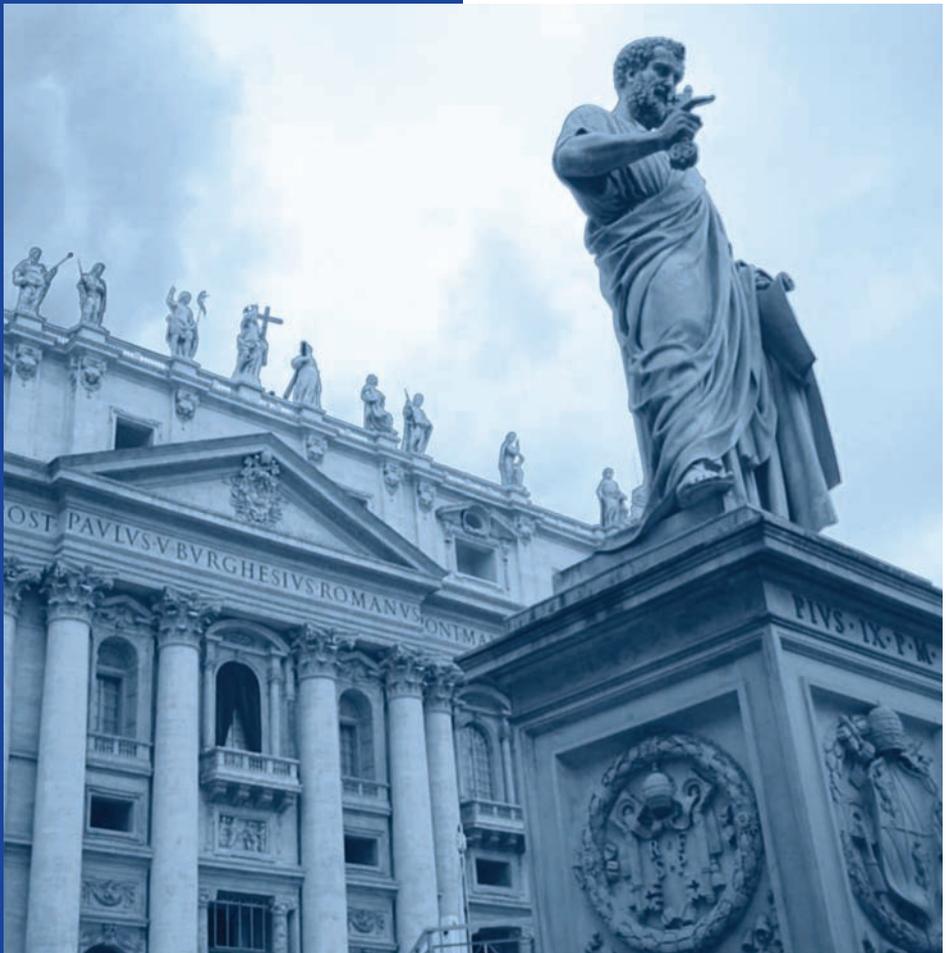


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UPON THIS ROCK: A HISTORY OF THE PAPACY FROM PETER TO JOHN PAUL II COURSE GUIDE



Professor Thomas F. Madden
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

**Upon This Rock:
A History of the Papacy
from Peter to John Paul II**

Professor Thomas F. Madden
Saint Louis University



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Upon This Rock:
A History of the Papacy
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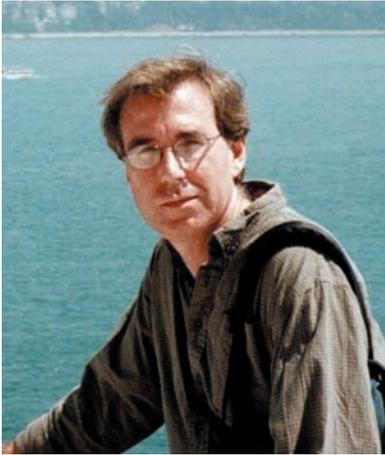
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Course Syllabus

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About Your Professor

Thomas F. Madden

Thomas F. Madden is a professor of medieval history and chair of the Department of History at Saint Louis University. A recognized expert on the Crusades, he has appeared in forums such as National Public Radio and the *New York Times*. Professor Madden is the author of *The New Concise History of the Crusades* and *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*. He is coauthor with Donald E. Queller of *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* and the editor of *Crusades: The Illustrated History* and *The Crusades: Essential Readings*. Among his published journal articles are “The Enduring Myths of the Fourth Crusade,” “Father of the Bride: Fathers, Daughters, and Dowries in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Venice,” and “The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment.”

The titles listed below are suggested readings for this course.

Coppa, Frank J., ed. *The Great Popes Through History*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

Maxwell-Stuart, P.G. *Chronicle of the Popes: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Papacy over 2000 Years*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1997.

Schatz, Klaus. *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1996.



Introduction

In this compelling series of lectures, widely esteemed author and professor Thomas F. Madden illustrates how the papacy, the world's oldest institution, gave birth to the West. Since Jesus Christ instructed the foremost of his Apostles, Peter, that he would be the rock upon which Christ would build his church, the papacy has survived the rise and fall of empires while continuing to assert an undeniable influence on world events.

The men who have served as pope are a fascinating collection of larger-than-life personages who have touched millions of lives, changed the course of history, and even launched crusades that have altered the balance of global politics. With a learned approach and incisive analysis, Professor Madden not only provides a history of the papacy, but sheds light on the personalities of the popes and the flavor of their pontificates; and at the same time, Madden demonstrates how the papacy has survived the tumultuous cauldron of history and offers a studied commentary on the future of this resilient institution.

Lecture 1: The See of Peter

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is James T. Shotwell and Louis Loomis' (eds.) *The See of Peter*.

I. The papacy is the oldest institution in the world, surviving the rise and fall of empires, ideologies, and whole historical eras.

- A. By its tenacity, devotion, and steadfast guidance, the papacy gave birth to the West.
- B. The leader of the largest religious denomination in the world, the pope still plays an important role in the modern world.

II. Humble Beginnings in a Lowly Fisherman

- A. Simon, son of Jonah, along with his brother Andrew, worked the Sea of Galilee. He was the first of the Twelve Apostles to join with Jesus.

The picture of him from the New Testament is a man of great passion and devotion, with a streak of recklessness and impulsivity.

Simon was always the first to speak, to protest, to affirm, and even to deny Christ.

Jesus relied upon him, having earlier given him the nickname "Rock," which is "Kephas" in Aramaic and "Petros" in Greek.

- B. It is clear throughout the New Testament that Peter was considered the leader of the Twelve.

In all of the Gospels, his name leads all lists of the Twelve.

When an Apostle speaks for the Twelve, it is Peter who speaks.

Jesus himself frequently singles Peter out.

He is one of three Apostles present at the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden.

He is called by Christ to walk on the water.

Matt. 16:13–19: Now when Jesus came into the district of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" And they said, "Some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." He said to them, "But who do you say that I am?" Simon Peter replied, "You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God." And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven. And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

On the first day after his Resurrection, Jesus appears to Peter alone (Luke 24:34; 1 Corinthians 15:5).

After his Resurrection, Christ asks Peter thrice whether he loves him. He responds with commands to Peter, “Feed my lambs,” “Tend my sheep,” and “Feed my sheep.” He then foretells the manner of Peter’s martyrdom and concludes with the command to “Follow me” (John 21:15–19).

The Acts of the Apostles affirms that Peter remained the leader of the early Church.

It is Peter who presides over the Apostles during their meetings and continues to speak for them.

He alone gives speeches to the Jews and performs miraculous cures.

The leadership of Peter is further confirmed by the letters of St. Paul.

After his conversion, Paul went to Jerusalem specifically to see Peter, whom he stayed with for two weeks (Galatians 1:18).

Paul makes much of the fact that he dared to “oppose him (Peter) to his face” during a dispute (Galatians 2:11). The clear implication is that this was indeed daring, because he contradicted the leader of the Church with his own beliefs.

These types of arguments made clear the need for authoritative teachings that were true. For this, the authority of the Apostles, but particularly that of Peter, was important.

Loose collections of Christian communities would naturally lead to loose collections of diverse beliefs—only one of which could be true. In the East, Christians were therefore organized into larger communities with elders and an overseer, or bishop.

However, these arrangements were ad hoc, because everyone expected the coming of Christ to be very soon. Apostolic authority, therefore, was important to ensure the unity of Christ’s flock and its adherence to his truth in preparation for his coming.

The power of all bishops was traced through an Apostle.

According to long traditions, Peter served as the bishop of Antioch for some time.

He later traveled to Jerusalem to attend the council there (50–51 A.D.), which made a definitive decision regarding Gentile Christians (Acts 15:1–29).

There is no doubt that Peter eventually ended up in Rome, where he lived and preached for some time.

Little is known about this period. Clearly, Peter would have held a position of importance in Rome, as later tradition certainly attests.

It was in this capacity that he was later considered to be the first bishop of Rome—and thus the first pope.

He was martyred sometime in the 60s A.D. during a Neronian persecution. Tradition holds that he was crucified in or near the Vatican Circus.

Archaeology supports the fact that the earliest Christians commemorated this spot and associated it with Peter.

III. The Authority of Rome

- A. The continued problem of heresy made the organization of the Church under apostolic bishops a necessity. This was a permanent solution for a Church that would apparently be around for a long time.

Bishops commanded their communities, but had a hierarchy themselves, usually based on provincial administration.

- B. It was widely known in the early Church that Peter died in Rome and that he retained a special authority while he was there.

For example, in 116, Ignatius of Antioch wrote to the Christians in Rome, "I do not command you as Peter and Paul did."

- C. Alone among the various Christian communities, Rome was thought from a very early time to have a special authority over the entire Church.

The Church in Rome was, by comparison to other communities, well off. Romans frequently sent money and support to other struggling communities. The leaders also began the practice of sending letters of advice to other parts of the world.

- D. In the 90s A.D., Clement I, the bishop of Rome, wrote a letter of correction to the Christians of Corinth, who had accepted heretical beliefs and deposed their bishop and clergy.

- E. According to Irenaeus of Lyons and others, Clement was the third successor of Peter, after Linus and Anacletus.

Clement makes clear that the first bishops were chosen by the Apostles. "Similarly, our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be dissensions over the title of bishop. In their full foreknowledge of this, therefore, they proceeded to appoint the ministers I spoke of, and they went on to add an instruction that if these should fall asleep, other accredited persons should succeed them in their office. In view of this, we cannot think it right for these men now to be ejected from their ministry, when, after being commissioned by the Apostles (or other reputable persons at a later date) with the full consent of the Church, they have since been serving Christ's flock in a humble, peaceable and disinterested way, and earning everybody's approval over so long a period of time. It will undoubtedly be no light offense on our part, if we take their bishopric away from men who have been performing its duties with this impeccable devotion" (Epistle, sec. 44).

As the hub of the empire, Rome naturally attracted a large share of heresies. This made the role of a single bishop, descended from Peter, a necessity.

In the second century, Irenaeus of Lyons could write of "that great and illustrious church founded and organized at Rome by the two glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the faith declared to mankind and handed down to our own time through its bishops in their succession. For unto

this church, on account of its commanding position, every church, that is to say, the faithful from everywhere, must needs resort and in it the tradition that comes from the Apostles has been continuously preserved by those who are from everywhere” (Ad. Haer. III, 3).

According to Ireneaus, Peter and Paul established the church in Rome. “The blessed apostles then founded and reared up this church and afterwards committed unto Linus the office of the bishop” (Ibid., 1, 3).

F. This claim of ecumenical authority can best be seen when it is tested. Pope Victor I (189–198) took up the long-festering problem of Easter commemoration.

G. Many congregations in the province of Asia celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of Nisan, corresponding then to Passover. In Rome, Easter was celebrated on the Sunday following.

To ensure uniformity, Victor sent a letter to the bishop of Ephesus, telling him to convene a synod of his bishops to discern current practices. This was done and the report came back that they stood by their practice, which they claimed came from John himself.

Victor then wrote to the leading bishops throughout the empire, telling them to call together their subordinate bishops to discuss the matter and report back to him. He himself convened the Italian bishops. The reports were sent and affirmed that Sunday was the proper day.

Victor then wrote to the congregations in Asia, ordering them to switch to Sunday commemoration or be excommunicated.

Excommunication in this context means cut off from communion with Rome. The fact that this was a threat at all—and would continue to be one used by popes—suggests again the importance of the Roman See.

It is not clear just what happened next; however, the Asian churches did conform.

IV. By the third century, the papacy was universally recognized among Catholic Christians as the center, or hub, of the Church. The preeminence of the popes did not give them complete authority over all bishops, but it did set them apart, often acting as a court of appeals.

A. When Origen in Egypt was accused of heresy, he sent letters of appeal both to the local bishops and to the bishop of Rome.

B. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, referred to Rome as “the chair of Peter, the principal church, the very source of episcopal unity.”

V. The Papacy in an Age of Persecution

A. Roman persecutions against Christians were sporadic in the first two centuries, yet by the third century, they became much more common.

B. As the leaders of the Christians in Rome, many popes were arrested and executed.

Pope Callistus was killed, probably by a lynch mob, in 222.

In 235, imperial orders were given to arrest church leaders and send them to the grueling mines of Sardinia. Pope Pontian was sent there and subsequently died as a result of conditions.

Pope Fabian was arrested in 250 with the beginning of the Decian Persecution and died shortly thereafter in prison.

Shortly after Emperor Valerian ordered that Christians found worshipping or congregating in cemeteries should be summarily executed, Pope Sixtus II was arrested there and beheaded in 258.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Why might it be said that the papacy gave birth to the West?
2. How did the threat of excommunication underscore the importance of the Roman See?

Suggested Reading

Shotwell, James T., and Louis Loomis, eds. *The See of Peter*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991 (1927).

Other Books of Interest

Brent, Allen. *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension Before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Press, 1995.

Guarducci, Margherita. *The Tomb of St. Peter*. Trans. Joseph McLellan. New York: Hawthorn, 1960.

O'Conner, Daniel William. *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archaeological Evidence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Lecture 2: The Papacy During the Decline of the Roman Empire

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Jaroslav Pelikan's *The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church*.

I. By the end of the third century, the Roman Empire was wracked by civil war, urban unrest, and economic decline.

- A. Emperor Diocletian (284–305) instituted widespread reforms to restore the health of the empire. These included a vigorous, empire-wide persecution of Christianity that began in 298.
- B. Pope Marcellinus (296–304) was not martyred, yet after his death, no new pope was elected until after Diocletian's retirement, when the persecution had relaxed a bit under Maxentius.
- C. Persecutions invariably led to disagreements over the restoration of *lapsi*. Some of these apparently became so violent that Maxentius exiled Pope Eusebius in 310.

II. The Conversion of Constantine

- A. The persecution in Rome officially ended in 311, although it continued in the East.
- B. The Battle of Milvian Bridge occurred in October 312.

Constantine became the Western emperor and converted to Christianity.

Constantine believed that the God of the Christians had given him victory in order that he could end the persecutions and repair the Church.

- C. The conversion of the emperor changed the situation for the papacy immensely.

All confiscated property was returned.

The imperial palace on Lateran Hill was given to Pope Miltiades as the new home of the popes.

A magnificent basilica was built on the same hill, becoming the principal church of the bishop of Rome.

The Lateran Basilica remains today the episcopal church of the pope.

Constantine broke with Roman tradition by not placing himself into the hierarchy of the religion. Instead, he saw his role as complementary to that of the pope.

When Donatists in North Africa refused to accept Caecilian as bishop because one of the ordaining bishops was a former apostate, they appealed to Constantine. He referred the matter to Pope Miltiades, who heard the case and proclaimed Caecilian valid.

In order to deal with the Arian heresy in the East, Constantine convened the first ecumenical conference in Nicaea in 325. Yet he did not preside over it, nor did he take part in the deliberations.

Pope Sylvester I sent representatives to the conference, who signed the canons first of all bishops.

In this relationship is the seed of the West's unique separation of religious and secular authority.

III. Papal Authority in the Post-Constantinian Empire

- A. The Three Patriarchates—Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria—were codified by the Council of Nicaea.
- B. The increasingly developed organization of the Church, always along lines of Apostolic succession, had created overlapping levels of authority for the pope.

The pope was a bishop, metropolitan, primate, and patriarch.

As successor of Peter or patriarch of the capital, he also had authority over the whole Church.

- C. Papal authority, particularly as a court of final appeals, was severely tested by the Arian Controversy.

Arianism, which held that Christ was created by God, spread out of Egypt across the East, despite the decrees of Nicaea.

When the orthodox bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, was exiled to Gaul, other supporters of Nicaea began to flee to Rome and the West.

After the death of Constantine in 337, the matter became worse. Finally, the Arian leaders in Alexandria appealed to Pope Julius I to summon both sides of the dispute to Rome so that he could make a judgment.

The meeting was held in 340, yet the Arians decided not to attend. Julius ruled against them, saying that Athanasius should be restored to his see.

In his letter, Julius rebuked the leaders at Alexandria for failing to follow the ancient precedent of referring matters of dispute to Rome.

By imperial command, a new council was held in Sardica (Sofia) in 342.

The Arian bishops of the East attended, but when they saw Athanasius taking part, they withdrew. In their letter, they condemned the idea that Western bishops could nullify the decrees of Eastern bishops.

The council, however, condemned the Arians and insisted on the restoration of Athanasius. The report of the council was sent to the pope: "So it seems to us right and altogether fitting that the priests of the Lord from each and every province should report to their head, that is, to the See of Peter, the Apostle" (Hilary, *Fragmenta Historica*, II, 2–4).

After the Arian emperor Constantius II took sole control of the empire, he put pressure on Pope Liberius (352–366) to accept the excommunication of Athanasius. Liberius at first refused, but he was finally brought by force to the emperor's court at Milan and, when he still refused, was exiled.

At last he relented, accepting an Arian creed. He was returned to Rome, but found it difficult to exert authority.

Only after Constantius's death in 361 did he return to orthodoxy and began again working to win support in the East.

- D. Under Pope Damasus I (366–384), the problem of Arianism in the East would at last be resolved.

Damasus affirmed repeatedly that Rome was the Apostolic See, with which all other sees must be in communion.

In 378, the emperor decreed that Rome was the court of first and last appeals for Western bishops.

In 380, Emperor Theodosius decreed that Christianity in the form professed by St. Peter and his successor Pope Damasus was the state religion of Rome.

Under Damasus, the papal office was reorganized and centralized. Requests for judicial decisions from abroad became the norm, not the exception.

- E. Pope Innocent I (401–417): “It has been decreed by a divine, not a human, authority, that whatever action is taken in any of the provinces, however distant or remote, it should not be brought to a conclusion before it comes to the knowledge of this see, so that every decision may be affirmed by our authority.”

Christians in the West accepted this, yet those in the East viewed papal primacy as one of honor and, at times, a court of final appeal, but nothing more.

- F. Leo I (440–461) wrote extensively on the pope's role as the successor of St. Peter and his duty to safeguard the flock of Christ.

When the Monophysitism heresy spread across the East, Leo refused to accept it. He wrote a long letter, the Tome, which laid out the necessity of Christ's two natures.

In 449, Emperor Theodosius II called the Second Council of Ephesus, which endorsed Monophysitism. Leo refused to accept it, calling it a “robber council.”

The Council of Chalcedon (451) condemned Monophysitism, using the words of the Tome, saying that “Peter has spoken through Leo.”

- G. The Council of Chalcedon (451) sought to settle disputes between sees in the East by better defining their boundaries. Two new patriarchates were added, Jerusalem and Constantinople.

Although Pope Leo I confirmed the rest of the decrees of the council, he refused to accept that which afforded Constantinople patriarchal status second to Rome.

IV. The Pope and the City of Rome

- A. The conversion of Constantine dramatically changed the role of the pope in Rome.

With Constantine's departure to the East, more and more secular business began to come under the pope's control.

This began with charity, but soon expanded.

- B. Throughout the remainder of the empire's history, it was rare for an emperor to be in Rome.

As the leader of the Church, the pope's position with regard to city government continued to grow.

Popes built more and larger churches.

They were increasingly from the highest elites in Rome. The position itself now carried great prestige, authority, and access to wealth.

Uncertainty or instability in the office of the pope would result in civil unrest.

- C. When the election of Damasus in 366 was contested, he ordered the civil authorities to disburse his opponents.

Damasus was a man of fine tastes. He had a reputation for attending lavish banquets where he was a "tickler of matrons' ears."

His social position, along with his extraordinary hospitality for the poor, led many in the aristocracy to look again at Christianity and convert.

- D. By 400, it was no exaggeration to say that the pope was the ruler of the city of Rome. It had become his city.

- E. Leo I (440–461) brought this to its logical conclusion. In his writings, he viewed Rome as having been baptized by the blood of the martyrs Peter and Paul. Both became the special patrons of Rome. June 29, formerly the day dedicated to Romulus and Remus, became the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did the conversion of Emperor Constantine change the papacy?
2. How did the Arian Controversy change the papacy?

Suggested Reading

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church*. New York: HarperCollins, 1989.

Other Books of Interest

Curran, John R. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Frend, W.H. *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 2004.

Llewellyn, Peter. *Rome in the Dark Ages*. London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 1993.

Merdinger, Jane. *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Lecture 3: The Changing of the World

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is R.A. Markus' *Gregory the Great and His World*.

I. The empire that gave birth to Christianity was crumbling in the West. The pope was caught in the middle of the collapse.

A. Leo I was born into a world in which Rome fought for survival against competing German barbarian groups.

Rome was sacked in 410 A.D.

B. When Attila the Hun prepared to attack Rome in 452, Pope Leo personally traveled to Mantua to meet with him and persuade him to spare the city.

C. In 455, Leo confronted the Vandals, led by Gaiseric, who had invested the city. He convinced them to loot, but not destroy, the city.

II. In 476, the last emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed by his Gothic master.

A. Shortly thereafter, the Gothic leader Theodoric became the king of Italy, although he still claimed authority through the emperor in Constantinople.

B. Theodoric, an Arian, nevertheless tolerated Catholics, including the pope, who still largely administered Rome.

III. Although the popes looked to Constantinople for support, heresy in the East continued to make things difficult.

A. In 484, Patriarch Acacius and Emperor Zeno adopted a monophysite theology.

B. Pope Gelasius (492–496) refused to inform the emperor of his election, laying out instead his own responsibility to God for the souls of all, including the rulers of men.

Emperor Anastasius, who dabbled in several heresies, refused to submit to the pope: “You may thwart me, reverend sir, you may insult me: but you may not command me.”

C. With the death of Anastasius, the orthodox Justin I (518–527) came to the throne in Constantinople. The supporters of orthodoxy in the East rejoiced.

Pope Hormisdas (514–523) sent a statement of orthodox faith to Constantinople, and the emperor required all bishops to sign it.

The Formula of Hormisdas makes plain that, despite the turbulence of heresy in the East, orthodoxy continued to be preserved by the successors of Peter in Rome: “**The first means of safety is to guard the rule of**

strict faith and to deviate in no way from those things that have been laid down by the Fathers. And indeed the words of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church' cannot be disregarded; these things which were spoken are demonstrated by the results, for the Catholic religion has been preserved ever immaculate in the Apostolic See."

IV. Esteem for the popes as the protectors of orthodoxy, even amidst the chaos of the West, grew.

A. When Pope John I (523–526) visited Constantinople in 526, he was welcomed with unprecedented honors. The whole city came out to meet him on the road and the emperor prostrated himself before him.

On Easter, John was seated on the highest throne in Hagia Sophia, even above the patriarch of Constantinople. Mass was said according to the Latin Roman rite and the pope placed the Easter crown on the emperor's head.

B. However, the future would bring new heresies and disputes to the East, which would increasingly drive a wedge between the popes in Rome and the Christians of the East.

As the sixth century progressed, a fundamental breach occurred over the comparative roles of secular and religious authority.

In the East, the emperor had assumed an authority over that of the clergy.

In the West, as Pope Gelasius had articulated, it was the religious authority that should hold sway.

V. The Roman Reconquest of Rome

A. In 533 Belisarius, the Roman general under Justinian I, began a massive military campaign to reconquer the Western empire. In north Africa and southern Spain, he was successful.

B. The Gothic Wars would stretch on for decades, destroying Rome in the process.

Roman aristocratic families fled to Constantinople.

Eastern heresy infected politics in Rome under Byzantine control.

The popes looked to Constantinople and its capital in Italy, Ravenna, for support against new barbarians, the Lombards.

C. Rome, now prostrate, was a recipient of charity.

D. To many, including Pope Gregory I, the world seemed to be in its extreme old age, preparing for death.

VI. Gregory I ("the Great") (590–604)

A. The first of the medieval popes, his life and pontificate say much about the changing times.

B. He was born around 540 into an aristocratic family. After a superb education, he took a civil position, but at the age of thirty-five, he gave it up

and retreated to his family house, which became a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew.

In one form or another, Gregory would remain in this monastery his whole life.

C. Pope Benedict I (575–579) made him a deacon and gave him charge over the seventh district.

D. Later he was sent to Constantinople as an ambassador of the pope to seek support against the Lombards.

Constantinople was the seat of legitimate secular authority, yet Gregory could not accept the increasingly Greek nature of Roman culture.

E. After his election as pope, he remained a monk, bringing his monastery into the papal residence.

F. Gregory worked tirelessly to defend Rome, reform the Church, protect against heresy, and expand the faith. Hundreds of his letters still survive.

He reorganized the administration of the papacy's land holdings in Italy and abroad. The income from these holdings was used to feed the poor of Rome and provide for its defense.

He raised troops and commissioned public works.

With no support from Constantinople or Ravenna, he made agreements with the Lombards, for which he was criticized by the emperor.

Many of his letters regard pastoral care, something that he took a keen interest in.

G. Gregory was also eager to restore Christianity to England.

In 596, he sent a mission, led by one of his fellow monks, Augustine, to Kent to evangelize. It was remarkably successful.

New archbishoprics, such as those at Canterbury and York, received the pallium from Rome, forging a direct tie with the popes. This practice continued as Christianity spread in the north, always connected with the keybearer in Rome.

VII. The Last Vestiges of Empire

A. Throughout the seventh century, Rome remained part of the Roman Empire based in Constantinople.

As *pontifex maximus*, the pope was required to have his election confirmed by the emperor in Constantinople before he could assume office.

B. The Monophysite controversy continued to rage in the East, despite vigorous attempts by the emperors to stamp out the heresy.

These divisions weakened the empire, leaving it susceptible to outside invasions. For the first time, powerful non-Christians would invade and conquer the Christian Roman world.

The Persian Empire invaded, capturing the Holy Land and Syria and even besieging Constantinople. The war ended in 627.

Arab Muslims invaded in 637 and within a decade had captured Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Within a century all of North Africa and Spain was also lost.

Desperate for a solution to the division, Emperor Heraclius supported a compromise: monothelism—one will.

- C. Pope Honorius I (625–638) cautiously responded to a query on the matter, which the emperor and others took to mean that the pope had approved monothelism. The emperor imposed it by law.
- D. The Monothelite controversy wreaked havoc on a weakened Rome. Because subsequent popes refused to ratify it, the emperors used strong-arm tactics.

In the 640s, imperial troops ransacked papal property in Rome and destroyed the papal residence in Constantinople.

In 653, imperial troops arrested Pope Martin I (649–653) and sent him to Constantinople, where he was convicted of treason.

Persecutions and pressure continued until 680, when Emperor Constantine IV gave in, calling a council in Constantinople, to which Pope Agatho (678–681) sent delegates.

The canons of Chalcedon were again affirmed, monothelism condemned, and the age-old commitment to orthodoxy in Rome praised.

- E. By 700, the practical ties between the popes and Constantinople were extraordinarily thin.

Imperial confirmation of election was no longer necessary.

Byzantium's resources were sapped by matters in the East.

- F. The final break between papacy and empire arose from yet another Eastern heresy.

In 726, Emperor Leo III issued a decree against images. The iconoclastic controversy had begun.

Gregory II and his successor Gregory III (731–741) refused to accept it. Laymen should not meddle in ecclesiastical matters.

In 733, Leo ordered the confiscation of all papal properties in southern Italy and Sicily. In addition, he decreed that the patriarchal jurisdiction of the popes no longer extended to those regions or to Greece.

Although popes would continue to seek reconciliation, the papacy and empire would henceforth be separate.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was spelled out by the Formula of Hormisdas?
2. What do the life and pontificate of Gregory the Great say about the times in which he lived?

Suggested Reading

Markus, R.A. *Gregory the Great and His World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Other Books of Interest

Noble, Thomas F.X. *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Richards, Jeffrey. *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.

Straw, Carole. *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Lecture 4: Birth of the Medieval Papacy

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is J.M. Wallace-Hadrill's *The Frankish Church*.

I. The withdrawal of imperial attention to southern Italy and the East left the popes and the city of Rome with no protector.

- A. The Lombard armies continued to win victories, pressing in on Rome and Ravenna.
- B. The situation was desperate.

II. In order to survive, the popes began to shift their gaze from the Roman east, to the barbarian north. Almost a century of predominantly Greek popes gave way to popes from Latin Rome.

- A. In 750, Pepin the Short sent a delegate to Rome to discuss royal power.

Pope Zachary (741–752) affirmed that Pepin might depose the Merovingian king and be crowned himself.

This signified a change in the nature of Western kingship, one that would benefit the popes.

- B. In 751, Ravenna fell to the Lombards.
- C. Pope Stephen II (752–757) traveled to Frankland to meet with Pepin and seek his help.

He anointed Pepin and his family members.

For his part, Pepin led the papal horse as a groom.

- D. In 754, Pepin and his Frankish armies invaded Italy, crushing the Lombards.

The exarchate of Ravenna became the “Donation of Pepin.”

This formed a new “Patrimony of St. Peter,” or the Papal State, which would last for more than a millennium.

It was a recognition of a new reality, in which protection could be afforded only by feudal lands, not great empires. The bishop of Rome, like the bishops of other important towns, was also a feudal lord.

III. The Donation of Pepin created a new order in which the pope was not only the ruler of Rome, but of rich lands across central Italy.

- A. As such, the papal office was not simply one of prestige and spiritual authority, but of secular authority. As the highest office in the region, it was worth fighting for.
- B. It also cemented a relationship between the papacy and the Franks, who became the protectors of the popes.

IV. The “Donation of Constantine” was written sometime in the latter half of the eighth century.

- A. Although a forgery, it was probably meant to authenticate something that was believed to be true.
- B. Constantine bestows on Sylvester I the western half of the Roman Empire.

V. Charlemagne and the Papacy

- A. Charlemagne came to power in 771, Pope Hadrian I in 772. The former saw himself as a successor to the Romans, and the latter was in agreement.
- B. In 773, the Lombards besieged Rome. Charlemagne invaded, captured Pavia, and took the title “King of the Lombards.”
- C. Charlemagne spent Easter 774 in Rome, doing the pope great homage.
- D. Charlemagne concerned himself with the decline of Roman learning and culture in the West.

He was particularly concerned with ensuring uniformity in liturgy across Europe. Hadrian gave Roman liturgical books to him, which were used to bring this about.

- E. Leo III (795–816) was elected for his skill and sanctity, but Rome was entering a time when those were not as important as faction and family. In 799, while conducting a procession, he was attacked by a band of armed men from a rival faction who believed they had blinded him. He recovered and fled to Charlemagne’s court. He was restored to Rome.
- F. The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Romans took place in 800.

What did it mean?

It began the medieval concept of the Holy Roman Empire, in which the leader obtained his imperial title only through the pope.

VI. The popes remained influential and efficient as long as the Carolingian Empire remained vital. When it declined, so too did the papacy.

- A. Matters were made even worse by the new invasions that rocked Europe. In Rome, a Muslim force invaded the city in 846. Leo IV (847–855) expanded the fortifications of the city, creating the Leonine wall.
- B. By the late ninth century, the papacy was the plaything of competing Italian families. Many of the popes died violent deaths, victims of intrigue and infighting.

An example: Pope Stephen VI in 897 had his rival and predecessor, Pope Formosus, exhumed and dressed as pope. After a synod heard the charges against him, he was condemned, had two fingers removed, dressed as a layman, and thrown in the Tiber.

C. Similar problems beset other bishoprics across Europe. The papacy and the Church in the West were at a historical nadir.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Why did the popes begin to shift their gaze to the barbarian north?
2. What were Charlemagne's major concerns?

Suggested Reading

Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. *The Frankish Church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Other Books of Interest

Bullough, Donald A. *The Age of Charlemagne*. London: Bookthrift Co., 1980.

McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751–987*. London: Longman Publishing Group, 1983.

Partner, Peter. *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Lecture 5: The Reform Papacy of the Middle Ages

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Uta-Renate Blumenthal's *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*.

- I. The New Invasions and general decline in order in Europe led to confusion, laxity, and corruption in the Church.**
 - A. Concubinage and clerical marriage became commonplace.
 - B. The integration of church offices into the feudal system led directly to simony.
 - C. Monasteries became corporations rather than houses of prayer.
- II. Reform ideas took root and blossomed in the tenth century at Cluny.**
 - A. Monastic reform spread across Europe, acting as a conduit of reform ideas to the secular nobility.
 - B. Reforms included the restoration of papal authority and oversight in Europe and the removal of lay control over the appointment of ecclesiastical offices.
- III. The German Emperor Henry III sought to enact the first reform measure to purify the Church.**
 - A. In 1046, he deposed the three competing popes and appointed his own reform popes. With the support of the emperor, these non-Roman popes were able to enact reforms.
 - B. Reform popes brought to Rome reform-minded clerics from across Europe to staff church offices.
- IV. Leo IX (1049–1054) was the first effective reform pope. His pontificate marked a dramatic change from the recent past.**
 - A. Leo IX convened local synods across central Europe, rooting out simony and other abuses.
 - B. Research in the papal archives was undertaken to develop a codified code of law for the Church, based solidly on Scripture, the Church Fathers, papal decrees, and councils.
 - C. Opponents of reform—particularly those like bishops or the Roman aristocracy, who benefited from the corrupt system—were many.
- V. Henry died in 1056, leaving a regent government. This provided the opportunity for the well-established reformers in Rome to implement the second phase of reform.**
 - A. The Papal Election Decree of 1059 was issued.

As with other bishops, the bishop of Rome should be chosen by the leading clergy of his see without interference.

The cardinals should henceforth elect popes. Emperors and all other secular authorities must stay out.

With minor modifications, this is still the method used.

- B. The regent government confirmed the decree, but Henry IV would later disclaim it.

VI. Gregory VII (1073–1085) was the most dramatic personage of the reform papacy. So influential was he that the reform was subsequently referred to as Gregorian.

- A. *Dictatus Papae* (1075), although not a public document, laid out the reformers' understanding of the papacy.

Many were uncontroversial, even in the East:

“He himself may be judged by no one.”

“The pope should be referred the more important cases of every church.”

“The Roman church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity, the Scripture bearing witness.”

Others, however, were implied in the past, but never stated openly or attempted directly:

“He alone may use the imperial insignia.”

“It may be permitted to him to depose emperors, based on the deposition of the Merovingians.”

“He may absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men.”

- B. In 1075, in a synod in Rome, Gregory formally forbade lay investiture of clerical authority.

Henry IV assembled disgruntled German bishops at Worms in 1076 and wrote an extraordinary letter, claiming that Gregory was no pope, that he wielded religion as a tool of violence, and that he should step down.

Gregory's response was a letter to St. Peter. In it, he deposed Henry and absolved his subjects from oaths of fealty.

Thus began the Investiture Controversy.

- C. Canossa—1077:

Henry's empire began to fall apart. He was forced to travel to Canossa to beg forgiveness from the pope.

With tears and promises, he was given back his empire.

- D. In 1080, Henry again defied the pope, but this time the pope's response was not so effective.

The emperor made his own pope in Germany—something that would become a fixture during this period—and set about placing him on the throne of St. Peter.

In 1084, Henry captured Rome, causing Gregory to hole up in Castel Sant' Angelo. However, the Normans came to his rescue, sacking Rome in the process.

VII. Although Gregory died in exile, ultimately the reformers would win. The investiture controversy would elevate the popes to greater prominence and authority while politically shredding medieval Germany.

Even before the controversy formally ended with the Concordat of Worms in 1122, the papacy had the upper hand.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did monastic reform act as a conduit of reform ideas to the secular nobility?
2. What was specified in the *Dictatus Papae*?

Suggested Reading

Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

Other Books of Interest

Bolton, Brenda M. *Medieval Reformation*. London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1983.

Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Cowdrey, H.E.J. *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

———. *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–85*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Robinson, Ian S. *Henry IV of Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Lecture 6: The Papacy and the Byzantine East

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Joseph Gill's *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*.

I. The Roman Empire, which had incubated Christianity and the papacy, still existed in the East, although it was greatly diminished by Muslim conquests.

- A. The loss of the patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria meant that only two remained: Rome and Constantinople. What was left of the Christian world coalesced around those two poles.
- B. Initially after the separation of empire and papacy, relations between popes and the Eastern Christians followed a well-established pattern: Heresies would develop in the East, be embraced by patriarchs and emperors, be opposed by popes, and eventually be rejected in the East.

II. Iconoclasm

- A. The Muslim conquests of most of the Roman Empire in the East had profoundly shaken the Christian world.
Muslims frequently criticized Christians for falling away from Old Testament commandments, particularly regarding the use of graven images.
- B. In 726, Emperor Leo III decreed that religious images were to be destroyed. The military began the work at once. When the patriarch appealed to the pope, Leo removed him from office. The monasteries, which steadfastly resisted, were particularly hard hit.
Leo wrote to the pope, ordering him to convene a synod and ratify iconoclasm or he would come to Rome himself, destroy the statue of St. Peter, and arrest the pope.
Gregory II (713–731) refused the order. The emperor had no right to legislate religious doctrine, the pope said. He should cease his heresy. Gregory scoffed at the idea of the emperor coming to Rome.
Leo did send a fleet to Italy, but it was destroyed by storms.
- C. Gregory III (731–741) held a synod in which it was decreed that all those who destroyed sacred images were excommunicated.
Leo responded by confiscating all papal property in southern Italy and Sicily and removing Greece and Illyricum from papal jurisdiction.
- D. The controversy would continue in the East, sparking rebellion, riots, assassinations, and general unrest.
In 787, the Second Council of Nicaea condemned Iconoclasm, but by that time it was strong in the army.

More rebellions led to iconoclast emperors who ruled the Church in the East. The controversy continued until 842, when the Eastern churches finally returned to the Roman example.

III. Photian Schism

- A. Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople was deposed by Emperor Michael III in 858 and replaced with a layman, Photius.

After hearing both sides, Pope Nicholas I sided with Ignatius, ordering the emperor to restore him to his see and excommunicating Photius.

When the emperor protested, the pope responded that the East was hardly known for its doctrinal uniformity, having frequently lapsed into heresy and schism. He ridiculed the concept of a Roman emperor who could not even speak Latin and reminded him that the authority of the see of St. Peter existed before Constantinople was founded and would continue long after the emperors were gone.

- B. In 867, Photius excommunicated the pope on the basis of the insertion of the Filioque Clause in the Creed, which asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. This argument, that the pope was himself a heretic, would be used with increased regularity in the East.

- C. In 869, Emperor Basil the Macedonian deposed Photius and restored Ignatius, thus ending the schism.

After Ignatius's death in 877, Photius was canonically made patriarch, but only after confessing publicly that Rome was the first see of Christianity.

IV. Schism of 1054

- A. Leo IX sought closer ties with the emperor in Constantinople in order to defeat their common enemy, the Normans.

To reconcile differences between the two, he sent Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candide to Constantinople.

- B. Relations between Humbert and Patriarch Cerularius were bad from the start.

The patriarch refused to afford Humbert the honors of a papal legate and openly doubted his credentials.

When news arrived of the pope's death, Humbert's presence in Constantinople became irrelevant.

- C. Mutual excommunications were exchanged.

This, however, does not constitute the final schism between Catholic and Orthodox.

V. The Greek East was forced to engage more and more with a powerful papacy as their empire was shorn away by Muslim troops.

- A. The Crusades, which the popes called to aid the Byzantines, brought a familiarity that led to contempt.

In 1204, the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople, which brought the city directly under papal jurisdiction for the next fifty years.

- B. Even after the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261, they recognized that they could not survive without Western friendship and support.

At the Council of Lyons in 1274, the emperor and patriarch accepted the primacy of the pope as well as the filioque, thus ending the schism. The provisions of the council, though, were widely ignored.

At the Council of Florence-Ferrara in 1439, the emperor and patriarch again ended the schism, but again it was met with resistance back home.

- C. Communion with Rome was prompted by necessity, and so it did not last.

VI. After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, relations between Orthodox Christians and the papacy languished and declined.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was the main Muslim criticism of Christianity?
2. What were the implications of the Filioque Clause in the Creed?

Suggested Reading

Gill, Joseph. *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979.

Other Books of Interest

Dvornik, Francis. *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1979.

———. *The Photian Schism: History and Legend*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.

Hussey, J.M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Nichols, Aidan. *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1992.

Lecture 7: The Papal Monarchy

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Colin Morris' *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*.

I. German rulers continued to cling to a concept of Western Christendom ruled over by Holy Roman Emperors, in which the popes were shepherds of souls and servants of the emperor.

- A. In truth, it was the papacy that took on the role of leader of Christendom.
- B. The power and authority of the papacy in Europe was unprecedented since the days of the old empire. And it did it all without armies.

II. Even as the Investiture Controversy rumbled, the new role of the pope in Europe was plain even to outsiders.

When the Seljuk Turks conquered Asia Minor, leaving little more than Greece to the Byzantine East, Emperor Alexius I sent his envoys to the pope, not the emperor, to beg for aid.

At the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called the knights of Christendom to restore not only Asia Minor, but Jerusalem itself.

III. Although the Crusades were a response to outside events, they could not have happened without monastic reforms and a reinvigorated papacy.

- A. Urban II preached the First Crusade as an act of charity, mercy, and love. Because of its inherent difficulty, it was also a penance for sins.
- B. The astonishing victories of the First Crusade brought much of the old Christian East, including the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem, under Catholic control.
- C. Although Crusades were a tool in the popes' arsenal, they were not the same as having an actual army.
 - Crusaders signed on for their own spiritual reasons.
 - Calling a Crusade did not make it happen.
 - For the popes, controlling a Crusade was simply not possible.

IV. The success of reform meant that the Church at all levels was reconnected to Rome.

- A. Bishops and abbots, although elected locally, were required to obtain confirmation from the pope.
- B. Jurisdictional or property disputes, which were common, invariably ended up in Rome. Rome was also the font of privileges.
- C. All of this generated a great deal of work for the pope and his assistants.

A new and efficient organization was developed, modeled in part on secular courts. The papal Curia was born.

Thousands of letters from the papal Chancery survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, addressing every imaginable problem and confirming countless privileges.

- D. Ecclesiastical courts, with the papal Curia at their head, were busier and more sophisticated than secular courts.

Several attempts to codify Church law were made, but the greatest was Gratian's *Decretum* of 1140.

Canon lawyers, trained in universities, were a necessity.

- E. Papal legates, usually chosen among cardinals, were sent out to represent the pope.
- F. By the efforts of the popes, all roads once again led to Rome.

V. The Papal Monarchy and Secular Power

- A. The twelfth century brought a renaissance of scholarships in universities and elsewhere, examining all aspects of the faith and the Church.

Theologians and canon lawyers—the recognized experts of their day—generally held that although secular and ecclesiastical authority were separate, the latter was superior to the former.

- B. The Two Swords Theory:

The spiritual sword is wielded by the pope as the Vicar of Christ.

The temporal sword is wielded by the secular authority, to be used at the leave or command of the pope.

- C. The Two Lights Theory:

Secular authority draws its strength from spiritual authority, just as the moon draws its light from the sun.

- D. Of all secular powers, the German emperors remained the most resistant to this idea. They continued to rebel and have their own antipopes throughout much of the twelfth century.

In all cases they failed. In 1177, at the Peace of Venice, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa knelt before Pope Alexander III and kissed his feet.

VI. Innocent III (1198–1216)

- A. The pinnacle of the papal monarchy, Innocent and his Curia were active in a dizzying array of activities across Europe.

- B. Innocent and the Crusades

For Innocent, the success in the Crusades was a necessity. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 made clear that God was calling his people to reform.

The Fourth Crusade went hopelessly off course, capturing Constantinople in 1204.

Although Innocent condemned the Crusade, he nonetheless saw its outcome as divinely ordained.

The Albigensian Crusade was aimed at a powerful heresy in southern France.

The Fifth Crusade, carefully crafted by Innocent to be a papally run enterprise, would launch only after his death.

C. Innocent and Secular Rulers

He excommunicated King John of England in 1209 for refusing to accept the canonically elected archbishop of Canterbury.

John relented, giving over England to the pope and promising an annual payment of feudal dues.

He excommunicated King Philip II of France for refusing to take back his estranged wife, Ingeborg.

With regard to Italy, Innocent began a policy of avoiding encirclement.

After playing both sides of a contest for the German throne, he eventually accepted Frederick II, who was heir to the German Empire and the Norman kingdom of southern Italy, provided that he not inherit both.

Frederick became a papal ward.

D. Fourth Lateran Council (1215)

The culmination of the papal monarchy, the Fourth Lateran Council was attended by obedient patriarchs from the faraway East.

Reform measures included a yearly confession for all faithful, distinctive dress for clergy and Jews, and a new crusade to rescue Jerusalem.



Questions

1. What was the effect of monastic reforms on the primacy of Rome?
2. How did Innocent III view the loss of Jerusalem in 1187?

Suggested Reading

Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Other Books of Interest

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. Rev. ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

Moore, John C. *Pope Innocent III, 1160/61–1216: To Root Up and to Plant*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.

Robinson, Ian S. *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

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———. *Medieval Papalism: The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists*. New York: Hyperion Press, 1981.

Watt, John A. *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century*. London: Burns & Oates, 1966.

Lecture 8: Decline of Papal Authority in Europe

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Joseph Strayer's *Reign of Philip the Fair*.

I. By the close of the Fourth Lateran Council, the papacy had reached the zenith of its power, prestige, and authority. The popes were the leaders of the Christian world.

II. The Rise of Royal Power

A. In order to provide well-trained men for the Church, the popes had patronized the creation of universities. These institutions also began to produce well-educated men destined for secular governments.

The rise of efficient bureaucracies in royal courts provided a means of exerting royal power across kingdoms.

B. Frederick II was both Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Sicily, now a papal fief.

He skillfully played several popes, making wide-ranging promises to crusade and support papal rights, but in fact doing nothing of the sort.

In 1227, Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) excommunicated Frederick when he once again broke his promise to crusade.

Frederick crusaded anyway.

Emperor and pope fought bitterly over northern Italy.

Frederick called Gregory a heretic, a Pharisee, and an anti-Christ. Gregory returned the insults.

When Gregory died in 1241, the cardinals were imprisoned by Frederick and Senator Orsini, each of whom attempted to sway the election their way.

One cardinal died while imprisoned.

They elected Celestine IV, who died less than a month later. The cardinals scattered.

The new pope, Innocent IV (1243–1254), attempted to make peace with Frederick, but all attempts failed.

In 1245, he called an ecumenical council at Lyons, which condemned Frederick as a heretic and an enemy of the Church, confirming his excommunication and deposing him. A crusade was called against all enemies of Christ, including Frederick.

Innocent then set about creating a new order—a Europe without a Holy Roman Emperor.

Despite relentless warfare against papal lands, Frederick was unable to make headway. St. Louis IX steadfastly supported the pope.

Frederick died in 1250. Shortly thereafter, Gregory made a triumphal procession across southern Italy. Imperial power in Italy was broken. The German Empire was no longer the leading power in Europe.

- C. As the empire declined, the kingdoms of England and France rose. The popes sought and usually obtained good relations with these new powers, who were eager to have the support of the Holy See.

III. The Turning Point—Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303)

- A. After more than two years of deadlock, the cardinals elected an illiterate hermit as the new pope, Celestine V (1294).

After five months of incompetent government, he resigned the office. His advisor, Benedict Caetani, was elected and took the name Boniface VIII.

- B. Boniface reorganized canon law, more precisely defined papal authority vis-à-vis secular powers, and founded the University of Rome. In 1300, he declared the first Jubilee year, which brought thousands of pilgrims.

Boniface proceeded as other popes in the thirteenth century, yet the secular powers in England and France were in a position to defy him.

- C. When England and France went to war in 1294, both kings began illegally taxing their clergy to fund the war.

Boniface issued *Clericis laicos* in 1296, forbidding such taxation without papal permission.

In England, the problem was defused by the archbishop's order that the payment should be left to individual conscience.

In France, Philip IV allowed no such measure and indeed forbade the export of any funds outside of France, thus cutting off the papacy.

Over the following years, Boniface attempted various compromises with Philip, allowing him to get the money while preserving the rights of the Church.

In 1301, he wrote to Philip, warning him that he was acting in a sinful manner, although obviously because of bad advice. Philip ignored this.

The *Unam Sanctam* in 1302 laid out completely Philip's, and every other Christian's, duty to obey the pope in matters of sin. "It is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Philip was given a year to repent.

Philip called councils of French clergy, who condemned Boniface.

Troops entered Anagni in September 1303, just before the pope was to excommunicate Philip, and arrested the pope. He died shortly thereafter.

- D. Although armed with papal prerogatives, elaborate theological and philosophical justifications, and meticulously developed canon law, the popes were faced with the brute force of new and vital kingdoms.

IV. Pope Joan

- A. Anti-papal rhetoric was not uncommon in the thirteenth century.

- B. At some point in the mid- to late-thirteenth century, the story of Pope Joan was fabricated.

Initially placed in the twelfth century, later stories put her into the ninth century, usually in 854.

- C. Joan, a monk who was secretly a woman, was elected to the papacy. The “popess” was discovered during her procession because she gave birth.

A papal latrine was widely believed to be a seat of genital examination.

- D. The story was meant to be a farce, but it was later taken to be fact and used by those with axes to grind against the papacy.

The story was conclusively disproved by a Protestant scholar in the seventeenth century, yet it remains popular today among those with the same axe to grind.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was laid out in the *Unam Sanctam* in 1302?
2. What is the story of Pope Joan?

Suggested Reading

Strayer, Joseph. *Reign of Philip the Fair*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Other Books of Interest

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Lecture 9: The Avignon Papacy and the Great Schism

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is G. Mollat's *The Popes at Avignon*.

I. Although the authority and prestige of the papacy had taken a beating in the pontificate of Boniface VIII, it would decline even further in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

II. The Avignon Papacy (1305–1378)

A. The Conclave sought a candidate for the papacy who could make peace with the king of France, but still uphold the rights of the Church.

B. Clement V (1305–1314), a Frenchman, was crowned in Lyons.

Attempts at appeasing Philip, who was determined to blacken the memory of Boniface VIII and seize further Church property, failed.

Clement withdrew all bulls against Philip, commending him.

He ratified the king's arrest of the Knights Templar by suppressing the order in 1311.

Clement settled in Avignon to await an opportune time to sail to Rome. It never came.

C. The temporary relocation of the papacy became permanent.

As cardinals were added or replaced, the new men were usually French.

The increasingly complex bureaucracy found a congenial home away from the factions and mobs of Rome.

Although all popes claimed an intent to return to Rome, it did not happen.

D. Reforms in Papal Administration:

Suspecting that the popes were supporting the French, the English and some others cut off tithes to the papacy.

This created a need for new funds.

Bureaucracies sprang up to better minister to the faithful, but also to better extract funds from the Church.

More money meant increased abuses:

Pluralism and absenteeism

Simony

Vow commutations and penances

E. The Black Death and the Mongol invasions led to increased calls for a return to Rome and reform of the Church, which included the appearance of Spiritual Franciscans and Conciliarists.

St. Catherine of Siena wrote letters insisting that the popes return to their see.

F. The Return to Rome:

Much of the papacy's income was spent on mercenaries to hold on to the papal states in Italy. It was necessary that the pope return.

Urban V (1362–1370) returned in 1367, remaining for three years. Despite his best attempts, he could not remain. He returned in 1370, dying shortly afterward.

Gregory XI (1370–1378) delayed, but eventually returned to Rome in 1377. He died shortly thereafter.

The Italians demanded an Italian pope.

Urban VI (1378–1389) was the Archbishop of Bari. It was believed that he was quiet and compliant. He was neither.

III. The Great Schism (1378–1415)

A. Urban VI turned out to be an ardent and impolitic reformer.

The cardinals fled Rome, proclaiming the earlier election void. They elected one of their own as "Clement VII."

Urban responded by appointing a new college of cardinals.

B. The spectacle of two popes, two colleges, and two Curiae excommunicating each other only further degraded the image of the popes.

Europe split along political lines, supporting one or the other pope.

C. Conciliarism seemed the only answer. Drawing from political thought, radical conciliarists saw all power residing in the Council, with the pope only a figurehead.

The Council of Pisa took place in 1409.

Both popes deposed. A new pope was elected: "Alexander V" (1409–1410), who was succeeded by "John XXIII" (1410–1415).

The Council ultimately failed, since neither pope recognized the authority of the Council and many did not believe a Council could call itself.

The Council of Constance took place from 1414 to 1418.

In 1415, Gregory XII offered to call the Council and then resign in return for the recognition of the Roman popes.

The Council then deposed "Benedict XIII" and "John XXIII."

The Council decreed that Councils must henceforth be called regularly.

D. The schism ended, but left a battered papacy. The requirement to call Councils was later ignored and then declared heretical.

IV. The days of papal monarchy were at an end.

Secular rulers controlled their states and usually their churches. Popes continued to speak to Christendom, but fewer listened. Increasingly, the popes were seen as Italian lords with their own agenda rather than leaders of the Christian world.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did the Black Death and Mongol invasions lead to increased calls for reform of the Church?
2. What led to the Great Schism?

Suggested Reading

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Other Books of Interest

Menache, Sophia. *Clement V*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Renouard, Yves. *The Avignon Papacy: 1305–1403*. North Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1970.

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Ullmann, Walter. *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History*. North Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1972.

Lecture 10: Renaissance and Reformation

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is R. Po-chia Hsia's *The World of Catholic Renewal: 1540–1770*.

I. Popes in the fifteenth century faced a Western world that was changing rapidly and a Rome that was in decay from a century of neglect.

II. The Papacy and the Renaissance

- A. In northern Italian cities, the Renaissance in literature, architecture, and art was in full flower.

Humanists turned scholarly attention to this world, rather than the next. Scientists explored the natural world.

In 1440, Lorenzo Valla demonstrated that the Donation of Constantine was a forgery.

The popes embraced and patronized the Renaissance, bringing it to its fullest expression.

- B. Nicholas V (1447–1455)

Nicholas V sent emissaries across Europe to gather manuscripts that became the foundation on which the Vatican Library was later started.

Major rebuilding and repair work occurred across Rome.

Nicholas V moved from the dilapidated St. John Lateran to the Vatican.

Jubilee Year 1450 saw tens of thousands of pilgrims.

Nicholas V worked to institute reform from the papal throne, rather than councils.

- C. Pius II (1458–1464) was himself a humanist and great patron of the arts.

- D. Sixtus IV (1471–1484) commissioned the Sistine Chapel and Julius II (1503–1513) brought Michelangelo to paint it.

Julius commissioned Raphael to adorn the Vatican apartments. Raphael created masterpieces like the *School of Athens* and the *Repulse of Attila*.

Julius laid the first stone for the planned rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica in 1506. It would be a very expensive and complicated project.

- E. Funding a Renaissance was not cheap. Papal funds were closely linked to the papal states, which required the popes to actively wage wars to defend them.

Office sales in the Curia became a common and effective means of raising funds.

To fund building projects, indulgence sales were authorized.

The culture of the Curia changed from spiritual to worldly.

III. The Papacy and the Turkish Threat

- A. The Turkish invasion of Europe was a source of constant concern to Christians and the popes.

Popes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued to call crusades to push back the advance, yet these either failed or were never launched.

Ironically, the rise of royal power in Europe made large-scale crusades less viable.

- B. Popes had insisted on Byzantine union as a prerequisite for aid.
- C. In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks. Pius II wrote "One of the two lights of Christendom has been extinguished."

Callistus III (1455–1458) called for a crusade, using all of his resources to bring it about. The Tiber was turned into a shipyard.

Pius II (1458–1464) continued this, funding a fleet of his own and joining the crusade himself.

Ship of Fools (1494), an allegorical poem by Sebastian Brant, spoke of four of the five patriarchates of Christendom that were lost: "But they have been forfeited and sacked/And soon the head will be attacked."

- D. The rise of royal power, decline of papal prestige, and weakening effects of conciliarism and other calls for reform meant that these crusades never went beyond words.

Leo X (1513–1521) focused much of his attention on the building of a massive crusade in the wake of Sultan Selim's conquest of Syria and Egypt.

So dire was the threat from outside that he failed to perceive the growing threat from within.

- E. Protestantism led to the loss of Europe's crusade energy, but the popes continued to press for crusades against the Turks.

In 1571, an alliance of the pope, Venice, and Spain led a fleet against the Turks at Lepanto. It was Christendom's first victory in centuries.

IV. Papacy and the Protestant Reformation

- A. Discontent with a worldly papacy and Curia that seemed more interested in its own wealth and position than in the Gospel continued to grow. Calls for reform, usually for a reforming council, were in the air.

- B. An Augustinian monk in Germany, Martin Luther, criticized the practice of indulgence sales and, later, the papacy itself.

His reforms included the concepts of justification by Faith and *Sola scriptura*.

- C. Leo X dismissed the controversy, consumed with the effort to defend against a Turkish invasion.

Only in 1520 did he condemn Luther as a heretic.

Luther burned the bull, declaring that one could only attain salvation by rejecting the pope and the papacy.

D. As Protestant ideas spread, the popes were powerless to stop them. They played the king of France, Francis I, off of the German emperor, Charles V, to better their position in northern Italy.

Exasperated, Charles's army moved south. The army, poorly paid and with a large Lutheran element, sacked Rome in 1527.

The destruction and desecration of the city was unparalleled.

E. Henry VIII sought a divorce from Catherine of Aragon.

Clement VII (1523–1534) was agreeable, but as a prisoner of Charles V, was unable to grant it.

Henry asserted his own supremacy, severing all ties between the Church in England and Rome.

V. The Catholic Reformation

A. Paul III (1534–1549)

Paul III was an unlikely candidate for reform. As cardinal, he built a magnificent palace in Rome and had a concubine with whom he had four children.

As pope, he made certain to place his sons well and introduced great splendor and entertainments in Rome.

But he was a devout reformer, having put aside his concubine and accepted ordination to the priesthood years earlier.

He brought together some of the best minds in the Church (none from the Curia) to produce a report on the state of Christianity.

Its report, issued in 1537, squarely blamed previous popes, the cardinals, and others for all that ailed the Church.

It particularly singled out indulgence and office sales.

New reform movements made their way to Rome. The most successful was Ignatius Loyola and his companions, whom Paul consecrated as the Society of Jesus in 1540.

Paul continued to press for a council on canonical terms, while continuing to rebuild Rome.

In 1547, he appointed Michelangelo as chief architect for St. Peter's. The artist worked on it the rest of his life as a gift to God and St. Peter.

After many years of wrangling, Paul III opened the Council of Trent in 1545:

Theology was debated and defined.

Seminaries were instituted.

A catechism was begun.

B. Catholic Reformation popes continued to work to weed out corruption, heresy, and confusion. All the while, they rebuilt Rome, turning it into a magnificent showplace.

By the time Trent ended in 1563, responsibility for reform had fallen to the papacy. Given the increasingly national character of churches, it was the only answer.

Once again, Rome was the font of reform.

This reform was not only internal, but also included measures to restore the lost portions of a united Christendom:

Missionary activities under the Jesuits.

Supporting and helping to fund religious wars.

C. In the end, the Catholic Reformation succeeded in much.

VI. Popes and the Wider World

A. The expansion of Europeans, mostly Catholics, into the world led to questions of jurisdiction and evangelization. The popes were the obvious people to oversee these questions.

Pope Alexander VI divided the outside world at the Cape Verde Islands between Spain and Portugal.

Both were charged with the care of the native peoples and their conversion to Christianity.

A new world was becoming Catholic.

B. The popes had long embraced and patronized the new science of astronomy.

Copernicus's treatise on a heliocentric universe was dedicated to Paul III.

Gregory XIII built the Vatican Observatory and brought the best scientists to staff it.

He issued a new calendar in 1582. Ten days from October were removed.

Protestant countries refused to accept it, declaring that it was a means of the Anti-Christ to avoid prophecy. England only accepted it in 1752.

By 1600, the popes had begun to accept the Protestant position that Copernicus was incompatible with biblical truths. There was also the problem that Copernicus's system was wrong and therefore could not predict planetary movement.

However, discussing and testing his ideas were acceptable in the abstract.

Galileo was patronized and lauded by the popes. Only when he became an advocate for the Copernican system did he run into trouble.

In 1632, he published dialogues in violation of papal orders.

He was arrested and forced to recant. His sin was disobedience.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did the papacy contribute to the Renaissance?
2. How did the papacy address the Turkish threat in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries?

Suggested Reading

Hsia, R. Po-chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal: 1540–1770*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Other Books of Interest

D'Amico, John F. *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Jedin, Hubert. *A History of the Council of Trent*. Two vols. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 2001.

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Partner, Peter. *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Thompson, John A.F. *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1980.

Lecture 11: The Papacy in the Age of Revolution

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Owen Chadwick's *The Popes and European Revolution*.

I. Papal authority continued to wane in light of the new, powerful European states.

- A. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1458 by the king of France decreed that the king had power to appoint virtually all ecclesiastical offices and that the pope was subject to councils. It also cut off most tithes to Rome and forbid appeals to the Curia.

The popes condemned this infringement, refusing to confirm offices, but it continued elsewhere as well.

- B. With the Concordat of 1516, the pope and king rejected the Pragmatic Sanction, but adopted rules that put the Church in France almost completely under royal control.

Bishops and other church officers were to be named by the pope only if the king failed to do so in a timely fashion or the person died while in the Curia.

Many funds were restored.

- C. In Spain and Austria, many of the same arrangements existed.

The Spanish Inquisition.

- D. The popes accepted what they could not resist, always seeking to avoid a direct break as had occurred in England.

- E. Each year the pope issued *In Coena Domini*, which, after 1568, condemned those who appealed to a council over the pope, who subjected clerics to secular courts, or those who banished clergy.

Catholic monarchs refused to allow it to be published in their countries.

- F. Although the popes continued to support wars against Protestant countries, rulers no longer saw things along confessional lines.

The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War, allowed the confessional lines to stand. The pope's condemnation of the Peace was ignored.

II. The Absolute Monarchies

- A. Absolutism, which relied on the divine right of kings, had no place for papal meddling in local Church affairs.

It was assumed that the College of Cardinals would reflect the wishes of various monarchs.

By the mid-seventeenth century, elections were under the watchful eyes of ambassadors.

B. Louis XIV of France:

In 1659, Louis XIV invaded Avignon, forcing the pope to accept it.

Louis XIV demanded that the pope appoint additional French cardinals, using physical intimidation.

Louis XIV continued to expand royal authority over vacant episcopates and benefices.

C. Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689):

Pope Innocent reformed papal finances, bringing solvency, and promoted worldwide missions.

Against Louis's wishes, Innocent promoted the crusade against the Turks.

Innocent criticized Louis for his persecution of Huguenots.

Innocent warned James II about his ham-handed methods to restore Catholicism to England.

In 1678, he insisted that Louis cease further incursions on Church rights, warning him of the wrath of God.

In 1682, the Declaration of the Clergy of France defined Gallicanism.

The declaration stated that the pope subordinate to councils and the king and that papal decrees were infallible only when confirmed by the bishops.

Innocent refused to confirm any bishops in France or to recognize a French ambassador, and also closed the French quarter in Rome.

III. Challenge of Jansenism

A. Cornelius Jansen's Augustinus represented a manifesto of a new strain of belief.

Jansen insisted on the indispensability of the Catholic hierarchy, papal authority, and sacraments.

Jansen followed more Calvinist beliefs on predestination and grace.

Jansen opposed the Jesuits, who seemed to be handing out the Eucharist and grace.

B. Popes condemned the belief, causing Jansenists to attempt to sidestep the condemnations.

In 1713, Clement XI issued a bull against Jansenism, which led to great turmoil among the most devout clergy in France.

The papacy had few friends left in France.

IV. The eighteenth century saw only further erosions of papal authority over the national Churches.

Benedict XIV (1740–1758), who was in many ways a man of the Enlightenment, attempted to manage the process through concordats.

These gained funds for the papacy, but continued to give away powers.

He spent energy focusing on pastoral care by bishops and preparing for the 1750 Jubilee.

V. The Papacy and Enlightenment Liberalism

- A. Although a philosophe like Voltaire might admire a Benedict XIV, he had no use for organized religion.

Religious toleration and reason ruled the day.

The papacy and the Church were frequently dismissed as superstition. States, set along rational principles, must rule, not clergy.

- B. The Jesuits were hated by Jansenists, liberals, and many rulers.

They represented an old order, still obedient to the pope. Their control over overseas colonies also represented a threat to absolutism.

In the 1760s, most Catholic states began to outlaw the Jesuits and send them to the Papal States.

Powerful rulers put heavy pressure on the popes. In 1770, Clement XIV (1769–74) stopped the annual reading of *In Coena Domini*.

In 1773, he suppressed the Jesuit order.

- C. Enlightened Despotism in Hapsburg Austria gave voice to criticisms from intellectuals in Catholic Europe.

Joseph II sought to purify the Church of superstitions, like relic veneration, devotion to the Sacred Heart, excessive rituals and processions, and wealthy monasteries with few monks.

He used the state in Austria and Milan to change things on his own.

At a Synod of Pistoia in 1786, under his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany, statues were outlawed, monasteries reduced, relics put away, the Stations of the Cross abolished, and the Mass reformed. The pope was dismissed as a tyrant.

A riot at Prato shattered the movement and the pope condemned it.

VI. The French Revolution

- A. Europe's first Liberal revolution brought only worse news for the popes. For all of their problems, the monarchs in France defended the Catholic faith.

- B. The Church in France was in sad shape.

There were wealthy monasteries with few members and aristocratic bishops with Deist tendencies.

Jansenism and Gallicanism led to widespread resentment of the papacy.

- C. The new Constituent Assembly needed cash to repay loans.

In 1789, they declared war on the Church. All property was confiscated, religious vows were outlawed, monasteries dissolved, and religious orders suppressed.

The greatness of medieval French Christianity was dismantled and sold.

D. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1790

Bishops and priests were part of the national government, elected locally and salaried.

Papal confirmation was no longer necessary. The bishop needed only to send a letter to Rome signifying unity of faith.

Civil marriage and divorce were adopted.

Pope Pius VI attempted to find a way to avoid schism, yet in the end was forced to condemn the Constitution in 1792.

A schism erupted, in which half of the French clergy and most bishops were part of an underground Church (refractory) that refused to take oaths to the Constitution.

Louis XVI and his family belonged to this, as did most in the country.

E. The French Revolution, enamored by its apparent success, gave full vent to Enlightenment rational ideas of state.

After declaring war on all of their neighbors, revolutionaries executed the king and outlawed the refractory clergy. Most bishops and many clergy left France.

In 1792, the Constitutional Church was abolished and the clergy were rounded up.

The Terror saw thousands go to the guillotine.

Churches were despoiled and Christianity abolished. The Cult of the Supreme Being was declared and Notre Dame became a Temple of Reason.

The Christian calendar was abolished, with Christian names removed.

F. The popes had no idea how to react. Although they rejected the revolution, they would not support states waging war against France in order to hold neutrality among Catholic states.

Lack of response was taken as weakness. General Napoleon Bonaparte invaded the Legations of Ravenna and Bologna.

In 1797, the pope was forced to accept the Peace of Tolentino. It included a payment of precious manuscripts and art works in the papal collections.

When a republic revolt broke out in Rome, the French arrested Pope Pius VI and kept him under arrest until he died in Valence in 1799.

His coffin bore the simple label: "Citizen Braschi, exercising the profession of Pontiff."

It seemed the papacy might be at an end.

G. Napoleon, however, had come to the conclusion that the Revolution could not be stabilized without peace with the Church.

In 1800, Napoleon said that he wanted to make a present to Pope Pius VII (1800–1823) of thirty million Frenchmen.

The Concordat of 1801 made peace between the pope and the First Consul.

Church property would remain in state hands, although churches would be made available for worship.

Clergy would remain on state salaries.

Most importantly, the pope was allowed to reconstitute the episcopacy and his right of confirmation was restored.

Napoleon subsequently hemmed in the concordat with Organic Articles that largely mirrored the Gallican Articles of 1682. The pope allowed it.

Napoleon got what he wanted. The Church in France praised him.

H. Napoleon was declared emperor in May 1804. He invited Pius to Paris to crown him.

Pius made his way across France, mobbed by the faithful.

The coronation in Notre Dame was meant to cement Napoleon's position, but it did much more for the pope's.

I. The building of Napoleon's empire put increased strain on relations with the pope. Everywhere he went the Church was forced into the French model.

Pius objected when Napoleon annexed the kingdom of Naples, which was a papal fief.

Napoleon responded that he would preserve and respect what was left of the Papal States, but only if the pope closed his ports to the "heretics" England and Russia.

Pius refused, insisting on neutrality. Closing ports was an act of war.

J. In 1808, French forces invaded Rome and arrested Pius. He refused to abdicate the throne of the States or be rescued by the British.

He was taken to Savona, where he was kept in poor conditions until he changed his mind. There he lived like a monk, refusing to name or confirm French bishops. Vacancies grew.

The pope held out, while Napoleon's power did not.

In poor health, he was brought to Fontainebleau, where he met Napoleon, who railed against him. This was 1813, after much of the French army lay dead in Russia.

Napoleon had already annexed Rome. He was determined to move the papacy to Paris.

K. But Napoleon was finished. Pius refused his attempts to salvage the situation. The pope returned to Rome in a triumphant march.

In 1814, Pius restored the Jesuits.

VII. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 and many thinkers in Europe approached the papacy in a different light.

- A. State control of the ancient Church brought Terror. The papacy must be secure and independent. Even England agreed that the Papal States must be restored.
- B. Royal authority is necessary for peace, yet that authority is itself based on the Church, and thereby the pope. Meddling with that leads to chaos. These ideas were sometimes referred to as Ultramontaniam.

The popes agreed. Liberalism and freedom may sound good in principle, but the separation of Church and state always led to the latter preying upon the former.
- C. The pope also emerged as the only great bishop in Western Christendom. All the rest were gone.
- D. A new alliance between Europe's monarchs and the papacy was forged, with a common desire to suppress liberalism and nationalism.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was put forth in *In Coena Domini*?
2. What were the beliefs of Jansenism?

Suggested Reading

Chadwick, Owen. *The Popes and European Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Other Books of Interest

Bangert, William V. *A History of the Society of Jesus*. Rev. ed. St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986.

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Hales, Edward Elton Young. *Revolution and Papacy, 1769–1846*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966.

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Lecture 12: The Confrontation with Nationalism and Modernity

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Owen Chadwick's *A History of the Popes 1830–1914*.

I. The restored papacy continued to ally with conservative monarchies against revolution in the decades after the Congress of Vienna.

- A. Nevertheless, there were Catholics in Rome and elsewhere who argued that liberty and the faith were not enemies, but allies.
- B. Yet how could the papacy remain a secular power in the face of growing nationalism?

II. Pius IX (1846–1878)

- A. Cardinal Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti was friendly to liberal politics and Italian nationalism.

- B. He began his pontificate by modernizing the Papal States.

Railroads were built. Gas lights were put into Rome.

Political reforms included the creation of a representative assembly made up of laymen to govern the States.

- C. His actions made him the toast of Protestant Europe and a celebrity among elites in New York.

The Italian nationalist leader Mazzini extolled Pius as the hope for a united Italy.

Crowds in Rome chanted "Viva Italia! Viva Pio Nono!"

- D. 1848: The Year of Revolutions

Pius was riding a tiger, fearful of how he could get off.

Italian nationalists in Rome were often led by Socialist ideas, seeking to create a completely secular government.

To appease them, he created a municipal government in Rome and a new constitution for the Papal States that allowed for vetoing of papal decisions.

With Austria experiencing its own revolution, Italian nationalists urged Pius to lead combined Italian armies against the Empire.

Pius jumped off the tiger and it consumed him.

He made a speech reminding the Italians that he was the pope of all Christendom. He could not wage war against a Catholic state.

Radicals in Rome began to move against him. The prime minister was assassinated in 1848 and it was clear that Pius was next.

He fled to Gaeta in Naples. Rome was taken over by the Garibaldi and Mazzini revolutionaries. A Republic of Rome was declared.

E. In July 1849, French troops occupied Rome and restored the status quo ante. Pius returned the following year.

He learned that the ideas that had sparked the French Revolution were still just as dangerous to the papacy and the Church.

F. Pius knew that for the pope to retain his independence he must have the Papal States, yet the increasing strength of Italian nationalism directly threatened that.

Nationalist hopes went to the kingdom of Piedmont, which was building a secular state in which the Church was under strict control.

Catholics from across Europe enlisted in brigades to defend the States, but they were whittled away.

In the 1860s, Pius declared that he would suffer anything, even go to live in the catacombs, rather than give up Rome or the Patrimony of St. Peter.

III. Pius's determination to hold onto the last remnants of the Papal States was applauded by pious Catholics and even non-Catholic Romantics.

A. For them, the medieval world of beauty, spirituality, and reverence was being devoured by the jaws of industrialism and reason.

B. Catholics across Europe and worldwide looked to the pope as a victim of cruel persecution. Across the world, the pope's picture was everywhere.

This was the age of Marian visions and devotion to Mary.

After praying for the intercession of the Virgin, Pius was cured of epilepsy. He subsequently defined the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith.

Devotion to the Sacred Heart was promoted and the feast placed on the universal calendar.

C. He was the first celebrity pope. This gave him a currency and authority beyond his poor situation in Rome.

IV. Despite this popularity, the march of liberal ideas continued to press in on Pius. Many Catholics began to argue that in the modern world the pope could perform his functions without an independent state.

A. In 1864, Pius issued the *Syllabus of Errors*. This was a collection taken from other documents, containing nothing new.

B. However, it reiterated that it was erroneous to believe that the Church or the pope needed to conform with a modern world.

V. First Vatican Council (1869)

A. Seven hundred bishops attended.

B. Papal infallibility became a major issue.

Catholics had always believed that the pope was infallible in matters of faith. But what else?

Liberals seeking to defuse confrontations with modernity did not want the Syllabus as infallible.

Radical Ultramontines believed that everything the pope taught was infallible.

After much debate and prayer, it was defined by the council and pope as those teachings on faith and morals uttered *ex cathedra* by the pope.

This, therefore, set limits, particularly regarding political matters outside of faith and morals.

- C. There was also the problem of hierarchy in the wake of ravages of revolution and the expansion of the Church.

Missions and missionary orders had expanded enormously under Pius IX. Where new dioceses were created, the pope appointed those bishops—two hundred new ones in all.

The Council decreed that the pope had “immediate and ordinary jurisdiction” over every church and Catholic.

- D. The Franco-Prussian War broke out on July 19, 1870. Because the French garrison was preparing to withdraw, the Council was suspended for the moment.

It would never reconvene. The Italian Nationalists under the banner of Victor Emmanuel captured Rome and made it their capital.

Pius locked himself in his palace, ordering only a token resistance.

The Papal States were no more.

VI. Pius condemned the new Italian State.

- A. Because Italy was 99 percent Catholic, the Nationalists sought peace with Pius, provided it did not require the restoration of his property.
- B. The Law of Guarantees in November 1870 offered an annual stipend to the papacy and the use of the Vatican, Lateran, and Castel Gandolfo. Also, the bishops would henceforth be appointed by the pope.
- C. Pius refused the offer, but appointed the bishops in any case.

Non Expedit, which he had issued a few years earlier, forbade Italian Catholics to take part in the new nationalist state.

He refused to leave the Vatican, fulfilling his promise to be a prisoner for the rights of the Church.

Outside of Rome, however, he was the leader of millions.

VII. Leo XIII (1878–1903) held to Pius’s beliefs regarding the papacy, attempting to remind the modern world of its debts to the popes.

- A. His first encyclical, *Inscrutabili Dei*, rejects the evils of the age, including the theft of Church property and persecution of clergy. Yet the papacy and Church had led Europeans out of barbarism, abolished slavery, and invented universities. The Papal States had to be restored so that the persecution of the Holy See could end.

B. In 1881, he opened the papal archives to scholars from all nations. Protestants were welcome.

C. In a series of encyclicals, Leo made clear that the Church did not believe that any one form of government was necessarily better than another.

Provided it respected the liberty of Catholics to worship and that of the Church, any government could be acceptable.

Democracy, therefore, was not antithetical to Catholicism.

In France, especially, this was seen as capitulation among royalists and others preyed upon by revolution.

D. Radicals, whether socialists or Marxists, were sparking riots and demonstrations across Europe.

Leo issued *Rerum Novarum* in 1891, which laid out the Catholic Church's approach to capitalism, workers, just wages, and unions.

It was an engagement with a new industrialized world.

E. Leo approached his pontificate as a teacher. No pope before him issued so many encyclicals: eighty-six. His teachings went out across the world.

Yet like Pius IX, Leo was a captive in Rome. Like the earliest Christians, Catholics had a sense of a godless world in opposition to the truth of Christ.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did Pius IX modernize the Papal States?
2. What idea was reiterated in the *Syllabus of Errors*?

Suggested Reading

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Lecture 13: The Era of World Wars

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is A. Rhodes' *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922–45*.

I. The twentieth century, the bloodiest in human history, would pose new problems for the papacy. Once again new ideas, many that the papacy warned against, unleashed extraordinary violence.

II. Pope Pius X (1903–1914)

A. From humble beginnings, the saintly Giuseppe Sarto became Patriarch of Venice and then pope. He was the first non-aristocratic pope since the eleventh century.

An attractive man with a warm personality, he became extraordinarily popular across the world.

B. His first priority was pastoral care worldwide. He wished to “restore all things in Christ.”

All bishops worldwide must make *ad limina* visits every five years.

He enacted reform of seminary curriculum and preparation.

Following earlier Jesuit arguments, he relaxed discipline on Eucharistic participation, instituted more frequent communion, and reduced the age of First Communion to seven.

He reformed liturgical music, restoring simplicity.

C. He was also a reformer.

He began a massive codification of Canon Law, which would be completed only in 1917.

He reformed and streamlined the papal bureaucracy.

D. The Modernist controversy began with the publication of *L'Évangile et l'Église* by Abbé Loisy.

He approached the Bible as a historical text and Jesus as a historical figure.

Pius overreacted. What was a passing scholarly fashion was treated as a widespread heresy. He denounced Modernism as a “synthesis of all heresies.”

The Sodality of Pius sought out Modernists, many of whom lost their positions.

In opposition to Modernists were the Integralists.

E. Before his death, Pius was frequently referred to as a saint. The “pope of the Eucharist” was canonized in 1954.

III. Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922)

- A. Giacomo Della Chiesa was elected for his diplomatic skills in a time of war. He saw his role as vicar of Christ to be an apostle of peace.

Because of an injury during birth, one eye, ear, and shoulder were higher than the other.

Nevertheless, he had a dignified bearing and friendly demeanor.

- B. Benedict attempted to settle the Modernist controversy.

He renewed the condemnation of Modernism, but also condemned Integralists who wanted to stifle all discussion, debate, or inquiry.

In 1921, he disbanded the Sodality of Pius.

- C. Stopping the worst war in human history was his first concern. Ending it was his second.

His first encyclical, *Ad Beatissimi*, condemned war and called for harmony among all peoples.

When war broke out, he repeatedly condemned it, calling on all of the warring states to end the conflict with a just peace.

He proclaimed that neither side had fulfilled the requirements of a just war.

He called for mutual disarmament, an end of conscription, and the creation of an international body to preserve peace.

As the leader of all Catholics, he was careful to remain neutral, so that he could retain his ability to bring about peace.

Benedict worked hard to keep other states from joining the war. In all cases, he failed.

Because he tried to keep Italy and the United States from joining, he was suspected of siding with the Axis.

Yet he also condemned the German attacks on shipping, particularly the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the use of poison gas.

Both sides frequently claimed he favored the other.

- D. Benedict poured the wealth of the papacy into relieving the suffering caused by the war.

His efforts formed a “second Red Cross,” which helped prisoners of war, the wounded, and refugees.

Catholic agencies and hospitals were founded or beefed up.

Massive aid was sent to the Middle East, where massacres and deportations were rampant.

Benedict’s statue was erected in Turkish Constantinople in 1921.

When he died in 1922, almost the entire Vatican treasury was depleted.

- E. After the war, Benedict insisted that there be a peace without victors. He was not invited to the Versailles, largely because the Italian government would not allow it.

Had his advice been heeded, much of the horrors of the following decades might well have been avoided.

- F. Despite his failure to stop the war or effect the peace, his attempts earned him and the papacy enormous good will.

By 1922, the number of states that sent representatives to the Vatican went from six to thirty-five.

IV. Pope Pius XI (1922–1939)

- A. Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti was a scholar and administrator at the Vatican Library and a diplomat.

- B. Faced with the aftermath of war, Pius repeatedly called the world to return to the “Peace of Christ in the reign of Christ.”

Materialism and secularism led to ideologies that fed destruction.

He heavily promoted the Catholic Action organizations—lay apostolates that promoted Christian values in modern society.

He sought peace with all parties, even Italy.

The balcony doors opened for the first time in fifty-two years for an “*Urbi et Orbi*” blessing.

- C. Pius opposed imperialism and actively worked to bring non-Western people into the hierarchy. The Church was becoming internationalized in an age of virulent nationalism.

- D. He negotiated numerous concordats with the new or restored countries of Europe, guaranteeing the rights of the Church in those regions.

- E. In 1929, he finally settled the “Roman Question.” The Italian government allowed the creation of Vatican City.

- F. In the 1920s, Stalin began a systematic persecution of Catholics, and later all Christians.

With the onset of the Great Depression, Pius feared that atheistic Communism would sweep through Europe. He was not alone.

In 1930, he issued *Quadragesimo anno*, which condemned Marxism, looking instead to the social teachings of *Rerum novarum*.

- G. The Problem of Dictatorships.

Although Pius had concluded a concordat with Hitler’s new government in Germany, Hitler disregarded it and began persecuting Catholics.

In March 1937, the pope denounced both styles of dictatorships.

Divini redemptoris condemned communism.

Mit brennender Sorge condemned Nazism.

It was smuggled into Germany and read from pulpits on Palm Sunday.

Fascism replaced God with a cult of the state based on a “myth of race and blood.”

He unambiguously condemned Hitler and warned the Italian people away from an alliance with him.

When Hitler visited Rome in May 1938, Pius went to Castel Gondolfo, saying that he could not see any other cross raised in the city save that of Christ.

He condemned racism and anti-Semitism and warned that Nazism would lead to the extinction of Christian civilization.

His was a lonely voice.

- H. Pius continued his predecessors' attempts to restore the unity of Christianity.

He continued efforts to reunite with the Orthodox East and the Anglican Church.

He opposed ecumenicist ventures, however. How, he asked, can God's truth be negotiated?

- I. Although Pius had no effect on the steady rise of Fascism and Communism, his promotion of Catholic Action prepared the way for Christian Democratic parties in the postwar world.

V. Pius XII (1939–1958)

- A. Eugenio Pacelli was a well educated, scholarly man groomed in the Curia to be Pius XI's successor.

Like his predecessors, he abhorred Communism and Fascism.

He was one of the writers of *Mit brennender Sorge* and *Divini redemptoris*.

- B. Like Benedict XV, Pius attempted to avert a new world war.

When it seemed that Hitler would invade Poland, Pius begged leaders to come to another peace conference.

He offered to serve as an honest broker.

Just before Hitler's invasion of Poland, Pius made an impassioned appeal to the world: "Nothing is lost by peace, all can be lost by war."

In his Christmas message he urged an end to the selfish nationalism that had led to war.

He worked diligently to keep Mussolini neutral.

- C. Like Benedict XV, Pius remained neutral during the war, condemning the war itself rather than the nations at war. There was, in any case, no doubt on his attitude toward Nazism.

In part this was a reaction to Mussolini's threats to close off the Vatican.

German bishops who spoke out caused Nazi reprisals against Jews. Benedict feared worse still if he did the same.

- D. Like Benedict XV, Pius used Catholic relief agencies to do all that they could to ease suffering, care for prisoners, and deal with refugees. Yet their efforts were often hampered by Fascist governments.

The Vatican poured funds into efforts to rescue Jews.

E. Like Benedict IX, Pius continued to offer peace solutions, yet none were accepted by the warring parties.

F. In September 1943, Nazi forces seized Rome.

With the Italian governments in exile, the Italians fled to the pope for protection. He did all that he could.

The SS Major demanded that the Jews of Rome pay 50 kg of gold or two hundred of them would be deported.

Catholics helped to come up with the funds and Pius made up the difference.

Shortly thereafter, Heinrich Himmler ordered that all Jews in Rome be arrested and deported for liquidation.

Pius received word of this and quickly ordered all monasteries and convents owned by the Vatican to open their doors to the Jews. Legally, this removed them from Rome.

About five thousand of Rome's eight thousand Jews did this.

The SS rounded up about twelve hundred Jews, more than two hundred of which Pius was able to have released anyway.

The other thousand were taken away, where more than eight hundred of them were gassed.

So profound was the gratitude among Jews that the Chief Rabbi of Rome converted to Catholicism, taking the name Eugenio.

G. Weeks after the war ended, Pius prayed that the German people could find a new life after the "satanic specter of National Socialism."

He supported the creation of the United Nations and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

The Vatican poured resources into locating Jews and reuniting refugees, processing more than eleven million missing-person requests.

H. Pius strongly opposed the Soviet Union's post-war expansionism and approved of the creation of NATO in 1949.

I. In religious matters, Pius held to Catholic beliefs while making accommodations for the modern world.

He engaged the new media, urging that it be used for evangelization.

He promoted scholarly studies and investigations into the Bible and the Church.

Excavations under St. Peter's Basilica discovered the Constantinian-era tomb of Peter.

In 1950, he infallibly proclaimed the Assumption of Mary.

J. When Pius XII died in 1958, he was mourned by Jewish groups worldwide as someone who had saved more than half a million souls.

Newspapers in the United States and Europe praised him as a man of peace, who had put Christian faith into practice.

In 1963, a Protestant German, Rolf Hochhuth, produced the play *The Deputy*, in which Pius was portrayed as silent, standing by idly while the Nazis murdered six million Jews.

The Vatican responded by publishing all records regarding Pius and World War II. Scholars quickly concluded that Hochhuth was wrong.

In the 1980s and again in the 1990s, popular books were produced, claiming that Pius either connived with the Nazis or allowed them to proceed unhindered.

Scholars continue to discount these works, but they remain popular nonetheless.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What reforms did Pope Pius X enact?
2. What was Pius XII's attitude toward Communism and Fascism?

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Lecture 14:
A New Engagement with the Modern World:
1958 to Present

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is George Wiegel's *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*.

I. Devastated by two world wars, Europe passed into a new age in which outside powers garrisoned it and guaranteed its peace.

- A. For the first time since the days of the Roman Empire, the papacy was in a position of relative security.
- B. The medieval world, which had required the popes to become temporal lords, had truly passed away. New popes began to accept this reality.

II. Pope John XXIII (1958–1963)

- A. Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was from a peasant background. He served the Church faithfully, becoming a scholar and later a diplomat in Bulgaria, Turkey, and France.
- B. As a retirement position, he was given a red hat and the patriarchate of Venice when he was 71.
- C. The Conclave was divided, finally settling on the good-natured old man as a short term solution. He was thought to be a caretaker. He was not.
- D. Almost immediately after his election, John announced a massive revision of Canon Law (completed in 1983) and a new ecumenical council.
- E. Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), 1962–1965.

John had no real agenda. He called it because he believed God wanted it.

At the opening of the Council, he distanced himself from the “prophets of doom” who continued to see the Church losing a battle with a sinful, even Satanic, world.

He stressed that the ancient faith of the Church could not change, but the means by which it was expressed could. The world had changed and he believed the Church needed to as well.

The tone of the Council should be exhortation and celebration, not lamentations and condemnations.

He also hoped that the Council might be the first step toward reconciliation with other religions. Representatives were invited.

John played little role in the Council, watching it on closed circuit TV. He presided over the first session, before his death.

- F. John’s encyclicals followed the same trend, reversing the course of the past centuries.

Mater et magistra (1961) endorsed the basic idea of the welfare state, with some reservations.

Pacem in terris (1963) was addressed to “all men of good will.” It called for freedom of religion, peace, and protection of the Third World.

- G. John, like his successors, greatly expanded the College of Cardinals, bringing in representatives from around the world.

Italians were a minority, one that would continue to shrink.

If Rome were the head of a worldwide church, it should look like one.

III. Paul VI (1963–1978)

- A. Giovanni Battista Montini had a long political career in the Church.

He was a close confidant of John XXIII and one of the guiding lights of the Council.

- B. Paul knew that the Council was in trouble, torn between liberals, who saw in the Council an opportunity to remake the Church, and conservatives, who saw nothing but apostasy.

He assigned liberal and conservative cardinal moderators to preside over working sessions as his representative.

He gave the Council the task of considering collegiality and ecumenicism.

Although the liberals successfully put forward concepts of consultation, Paul was clear that this did not infringe on papal primacy. There would be no conciliarism.

The conservative view that error has no rights was rejected, opting instead for a declaration of the right of freedom of religion, while affirming that truth lay in the revealed doctrine of the Church.

The Council's other decrees reformed the Church as well, and included a vernacular liturgy with local adaptations and an increased role for laity.

Some issues Paul believed were inappropriate for a Council to decide were celibacy of the priesthood and contraception.

Vatican II closed in December 1965. Celebration was tempered with confusion and anger. It would fall to the pope to keep the Church together.

- C. Vatican II represented an extraordinary victory for liberals. The culture of the Church worldwide was changing.

Often the “spirit of Vatican II” was taken as license to do anything. Conservatives pointed to these occasions as symptoms of a disease.

Insisting on papal primacy, Paul responded with several encyclicals.

Mysterium fidei (1965) rejected liberal attempts to recharacterize the Mass, insisting on Tridentine understanding of transubstantiation.

Sacerdotalis caelibatus (1967) dealt with the problem of an exodus from the priesthood in wealthy countries, particularly after Vatican II. It reasserted clerical celibacy, refuting claims that it was the cause of low vocation levels.

Humanae vitae (1968) reaffirmed the Church's condemnation of contraception, made all the more important after the development of "The Pill."

It insisted that the preservation of human life was not a point of debate.

So great was the outcry in the press and among Catholics in wealthy countries that he never issued another encyclical.

For Catholics used to a Church that let them have their own way, this was an unpleasant surprise.

Paul poured great energy into ecumenicism.

In 1965, he attended the first ecumenical service ever for a pope.

He established the Secretariat for Christian Unity and the Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions.

In 1965, Paul and Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople lifted the 1054 excommunications.

He forged good relations with the Anglican Church, pursuing avenues of reunification.

D. World Politics

Although he opposed atheistic communism, Paul took no sides in the Cold War. Instead, he saw himself as an advocate for the rest of the world, which was still in poverty.

In October 1965, he was the first pope to address the United Nations General Assembly.

He called on the United Nations to be a force for good, bringing help to the world's poor and forgotten.

He chided the superpowers for pouring their resources into a senseless competition.

On January 1, 1968, Paul declared the first "World Peace Day."

He met several times with President Johnson in an attempt to bring peace in Vietnam.

This bore fruit in 1968, when the Paris peace talks began through Vatican intervention.

He visited Latin America and promoted social justice, while avoiding the extremes of liberation theology.

IV. The Conclave that met in 1978 wanted a pope with no connection to the Curia, a pope who could bring a fresh approach to the tensions that remained.

A. Albino Luciani, the Patriarch of Venice, was chosen. He took the name John Paul, hoping to combine the qualities of his conciliar predecessors.

B. The "smiling pope" dispensed with a coronation and instead held a press conference.

C. One month later he died of a heart attack.

Later conspiracy theories were proved to be untrue.

V. Pope John Paul II (1978–2005)

- A. Karol Wojtyla, the archbishop of Krakow, was the first non-Italian pope since 1522. He was a playwright, poet, and scholar.
- B. His long pontificate saw dramatic changes in the world, many of which he directly effected. He transformed the papacy into something beyond Catholicism.

C. John Paul and the Fall of Communism

Shortly after his election, John Paul traveled to his home in Poland, rocked by problems of Solidarity.

One-third or more of the country saw him.

His criticisms raised the world's consciousness, and were the first cracks in Soviet control.

He became a rallying point in Eastern Europe and a preacher to the rest of the world regarding Communism.

Ronald Reagan worked closely with him, opening formal relations with the Vatican.

- D. Behind all of John Paul's actions was his firm conviction, expressed in *Veritatis Splendor* (1993), that moral truth was not relative, but real. Relativism is not a truth.

E. The Legacy of Vatican II

John Paul had played an important role in Vatican II, yet he believed that its message had been lost.

The "spirit of Vatican II" was used as a justification for activities that were simply not Catholic.

He was determined to swing the pendulum back, removing and restraining the excesses of the post-conciliar years.

He directly intervened in the Jesuit and Carmelite religious orders.

He reaffirmed *Humanae vitae*, declaring abortion and contraception as "intrinsically evil."

Alarmed at the speculative or heretical theology adopted by some Catholic theologians, he issued *Ex corde ecclesiae* (1990).

When national conferences of bishops began to issue judgments, he reasserted that collegiality could not exist outside of Roman unity.

As a response to discussion on women priests, he issued *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (1995), which stated unequivocally that "the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination to women and this judgment is to be definitively held by all the Church's faithful."

In an attempt to forestall additional schisms, he allowed and even promoted the Latin Tridentine Mass.

F. Ecumenical Efforts

Like his predecessors, John Paul focused his attention most acutely on the Anglican and Orthodox Churches.

Efforts with the Anglican Church were cut off after the decision to ordain women.

Ut unum sint laid out the pope's intense desire to find union with the Orthodox.

His visit to Athens in 2001, however, did not bode well for the future. No pope before him did as much to ease relations with Jews.

He recognized the State of Israel, traveled there, and prayed for forgiveness at the Wailing Wall.

- G. John Paul traveled more than any pope in history, visiting more than 120 countries and traveling millions of miles.

Wherever he went—even non-Catholic countries—millions came to see him.

Outdoor masses for millions became commonplace.

The restored vision of the pope as the leader of the whole Church prompted him to make contact with all of it.

He became a celebrity, known around the world as a man of peace.

- H. In 2000, millions of pilgrims went to Rome for the Jubilee, where he asked for forgiveness for all of the sins of Catholics.

In his final years, Parkinson's and other ailments took their toll.

Nevertheless, he remained amazingly active.

He viewed his last years as his own cross.

- I. When he died in 2005, the leaders of the world attended his funeral. The papacy had become more than the leader of the Church.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was the “spirit” of the Second Vatican Council?
2. Who was the “smiling pope”?

Suggested Reading

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