieve true happiness by establishing a just society.

d. Thomas Paine, a key figure in the emergence of American democracy, was a staunch supporter of Christian doctrine.

e. Thomas Hobbes maintained that the political sovereign had the right to exercise full control over all matters of faith and doctrine.

146. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

Deism is a religious philosophy that is characterized by a rejection of the supernatural and a belief in a rational creator who established the physical and moral laws of the universe but does not interfere in human affairs.

147. _____ Which of the following Protestant figures introduced the notion that the true basis of Christian faith is a universal, internal religious experience?

a. Albrecht Ritschl
b. Hermann Samuel Reimarus
c. Christian Hermann Weisse
d. Friedrich Schleiermacher
e. Ferdinand Christian Baur

148. _____ Which of the following Protestant figures is regarded as the initiator of the "quest for the historical Jesus"?

a. Friedrich Schleiermacher
b. Ernst Troeltsch
c. Hermann Samuel Reimarus
d. Julius Wellhausen
e. David Strauss

149. _____ Which of the following Protestant figures stressed the importance of an activist, socially aware approach to the Christian life?

a. Søren Kierkegaard
b. Albrecht Ritschl
c. Julius Wellhausen
d. David Strauss
e. Adolf von Harnack

150. _____ Which of the following Protestant figures popularized the concept of the "leap of faith"?

a. Ernst Troeltsch
b. Friedrich Schleiermacher

c. Adolf von Harnack
d. Ferdinand Christian Baur
e. Søren Kierkegaard

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding evangelical Protestant figures.

151. _____ English preacher who founded
the Methodist movement

a. Francis Asbury

152. _____ British Baptist pastor who preached in
London during the Third Great Awakening

b. Jonathan
Edwards

153. _____ Calvinist preacher who sparked a revival
in Massachusetts during the First Great Awakening

c. Charles Finney

154. _____ The outstanding organizer of
Methodism in the United States

d. Dwight L. Moody

155. _____ English revivalist who preached to
great crowds in America and was noted
for his dynamic speaking style

e. Philipp J. Spener

156. _____ American evangelist who conducted revivals
in New York during the Second Great Awakening

f. Charles Spurgeon

157. _____ American minister and publisher who gained
fame through his evangelistic tours of England

g. John Wesley

158. _____ German pastor who established
the core tenets of Pietism

h. George Whitefield

Match each of the following unorthodox movements with its founder or notable proponent.

159. _____ Christian Science   a. Hosea Ballou
160. _____ Jehovah's Witnesses   b. William Ellery Channing
161. _____ Mormons   c. Mary Baker Eddy
162. _____ Unitarians   d. Charles Taze Russell
163. _____ Universalists   e. Joseph Smith

Match the following Protestant missionaries with the areas that they evangelized.

164. _____ William Carey   a. Africa
165. _____ Adoniram Judson   b. Australia/New Zealand
166. _____ David Livingstone   c. Burma
167. _____ Samuel Marsden   d. China
168. _____ J. Hudson Taylor   e. India

169. _____ Which of the following was not a significant challenge faced by Roman
            Catholicism in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries?

    a. The declining political fortunes of Spain and Portugal
    b. The French Revolution and its aftermath
    c. The rise of Enlightenment secularism and nationalism
    d. The suppression of the Jesuits
    e. The progressive weakening of papal authority

170. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

    The doctrine of papal infallibility was formally established by the First Vatican
    Council and was first applied to Pope Pius IX.

171. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Catholicism in the 18th and
            19th centuries is incorrect?

    a. One of the most staunchly loyal body of Roman Catholics was found in
       French Canada.
    b. British Catholicism was bolstered by defections from among the members
       of the Anglican Oxford movement.
    c. Latin American Catholicism experienced tremendous revival following the
       wave of revolutions against Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule.
    d. Daniel O'Connell was the chief leader in the fight for Catholic Emancipation
       in Ireland.
    e. John Carroll was the first Catholic bishop in the United States.

172. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Orthodoxy in the 18th and
            19th centuries is incorrect?

    a. Nicodemus the Hagiorite aided in the compilation of the *Philokalia*, a
       collection of Eastern devotional and Hesychastic writings.
    b. The patriarchate of Moscow, which had been left vacant since the time
       of Peter the Great, was revived during the spiritual renewal under Tsar
       Alexander I.
    c. Orthodox Christianity first gained a substantial foothold in North America
       through the missionary efforts of Ivan Veniaminov in Alaska.

d. The 19th century witnessed the establishment of a number of new autocephalous Orthodox Churches as the nations of the Balkan Peninsula won political independence from the Ottoman Empire.

e. The startsy were Russian Orthodox spiritual leaders who were considered to have unusual charismatic gifts.

Unit Six: The 20th Century and Beyond (c. 1900–present)

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding 20th-century liberal/neo-orthodox Protestant figures.

173. _____ Discredited the 19th-century "quest for the historical Jesus" and emphasized the eschatological aspect of Jesus' message

a. Karl Barth

174. _____ Old Testament scholar who practiced the traditional-critical form of interpretation

b. Dietrich Bonhoeffer

175. _____ Existentialist theologian who sought to reconcile faith and culture

c. Rudolf Bultmann

176. _____ Leader of the Confessing Church in Germany who was martyred by the Nazis

d. Reinhold Niebuhr

177. _____ Proponent of form criticism and of the "demythologizing" of the Gospel message

e. Gerhard von Rad

178. _____ American theologian who promoted political and social ethics

f. Albert Schweitzer

179. _____ Emphasized God's transcendence and contributed to the emergence of neo-orthodoxy

g. Paul Tillich

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding 20th-century conservative Protestant figures.

180. _____ Key figure in the popularization of dispensationalism

a. Jerry Falwell

181. _____ Princeton theologian who opposed the rise of liberalism within the Presbyterian Church in the United States

b. Billy Graham

182. _____ Founder of the Moral Majority, a   c. C. S. Lewis
            conservative Christian political lobby

183. _____ Baptist evangelist who ministered to many   d. J. Gresham
            through large-scale Machen evangelistic crusades

184. _____ Conservative Anglican author who   e. Harold Ockenga
            produced widely read works of
            Christian fiction and apologetics

185. _____ Early Evangelical leader who served as the   f. Francis Schaeffer
            first president of both the National Association
            of Evangelicals and Fuller Theological Seminary

186. _____ Presbyterian theologian who practiced relational   g. Cyrus Scofield
            apologetics, urged Christian political involvement,
            and founded the L'Abri communities

187. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the origins of Pentecostalism
            is incorrect?

   a. G. B. Cashwell carried Pentecostal doctrine to many of the existing
       Holiness denominations.
   b. The chief leader of the Azusa Street revival was William J. Seymour.
   c. Glossolalia appears to have occurred among Holiness believers in limited
       instances prior to 1900.
   d. Pentecostalism remained an exclusively American phenomenon for several
       decades following the Azusa Street revival.
   e. Charles F. Parham was the first to advance the doctrine that speaking in
       tongues constituted the normative initial evidence of Spirit baptism.

188. _____ Which of the following statements concerning Pentecostal denominations
            is incorrect?

   a. The Church of God in Christ is the most prominent African-American
       Pentecostal denomination.
   b. The Assemblies of God is an example of a "two-stage" or "Baptistic"
       Pentecostal denomination.
   c. The first Holiness denomination to accept Pentecostal doctrine was the
       Church of the Nazarene.
   d. The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel was founded by the
       prominent female evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson.
   e. The United Pentecostal Church is a Oneness Pentecostal denomination.

189. ____ T ____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The central tenet of the Latter Rain movement is that God desires to bless every believer with physical health and financial prosperity, and that Christians may receive these and other blessings freely by making positive, verbal confessions of faith.

190. ____ Which of the following individuals was an important catalyst of the Charismatic movement?

a. Oral Roberts
b. Dennis Bennett
c. John Wimber
d. Kenneth Hagin
e. William Durham

191. ____ Which of the following 20th-century popes concluded the Lateran Treaties, thereby securing temporal power for the papacy and establishing Catholicism as the state-sponsored religion of Italy?

a. Pius X
b. Benedict XV
c. Pius XI
d. Pius XII
e. Paul VI

192. ____ Which of the following was not a major outcome of the Second Vatican Council?

a. The initiation of substantial changes to the Catholic liturgy
b. The promotion of dialogue with non-Catholic believers and non-Christians
c. The explicit recognition of human religious freedom
d. The revocation of the doctrine of papal infallibility
e. The tacit renouncement of the Catholic Church's historical claim to be the exclusive body of Christ

193. ____ Which of the following statements concerning 20th-century Catholic theology is incorrect?

a. Henri de Lubac was an early proponent of the doctrine that God's grace is always present and active within humanity, and favored a return to the writings of the Church Fathers as a source for Catholic theology.
b. Liberation theology, which stressed the concern of God for the poor and marginalized, was developed by Latin American theologians and firmly embraced by the Catholic hierarchy.

c. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was a highly controversial figure who espoused a complex system of evolutionary theology.

d. The Neo-Thomists sought to resurrect the theology of Thomas Aquinas and apply its insights to contemporary problems.

e. Karl Rahner favored engagement with the ideas of modernity, and combined elements of scholastic theology with the philosophical insights of Kant and the existentialists.
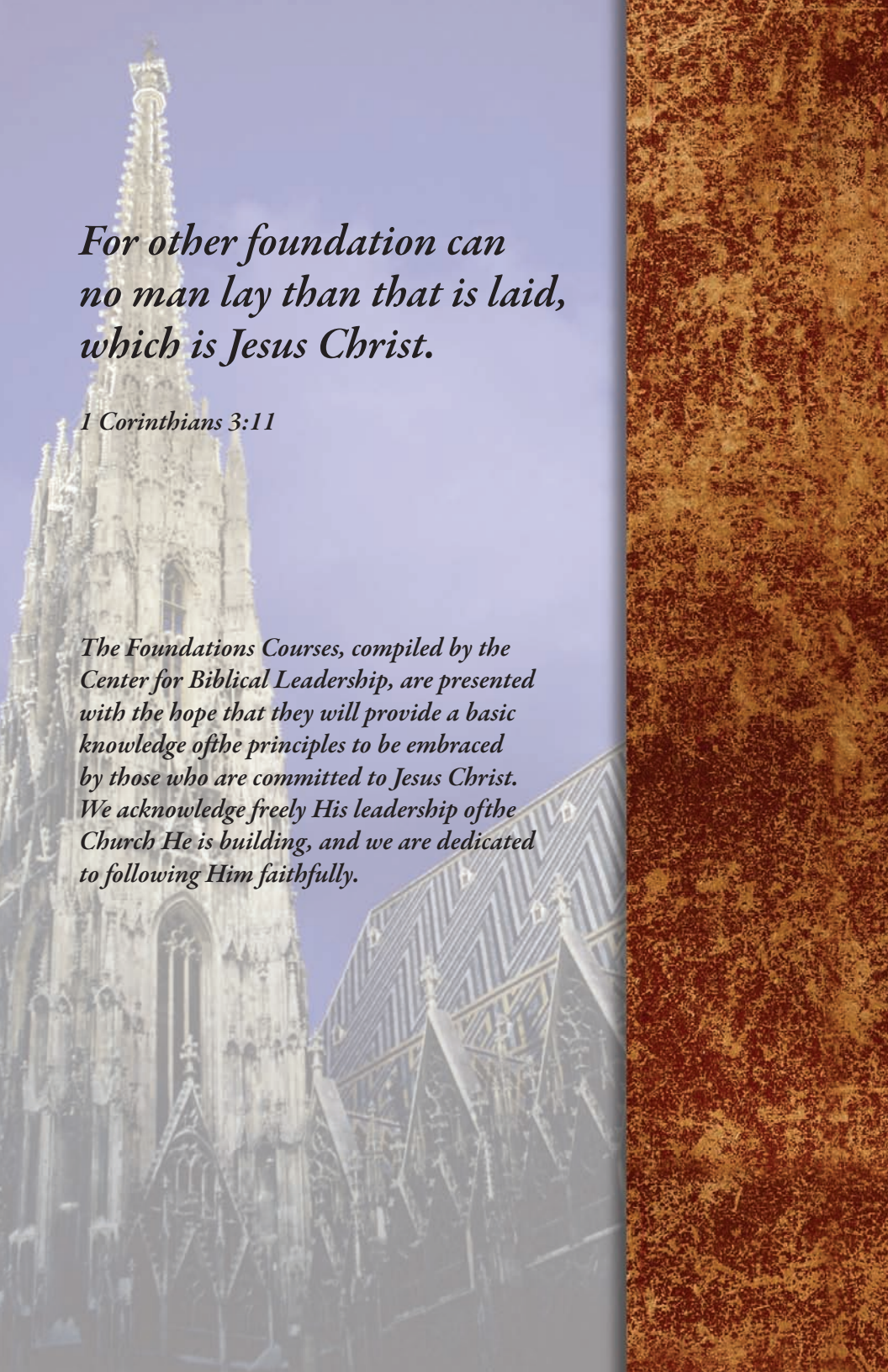
194. _____ T _____ F   Is the following statement true or false?

The Russian Orthodox clergyman Tikhon served as both bishop of the Church's American diocese and as patriarch of Moscow.

Match the following descriptions with the corresponding 20th-century missionary figures.

195. _____ Founder of the Summer Institute of   a. Donald McGavran
Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators

196. _____ Key figure in the development   b. Mother Teresa
of interdenominational missions
and the Ecumenical movement

197. _____ Missionary leader who examined social   c. John R. Mott
and class barriers to Christian conversion

198. _____ Founder of the Missionaries of   d. Cameron Townsend
Charity, an organization devoted
to caring for the sick and the poor

199. _____ Which of the following statements concerning current Christian demographics is incorrect?

a. The Roman Catholic Church constitutes the largest organized body of any world religion.

b. There are currently 15 autocephalous national churches within Eastern Orthodoxy, the largest of which is the Russian Orthodox Church.

c. Christians currently constitute approximately one-half of the world's population.

d. The largest Pentecostal organization is the Assemblies of God.

e. Protestantism, taken as a whole, is the majority religion of the United States.

200. _____ Which of the following statements concerning the current state of Christianity is incorrect?

    a. Among the most critical challenges facing the contemporary church are internal fragmentation, societal opposition, and spiritual decay.

    b. Pope Benedict XVI and Patriarch Bartholomew I have recently taken important strides toward promoting reconciliation between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

    c. Several mainline Protestant denominations have witnessed the emergence of conservative reform groups that are collectively referred to as the Confessing movement.

    d. Nations in which Christians continue to face persecution and repression include North Korea, Iran, and the Sudan.

    e. The rapid commoditization of the Gospel, the promotion of personality cults, and the prevalence of strident, judgmental political rhetoric are all characteristics of an emerging liberal Protestant subculture.

For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

1 Corinthians 3:11

The Foundations Courses, compiled by the Center for Biblical Leadership, are presented with the hope that they will provide a basic knowledge of the principles to be embraced by those who are committed to Jesus Christ. We acknowledge freely His leadership of the Church He is building, and we are dedicated to following Him faithfully.