

MAN

In the Light
of
History and Religion




A SYLLABUS

SOUTHWESTERN AT MEMPHIS

1947-48

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MAN

IN

THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION

SYLLABUS

Third Edition

Prepared by

The Departments of History, Philosophy, and Religion

SOUTHWESTERN AT MEMPHIS

1947-1948

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INTRODUCTION

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This course rests essentially on the faith that from the beginning of an academic career one must learn the art of synthesis.

From the time of the rise of rationalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tendency in higher education has been to rely on analysis as the intellectual reagent. It has its value. But when unrelieved it has led to the departmentalizing of learning, which is the educator's contribution to our social chaos.

For the instructor specialization is a necessity, at least academically; for the student who is not a prospective instructor it leads to his becoming the unhappy possessor of disjecta membra of historical, literary, artistic, and religious information. If it ends, as it often has, in a loss of the sense of cohesion and purpose in life, it can be tragic.

One unifying principle is history.

We believed, as we planned this course, that the framework for the course must be history. This has been reduced to the history of the Western World. Even with such limitation the scope has been vast. Selection and emphasis of material has been inevitable. But we have kept steadily in view the belief that whatever value or meaning literature, art, philosophy, and religion have had, it has all been carried forward in the great current of history, until we have reached our contemporary world. Today we are in what may well prove to be the greatest of world crises. Thus history is not merely an approach to live, a method of study: it also presents the problems about which we must make up our minds.

At the same time, believing that religion is essentially the inner force which gives and measures values, we must try to learn how the religious hopes

and faiths of the Western World have directed and controlled the movement of history.

Since this course attempts to cover as well as correlate work offered in two departments, History and Bible, we have made the history of the Religion of Israel the central interest in our study of the Ancient World. We have set in contrast with it the second great source of the Western tradition, Greek culture. These two heritages, themselves factors in the great synthesis in the Western World, were united in Christianity. Christianity is studied as it affected the Roman Empire and led to the greatest of historic experiments, the Christianizing of Europe. The Middle Ages is presented as the first fruition of that synthesis.

In our examination of the modern world we have attempted to set up the principles on which the great disruptive and yet creative forces--nationalism, science, philosophy, and democratic and totalitarian ideologies--have emerged and operate.

We have even attempted to use our knowledge of history and understanding of religion to estimate the character and destiny of America.

We believe such a course is the soundest type of orientation. A feeling for history, based on the experience of using the historical, the truly humanistic method, is a necessity to the true scholar. Only that feeling for historical reality-- "the grim, irreducible facts" of William James--can create passionate loyalties and intelligent convictions. The true scholar cannot be content to remain a spectator. The pleasures of being a cynic are no reward for being the victims of the illiterate.

At the same time, in presenting the Great Tradition which once created unity in the West and is, we believe, the only faith which can preserve or

recover that unity, we have attempted to avoid traditionalism as a method. As a method it has led to obscurantism even to academic hyponesis. Hence we shall try to discover the inner meanings of the great historical epochs by examining their scientific, artistic, and religious ideals.

The academic competitors for this scheme of awakening the mind of the scholar are, of course, psychology and sociology. We believe that this introduction to the meaning of Man is just as necessary as psychological self-introspection or surveys of the contemporary social scene. Whatever benefits these disciplines possess, they have certain limitations. The social approach, if history is not the foundation, assumes very curiously that we have a given world. In a revolutionary age that is an odd assumption. Much of the blind social experimentation in the world is due to cutting the taproot of our loyalties.

Likewise, if a psychology rejects the study of the development of the contents of the mind, it ends in a painfully narrow and unreal concept of the self. Millions of pitiful modern personalities, who know little or nothing of the enormous range and scope of humanity, are witnesses to the folly of a purely secular, that is, the contemporary view of man. We have no apology for directing the student's view on the great and startling personalities of the past. Certainly not for the greatest. Unless man knows God, can man know man?

That is why we have used some of the Great Books; for behind the Great Books are great minds. The great minds have made the world we live in. We are convinced that books which have made history and created civilizations, still have the maximum effect in creating the scholar.

Again we have no apology for the time and effort spent on the Greatest of Books. We believe that not only the best interpretation of that document, but the most vigorous appreciation of it is to be had by seeing how it worked its

way into the history of the West. In this we are in line with Saint Paul and John Calvin--both of them humanists in their days, neither attempting to hedge religion about with privilege or fear.

While most of the reading in the course is in source materials which come directly from the particular historical period being studied, it has been found essential to use a textbook which will give a cohesive and unified presentation of Western civilization. Such a textbook will serve as a means of orientation for the student. Three lectures are given each week in order to emphasize the significant ideas, institutions, and historical movements of the period. The most valuable experience, perhaps, comes out of the group seminars where the instructor and the students develop the use of critical judgment in the discussion of the lectures and readings. By means of regularly required papers the student synthesizes the knowledge he acquires, thereby benefiting more concretely through his personal reactions to the ideas he has encountered.

Ultimately this course was born of a hope that there are American college students, who, given a chance, are willing and able to become American scholars: independent minds, willing to pay the price of severe study in order to become leaders in thought and life.

At some moment or at some point the mind must jump from the inner orbit of complete reliance on the teacher to the outer orbit of self-direction and freedom. That is good physics, good education, good religion. And we do not believe that moment is at the end of the educative process called a college education. The emancipative power of religion as seen in history can and should aid in the emancipating of the American. Such education can create true citizens of democracy--free men and women in a free society.

A.P.K.

The Committee on the Course

Professor A. P. Kelso, Philosophy, Chairman
Professor W. R. Cooper, History
Professor John H. Davis, History
Professor L. F. Kinney, Bible
Professor John Osman, Philosophy

Southwestern at Memphis
August, 1947

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UNIT I

THE ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION

The archaeological discoveries of the last century have had a more revolutionary effect on man's thinking than the astronomical discoveries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The new science gave man a new world. The new history gave him a new answer to the question, what is man?

That question, we now know, cannot be answered directly by surgical anatomy or by psychological analysis. Part of the answer lies in the past. Perhaps the most significant part of the past is what we call pre-history.

Therefore, the result of the discoveries regarding prehistoric man is paradoxical. The new discoveries have made man a far greater mystery to us than he was to the Greek or the Hebrew, and infinitely more so than he was to rationalists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Civilization, or the life of historic man, can be roughly dated as originating about 4000 B. C. History, then, is approximately six thousand years old. The most modest estimate of pre-history is that it is twice as long.

Relics, skulls, skeletons, and tools of prehistoric man have been found in Britain, Northern France, Switzerland, the Rhine and Danube Valleys, in the Pyrenees, on the Riviera, the shores of the Baltic, in the Balkans, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and even in Mongolia and Java. Furthermore, one tenth of the human race still lives at prehistoric level successfully amid any and all civilizations. The fact that prehistoric man migrated into North and South America and into the frozen Arctic deserves a great tribute: he was the greatest traveller the world has ever known, far greater than myriads of his timid and physically degenerate successors. Furthermore, he survived the greatest catas-

trophe man has faced, the coming and going of the ice-age.

One geographical explanation of the origin of civilization is founded on the effect of the environment, which can be divided into the jungles, the park-lands, and the open plains.

The jungle dwellers are still there, notably in central Africa. The park-lands produced the craftsman, the collectors and planters of grains, fruits, and vegetables. The nomads who have wandered over the earth domesticated certain of the animals. The first synthesis was the meeting of the nomads and the park-land dweller, and the development of a complete system of agriculture. And that is the prehistoric man's contribution to civilization.

Civilization is the achievement of an established community. Even in Plato's day men saw that the community emerges with the division of labor, the separation of occupations, the consequent stratification of men into classes. The greatest significance of Hammurabi's "Code" is in showing how far this process had gone in two thousand years.

According to the Semite tradition, of which we possess and can compare two versions, the Hebrew and the Babylonian, civilization originated in Mesopotamia. Whether it originated independently in the Delta of the Nile is a point of dispute. However, in both cases we find that there is present the meeting with conflict and fusion of two distinct races of primitive men. In Babylonia the Sumerians, presumably from the highlands of central Asia, met the Akkadians, or proto-Arabs. Such an Akkadian was Abraham. The skulls in the graves at Ur of the Chaldees, which have been measured, corroborate that tradition. Likewise Egypt was the scene where Semites from Southern Arabia via Somaliland met a primitive race from North Africa, whose art shows an astonishing resemb-

lance to that of the so-called Azilion man of Spain.

When a man begins to trade with his fellows in a community, and when communities begin to trade with one another, the need for weights and measures is imperative. And that is exactly what occurred in Babylonia. In fact, Babylonia's most lasting contribution to civilization was that system of measurement. The search for systems to make social life possible produced the gnomon and the calendar. Even today we carry in our pockets or on our wrists an outgrowth of Babylonian civilization. The hour and minute, the day, the week, the month, and the year were Babylonian creations or constructs. This attempt to measure time might well be the first attempt to evaluate it.

Out of this measurement of time emerges a sense of history. Not only did the Babylonian measure wealth, in the form of dates, wheat, silver and gold, and also farm lands, city lots, and services, but he even attempted to evaluate religion. He gave and received receipts for sacrifices to the gods. These entailed the keeping of records. In one place was found a cache of fifty thousand clay tablets, largely receipts. There was even a receipt for two daughters, who would make useful slaves. The instinct to keep such records is the source of the faith in history. The past, too, has value, therefore meaning.

In the Egyptian, too, the consciousness of history was equally intense, although it took a different form from that of the Babylonian. The Egyptian kept records also. The pictures of overseers and owners, with their pen and ink cases, keeping the tally on their crops and herds, shows that. If the Labyrinth in the Fayum was the first office building in the world this mathematical interpretation was applied even to national existence. Yet this consciousness is rather in the monuments, the Great Pyramids and the lesser pyramids of the old kingdom, the

tombs with their chantry priests and endowments, and in the preservation even of food, flowers, furniture, and personal property, to say nothing of the mummies of human beings and animals. Even if this, the most distinctive feature of Egyptian culture, reveals a love of life and a defiance of death, it likewise reveals the idea that the meaning of a man's life is linked both with the meaning of the past and with that of the future. Again that is history.

In short, we could say that the monuments and temples of Egypt were expressions of what the Egyptians thought of Egypt. Once that thought has been reached, political consciousness is born; once political consciousness is born, a nation becomes an actor on the stage of history.

With trade-records, with a consciousness of history, writing becomes a necessity. In both civilizations the scribe appears. Writing becomes a profession. The Sumerian scribes invent a syllabary; the Egyptians an alphabet, in fact, three, hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic. As Professor Schneider of Berlin has pointed out, the Egyptian scribes, with the typical shortsightedness of the craftsman and his monopolistic ideas, prevented the establishment of schools. The same apparently applies to the Babylonians. Teaching and learning were always reduced to the master-apprentice relationship.

The most significant achievement of those two early civilizations was the transition from magic to religion. Perhaps this change is the inner force behind the change. Of course, magic was never completely eliminated. Even in Israel's religion the influence remained. Legislation against wizards and necromancy prove that.

Magic is of two types: 1) contagious and 2) imitative.

In contagious magic some mysterious power, mana, passes from object

to object, person to object, person to person. This is the crude origin of the theory of causality. In this sense magic is the origin of science and scientific explanation.

Imitative magic, first seen in prehistoric cave paintings, is the effort to achieve success by preliminary exercises, whether the end is success in hunting or efficiency in murder or war. This practice lies behind another scientific principle, the cause must resemble the effect. It is primitive man's psychology, the root of all poetry and much art.

All magic is secret and therefore individualistic; usually it is malicious, a man against the forces of nature and his natural competitors.

Religion, on the other hand, is social and benevolent. It becomes the principle which unites men into civilized societies. It holds them together. It gives the flavor to the living of life. Therefore the key to the rise and passing of these empires may be found in the history of these religions.

When men reached such social cohesion in the valleys of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Nile, there appeared instantly an interest which dominates and controls the course of history--War.

The study of the ancient world from Sargon of Akkad to Nebuchadnezzar, from Thothmes III to Pharaoh-Necho, is a study of war. As the Hebrew historian put it, "as was their custom", in the spring-time the kings went out to war.

And war, of course, is a hideous form of magic.

Civilization is a composite of occupations, and with them arts; of trades and commerces, and with them rudimentary mathematics and sciences. But it is also the efflorescence of the hopes and fears of man's quest for meaning and good will and cooperation in religion. The Coffin Texts of Egypt tell their pathetic and moving stories.

The story of civilization is human history. But history means nothing unless the mind has been developed to see, or at least to feel the inner or spiritual meaning of the story. It is the function of the humanities to create the ideas or feelings which interpret history. And at the heart of the humanistic approach is religion.

A.P.K.

- I. THE ORIGINS OF CIVILIZATION
- II. THE FERTILE CRESCENT: MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT
- III. SOCIAL ORIGINS: THE EPIC OF ISRAEL

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The comparison of the account of Creation, Genesis 1-2, with the Babylonian Epics of Creation.
2. The comparison of the accounts of the fall and flood, Genesis 3-10, with the Epic of Gilgamesh.
3. The customs of the Hebrews: tribal organizations, marriage, property, Genesis 12-36; compare with the Code of Hammurabi on these points.
4. The Joseph Story: its religious and literary value.
5. How is magic related to civilization? How are religion and magic distinguished?
6. What is the origin of art? How did art affect the lives of men in the early empires? How did art affect the course of civilization?
7. What factors in contemporary civilization were contributed by Babylonia?
8. What factors in contemporary civilization were contributed by Egypt?
9. The tools of prehistoric man and their part in the origin of civilization: e.g., the axe, the borer, the scraper, and the harpoon.
10. Egyptian architecture and the socialization of life.
11. The Hebrew concept of the origin of evil in Genesis 3-11.
12. What values does geography have in helping to understand history?
13. Who were the Hebrews? The geography and anthropology of Genesis 1-11.
14. Why did civilization develop in the river valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt but in the mountains of Mexico and Peru?
15. What are the roles of history and religion in the humanities?

SOURCE READINGS

Epic of Enuma elish
Epic of Gilgamesh
The Book of Genesis

SUGGESTED READINGS

Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity
 Childe: What Happened in History
 Glanville: The Legacy of Egypt
 Heidel: The Babylonian Genesis
 Heidel: The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels
 Frankfort, and others: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man
 Kramer: Sumerian Mythology: A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B. C.
 Kroeber: Anthropology
 Levy-Bruhl: How Natives Think
 Radin: Primitive Man as Philosopher
 Raphael: Prehistoric Cave Paintings
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1
 Toynbee: A Study of History

UNIT II

THE BIRTH OF A RELIGION

The thirteenth century B. C. marked the end of a great historical epoch. The ancient world was moving out of the Bronze into the Iron Age. The Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations were collapsing in the Aegean region. The Hittite and Mitanni states were yielding to the rising power of Assyria in Asia Minor. The traditional supremacy of Egypt had been lost by inept pharaohs like Akhnaton. The most glorious civilizations of the ancient world were in decline. In the midst of the confusion the city-states of Canaan were left by an indifferent Egypt to defend themselves. This is the historical situation when the Hebrews were led out of Egypt by Moses.

Moses was a Hebrew educated at the royal court of Egypt as the adopted son of a princess. He resented the brutal treatment of the Hebrew minority which had gradually become enslaved in the four centuries from the time of Joseph to the days of Moses. His slaying of an Egyptian overseer led to his flight to Midian. There the mysterious experience with the Burning Bush inspired him with a consciousness of the divine mission of delivering the Hebrews from their bondage in the land of Goshen. Moses returned to Egypt and secured permission from the Pharaoh for the Hebrews to leave the land and led the unruly mob to a region around Mount Sinai.

A year was spent at Sinai while Moses organized the Hebrews for the conquest of Canaan. It was during the stay at Sinai that, out of the experience in the desert, the divine signs that accompanied the flight from Egypt, and the meeting with Yahweh on the Mountain of Sinai, the forms of the religion of Israel were developed in the mind of Moses. The deity of the religion born at Sinai was called Yahweh. Yahweh was not restricted to any particular abode,

but came down to any high mountain or a tabernacle. He was conceived under human symbols, but he was never represented by any material images. This emphasis on the spiritual nature of Yahweh is accented in the "Second Commandment", and in His abiding presence in the design of the Holy of Holies. The "Decalogue", Exodus 20, proclaims the ethical nature of the religion of Yahweh. The "Book of the Covenant", Exodus 21-23, which contains laws similar to some in Hammurabi's "Code", reveals how Yahweh as the law giver, was the force both creating and guiding Hebrew society. The religion of Yahweh was to pervade all forms of life; to be the controlling factor of the Hebrew culture pattern. Yahweh dwelt in and was worshipped at the Tabernacle. The Tabernacle was a portable temple or tent with its Holy Place, which could be entered only by a priestly mediator between God and man, and its Holy of Holies, open only to the High Priest. The events recorded in Numbers 1-10 indicate how the Tabernacle of Yahweh became the center of Hebrew life and thought. The description of the Tabernacle and its appointments in Exodus 25-40 reflects the culture of the nomadic Hebrews at the end of the Bronze Age. Thus the first steps toward a world-wide monotheism were taken in discarding the age-long concept of a local god. And the first steps are often the hardest steps.

When Moses had completed the details of organization as recorded in Numbers 1-10, the Hebrews marched north into the desert toward their ancient home in Canaan. The reverses which they suffered in their first battles with Canaanite tribes broke their morale, and the rest of the Book of Numbers records how the Hebrews spent more than thirty-eight years wandering over the region around Sinai. Finally they decided to invade Canaan from the east instead of the south, and Moses led his people to the Plains of Moab on the east bank of the River Jordan. A brilliant military leader, Joshua, assumed the

command of the Hebrews at the death of Moses and led the invasion into Canaan near the middle of the thirteenth century. The Jordan was crossed and the conquest of the land was begun with an initial spectacular victory at Jericho. Both events were believed by the Hebrews to be due to divine intervention. The weakness of Egypt and the inability of the Canaanite kings to unite their forces enabled the Hebrews to secure their positions. The Tel El Amarna Letters indicate that some Hebrews were already in Canaan and that these groups became allies of Joshua. The success of Joshua's campaigns is idealized in the Book of Joshua, for the Book of Judges clearly reveals that the conquest of Canaan was never completed. Unable to achieve a complete occupation, the Hebrews occupied certain parts of the land and settled down to live with their Canaanite neighbors. A struggle between the Hebrew and Canaanite forms of culture then developed, and out of this came a refined and higher form of Hebrew religion. Modern archaeology has shed a vast amount of light on this inner struggle.

The original Canaanites were a Semitic people living in the small city-states such as Jerusalem, Hebron, Lachish, Jericho, and Megiddo, which were ruled by petty kings. At the time the Hebrews invaded Canaan there were numerous groups such as the Hittites, Amorites, Amalekites, and Horites who had settled in this already crowded land. The important Philistines were sea people from the Cycladic Islands who had landed on the Canaanite coast and established themselves in Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, a typical Aegean federation. The Philistines brought with them the secret of iron smelting. The material culture of the Canaanite tribes was superior to that of the Hebrews. Canaanitish culture was built on an agricultural society which had developed the arts, architecture, and literature. The use of iron weapons and chariotry gave them a superiority in battle to the Bronze Age Hebrews. The

Hebrews, like the Greeks, borrowed their alphabet from the Canaanites. The aleph (א) of the Hebrew and the alpha (a) of the Greek languages are derived from the Canaanite alph (A) which had been taken from the ox head (𐤀) in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Epic of Aleyan and Mot and the Megiddo Ivories testify to the former greatness of the Canaanite civilization, which was in decay at the period when Joshua crossed the Jordan.

A partial fusion of the Hebrew and Canaanite cultures was inevitable, but it did not come without a struggle. It was during this critical period that is recorded in the Book of Judges that the Hebrew hero makes his appearance. The Book of Judges is the national Epic of Israel. It records the heroic tales of Ehud's daring assassination of the Moabite King, Eglon; of Shamgar's slaying of six hundred Philistines with an ox goad; of Deborah's leading of the Hebrews to victory over the Canaanites. It contains that ancient "Song of Victory", the song of Deborah. It tells the story of Gideon's dramatic prowess in battle, of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter to Yahweh in return for his victory over the Ammonites, and of Samson's performing Herculean feats of strength against the Philistines. The Hebrew hero was anointed for his tasks. The spirit of the Yahweh was upon him. He had not only the physical strength of an Achilles and the cunning of a Ulysses, but the supreme virtue of the spirit of Yahweh also. He did not stand alone. He was a man of God. The tragedy of the heroes Samson and Saul came when the spirit of the Yahweh left them. The cost of the transition in thought toward conceiving of God as a God of war was great, a loss of the sense of order and justice. As the author of Judges put it: "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

At the heart of the clash between Canaanite and Israelite cultures was the concept of God. Baal was a god of nature with no moral character.

LECTURES

- I. MOSES AND THE EXODUS: THE GODS OF EGYPT AND THE GOD OF MOSES
- II. THE CLASH OF CULTURES: CANAANITE VERSUS ISRAELITE
- III. THE HEBREW CONCEPT OF THE HERO

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The two religions of Egypt: the Cult of Ra and the Cult of Osiris.
2. The Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts: the ethics of the Book of the Dead.
3. Akhnaton's attempt at religious reform: the Hymn to the Sun.
4. What does the Book of Exodus reveal about the culture of the Hebrews?
5. The religious experience of Moses and his discovery of God.
6. The "Ten Commandments", Exodus 20: Liberty through Law.
7. A comparison of the "Book of the Covenant", Exodus 20-23, to the Code of Hammurabi.
8. Early forms of worship: sacrifices and shrines.
9. Balaam: the technique of the seer, hozeh, or the mystic's trance.
10. The Blessing and the Curse: popular forms of religion in Deuteronomy 28.
11. The Hebrew Epic, Judges: the Hebrew hero.
12. Canaanite culture; its influence on Hebrew life and thought.
13. Egypt and Palestine: Thothmes III, Tel El Amarna Letters, and Rameses II.
14. Joshua's Conquest of Canaan: Yahweh, God of War.
15. The Book of Ruth, an ancient idyll: a document on racial toleration.

SOURCE READINGS

Code of Hammurabi

The Book of Exodus, c. 1-20

Hymn to the Sun: attributed to Akhnaton

The Book of Numbers, c. 22-24

The Book of Joshua, c. 1-12

The Book of Judges

The Book of Ruth

The Book of Deuteronomy, c. 28

SUGGESTED READINGS

Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity

Breasted: The Dawn of Conscience

Breasted: Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt

Burrows: An Outline of Biblical Theology

Erman: The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians

Finegan: Light From the Ancient Past

Frankfort, and others: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man

McCown: The Ladder of Progress in Palestine

MacDonald: The Hebrew Literary Genius

MacDonald: The Hebrew Philosophical Genius

Poake, editor: People and the Book

Pedersen: Israel, Its Life and Culture

Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1

UNIT III

THE RISE OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY

The Hebrew Monarchy was founded c. 1020 B. C. when, on the insistence of the people, Samuel, the last of the Judges, anointed the warrior Saul as the first king of Israel. Saul was from the tribe of Benjamin and apparently was a compromise choice on the part of the tribes of Judah and Ephraim. Saul consolidated his position as king with the glorious victory over the Ammonites at Jabesh, in Gad. Success in arms on the part of Saul led to a growing rivalry between him and Samuel. Saul's performance of the sacrifice at Gilgal and his disobedience to Samuel in the Amalekite War transgressed the kingmaker Samuel's theory of theocratic monarchy, and Samuel brought about Saul's tragic mental breakdown which culminated in his visit to the Witch of Endor. King Saul and his son Jonathan died in the decisive battles of Gilboa, where the Philistine victory crushed the Hebrews for a time.

The young David, who had become a popular hero by his victory over a Goliath of the Philistine army, restored the prestige of the Hebrews and founded a dynasty. David had been hardened for campaigns during his outlaw days, while hiding from King Saul. He had served as a Philistine mercenary for the King of Gath, and later as the vassal ruler for the Philistines at Hebron. He finally gained enough strength to free himself from the Philistines, and with the help of Joab he emerged triumphant from the Civil War with Saul's son, Ishbosheth, and united Judah, Ephraim, and the lesser tribes. In a series of spectacular victories over the Philistines, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Syrians, David established the Second Hebrew Monarchy on a sound political foundation. David was fortunate in that the military weakness of Egypt at the time, and wars in the north kept

Assyria busy and allowed him freedom, enabling the young monarch to extend the borders of the kingdom from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, and from the Mediterranean to the Plains of Moab.

The achievements of King David place him among the remarkable men of history. His composition of some of the Psalms, and of the "Lament over Saul and Jonathan" established him as one of the great poets. His genius for personal leadership and tactics place him with the great and daring soldiers of ancient history. He reduced the old Jebusite fortress of Jerusalem and established his court in what was to become one of the great cities of the ancient world. Out of the City of David comes our Hebraic-Christian heritage. Surrounded by his Cretan and Philistine body guards in the Cedar Palace which Hiram of Tyre built for him, David lived with the splendor of the Oriental monarch. A sentimental man, who wept for days over the death of his son, Absalom, David ruthlessly sent Uriah, the Hittite, to die in battle so that he could add Bathsheba to his harem.

Solomon was David's son by Bathsheba, who, through palace intrigue, gained the throne for her son over the rightful heir, Adonijah. The Hebrews became a significant nation through the military genius of David, and Solomon's wisdom in the world's markets carried Israel almost to the height of world empire. For a time Israel was among the great nations of the earth, and the days of David and Solomon were always looked back upon as the Golden Age. Perhaps Solomon achieved in peace even more than David accomplished by war. Solomon developed commerce in the Near East and Egypt, built probably on the secret of iron smelting which David had taken from the Philistines. His own large fleet, based on the Gulf of Akabah, and the galleys of King Hiram on the Mediterranean Sea carried products to distant ports in the ancient world to be exchanged for peacocks, apes, ivory, and gold. Solomon was a builder who advanced the artistic

achievements of Hebrew civilization with his public buildings, his palaces, and the Temple of Yahweh. In time the Temple became the center of the life of the nation, and through it Solomon, perhaps unintentionally, achieved the spiritual unity of the Hebrews. The Temple of Yahweh, with its Holy of Holies, containing the Ark of the Covenant, attempted to give permanence to the religious tradition of Israel. It was built by Hiram, an architect from Tyre, in the Phoenician style, with Egyptian and Canaanite motifs, and heavy gold decorations. An elaborate religious symbolism was worked into the architecture of the Temple and into its appointments. A philosopher who wrote 3,000 proverbs, a poet who sang 1,005 songs, and a scientist learned in the lore of fishes, birds, reptiles, animals, flowers, and trees, Solomon by his wisdom, attracted distinguished visitors such as the Queen of Sheba to his court.

The transition from the humble farm house where, with his spear stuck in the ground Saul judged the people, through the grander establishment of David and his harem, to the luxurious palaces of Solomon, with his numerous wives and concubines, brought about all the excesses and intrigues of a monarch's palace. The Hebrew people, too, changed from the rugged desert nomads to a soft agricultural folk, and then to a partially industrialized and very commercial nation, with iron smelters and a merchant marine. These changes were accompanied by the rise of the merchant class and the intensification of poverty and slavery among what had been a freedom-loving people of the desert. The stage was set for the rise of the Hebrew Prophets. Saul's army of volunteers and David's mercenaries who lived on the spoils and tribute of wars were replaced by Solomon's four thousand chariots and twelve thousand cavalry, for which he built great stables such as those at Megiddo. The heavy expenses of his building and military programs and the economic depression resulting from over importation of luxury goods forced

Solomon to impose a program of taxation upon the Hebrews. Probably the taxes bore most heavily on Ephraim, the largest northern tribe in the kingdom, which was agrarian, and may have maintained greater prosperity than Judah, the commercial center of the nation. This struggle between agricultural and commercial interests probably explains the revival of the feud which had existed between Judah and Israel in the time of David. Tribal jealousies were intensified by class hatreds. As Solomon's reign came to an end, the social, economic, and political problems of the Hebrews had become so aggravated that the little nation which had risen from obscurity to world empire in three generations was faced with disaster. The reign of the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon, covered less than a century, c. 1020-c. 925 B. C. When Solomon died, his son, Rehoboam, could not hold the kingdom together, and the revolt of Israel under Jeroboam marked the end of the United Hebrew Monarchy. The Golden Age of Israel was at an end. But the figure of David cast a long shadow, and the Hebrews looked forward to another Golden Age to be ushered in by a descendant of David. David's empire left the dream of the Kingdom of God in the hearts of men.

J.O.

LECTURES

- I. CONFLICT IN LEADERSHIP: PROPHET VERSUS KING, SAMUEL AND SAUL
- II. THE THREE KINGS: SAUL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON
- III. THE TEMPLE OF YAHWEH: THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The origin of the Hebrew King: source of authority, powers, privileges.
2. Israel's hostility to the monarchy: compare Jotham's, Judges 9:7-21, with Samuel's, I Samuel 8 and 12.
3. A psychological study of the tragedy of Saul.
4. David the soldier: the role of the army in society.
5. David and Jonathan: the ancient ideal of friendship.
6. David the poet: analysis of II Samuel 1:17-27 and 22-23:7.
7. The functions of poetry in creating a religious consciousness.
8. Palace intrigues: the inherent weakness of monarchy.
9. The commercial achievements of Solomon in the world markets.
10. The rise of social classes among the Hebrews: problems of poverty and slavery.
11. The concept of God and man in Solomon's prayer spoken at the dedication of the Temple.
12. David in Christian Art: his influence on the medieval ideal of kingship.
13. The evaluation of the description of David as "the man after God's own heart."
14. The Temple of Yahweh: a study in ancient architecture.
15. The Temple of Yahweh: the religious and political significance.

SOURCE READINGS

- The First Book of Samuel
The Second Book of Samuel
The First Book of the Kings, c. 1-11
The Second Book of the Chronicles, c. 1-7

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity
 Bertholet: History of Hebrew Civilization
 Bevan: The Legacy of Israel
 Finegan: Light From the Ancient Past
 Garstang: The Heritage of Solomon
 Glueck: The River Jordan
 Frankfort, and others: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man
 Leroy-Beaulieu: Israel Among the Nations
 Lods: Israel, from Its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century
 MacDonald: The Hebrew Literary Genius
 Noyes: The Genius of Israel
 Cesterley and Robinson: A History of Israel
 Peake, editor: People and the Book
 Pedersen: Israel, Its Life and Culture

UNIT IV

THE HEBREW PROPHET AND THE PROBLEM OF HISTORY

The prophetic office in Israel developed from simple beginnings. At first, there were only seers, diviners, and ecstatic visionaries who predicted the outcome of events by observing the flight of birds, the entrails of sacrificed animals, liquid in a cup, or by using the diviner's rod. They gained a reputation for finding lost property or for inducing a frenzied religious state by their intricate and ecstatic dances. Elijah and Elisha, in the ninth century, B. C., advanced beyond these crude practices. Inspired by a loyalty to a glorious past, they heard the still, small voice, which transcended even the greatest of the forces of nature; they became the champions of the poor and friendless, of widows and foreigners, of victims of royal policy and greed. They purged their nation of the Baalism which threatened to engulf it, pitting their courage and sense of mission against the power of kings. In the eighth century and after, their successors, a galaxy of men who wrote and, in a fashion, published their prophecies, still retained the old ecstatic quality, enforcing it with the quickening powers of reason and conscience. Their message concerning the pressing moral issues of life arose from their own experiences with God. They spoke in dead earnest, and their words called for crucial decisions. These great prophets saw God at work in history; hence, their writings cannot be understood apart from Israel's relation to neighboring nations and world movements.

Assyria, located on the upper Tigris, made a westerly push early in the eleventh century, and for a time held Syria in subjection. No strong king succeeded Tiglath Pileser I for more than a century, and Syria regained indepen-

dence in the time of Solomon. Not until the ninth century did Assyria make another strong thrust in the west.

In Israel, during a revolution in 882 B. C., Omri, a military leader seized the kingdom, built and fortified Samaria, and renewed commercial relations with Phoenicia. His son Ahab married Jezebel, a princess of Tyre, strengthening the Phoenician relationship. The strong-willed Jezebel tried to impose her native religion, Baalism, on Israel, failing only because of the vigorous opposition of the prophets Elijah and Elisha.

Israel and Syria had carried on intermittent and impoverishing wars but they made a temporary alliance, and succeeded in checking Shalmaneser III at Karkar in 853 B. C., after which the Syro-Ephraimatic war was resumed. The dynasty of Omri ended when Jehu anointed by Elisha as king, killed Jehoram, and wiped out every member of the line. This prophet-inspired revolution in Israel extended its effects into Syria while Shalmaneser, quick to take advantage of the unsettled period, weakened Damascus and exacted tribute from Israel. The "Black Obelisk" bearing a record of Shalmaneser's exploits represents Jehu making a large payment and doing obeisance to the conqueror. Israel's weakness at this time is further shown on a stele erected at Dibon by Mesha, king of Moab, in commemoration of his country's independence from Israel, achieved about 840 B. C. During the same period Edom gained its freedom from Judah.

Assyria was occupied about a century with internal affairs and with conquest in the East. This gave the West respite until Tiglath Pileser III came to the throne. Israel and Judah used this period to gain strength. Jeroboam II, 787-747 B. C., refortified Samaria, doubling the wall to a minimum thickness of thirty-three feet. He even defeated Syria, restoring the northern border of David's time. Contemporaneously Judah, under Uzziah, reconquered Edom and sub-

jugated for the first time the coastal plain of Philistia. Amos and Hosea in Israel, and Isaiah and Micah in Judah, foresaw the end of this prosperity and condemned the evils which attended it.

If was difficult for the Israelites to sense their danger. Their national prosperity was the greatest it had been since the time of Solomon, which they took to be a sure token of divine favor. Their religious shrines were buzzing with activity. Festivals and sacred seasons were observed with monotonous regularity. But Amos considered their ill-gotten gains to be a sign of moral decadence, indicting them for "making the ephah small and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit." He voiced Yahveh's rejection of their worship: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs.... But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." Conscience was applied not only to social problems; but to religion itself. He predicted: "Jeroboam shall die by the sword and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of his land." He addressed these words to Israel around 750 or 745 B. C. Tiglath Pileser III ascended the Assyrian throne in 745, and by 733 he was in Palestine conquering Damascus, Galilee, the plain of Sharon, and Gilead, and laying under tribute Judah, Philistia, Ammon, Moab, Edom. Israel's refusal to pay tribute in 724 brought on the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser V and its fall to Sargon II in 721. More than 27,000 leading citizens were exiled, and foreign peoples were brought into Palestine to de-nationalize the remainder. When Samaria fell, people remembered the words of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah.

Micah was a farmer, and analyzed the moral conditions of the Southern Kingdom as due to heartlessness of the citizens of Jerusalem; the cause of this being the substitutions of non-essentials for essentials, for justice, mercy and humility. Isaiah, perhaps the greatest genius the Semites ever produced, saw

even deeper that the need of Judah, in fact, the need of the world, was a new vision of God, a God of peace, whose power and goodness control all mankind. Yet some of the seventh century prophets reflected perplexity and a mood of scepticism concerning God's relation to men. Habakkuk's problem was resolved by the dual conclusion that the just live by faith and that the plunderer of others is in turn plundered. In 614 Assur fell to the Medes, and in 612 Nineveh fell to the Medes and Babylonians. Nahum's prophecy is an ode, a hate-song; he pictured men clapping their hands at the sack of Nineveh, which had long defied the laws of God and outraged the sensibilities of mankind. His god is a pitiless god.

In 609 the Assyrian and Egyptian armies were defeated at Haran by the Babylonians. Pharaoh-Necoh took over the Assyrian empire in Palestine, but in 605 Nebuchadnezzar defeated him at Carchemish, ending his Palestinian rule. Relief from Assyrian tyranny was short-lived, for Babylon proved to be an exacting master. Jeremiah became unpopular among his people for advising loyal fulfillment of the treaty with Nebuchadnezzar and for warning Judah that national catastrophe would follow an insurrection. His messages were given in tears and received with hatred and unbelief. He was charged with treason. A plot against his life failed. Against Jeremiah's advice Judah antagonized Babylon by making an alliance with Egypt, and in 598 Nebuchadnezzar carried King Jehoichin and the political leaders into exile. Nine years later Judah revolted again, and this time Jerusalem was destroyed; the leaders were exiled; and the poor remained as victims of their neighbors.

Jeremiah's historical achievement consisted of his preparing his people for exile by detaching their faith from reliance on the shrine and even from the nation. To him religion was essentially the individual's personal experience of God. Nothing was greater than that; nothing less could transform humanity.

That was the "new covenant."

In Isaiah 40-66 the Hebrew mind reached the heights of prophetic insight and expression. To the exiles it seemed that God had failed. The prophet of the Exile showed them God as sovereign over all men and present in and over the historical process. Announcing God's purpose of delivery, he sought to lead them from a secular view of history to a view of events divinely ordered. The prophet is as relevant for our day as for theirs with his message that at the center of the human epic lies the will of God. And it is this book that was most often quoted by Jesus of Nazareth. The strength of God can inspire man to endure suffering and to conquer evil with good.

L.F.K.

LECTURES

- I. NINTH CENTURY, ASSYRIA: THE HEBREW PROPHET AS A REVOLUTIONARY
- II. EIGHTH CENTURY, ASSYRIA: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE HEBREW PROPHET
- III. BABYLON AND THE FALL OF JERUSALEM: THE MEANING OF HISTORY

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The wars between the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Damascus from 926 to 722 B. C.
2. The destruction of the Canaanite cults: Elijah's place in Israel's history.
3. Elisha and the poor: the social role of the Hebrew Prophet.
4. The Assyrian Invasion and the Fall of Samaria and its effect on Israel's faith: Isaiah.
5. Ashur, the War God: the militarized society.
6. Amos: righteousness and justice as solutions to the problem of poverty and exploitation.
7. Hosea: the religion of loving kindness and mercy as productive of forgiveness and loyalty.
8. Isaiah, Poet and Statesman: the Hebraic interpretation of God in history.
9. Isaiah: the concept of the Messiah and the transformation of humanity.
10. Micah: the essentials of religion: justice, mercy, and reverence.
11. Nahum: the hate song on the Fall of Nineveh.
12. The rise of the new Babylonian Empire and the policies of Nebuchadnezzar.
13. The interplay of politics and religion in the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B. C.
14. The Hebrew Prophet on the price of enduring peace.
15. The rise of individualism: Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
16. Can one obtain loyalty through espionage? Deuteronomy 13
17. The Prophets on political leadership, Deuteronomy 17.
18. The decline and fall of the Hebrew monarchy: Thucydides and Jeremiah as historians.

SOURCE READINGS

- The Book of Deuteronomy, c. 13, 17
The Book of Amos
The Book of Hosea
The Book of Nahum
The Book of Micah, c. 3, 6
The Book of Isaiah, c. 1-12, 34-35
The Book of Jeremiah, c. 7, 9, 31
The First Book of the Kings, c. 12-22
The Second Book of the Kings
The Book of Ezekiel, c. 18

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity
 Childe: What Happened in History
 Graham: Culture and Conscience
 Guillaume: Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and Other Semites
 Olmstead: History of Assyria
 Peake, editor: People and the Book
 Robinson: The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1
 Scott: The Relevance of the Prophets
 Skinner: The Prophecy and Religion
 Smith: The Book of the Twelve Prophets
 Taylor: Ancient Ideals
 Wilson: The Herdsman
 Wright: The Challenge of Israel's Faith

UNIT V

THE WEST MEETS THE EAST

Who were the Greeks? Homer and other early Greek poets preserved traditions of an Aegean civilization which had flourished in the eastern Mediterranean area long before the appearance of the Greeks, but these accounts were considered legendary until Heinrich Schliemann, a German-American businessman, Sir Arthur Evans, an English archaeologist, and others in comparatively recent times, proved by their sensational discoveries the essential truth of these legends. Schliemann uncovered the ruins of Homer's Troy, discovered the site of ancient Mycenae, and proved beyond doubt that there existed in Greece an advanced civilization long before the arrival of the Hellenic tribes from the North. Evans excavated the magnificent palaces at Cnossus on the island of Crete, which he called the palaces of Minos, since this was the name given by legend to the most famous of the Cretan kings. Today the name Minoan is given to the whole prehistoric culture of Crete and the Aegean world, though no one knows what the Minoans called themselves. It is true that the Minoans had a highly developed system of writing, but as yet it has remained undeciphered.

Archaeologists, however, have made it possible to reconstruct to some extent, at least, the history of this prehistoric Minoan world. The beginning of the Bronze Age can be placed approximately at 3400 B. C. Already the inhabitants of the Aegean Islands had become good sailors, and with Crete as their center soon developed a common culture, based on maritime trade. The golden age of Crete came between 2400 and 1400, during which time, by means of her powerful navy, she was able to become mistress of the seas, and extend her culture and power to the mainland of Greece. The great palace at Cnossus, with its elaborately adorned walls, its supply of running water, its spacious living

quarters, its great storehouses and industrial quarters, and its theatre where spectators sat on tiers of stone seats to watch the bull-fights and athletic contests, was so impressive that its wonders were handed down in Greek legend in the stories of the Labyrinth of King Minos.

The ascendancy of Crete in the Aegean world came to an end about 1450 B. C. Some time after 2000 B. C. barbarian peoples from the north had drifted down into Greece, entrenched themselves in strongly fortified palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, and other places on the mainland, and finally attacked Crete itself. They sacked and destroyed the palace at Cnossus, and won for themselves the leadership of the Aegean. This period of mainland ascendancy, when pirate-kings from Greece more than once threatened even Egypt, is known as the Mycenaean Age. It was during this era that the famous Trojan War took place between the Mycenaeans and a group of people inhabiting the northwestern part of Asia Minor; and it was about this Heroic Age in Greek history that Homer wrote.

Seven different cities claimed to have been the birthplace of the immortal Homer and the supposed date of his birth varies from 1159 to 685 B. C. Herodotus estimated it as 830 B. C. The two Homeric epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey, portray the civilization of the Mycenaean Age in its material aspects, but they picture the moral and religious beliefs, the culture and the ideals of the ninth century B. C. To Homer, man's life was an unending struggle and adventure; courage was the only positive requirement.

The Mycenaean Age had been ended several hundred years before the birth of Homer by the arrival in Greece of the Dorians, the most warlike of the invading tribes from the North. By 1000 B. C. the Dorians had destroyed the citadels at Mycenae and Tiryns, conquered the greater part of the Peloponnese, and destroyed in large measure the Mycenaean civilization in Greece

and Crete. The Middle Ages or Dark Ages in Greek history were brought about by the Dorian invasions and lasted until the end of the sixth century. During these centuries the two most important movements were an economic revolution and the colonization of the Mediterranean world. In the days of Homer, Greece was still tribal, but by the end of the sixth century city-states had replaced the tribal organizations, industry and commerce had replaced agriculture in importance, and Greek colonies had been planted throughout the Mediterranean world. The Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor became the leaders in the economic revolution, and the adoption of coined money as a medium of exchange by the Ionians was perhaps the most important economic event of the revolution.

The rise of Persia as the dominant power of the East took place during the sixth century B. C. In the middle of the century Cyrus, governor of the Median province of Persia, led his province in rebellion against the King of the Medes, dethroned him and then started out on his program of conquest. In 546 B. C. he invaded Asia Minor, defeated Croesus, King of Lydia, and annexed all of Asia Minor, including the Greek city-states along the western coast, to the Persian Empire. In 539 B. C. he captured Babylon, after a spectacular siege, and destroyed the great Chaldean Empire. Cambyses, his successor, added Egypt to the Persian Empire in 525 B. C. Darius the Great, 521-485 B. C., consolidated these conquests and built up an immense empire extending from the Indus River westward to the Aegean Sea. It was now plain to the Greeks that the next step in Persian progress would be the absorption of the free city-states of the West into the despotic Oriental empire of Persia.

Persian imperialism and the Greek fear of this imperialism led directly to the great war between Persia and Greece, which took place during the first two decades of the fifth century B. C. Herodotus, the father of

history, has immortalized the Greek heroes of this war, and their glorious victories at Marathon, Salamis, Thermopylae, and Plataea. The war was not merely a crisis in the history of the Greeks; it was also a crisis in the history of Western civilization, for, had the Persians been victorious over the Greeks, Oriental despotism rather than Greek freedom would surely have characterized the civilization of Europe and the Western World. There would have been no Golden Age of Pericles in Athenian history, and it is even conceivable that the Western Hemisphere would still lie undiscovered by the European world.

W.R.C.

LECTURES

- I. THE ORIGIN OF GREEK CULTURE: HOMER
- II. THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
- III. THE WARS OF PERSIA AND GREECE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The Minoan civilization: the Sea Kings of Crete.
2. The Troy of history and the Troy of Homer.
3. The analyzation of the character of Odysseus and comparison with that of David.
4. The education of Telemachus: estimate Mentor as a teacher.
5. How does Odysseus solve the various difficulties which he faced?
6. The Greek view of women: compare the women in the Odyssey with the women in the Book of Genesis.
7. Homer's religion as revealed in the Odyssey.
8. The value of Law in Solon and Lycurgus: the development of polity in Athens and Sparta.
9. Cleisthenes: the rights and privileges of the people in a democracy.
10. The builders of the Persian Empire: Cyrus and Xerxes.
11. The military victories of the Greeks at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea.
12. The significance of the Greek victory over Persia and the birth of the European consciousness.
13. Pericles and the final phase of democracy: responsibility of the statesman to the People's Assembly.
14. Herodotus: History as nationalistic propaganda.
15. Compare the philosophies of history of Amos and Herodotus.

SOURCE READINGS

Homer: The Odyssey

SUGGESTED READINGS

Aeschylus: The Persians
 Breasted: Ancient Times
 Chadwick: The Heroic Age
 Childe: The Bronze Age
 Cornford: From Religion to Philosophy
 Herodotus: The History of Herodotus
 Homer: The Iliad
 Jaeger: Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, Vol. 1
 Murray: The Rise of the Greek Epic
 Nilsson: The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion
 Parke: A History of the Delphic Oracle
 Pendlebury: The Archaeology of Crete
 Perry: The Women of Homer
 Plutarch: Lives, "Solon," "Lycurgus," "Themistocles"
 Quennell: Everyday Life in Homeric Greece
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1

UNIT VI

THE GREEK ARTISTS AND THE CULT OF BEAUTY

The Greeks became the schoolmasters of the Roman Empire and, consequently, of Western Europe. In no field of culture was their influence so persuasive as in art. While religious and political ideas are either accepted or rejected consciously, works of art have a silent appeal and can be appropriated, safe from criticism, as military loot or as novelties picked up in trade. Certainly there has never been a more fateful example of the conquest of one culture by another than that of the early Latins by the Greeks.

The Greeks themselves defined art as imitation. They believed this definition would hold throughout the gamut of the arts, from the original village festivals or orgies, in which men dressed and pranced as goats, or brayed as asses, to the great tragedies, in which heroes and heroines relived the legendary and significant Golden Age; from the pictures of animals, men, and gods on the pottery to the statuary on the pediments of the great temples. Greek art is always representative realism, even when infused with symbolism.

This theory led to two very different evaluations of art, evaluations which linger to the present day. There are some who do not realize the value of art to civilization; others who do. Thus, we have Plato's theory that art was a curse to Greek civilization, the source of that deceptive veneer which led men to live for appearance alone, and not for reality. On the other hand, there is the Aristotelian theory, a schoolmaster's, if you will, that art is a valuable demonstration of the typical, or normal ideal. Curiously enough, Plato was an artist and Aristotle was not.

Actually the Greek artist far outstripped the Greek theorist, for life is always prior to thought. Subsequent studies of Greek art have re-

vealed that, in the five centuries when Greek art was truly creative, there was the most concerted and most patient experimentation with form. And it was the Greek artist who discovered the secret of beauty, in a word, proportion, and not the philosopher or mathematician. The Greek musician had discovered harmony long before Pythagoras explained it.

Proportion is the relation of one magnitude to another: $a:b$. Not all proportions are beautiful; some chords are discords.

The humblest of the arts, pottery, illustrates both the passion for decorating with the representations, that is, imitations of birds and beasts, of gods and horses, of satyrs and Maenads, and also a most extraordinary use of mathematics in design. Where the handle springs from the shoulder of a jug is to us a matter of use or choice, to the Greek one of careful calculation. The forty thousand or more Greek jars that have been measured and analysed prove this, though it seems possible that the Greek artist had a sense of form, a space consciousness, that exempted him from the geometrical calculus which has been proposed. Perhaps there is an eye for form as there is an ear for melody; perhaps dynamic symmetry can be felt as well as calculated.

The most obvious example of the Greeks' creative genius is his architecture. It is true that the Greek travelled in Egypt, Crete, Lycia; that he learned and borrowed the customs of these countries; and that he inherited techniques from his predecessors in the Aegean region. But the fact remains that when he built such a building as the Parthenon it was this realization of the value of proportion which controlled its design. Here we must admit that he used his great mathematical achievement, geometry.

There have been many builders who used daring and fantasy, decoration and ostentation, to impress the beholder, but it would be a reckless enthusiast

who would care to place these technical and engineering feats in competition with the Parthenon. After all, art, like life itself, may be a mystery. The Greek achieved that extraordinary fusion of reality, strength, and beauty which means true satisfaction and happiness. Greek art is neither dazzling nor arrogant, but it can cast a spell on the observer no other art can achieve; it convinces one of the correctness of Plato's theory that beauty is a phase of goodness.

No wonder that the Romans fell under its spirit; no wonder that the Renaissance turned to a type of art which sacrifices neither the intellect nor the emotions.

The Greek artists were artists by birthright, not artists by conviction or propaganda or education.

The Greek achievement in drama is also unique. Others have pondered the meaning of life, the value of man. But it was the Greeks who threw on that puzzling and inescapable problem, human existence, these twin searchlights--a sense of reality and the longing for the beautiful.

From the Aeschylean tragedy in which man pits his powers against the forces of the universe, to the Euripidean sorrows over the cruel stupidities of man, we have what we might call the Gospel according to the Greeks. But we must remember that it is an artist's gospel, not a saint's discovery of God, nor a philosopher's utopian program.

The one comfort the Greek offered humanity is that man can find peace in the understanding of even the most terrible crimes and the most extraordinary misfortunes; not that if he is clever enough, he can dodge life, but that if he is sincere enough he can see in sorrow, suffering, and shame their meaning and their beauty. Perhaps this is why the Christian Gospel had

to be written in Greek. Even that caustic aristocrat, Aristophanes, can cast over his explosive and even blasphemous humor a veil of exquisite beauty.

That is why Mr. Yeats classes only Shakespeare, of all the poets of the Western World, with the Greek dramatists.

Also, in the grand triumph of popular sports, the Olympic games, the truest democratic institution of ancient Greece, we find the artistic instinct at work. To the modern man, as to the ancient Roman, the horse race was chiefly an occasion for grand-scale gambling. The Greek gambled, it is true. The pediment of the Temple of Zeus is in memory of the winner who defeated the old Swindler; but the Greek saw in the contestant something more than a swift or strong animal; rather an exponent of man's life in its moment of intense effort and triumph, or of failure and defeat. In a sense, too, the race is an imitation of life; both the victories and the defeats can purge and strengthen the observer. Thus sport can be more than recreation or amusement; it can be drama--a significant factor in life.

Out of this athletics, which measured man against man, community against community, the greatest chapter in the history of sport, there emerged the Greek cult of the human body. While Plato sees in this love of the body one of the chief causes for the corruption of the philosopher's thinking, there is another and a saner side: the search for beauty can transform man's life from a mere struggle for existence to an area where man can discover incarnate in himself and others, qualities which can be developed; courage, moderation, self mastery. Even Plato recognized athletics to be essential to the higher learning. Perhaps this cult of the body is the first and most fundamental of the humanities. Certainly if one cannot see the beauty in the "Victory of Samothrace", he will never be haunted by "a chorus ending from Euripides."

LECTURES

- I. THE BUILDING OF THE PARTHENON: ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN
- II. THE GREEK DRAMATISTS: THE MEANING OF LIFE
- III. THE OLYMPIC GAMES: THE CULT OF THE BODY

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The social and religious meaning of the Parthenon.
2. The stages of Greek art: primitive, memorial, ideal, dramatic, realistic.
3. The Greek concept of Beauty: mathematical proportion in design and form and the harmonious relations of the parts to the whole.
4. The technical achievements of Greek architecture: columns, capitals, entablatures, and friezes.
5. The pediments and the Pan-Athenaic Frieze as expressions of the ideals of democracy and religious humanism.
6. The faith of Sophocles in man's intelligence in discovering the meaning of an event.
7. The analyzation of the plot and characters of Sophocles' play Oedipus Tyrannus as a detective story.
8. Euripides' view of woman: the status of woman in Greek society.
9. The comparison of the women of Sophocles and Euripides: the Electra symbol.
10. Aristophanes: the Clouds as a satire on education.
11. The Greek sense of humor.
12. Greek plays as a form of adult education.
13. The drama as art applied to the problem of human life.
14. Aeschylus: Prometheus: man's problems and man's resources.
15. The theory of evil as viewed by the Greek dramatists: causes and solutions.

SOURCE READINGS

- Aeschylus: The Prometheus Bound
 Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus
 Euripides: Hippolytus
 Aristophanes: The Clouds

SUGGESTED READINGS

- The Book of Job
 Bowra: Sophoclean Tragedy
 Dugas: Greek Pottery
 Gardiner: Athletics of the Ancient World
 Greene: Moirai: Fate, Good and Evil, in Greek Thought
 Jaeger: Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, Vol. I
 Norwood: Greek Tragedy
 Norwood: Greek Comedy
 Norwood: Pindar
 Pindar: Odes
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1
 Rostovtzeff: Out of the Past of Greece and Rome
 Walters: The Art of the Greeks

UNIT VII

THE GREEK CONCEPT OF NATURE

The science which developed in the Greek-speaking world of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. was an original creation. There was a kind of science before this time which the Greeks inherited from other cultures, but in these earlier forms "the theory continued to be wholly merged in the operations." The Greek contribution is illustrated by Euclid's geometry. The surveyors of the annually inundated lands of the Nile had long used practical geometry and must have had some implicit knowledge of the principles involved. Around 300 B. C. Euclid abstracted the principles from the operations, formulated the postulates and definitions, and indicated the steps by which the propositions of geometry follow. He thus worked these materials into a consistent body of knowledge; in other words, he formed an organic group of ideas which can be used to solve a series of problems.

The Greeks of the sixth century in the Ionian city of Miletus in Asia Minor originated the philosophical or scientific way of thinking. They looked for explanations in things themselves rather than resorting to mythology, applying this naturalistic interpretation to natural objects and to the universe as a whole.

Thales, c. 600 B. C., developed a method of determining the distance from the observer to ships at sea by comparative triangles; he proved that a circle is bisected by its diameter; and, calculating from Babylonian data, he predicted an eclipse of the sun in 586 B. C. He was also a philosopher, accounting for the variety of nature's objects by a basic substratum which he assumed was water. That is, he conceived that the cause of everything inheres in a fundamental substance from which all natural objects spring.

Anaximander sought an explanation in indeterminate substance, and Anaximenes looked for it in mist or air, introducing also the mechanical principles of condensation and rarefaction to account for change. But they agreed in giving a natural interpretation, each holding that the basic principle is a single material substance.

Pythagoras, c. 540 B. C., found the fundamental principle of nature in number or ratio. An Ionian by birth, he moved from Samos to Croton in southern Italy, where he founded a religious brotherhood. The group considered mathematics the key to reality. Musical sounds, they argued, die away when the musician ceases to strike the lyre, but they may be recovered if one knows the ratio which produce the harmony. Sounds are fleeting; ratios are permanent. Those things are perishable that we apprehend by the senses; they are permanent that are grasped by reason. To escape the tomb of the body by contemplation of the eternal became the ethical and religious ideal of the Pythagoreans.

In Book Ten of the Laws, Plato distinguished sharply between the views of the Ionians and of the Pythagoreans. The Ionians began with material and chance only, and made all else derivative. Purpose, religion, morality, they held to be products of human invention which men worked into their laws and customs. Plato held with the Pythagoreans that thought, mind, design, and providence are primary, material being directed and explained by them. The principles of justice inhere in nature and are eternal; they are the bases of men's moral and legal codes which express these principles more or less adequately.

About the year 500 B. C. there lived at the extreme ends of the Greek-speaking world Heraclitus of Ephesus, who believed everything changes, and Parmenides of Elea, who held that nothing changes. Heraclitus appealed chiefly to the senses; Parmenides, distrusting the senses, appealed to reason.

This brought into focus two approaches to truth sometimes considered contradictory, one resting on observation and experiment, the other based on rational analysis and deduction. The Greeks have left a tradition of rational approach to problems, but there is generous evidence that they also made use of observation and experiment, proof of which comes from the medical records of the Hippocratic school.

Following the lead of Anaxagoras, c. 500-428 B. C., who introduced an infinite number of "seeds" to explain the structure of matter, Democritus, c. 420 B. C., proposed atoms in motion in a void, meeting one of the dilemmas men had reached by accounting for both permanence and change. Revived by Dalton, this theory formed the basis of the atomism now intimately bound up with modern science.

In the fourth century the attention of the Greeks shifted from physical nature and the cosmos to man and his behavior. So far, the development of thought had been uneven, neglecting the nature of man and his behavior in society. There were many assumptions about ethics and politics but little critical thought had been brought to bear on them. A study of manual activities had produced physical sciences. The question now was, could man learn anything about his nature and the behavior which is appropriate for him?

Sophists on the streets of fifth century Athens were proposing to teach men "how to win friends and influence people." They taught the art of "making the worse appear the better reason", which was useful in the law courts for gaining one's ends. If questioned about the right to achieve such ends, the Sophist was likely to reply that good is only a matter of convention, differing from country to country. This point of view had implications concerning man's nature, the nature of truth, ethics, and politics which

Socrates insisted should be examined, not accepted blindly. He set himself to bring each of these into question wherever men could be engaged in discourse. His illustrious pupil Plato carried forward these studies, committing them to permanent form in thirty or more dialogues, which, for excellence of thought and literary form, will endure for all time. Raising the questions "What is justice?", and "Does it pay to do right?", in the Republic, he works out his concept of man, finding the rational aspect of man as his proper directing force to preserve his inner balance and to keep him in harmony with his universe.

There is no necessary dilemma between experimental science and speculative philosophy. Aristotle carried on extensive biological researches, mentioning about five hundred different kinds of animals of which he personally dissected about fifty. At the same time, he saw in the world of fishes, birds, and mammals great theoretical principles: the relation of inner purpose, entelechy, to existing form, the permanence of species or order in life, and organic unity or the principle of individualion.

In his Ethics Aristotle developed the view that man can never find happiness in a life suitable for beasts. Even here his concept of life springs from his concept of nature, as his concept of nature springs from his concept of reality. Man must fulfill his specific nature in its vegetative, animal, and rational aspects, which means bringing all his activities under control of the rational principle. Thus theory, obtained by observing life, must control life. Moral virtue is acquired by development of habits by which one "takes pleasure in, and is pained by, the things that he ought." Moral action is the mean between excess and deficiency: for example, courage lies between rashness and cowardice, it being always right to be courageous. Intellectual virtues are learned by application of reason both to variables and invariables,

by which one grasps first principles intuitively, and achieves scientific and practical knowledge, by which he determines his behavior. The good life is social, resulting from a proper application of the principles of friendship. The good state is one which aids man in fulfilling his nature, but neither a bad state nor misfortune can overwhelm the good man, who has the capacity to endure unfavorable circumstances.

Thus the Greek mind which resolutely attempted to find the explanation, whether of a phenomenon or an event, as if the explanation were included in it, and as resolutely attempted to exclude from any phenomenon or event any external or transcendent cause, set up an idea, namely Nature, made up of innumerable lesser natures or essences, which has ever since haunted the Western mind. Aristotle's tirelessly repeated credo, "Nature does nothing in vain", suggests that this system of inner purpose has an independent existence. In fact, the Greek philosophers never escaped from the mythology of their predecessors: they deified the impersonal forces of the universe.

L.F.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE ORIGINS OF SCIENCE
- II. PLATO ON THE NATURE OF MAN
- III. ARISTOTLE ON THE GOOD LIFE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The Case of Socrates on loyalty to state against loyalty to self.
2. Socrates on the value of conversation or the art of the dialogue.
3. Plato's theory of justice compared with the conventional theory and the political scientist's theory.
4. Would Socrates have signed the Declaration of Independence?
5. The comparison of the Socrates of the Clouds with the Socrates of the Apology.
6. The analyzation of the Divided Line, the Republic, Book VI, and find illustrations of the four levels of thinking.
7. The Allegory of the Cave, the Republic, Book VII, and its bearing on education.
8. What makes an idea a revolutionary one?
9. Parmenides and Heraclitus: the problem of motion.
10. Hippocrates: ideal of a doctor; ethics of the Hippocratic Oath.
11. The institution of the school and its influence on culture.
12. Aristotle's view of form, potentiality, causality, and nature.
13. Aristotle on how to live the happy life.
14. The value of friends according to Aristotle.
15. The concept of matter in Pre-Socratic philosophy.

SOURCE READINGS

The Hippocratic Oath

Plato: The Apology

Plato: The Republic, Books, I, IV, VI, VII

Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics, Book VIII

Aristotle: The Metaphysics, Book I

SUGGESTED READINGS

Collingwood: The Idea of Nature

Dampier: A History of Science

Jaeger: Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture

Kelsen: Society and Nature

Livingstone: The Legacy of Greece

Lovejoy: The Great Chain of Being

Shorey: What Plato Said

Stace: A Critical History of Greek Philosophy

Wild: Plato's Theory of Man

Windelband: A History of Philosophy

UNIT VIII

THE GREEK CRITICS OF DEMOCRACY

The Peloponnesian War, 431-404 B. C., brought to a tragic end the brilliant Athenian Empire, an empire built on trade and an expression of the same creative intelligence exhibited in the dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and the sculpture of Phidias. This futile struggle for the hegemony of the Greek world, mainly between Athens and Sparta, revealed fatal weaknesses. The inability to create a united state suggests the inability to think in interests and relations greater than those of the local city-state. The Greek political horizon was as neatly inclosed, as completely an organic whole, as the designs of a Greek sculptor or of a Greek potter. It is in this passion for unity or unanimity, which was passed later to the Greek Christian Church as orthodoxy, that the explanation for the tragedy lies, rather than in the non-existence of the idea of a nation; for the Oriental mind had already conceived of national unity not only for a racially homogeneous population but for several hostile races. The Assyrian had attempted to reach unity by a policy of deportation and racial fusions; the Persians, by a good-neighbor policy, granting religious and social toleration and aiding mutual prosperity through trade. Moreover, the Greek felt the need of good will. The leagues formed and the treaties drawn up show that the average men in the various states did not cherish the century long grudges as later Celtic clansmen did. But neither religion as a unifying force nor great political leaders were at hand.

The tragedy of the Peloponnesian War, which inspired some of the sarcasms of Aristophanes and some of the heart-rending tragedies of Euripides, also produced a man considered by many as the world's greatest historian, Thucydides. In fact, some have regarded the Peloponnesian War as great be-

cause he wrote its history. As an historian his greatness consists of three essential qualities. First, he demonstrated the value of the critical examination of the evidence. His book is no courtly romance and no tendential propaganda such as have afflicted the Western World. Much less it is pious ancestor worship. Second, Thucydides was able to arrange the events in such a fashion that the significance of the epoch emerges. This was due to the literary technique achieved by the Greek dramatists. The key to historical significance lies in sequence. Events, like words, have tenses. The third quality is an objectivity or impartiality. The spectator, if he expects to understand history, cannot allow his prejudices to distort his vision. It is this quality which Plato regarded as the key to the philosophic mind in his famous definition of the philosopher as "a spectator of all time and all existence."

Thucydides reveals the inner weaknesses of democracy. They are three: susceptibility on the part of the demos, the people, to the wishes or impudence of the demagogue; reckless financial extravagance in war, with no reserves in man power and wealth to face possible defeat; intense jealousy between military and naval leaders. Thucydides knew whereof he wrote. He had been a general and a scapegoat.

Plato as a young man saw the long walls of Athens destroyed. He later came under the spell of a famous Athenian veteran of the Peloponnesian War, Socrates, the street-corner philosopher, whom he had observed to intellectually disembowel popular lecturers, performers, and high paid tutors. He even reported to future centuries that extraordinary self-defense before a jury of over four hundred citizens, wherein Socrates reveals the ancient Greek dream of citizenship, a dream that had faded. He described, apparently,

Socrates' death.

In essence Plato's message is that democracy has failed because of the type of man it produces.

Democracy is the third stage or third act in the drama of the state.

The state has its genesis in the economic demands which are created by the division of labor into the various professions, arts, and crafts. And the first type of ruler, reaching back to the old Homeric world, is the old landed aristocrat. Leadership demanded personal prowess. The great strength of this heroic or feudal age lies in an inner thought or passion, honor, self-respect, self-control, and a demand for one's rights. With it is a keen desire for well-bred children. Since the old Greek aristocrat was often a horse or sheep breeder, it was natural that he realized the value of eugenics. He was a humanistic realist.

However, he was a stupid man, discounting learning. The power and persistence of this type of leader is best seen today in the Brahminical caste in India.

Stupidity always fails; hence the clever, legally trained, unscrupulous oligarchs take the center of the stage in the second act. These work through social relations rather than by relying on personal qualities. And since they are more socially inclined, they realize the importance of education, or schooling, for their sons. Their weakness lies in their success. Surrounded by a multitude of envious victims, they are in a dilemma over whether to arm their slaves or not. If they arm them, they face revolts; if not, attack from neighboring states.

Hence we get the rule of the people, the common people. Now a sacred shibboleth, Democracy, and the third act.

Plato once and for all put his finger on the essential weaknesses

of democracy: first, a desire to do as one likes, which leads to that curious admiration for the criminal who practices what the democrat dreams of; second, pleasures, luxuries and sensuality, Plato claims that when he landed at Tarentum he found an entire city, men, women and children, drunk; third, an intense and positive distaste for learning.

The final stage, the tragic last act, is the appearance of the Tyrant, the Wolf-man. This smiling humanitarian, who is the champion of the poor, changes his nature after he is elected, as swiftly as the lucky individual at an orgy of Lycaon Zeus, to whom is flung the wolf's heart. The twentieth century's experience with tyrants suggests that Plato was a prophet. The penalty on the decadent democracy is that the Wolf-man breeds a multitude of little wolf-men, bureaucrats.

When you regard this theory of government, you can see that Plato has, unconsciously perhaps, pointed out on what democracy depends for salvation, education of the leaders. And education depends on both a program and a theory of knowledge, which is the everlasting gospel of Plato.

Aristotle's philosophy aimed at political stability; hence he has always been the point of inspiration for the conservative.

According to Aristotle, the types of rulers Plato had presented could be either good or bad. You can have a good monarch or a tyrannical one. You can have a generous and efficient group of aristocratic leaders or vicious and crafty nepotists. You can have a howling mob of a democracy or you can have politicians. It is curious how the odor of words and ideas can change with the centuries. It is hard for us to believe the politics is essentially good, because it is the art of governing man.

According to Aristotle politics never has been, never will be, a

science. As the art of governing men it is the greatest of the arts. But the politician needs to remember that it is men he is governing, and that men are very dangerous.

Of course Aristotle was Alexander's tutor. And his pupil went out to conquer the world, to end forever the threat from Asia Minor, and to annex the Egyptian and Persian Empires. The Greek becomes a missionary. He took his culture wherever he went. And he left, curiously enough, nominal democracies throughout the Near East.

But before this extraordinary sequel occurred, which has been considered one of the two great events in ancient history, the political conquest of the Orient by the Occident, followed by the spiritual conquest of the Occident by the Orient; before that, there appeared the last defender of Democracy, Demosthenes.

Demosthenes demonstrated the folly of democracy in placing popular orators at the head of armies; when charged with treason and corruption, he realized how ungrateful a democracy can be, and he paid for his faith with his life. And in De Corona he gives evidence of the inner vitality of Democracy. Even if all men who fought for the ideal of democracy perished, it would be well, he argued, for they would be dying for what was right.

How different he was from his pliant and plausible contemporary Isocrates, who, when the Greek dream of democracy faded with the coming of Alexander, hailed the new era, in which the term Greek referred not to a race but to a culture, Paideia.

A.P.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY
- II. PLATO AND ARISTOTLE ON THE STATE
- III. ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Thucydides' concept of history: aims and methods of the historian.
2. Pericles' "Funeral Oration" and the ideals of democracy.
3. The corruption of Athenian democracy by the power politics at Melos.
4. Thucydides' explanation of the failure of the Syracusan expedition.
5. The comparison of Thucydides' literary style with the Greek dramatic writings.
6. Plato's analysis of the decline and fall of the social system, the Republic, Book VIII.
7. The weakness of democracy: misinterpretation of freedom and distortion of education.
8. The philosopher kings of Plato compared with the Prophets of Israel.
9. The comparison of Plato's view of the state with Aristotle's.
10. Aristotle's justification of slavery. Is slavery necessary for the creation of a cultured class?
11. How does Aristotle apply the principle of the Golden Mean to politics?
12. The political consequences of Alexander's conquests.
13. The cultural consequences of Alexander's conquests of the Greeks and Jews.
14. The faith of Demosthenes in democracy. Is it a religion?
15. Compare Thucydides' History with I and II Kings as a study in the hybris of nations and disintegration of states.

SOURCE READINGS

- Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War: "Funeral Oration of Pericles," Book II; "Melian Dialogue," Book V; "Syracusan Expedition," Book VI, VII
- Plato: The Republic, Book VIII
- Aristotle: Politics, Book I
- Demosthenes: On The Crown
- Plutarch: Lives, "Alexander"

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Arrian: Anabasis of Alexander
- Aristophanes: The Knights
- Aristophanes: The Wasps
- Aristotle: Politics of Aristotle, Translated with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes by Sir Ernest Barker
- Barker: Greek Political Theory
- Barker: The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle
- Collingwood: The Idea of History
- Glover: From Pericles to Philip
- Jaeger: Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, Vol. 1, 2
- Lord: Thucydides and the World War
- Restovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1
- Restovtzeff: Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World
- Wilcken: Alexander the Great

UNIT IX

JUDAISM: THE RENAISSANCE OF ISRAEL

The renaissance of Israel in the fifth century B. C. created a culture which we call Judaism. The ideals and institutions of Judaism differ from those of the Hebrew civilization before the Exile. The people who were uprooted from their homelands and carried captive to Babylon were transformed by the contacts with Mesopotamian culture, both Babylonian and Persian.

The fall of Samaria to Sargon II in 721 B. C. ended the political life of the Northern Kingdom. Its leading citizens were deported to Assyria and ultimately the Ten Tribes were absorbed by the people among whom they settled. Only the Samaritans remained, the residue of the once proud kingdom of Ahab and Omri. The Southern Kingdom of Judah miraculously escaped destruction by the Assyrians under Sennacherib in the time of Isaiah, but was finally caught in the pincers of Egypt and Babylon as those two rivals fought for world empire. The failure of Jehoiakin to heed the councils of Jeremiah, and to ally Judah with Babylon in the struggle, led to the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. Zedekiah, the last of the dynasty of David, was the helpless victim of circumstance. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the City of David and its Temple of Yahweh, carrying off the leading citizens and artisans to Babylon. The Psalmist writes:

"By the rivers of Babylon,
There we sat down, yea, we wept
When we remembered Zion.
Upon the willows in the midst thereof
We hanged up our harps."

The sense of tragedy among the Hebrews was deep, and they cried in their Lamentations: "See if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow." To these emigres from Judah, Ezekiel, the founder of Judaism, who had been taken to Babylon with the contingent of captives in 598 B. C., first conceived of the possibility of the resurrection of the nation in his poem "The Valley of Dry Bones."

Many of the Hebrews soon forgot their homeland as they settled down to the pursuits of trade and farming in the Euphrates region, and the influences of Babylon's wealth and commerce began to change the nature of their ideals and institutions. Leaders like Ezekiel saw that, unless something was done, the exiles of Judah would suffer the same fate as those of the Northern Kingdom. Faced with the possibility that the Hebrew tradition would pass from history, the forms of Hebrew life and thought were given a new emphasis. In the place of the Temple the Synagogue was established, where the reading of the Torah and the Prophets, and prayers to Yahweh were instituted to help the exiles maintain their heritage. The function of the Law in the hostile environment of Babylon and Persia was primarily to enable the exiles to keep their identity. Hence the emphasis on the letter of the Law. Meticulous ritualism enabled the Hebrews to retain their exclusiveness and created a new type of nationalism, conscious of a divine mission. Judaism has its origins in this loyalty of the people to God. The Hebrew language was replaced by Aramaic. The Scribe appeared. The Scribe was needed to interpret the Hebrew text and to edit and publish the literature of Israel, both old and new. Scribes evolved into Rabbis, authoritative teachers of the Law. To interpret Hebrew texts to an Aramaic speaking people, the Scribes produced the Targums, Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew text. The changing social structure led to an elaboration of the Law into a series of commentaries which were at first preserved in an Oral Tradition, but were later written down and became known as the Talmud.

The emphasis on the preservation of the Hebraic tradition among the exiles created a new concept of the priesthood, an institution primarily to study and promote the nation's history. The chief of the Priestly works are the Book of Leviticus, a handbook for priests, "the literary monument of the Hebrew priesthood", and the Books of Chronicles, which is a re-reading of the history

of the Hebrews from the Priestly point of view. The ancient Hebraic tradition in the hands of these priests was modified largely to support their authority. The struggle for social justice and the attack on ceremonialism by Amos, Micah, and Jeremiah was ignored by the creators of, perhaps, the most elaborate and ceremonial ritual in the history of mankind.

The policy of the Persian empire made this development possible. When Cyrus the Great, in 538 B. C., took Babylon, he repatriated the conquered peoples, among them the Jews. He also restored many of the Temple treasures taken by Nebuchadnezzar. Most of the Jews refused to return to their homeland, but a minority under Zerubbabel made the trek back to Jerusalem in 536 B. C. The problems at Jerusalem, which was now occupied by the descendants of the lower classes who had been left there by Nebuchadnezzar, were as great as those which Zerubbabel left behind in Babylon. The first task was to establish some sort of order. The economic and political struggle occupied the people for sixteen years, and, despite the pleading of Haggai and Zechariah, the rebuilding of the Temple, which was begun soon after the return, was stopped and not resumed by Zerubbabel until 520 B. C. The Temple of Zerubbabel, which was greatly inferior to that of Solomon, was finished in 516 B. C., but still Jerusalem itself was not rebuilt. Nehemiah was serving as a cup bearer to the King of Persia when his grief over the plight of his people in Jerusalem gained the attention of the King. Nehemiah received military aid and, going to Jerusalem, rebuilt the wall and established order in the face of opposition by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem. Ezra, the Priestly teacher, came to Jerusalem from Babylon, and it was his work that fixed the final forms of Judaism. Ezra and Nehemiah worked together and attempted to establish the Jews on a permanent footing. A new Israel, never again to be a free nation, was established. To that extent Ezekiel's dream of the resurrection of the "Valley of Dry Bones" had become a reality.

The history of the Jews under Persian rule is obscure, but the ideas and institutions given them by Ezra and Nehemiah endured for five centuries. The greatest test of Judaism came when, after the world conquest of Alexander the Great, Palestine became the battlefield between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Judea was ruled by the Ptolemies from Egypt until 198 B. C., when the area was taken by Antiochus III. While a political struggle raged between Egypt and Syria, an ideological conflict between the Judaic and Hellenic ways of life took place. The Jew of the Diaspora readily accepted many phases of Hellenic culture, but the Jew of Palestine proved irreconcilable. Antiochus IV, called Epiphanes, who appears in the Book of Daniel, resorted to the extreme measure of sacrificing a pig in the Temple and appointing Jason and Menelaus, Hellenized Jews, as high priests, in an effort to impose Greek culture on the Jews. It was against such tyrannies as those that the Hasmonean family led the revolt which brought about the semi-independence of the Jews for more than a century. The First and Second Books of Maccabees is the history of Mattathias and his five sons Johanan, Judas, Eleazar, Jonathan, and Simon. Judas, called Maccabees, the Hammer, who was killed at Eleasa in 161 B. C., is the most famous of the family, and won a series of brilliant victories fighting against overwhelming numbers of Syrians. Simon ultimately won Jewish independence from Demetrius II in 147 B. C., and made himself high priest and general, founding the Hasmonean dynasty. Judea was now a nominal theocracy. Simon was followed by John Hyrcanus, whose son, Aristobulus I, assumed the title of King of the Jews. Alexander Jannaeus, his brother, who reigned 104-78 B. C., extended the kingdom to its old Davidic boundaries, and his coins show the title, King, in Greek and Hebrew. When his sons Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II quarreled, Hyrcanus assumed the titles of high priest and ethnarch.

Hyrcanus II and Antipater, an Edomite, were friends of Julius Caesar, who made Antipater the procurator of Judea. Antipater's son, Phasaël, who was governor of Jerusalem, killed himself when Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II and the last of the Hasmoneans, took Jerusalem in 40 B. C. Herod, Antipater's other son, the governor of Galilee, retook Jerusalem with Roman help and inaugurated a rule which won for him the title of Herod the Great. He married Mariamne, a Hasmonean princess, and rebuilt the Temple of Zerubbabel, giving it a Hellenistic architectural design with a Roman eagle and Corinthian columns. An enthusiastic Hellenist and a friend of Mark Anthony, Cleopatra, and Octavius Caesar, Herod ruled from 40-4 B. C. His will partitioned Palestine; he made his son Philip tetrarch of the Northern area, his son Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Archelaus the tetrarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. Archelaus was banished in 6 A. D. and this territory was ruled by Roman procurators, one of whom, Pontius Pilate, was in charge from 26-36 A. D. When Herod Antipas took Herodias, the granddaughter of Herod the Great, from his half-brother Herod, Caligula banished Herod Antipas, and Herod Agrippa I became king of the tetrarchies of both Herod Antipas and Philip. The Herodians were Edomites and hated by the Jews for this reason, but the support of the Roman military forces kept them in power. The Hellenizing process inaugurated by Alexander and furthered by the Seleucids and the Herodians, introduced into Palestine such Greek institutions as temples, academies of Stoic and Epicurean philosophy, theatres where the plays of Euripides and Menander were presented, and stadia where the Jews participated in athletic games. The words of Zechariah, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece", were fulfilled.

The struggle between the Hellenists and the Jews gave rise to a number of politico-religious parties. The Pharisees were anti-hellenists who insisted on the old tradition built on the Torah. The Sadducees were pro-hellenists,

holding the high priesthood. The Essenes were an ascetic group who withdrew into the desert and were anti-hellenists. The Herodians were the group of courtiers gathered around the ruling family of the Herods. The Zealots were the revolutionary anti-hellenists, who advocated violent action against the Herodians and Rome.

The center of the Judaism of the Diaspora was Alexandria. The Jews had dispersed over the Mediterranean area following the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the oppression under Ptolemy Lagi, in 300 B. C., and the tyranny of the Seleucids. The Jew of Judea often accepted destruction rather than give in to Hellenism, but the Jew of the Diaspora adjusted himself to his varying environments. The Synagogues of Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Athens were influenced by the Hellenistic culture. The Wisdom of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon are Hellenistic documents, while the Book of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Job are from the hands of Palestinian Jews, touched to some extent by Hellenic thought. Ptolemy Philadelphus had the Old Testament translated into the Greek language for his library. This version is called the Septuagint. The Septuagint and the Talmud are striking evidence of the divergence between the Jew of the Diaspora and the Jew of Palestine. The encounter between Judaism and Hellenism out in the Diaspora inspired Philo Judaeus to attempt a synthesis of Plato and Moses. Such intellectual contacts of Jews and Greeks led the Jew to rely on the traditional wisdom of King Solomon. The Jews produced a literature which they attributed to him. The Wisdom of Solomon, the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiastes, most of the Proverbs, and several of the Psalms indicate contact with Hellenistic teachers and missionaries.

In Flavius Josephus the Jews gave the world an historian of real significance. Yet most of the Hellenistic Jewish writers used history only to create an apocalypticism. The tragic experiences of the Jews under Persians, Greeks,

holding the high priesthood. The Essenes were an ascetic group who withdrew into the desert and were anti-hellenists. The Herodians were the group of courtiers gathered around the ruling family of the Herods. The Zealots were the revolutionary anti-hellenists, who advocated violent action against the Herodians and Rome.

The center of the Judaism of the Diaspora was Alexandria. The Jews had dispersed over the Mediterranean area following the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the oppression under Ptolemy Lagi, in 300 B. C., and the tyranny of the Seleucids. The Jew of Judea often accepted destruction rather than give in to Hellenism, but the Jew of the Diaspora adjusted himself to his varying environments. The Synagogues of Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Athens were influenced by the Hellenistic culture. The Wisdom of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon are Hellenistic documents, while the Book of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Job are from the hands of Palestinian Jews, touched to some extent by Hellenic thought. Ptolemy Philadelphus had the Old Testament translated into the Greek language for his library. This version is called the Septuagint. The Septuagint and the Talmud are striking evidence of the divergence between the Jew of the Diaspora and the Jew of Palestine. The encounter between Judaism and Hellenism out in the Diaspora inspired Philo Judaeus to attempt a synthesis of Plato and Moses. Such intellectual contacts of Jews and Greeks led the Jew to rely on the traditional wisdom of King Solomon. The Jews produced a literature which they attributed to him. The Wisdom of Solomon, the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiastes, most of the Proverbs, and several of the Psalms indicate contact with Hellenistic teachers and missionaries.

In Flavius Josephus the Jews gave the world an historian of real significance. Yet most of the Hellenistic Jewish writers used history only to create an apocalypticism. The tragic experiences of the Jews under Persians, Greeks,

and Romans led them to forget the past and live rather in the future. The Book of Daniel is the classic example of this approach to life. This temper transformed the Messianic Dream of ancient Israel into a political aspiration.

The Jews went into the Exile a nation and came back a church. They took with them a religion of racial loyalty and brought back a religion of the Book. They were a conquered people; yet they were to conquer most of the Western World. The Triumph of Titus and Vespasian was decorated by seven hundred handsome Jews, the Golden Table for Shewbread, and the Seven-Branched Candlestick from the Temple of Herod. The Arch of Titus records that triumph over the Jewish national state. The Jewish nation disappeared, but its religion persisted.

J.O. and A.P.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE EXILE AND RESTORATION
- II. THE IMPACT OF GRAECO-ROMAN CULTURE ON THE JEW
- III. INSTITUTIONS AND IDEALS OF JUDAISM

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The psychological effect of deportation and exile on the Jew.
2. Ezekiel as founder of Judaism: the ubiquity of God.
3. Religious individualism: the Law and the synagogue.
4. The law of the house: the value of the temple.
5. Haggai: religion as the basis for financial prosperity.
6. Nehemiah and the Renaissance of Israel.
7. Ezra: the religion of the Book.
8. The place of music and poetry in Judaism based on selected Psalms: Psalm 24, liturgical; Psalm 68, war song; Psalms 42, 43, contemplation; Psalm 107, religious nationalism; Psalm 137, imprecatory.
9. The plot, characters, and theme of the Book of Esther: religion as racial loyalty.
10. Daniel and the apocalyptic view of history.
11. The Maccabean Rebellion: the revival of the High Priesthood.
12. The synagogue as an institution for democratizing religion.
13. The relation of the Jew to the Greek Kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.
14. The relation of the Jew to the Roman Empire: the treaty with Rome.
15. The rise of political parties in Palestine.
16. Analysis of Jewish philosophy and faith in learning in Proverbs 8 and Job 28.
17. What makes life worth while according to Ecclesiastes? Learning? Pleasure? Money? Work?
18. The Hebrew nationalistic classics: Esther, Jonah, and Ruth.

SOURCE READINGS

- The Book of Isaiah, c. 40, 52: 13-53
The Book of Ezekiel, c. 1, 18, 33, 37, 43: 1-12
The Second Book of the Chronicles, c. 6
The Book of Nehemiah, c. 8, 13
The Book of Ezra, c. 1, 10: 1-17
The Book of Haggai
The Book of Daniel, c. 1-7
The Book of Esther
The Book of Psalms, c. 24, 42, 43, 68, 107, 137
The Book of Proverbs, c. 8
The Book of Ecclesiastes, c. 1, 2
The First Book of the Maccabees

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Albright: From the Stone Age to Christianity
 Bevan: The Legacy of Israel
 Herford: The Pharisees
 Josephus: Antiquities of the Jews
 Josephus: The Wars of the Jews
 MacDonald: The Hebrew Literary Genius; The Hebrew Philosophical Genius
 Moore: Judaism, In the First Centuries of the Christian Era, Vol. 1, 2
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 1, 2
The Book of Tobit
The Second Book of the Maccabees
The Wisdom of Jeshua, the Son of Sirach
The Wisdom of Solomon

UNIT X

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF ROME

If it was from the Greeks that the modern world has received the ideal of freedom and tolerance, it was from the Romans that we have inherited the idea that the State is the fountain of justice and the guardian of individual liberty, along with our faith in the "civilizing" power of the sword.

Fortunately, Rome had become a part of the Hellenistic world, imbued with Hellenistic culture, before the shattering of Alexander's empire; and when a new movement for unification of the world set in, it was the virile Roman State, Latin in race but Hellenistic in culture, which was able to accomplish this purpose.

According to tradition, as early as the eighth century B. C. Rome had been founded on the banks of the Tiber by the Latins, with a government consisting of a king, a council of nobles, and an assembly of the people, very much like the early Greek city-states. In fact, in this early period Rome was ruled by Etruscan kings, to whom, no doubt, they owed not only their city-state organization but their commerce and imperialistic foreign policy as well. In the sixth century B. C. however, a revolution took place within the city. The Etruscan kings were expelled, and the Republic was founded under the control of the patrician class.

The two important movements of the early Republic were 1) the gradual conquest by Rome of all of the Italian peninsula and 2) the long drawn-out struggle between the patricians and plebeians for political power and social equality, finally ending in victory for the wealthier plebeians. In theory, the plebeian assembly and the tribunes who represented the plebeians came to be the most powerful governing institutions; in fact, the Senate, composed of an aristocracy of wealth, had far more power and influence than the Assembly.

It was under the guidance of the Senate that an imperialistic policy was carried out, which required a powerful military organization. The Romans early adopted a system of universal military service, developed the legion, and made army discipline, tactics, and strategy so effective that the efficiency of the Roman army became proverbial. With this army Rome was prepared by the third century B. C. to challenge the supremacy in the Western World of the Carthaginians, and in the first and second Punic Wars not only defeated Carthage but made that state a dependency of Rome; and in 146 B. C. utterly destroyed the city itself. These conquests led directly to the conquest of the East, and by 130 B. C. the Mediterranean world was at the mercy of the conquering Romans. Fortunately, however, from the cultural point of view, during this period "Captive Greece led captive her rude conqueror", and Roman conquests were a means of again unifying the Mediterranean world.

At home, the social and political effects of the continued wars of conquest were profound. The senatorial class, enriched by the spoils of war, became arrogant and corrupt. The peasants, forced to the city by the competition of slave labor, formed the mobs who sold their votes to corrupt politicians. These conditions brought on the Civil Wars which lasted for the next hundred years, from 133-31 B. C., during which time the Gracchi failed in their reform efforts in behalf of the peasants; but succeeded in dividing the Roman people into two parties, the Optimates, friends of the senatorial regime, and the Populares, who pretended to support the common people. Marius became the first military champion of the Populares, and Sulla, his chief Optimate opponent, became the first military dictator of Rome. During the Civil Wars the State became completely demoralized. Julius Caesar, an aristocratic leader of the Populares, attempted to bring order out of chaos by the establishment of a divine-right monarchy but lost his life in the attempt.

The solution came with the establishment of the Principate by Octavius Caesar, nephew of Julius. This Empire of Octavius, who was later called Augustus, lasted for nearly three hundred years, during the greater part of which time peace and prosperity characterized the Roman world. Rome itself became the center of a literary outburst, a golden age of poetry and prose, which has given the name Augustan to any period of high achievement in the history of all national literatures. This was also the great age in the development of Roman law, perhaps Rome's most important legacy to the modern world. The most important characteristic of Roman law was its spirit of equity and humanity. From Stoic thought the Roman jurists got their idea that the universe should be governed by one law, which, being ordered after nature and reason, must apply equal justice to slave and aristocrat, to foreigner and citizen, alike. And the deliberate attempt was made by Roman jurists to fit the law to the case, rather than the case to the law.

In the late third and early fourth centuries A. D., the Principate of Augustus was completely transformed by the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, and soon developed into an oriental despotism. The emperor was no longer the princeps or first citizen, but the dominus or lord. The whole population was molded into sharply fixed social classes. The welfare of the individual was completely subordinate to that of the state. Only through the Christian Church, which was given semi-official sanction by the Emperor Constantine, was it possible for a common man to rise to a position of influence.

The last years of the Empire were years of steady decline. Finally, in 476, the last of the Western emperors, the pathetic Romulus Augustus, was deposed, and a barbarian chieftain became ruler of Italy. The causes for the steady decline and fall of the Empire were many; but imperialism was perhaps the primary factor responsible for the collapse. To imperialism can be traced the growth of

slavery, the creation of the city mob, the strife between classes, and the growth of political corruption throughout the Empire. Imperialism was responsible also for the barbarian invasions and for the economic rule, which came with the effort to maintain the huge armies necessary for conquest and defense.

To imperialism also can be traced the bringing in of Oriental ideas and ideals which flooded Rome in the third and fourth centuries. The Romans, like the Greeks, had been originally an optimistic people, opposed to autocracy and fundamentally democratic in their ideals. The importation of the philosophy of pessimism, the idea that life was not worth living, that all was vanity, had much to do with the decline of intellectual progress. Similarly, the introduction of Oriental despotism brought with it political decline and, finally, political death.

W. R. C.

LECTURES

- I. THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: THE ARMY AND THE LAW
- II. THE EMPIRE: JULIUS CAESAR TO MARCUS AURELIUS
- III. THE EMPIRE IN DECLINE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The origins of the city of Rome: the Trojan tradition in Roman thought.
2. Distinguish between jus naturale, jus civile, and jus gentium.
3. The concept of natural law, jus naturale, as the cohesive element in Roman world polity.
4. What were the causes of the Punic Wars? What were the effects of these wars on Rome?
5. The revolt of the masses under the Gracchi. Why did the Gracchi fail?
6. The Conquest of the East: Pompey the Great.
7. Estimate Julius Caesar's military genius; his training for politics; his attitude toward the people; the people's attitude toward him; his public works; his literary works; the consequences of his life and work on Western Europe.
8. The Palace of the Caesars: the Principate, slaves, and informers.
9. The Antonines: the Philosopher Emperors. Is Plato's faith in the philosopher-king justified?
10. Estimate the possibilities of Pax Romana, peace by force, for our contemporary world.
11. What were the chief causes of the decline of the Roman Empire? Could the fall of Rome have been prevented?
12. The political unification of Western Europe under Rome.
13. Vergil: faith in Roman imperialism.
14. The contribution to political theory of Roman provincial administration.
15. A comparison of the political evolution of Greece and Rome.

SOURCE READINGS

Vergil: The Aeneid, Books I - VI
 Plutarch: Lives, "Pompey", "Julius Caesar", "Cicero"

SUGGESTED READINGS

Caesar: Commentaries on the Gallic War
 Cicero: In Defense of the Poet Archias, Second Philippic
 Corneille: Nicomede
 Durant: Caesar and Christ
 Frank: An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome
 Gibbon: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. 144
 Goldscheider: Roman Portraits
 Haskell: The New Deal in Old Rome
 Maine: Ancient Law
 Plutarch: Lives, "Tiberius Gracchus", "Caius Gracchus"
 Polybius: Histories of Rome
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 2
 Scramuzza: The Emperor Claudius
 Slaughter: Roman Portraits
 Suetonius: Lives of the Twelve Caesars

UNIT XI

THE ROMAN SPECTACLE

The native genius of the Roman lay in the realm of the practical: in conquering, in building, or in governing. In other fields, such as religion, the arts, literature and philosophy, he was peculiarly susceptible to the cultures of the conquered provinces. But even when he was most eager to adopt imported ideas and customs he usually modified them and left on them his peculiar imprint of utility and grandeur. For the world was Rome's stage, a great and colorful spectacle in which everyone felt himself either actor or audience.

With their sense of power and achievement, with their ability to solve practical problems, it is strange that the Romans never developed an adequate religion. The early Romans had no mythology, but followed a form of animism or belief in spirits residing in the commonplace objects of daily use, each with a very limited function. In addition to these deities of hearth and field, the Latin had a strong feeling for the "genius" or guiding life force of the family. As the city grew by extension, the importance of the gods increased, and people elected officials to conduct public worship, to celebrate or offer sacrifices. Simplicity and precision marked this worship. Holidays were perhaps the most important feature of Roman religion and even in early days included races, dances, games, and the ceremonial spectacle of the victor's triumph. Perhaps it was this reduction of religion to the status of a civic function which explains the poverty of the Roman in religious personalities or religious literature.

As Rome spread over the eastern Mediterranean she adopted and adapted to her use the mythology, the temples, and the statues of Gods which were in the Greek fashion. A more vital Greek import, however, were the philosophies of Stoicism and Epicureanism. The former appealed especially to the old Roman type with his ingrained gravity, piety, and sense of duty. Stoicism affected the

whole development of Roman law by furnishing it with the concept of the eternal law of nature, right reason. Its ethical precepts, brilliantly reinterpreted in the writings of Cicero, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius created one type of Roman mind. In lieu of originality Rome depended for its thinking on imported philosophers such as the Greek slave, Epictetus. Epicureanism appealed to the hedonistic strain in the Roman, and though it never rivalled Stoicism as a religion, the writer Lucretius in his great poem, De Rerum Natura, produced Rome's greatest philosophical contribution in picturing the atomic universe and in attempting to free men's minds from superstition. Lucretius' retention of the two cults of War, Mavors, and Love, Venus, is typical of the inconsistency of all cultural borrowers.

The Augustan modification of the state religion, by instituting emperor worship, aimed to meet a patriotic rather than a spiritual need. During the succeeding centuries the growing yearnings for conversion, salvation, and immortality were filled by numerous mystery religions from Egypt and the East, the more important competitors of Christianity being the cults of Mithra, Isis, and Cybele. How seriously the official religion was taken may be gauged by the Emperor Vespasian's jocosely remark, on his death bed: "I am about to become a God."

The Greeks laid the foundation of Roman poetry, drama, and history, as well as of her philosophy and religion. The first book in Latin was Livius Andronicus' translation of the Odyssey. Yet by the first century B. C. Roman literature could stand on its own feet. It has been said that Augustus found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble, but the writers of his age, Livy, Horace, Vergil, left monuments more enduring than bronze, and affected the middle ages more than did the Greeks. With these writers, too, it was the pageant which counted. The sweep of Rome's greatness, as pictured by Livy, the "arms and the man" of which Vergil sang, the Column of Trajan, the aqueducts, the theatres,

the amphitheatres, the baths, and the circuses, were striking variants of the revelation of the power and grandeur that was the Roman spectacle.

The early Roman had been a farmer. After subduing unreasonable neighbors he returned, as Cincinnatus had done, to his plow. But as the city expanded in size and power, through trade and war the landless proletariat grew, and so did the need for "bread and circuses" for the Roman holiday. Rome became the first true megalopolis of the West, and the social and psychological problems which haunt the modern world were here, and for the first time the questionable panaceas of "amusements" and "relief" were offered. It is instructive to observe the evolution of the gladiatorial games and the circus. They changed from originally religious institutions into clever means employed by unscrupulous politicians for purchasing public favor. Later they became political necessities and finally were demanded as vested rights. Public holidays increased from sixty-six days in republican times to a hundred and seventy-five by 300 A. D., and in addition there were often a hundred or more extra days thrown in to celebrate great triumphs. These great spectacles in the days of the Empire were substitutes for public assemblies of the Republic. They allowed the populace to release pent up emotion and to feel that in shouting insults at emperors or senators one was exercising one's right as a free citizen. The great spectacles were the chariot races, held in the Circus Maximus; the games, gladiatorial fights, animal fights, and mock naval engagements, held after 80 A. D. in the Flavian amphitheatre; and the theatres.

The theatre was not able to hold its own in competition with other amusements. Originally more days had been devoted to the theatre than to games, but in the days of the Empire the bloodthirsty and jaded crowd could no longer be attracted by the drama. Early comedians had imported and adapted Greek "new comedy", but this gradually changed into the mime, a low and bawdy performance.

The Greek tragedy also could not survive the Roman climate of opinion, but became pantomime, in which wonderful gesturing was accompanied by a chorus and music. The philhellenist Nero even attempted to popularize athletic contests, agones, but Romans who could witness unmoved animals and men torn and burned found the spectacle of nude runners shocking. The callousness of the Roman character is betrayed by the fact that until the time of Christianity few, if any, found the lurid Roman spectacle revolting. Some found it boring.

The Roman of the Empire loved life, travel, crowds, the palatial bathing establishments, the elaborate banquets. Most of all, perhaps, he loved Rome, though an occasional satirist or poet will self-consciously long for his little country retreat. The realistic portrait bust was Rome's greatest artistic triumph. In the great gallery of shrewd, cruel, able, or sensuous men and women they bequeathed to us, one searches in vain for the face of the saint. The political and military achievements of the Romans, which created their enormous wealth, sapped the Roman mind of all originality and creative power. They substituted the concept of glory for the concept of beauty. Even more than the Greeks they constitute the evidence for the truth of the theory that pride, hybris, is fatal to success. In the closing days of the empire an astute observer, St. Augustine, concurred in that verdict. Pride, he explained, is the mind's turning in on itself, and feeding on itself. Hence the Roman spectacle with all its emotional outlets ultimately drained Rome of its greatness.

J. H. D.

LECTURES

- I. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY
- II. ART AND POETRY
- III. THE CIRCUS AND STAGE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Lares and penates: religion in the home.
2. The auguries: methods of divination.
3. The reason for the Roman adoption of Greek and Oriental cults.
4. Emperor worship: its effect on politics and religion.
5. Vergil's religion and its influence on Roman character.
6. The influence of Vergil's belief in Fate on Roman and Christian thought.
7. Vergil on the value of war.
8. The popularization of the Epicurean view of life.
9. The Colosseum, the Circus Maximus, the baths, and the theatres: the popularization of amusements.
10. The Roman concept of personality as shown in Roman portraiture.
11. The dangers of a life of pleasure and pride according to Epictetus.
12. The Roman attitude toward women: Vergil.
13. Popularization of politics and history: the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the triumphal arches.
14. Commercialized sports among the Romans and its effect on character.
15. Estimate popularity as the criterion of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness for the Roman mind.

SOURCE READINGS

Vergil: The Aeneid, Books VI - XII
 Epictetus: The Manual

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bailey: The Legacy of Rome
 Cicero: The Offices
 Durant: Caesar and Christ
 Fowler: Rome
 Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
 Glover: Vergil
 Lucretius: On the Nature of Things
 Marcus Aurelius: Meditations
 Ovid: Metamorphoses
 Pater: Marius the Epicurean
 Petronius: Satyricon
 Plautus: The Rope
 Rand: The Building of Eternal Rome
 Rostovtzeff: A History of the Ancient World, Vol. 2
 Rostovtzeff: The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire
 Seneca: The Trojan Women
 Showerman: Rome and the Romans
 Strong: Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine
 Swindler: Ancient Painting

UNIT XII

THE JESUS OF HISTORY

The lines of the Bible converge in the person of Jesus. As a consequence of the Old Testament Messianic hope, one comes to the gospels with a sense of expectancy. Four accounts have been preserved to bring Jesus to our view, three synoptic and descriptive, one reflective and interpretative. Oral accounts doubtless antedated the written records. Matthew and Luke probably had Mark's "Gospel" and at least one other document or group of documents before them when they wrote. In the preface to Luke's "Gospel" the author announces his aims: historical certainty through investigation of the sources, and understanding of the life of Jesus through chronological sequence. Hence the divine nature and purpose of the writings were achieved not apart from, but by the use of, the ideals set by the classical historians.

No complete biography of Jesus is available. In fact, the gospel writers show that it is the historical significance rather than a detailed story of Jesus' life which concerned them. The records concentrate on the two or three year period of His ministry, and give most attention to the last week of His life.

In 4 B. C., Herod the Great died, and his Palestinian realm was divided among three of his sons. Three other prospective heirs to his throne had been strangled. The year of his death was the year of the birth of Jesus. It is important to remember that all rulers in the Mediterranean world of this time were representatives of Rome.

Bethlehem became the place of Jesus' birth because Joseph and Mary journeyed to their native home to register for taxation by order of Rome. Jesus grew up with the Roman soldier a familiar sight, and during His years of obscurity He was certainly aware of the cross currents stirred by the presense of the Romans in Palestine. The Herodians were committed to a political program bound up with

the dynasty of Herod; on the other hand, the Zealots believed that life's one hope lay in resistance to the Roman yoke. When Jesus emerged from the carpenter's shop He looked to neither the furtherance nor the destruction of the Roman state for His solution, which was concerned with men's deepest problems. With a sense of mission well understood, He started His work in Galilean centers of trade. Capernaum became His headquarters, and He visited many places in Galilee, fifteen of which are definitely named. There is no record that He entered the Hellenistic cities which He sometimes came near, although the authorities of Gadara, on the occasion of the miracle of the Gadarene swine, requested that He depart from their "coasts." He gained a hearing and a following by His concern for people, dealing with their physical needs, of which they were well aware, and with their inner need for a transcendent loyalty, of which they were aware but dimly. There were miraculous cures, and Jesus' first great popularity arose from His fame as a healer. He talked to little groups in fishing boats, and to great throngs on Galilean hillsides about God and providential care, and faith and character. The crowds grew. As Matthew Arnold observed: "Jesus took Galilee by storm." Pharisees and Scribes came from Judea to see for themselves. They had been told that He disregarded religious ceremonies and introduced new customs. A group of incidents aroused their criticisms: "Who can forgive sins save God alone? Why does He eat with publicans and sinners? Why do John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but your disciples fast not? Why are they doing what is not lawful on the Sabbath?" The clash was inevitable. The Pharisees, descended from the Hasidim, or separatists, who came into prominence in the second century B. C. by opposing Maccabean departures from Hebrew traditions, stood for adherence to the letter of the law. Means were given the value of ends. Religion came to mean taking the prescribed gift to the Temple, fasting at scheduled intervals, keeping Sabbath regulations, and ceremonial washing. Jesus took His stand

definitely in the Hebrew tradition, but He declared that men had hedged the Law about with regulations and interpretations which distorted it. He spoke of this institutionalized religion as a threadbare garment which no patching could improve. New thought forms were needed to accommodate the vital reinterpretation Jesus gave to religion. The religionists declared: "He is leagued with the devil." A death plot was formed by Herodians and Pharisees, strange bed-fellows united only in their hatred of the Galilean innovator. Jesus drew aside the companions He had hand-picked, and from the group He appointed twelve disciples, men engaged in common tasks, none of whom was a professional religious leader. So the lines were drawn.

Through their experiences with Jesus and under His teaching, the disciples were undergoing a quiet revolution. In view of His unusual work and teachings, the question of Jesus' identity became a burning issue. Disciples and strangers asked: "Who then is this?" There had been opinions: He is the carpenter's son, a great prophet, Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah, or John the Baptist back from the dead. But in a dramatic moment near Caesarea Philippi, Peter voiced the conviction which the disciples had reached: "Thou art the Christ." In Him, they believed, God had reached directly into the life of man. Their false views of God and their notions of religion as irksome routines or perfunctory performances were exchanged for loyalty to the Christ-like God and life under the spell of His spirit.

Jesus left Galilee for Perea and then Jerusalem, the center of opposition. His followers could never forget His sense of mission that took Him there. They saw Him calm amid the impending storm, bringing God into the lives of men while a shadow lay across His path. They saw heaven's light fall on the ambitious sons of Zebedee, on the Samaritan leper, on blind Bartimaeus, on avaricious Zacchaeus, on the Bethany home. They heard Him answer the lawyer's question:

"Who is my neighbor?" They observed Him deflect the captious questions of the Sadducees and the Scribes. They witnessed His rebuke of the Sadducees, the hereditary priests, grown fat from temple merchandising and their acceptance of privileged appointments from the Romans.

The disciples knew Jesus' love for life: He was aware of the sparrows, the lilies, the productive earth, marriage feasts, little children, and, above all, friendship in its fullest meaning. But He would not cling to life by sacrificing the good life. There was but one escape from the growing opposition, but that He refused. Death was not so fierce that, to avoid it, the Son of Man would desert His cause. It was to live on this same principle that Jesus called His followers. The men who understood this counted the Christian way the good way, but never the easy way. They watched His final journey, from the Praetorium to the Cross on Calvary, with an overwhelming sense of fear and defeat. Only the news of the resurrection could have changed that. These men gave their lives to build the early church because they were convinced that their Leader was from above, that He had achieved in His own person the true meaning of life and had imparted its secret to them, and that not even death could conquer Him. They knew that they must give nothing less than supreme allegiance to the Lord of life and death.

L.F.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE WORLD OF JESUS
- II. THE LIFE OF JESUS
- III. THE PASSION WEEK

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Comment on Renan's description of the Book of Luke as "The most beautiful book in the world."
2. Luke as an historian: his sources and his treatment of his sources.
3. The education of Jesus in the synagogue school.
4. The religious experience of Jesus in His Temptation.
5. The faith of Jesus in man: the meaning and value of friends.
6. The secret of Jesus' popularity.
7. The reasons for the hostility to Jesus.
8. The choice of the Twelve as a reflection of the social and religious conditions of Palestine.
9. The missions of the Twelve and the Seventy: the intention of Jesus.
10. Jesus as the Logos: the history of the idea.
11. Jesus and Nicodemus: regeneration versus traditional loyalty.
12. The miracles of Jesus: the supernatural in history.
13. Why did Jesus reject military force as a means?
14. Jesus and Pilate on the meaning and value of truth.
15. Compare the Passion of Christ with the Greek concept of tragedy.
16. The historical and religious significance of the Resurrection.

SOURCE READINGS

- The Gospel According to Mark
The Gospel According to Luke
The Gospel According to John

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Angus: The Environment of Early Christianity
 Asch: The Nazarene
 Booth: The World of Jesus
 Brunner: The Mediator
 Fairweather: Jesus and the Greeks
 Filson: Origins of the Gospels
 Glover: The Jesus of History
 Grensted: The Person of Christ
 Latourette: Anno Domini: Jesus, History and God
 Lowrie: Jesus According to St. Mark
 MacGregor: Jew and Greek: Tutors Unto Christ
 Manson: Jesus, The Messiah
 Olmstead: Jesus in the Light of History
 Streeter: The Four Gospels
 Temple: Readings in St. John's Gospel

UNIT XIII

JESUS' VIEW OF MAN AND SOCIETY

Jesus was often addressed as "Teacher." He engaged in no other activity as often as He did in teaching. No doubt at times He discoursed at length on a subject such as the bread of life, as is reported in John, but more often the method was informal. Most of His teaching arose from an incident or question. "Who is my neighbor?" was the occasion for the story of the Good Samaritan. "Lord, teach us to pray as John also taught his disciples" was the occasion for giving His disciples the "Lord's Prayer." It is this characteristic timeliness of Jesus' instruction which makes it concrete, real, never remote from human experience.

Matthew collected His sayings into groups, such as the "Sermon on the Mount", in chapters five, six, and seven, and in the parables of chapter thirteen. Considering the teachings in a group, as we find them illustrated by events or embodied in the life of Jesus, we observe certain arresting features.

Some think of Jesus as a traditionalist; others count Him as revolutionary. He sought to conserve the gains of Israel's long tradition, not considering it final, but dynamic, requiring new insight and a more adequate view of God and man. Hence His formula: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time. . .but I say unto you"; and His dictum: "I came not to destroy but to fulfill." Jesus was engaged, therefore, in opposing the new to the old in cases of the outworn or outmoded, and in combining the new with the old so as to retain the partial truth now embraced in wider conceptions.

Closely related to his treatment of the old and the new is His distinction between the inner and outer. When a prayer is a parade of piety

leading the hypocrite to stand praying on street corners to be seen of men, when fasting is disfigurement of the face to give the appearance of a holy man with disciplined appetite, when charity is a display of apparent generosity, then only the shell remains and the inner meaning and value have escaped. Jesus therefore placed His accent on the inner reality. He pronounced His blessing on the "pure in heart"; He tracked evil to its source, warning of murder and adultery in their root forms of hate and inordinate desire. Yet He did not define religion as meditative to the exclusion of action. His accent was not so much on the inner versus the outer as on the inner that works its way outward. To love God is essential, but so is doing the will of the Father. What kind of world would this be if Jesus should set it right? In the "Sermon on the Mount" He set forth in order certain basic values which underlie all His other teachings. These values may be stated simply as follows: people are above things; people have a basic equality; God is greater than men. There are few absolutes in the world, but here are three. It is by inversions of these that men turn evil loose in the world.

If a man is faced with the loss of his child or his money, it should not be hard to decide which loss is greater. People are above things. And yet men often treat things as superior to people, exploiting one another for the sake of gain. How was Jesus ever to change this? "Give to every man that asketh of thee!" Some decide that such teaching is impractical and dismiss it. But it is to shock people awake to a great truth that Jesus goes to such lengths. Do you suppose He meant the teaching to be used to pauperize men, or to create beggars? Or is it an extreme, revolutionary, surprising way of saying that people are more valuable than things?

"But I say unto you, love your enemies." In the first century human life was cheap. Women were inferior to men. Slaves were property. How was

this ever to be set right? Jesus applied universally the principle of treating people as equals. He ate with publicans and sinners and was friendly with Samaritans. When differences among people are fully taken into account, there remains an underlying equality based on the humanity all persons share. Why do men tend to place themselves above others, to consider their interests above those of their neighbors? Is it because they are superior, or because they are selfish? When Jesus wished to shock men loose from placing self first, He selected the extreme case of love for enemies. Even the last man in the world one would think of caring about has basic worth equal to one's own. The way of treating people as inferiors has been tried; since it is false to the true nature of people it has resulted in debasing those who practice it.

Jesus taught that God is greatest of all. Not by denying His claims do men become superior. Those who deny Him create other gods from what they count most dear and shape their little world to their desires. Let none suppose Christ to be his Master whose life is not submitted to His control. Jesus warned: "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" It is the foundation stone of the ethical teaching of Jesus that a man's character and behavior depend on his relation to God as revealed by Jesus. Living in terms of His principles rests on a loyal and devoted relation to God. Rather than living by rules, it is catching a spirit.

Jesus' teaching embraced the whole structure of human society. He dealt specifically with the fundamental social unit, the home; He developed an educational program; He sent men out to build the church; and He taught that right human relationships are essential to good government. In each case He left men free to develop the methods by which they would carry out His teachings.

recognizing that at no one time could a perfect embodiment of truth and right be achieved.

His teaching concerning the Kingdom of God indicates the ultimate social end and developing nature of the task to which He committed men. Although the Kingdom was then a reality, its purposes were not fully achieved. It was within men, yet it needed outer expression too. This rule of God in the life of men is spiritual, and is to progress by the inner means of learning, conviction, persuasion, voluntary commitment; it is not material, or to be achieved by enactments, controls, or force. It has temporal expressions, but it involves the eternal principles or ideals laying their grip on willing men.

At times in human history there have been sudden achievements which create surprise, but they result from hidden processes, like growing seeds and plants. Some doubted, and some still doubt that the kingdom is being built at all. John the Baptist wondered about it, and his messengers were instructed by Jesus to return to say that the dead are being raised, the blind are receiving sight, cripples are made to walk, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. In short, these astonishing transformations in life and character were the beginnings of a world revolution which would ultimately transform humanity and all human culture, a process which was a continuation of the act of creation, a change to whose significance men may be so blind that He could say that the Kingdom of God is coming "without observation."

L.F.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT
- II. THE CHRISTIAN IN SOCIETY
- III. THE KINGDOM OF GOD

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The "Sermon on the Mount" as the code for the individual.
2. The "Sermon on the Mount" as compared with the Manual of Epictetus.
3. The secret of happiness according to Jesus.
4. Character through legislation contrasted with character through generosity and service.
5. The forms of religion: prayer, charity, and asceticism compared with the inner realities of communion, love, and self-sacrifice.
6. Jesus' three laws for living, Matthew 7.
7. Religion as a solution of the problem of human enmity, individual and group.
8. Is the Kingdom of God the Church, a state of mind, or the ultimate world order?
9. The "Parable of the Talents": does it teach free enterprise or social responsibility?
10. Can the teachings of Jesus be reduced to a systematic philosophy? If so, reconstruct it.
11. The teaching of Jesus on the meaning of suffering and evil.
12. Jesus on the origin and destiny of man.
13. Was Jesus a pacifist?
14. The lessons which Jesus drew from the observation of nature. Compare His view of nature with Aristotle's.
15. Compare Jesus' view of education with Plato's scheme of education.

SOURCE READINGS

The Gospel According to Matthew

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Bowman: The Intention of Jesus
 Buttrick: The Parables of Jesus
 Cadoux: The Parables of Jesus
 Curtis: Jesus Christ the Teacher
 Dibelius: The Message of Jesus Christ
 Dibelius: The Sermon on the Mount
 Major: The Mission and Message of Jesus
 Manson: The Teachings of Jesus
 Moffatt: The Theology of the Gospels
 Rawlinson: Christ in the Gospels
 Skinner: The Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ

UNIT XIV

PAUL: A CHRISTIAN IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

One of the earliest efforts to bring about one world was made by the Apostle Paul. He was one of the few leaders in the early church to understand Christianity, not as a Jewish sect, but as a universal religion. His extensive missionary plans were conceived and executed in the light of this idea, and because of it he called himself "the apostle to the Gentiles."

On his first missionary journey Paul, accompanied by Barnabas and for a time by Mark, visited Cyprus and southeastern Asia Minor. During this trip he developed the pattern which he was to use extensively in the Empire. Upon arrival in a city or town the missionaries would go to a synagogue and, keeping in mind the Jewish religious background, would tell the story of Jesus as the realization of the divine purpose that had been unfolding in the experiences of Israel. Jesus was the center of the message; His life, death, and resurrection being interpreted as the climax of God's plan for mankind. Cleavages were generally sharp between those responding to and those rejecting this message. The former were welded into a simple church organization which often met with bitter opposition from the latter. Gentiles were welcomed into the church groups, and when, as in Antioch in Pisidia, practically the whole Jewish community rejected the Christian message, Paul made Gentiles the nucleus of the group. With that move the church was emancipated from racialism and transcended all forms of provincialism. As the missionary strategy developed, Paul visited important centers of population, established churches there, and laid on them the responsibility for evangelizing their area while he pushed on to the next city. In this way strong churches with vigorous missionary programs sprang up in Asia Minor, while in the wake of his second missionary journey, similar churches were organized

at Philippi, Berea, and Thessalonica in Macedonia, and at Corinth in Greece. On his third journey he reached Ephesus, where a strong church and missionary center developed, and from his base he revisited the Macedonian and Greek churches. The long stay in this great center of Hellenism, the second city of the Empire, is thought by some scholars to have been crucial in his thinking.

The Christian enterprise met with opposition not only from Jewish sources, but from business interests, when Ephesian silversmiths found sales of ikons of Diana falling off, and when the owners of the soothsaying maid of Philippi saw their vicious means of gain gone. Preoccupation with idle speculations in Athens in unworthy succession to the great philosophy of a brighter day left Athenians largely indifferent to Paul's famous "Sermon on Mars Hill"; and the moral laxity at Corinth caused Paul many tears, and led him to write the most "painful", yet the most tender, of his letters.

With the dreams of one world threatened by a possible split between the Jewish and Gentile elements of the church, Paul collected a substantial gift among the western churches, predominantly Gentile, and carried it to the Palestinian churches where famine threatened. But Paul's vigorous espousal of Christianity and his special interest in Gentiles had aroused bitterness among the non-Christian Jews in Jerusalem, and he became embroiled in a temple disturbance from which he was with difficulty rescued by Roman soldiers. Transferred to Caesarea, the Roman port to Palestine, and with his life threatened, Paul exercised his right as a Roman citizen and appealed to Caesar. His subsequent trip to Rome related him intimately to the Christian Church at the Empire's capital, where as a prisoner he was permitted to write and to see his friends, and thus was able to keep in significant touch with the Christian movement.

In the mind of Paul many of the problems of the early church found solution. Following him into Phrygia-Galatia, a group of Judaizers spread word

that Paul was wrong about faith in Christ being adequate ground for salvation; it was necessary, they said, to take over the ancient Jewish ritual and legal practices. They insisted that a Gentile must become a Jew before he could become a Christian. They claimed that since Paul was not one of the Twelve he did not know the teaching of Christ, whereas they had received their message straight from the original Apostles. In reply Paul wrote the letter to the Galatians in glowing, torrential words. "Let anyone who preaches another gospel be anathema", he declared. He fiercely defended his apostleship, claiming divine revelation as the source of his knowledge, and pointing out in a great climax of argument that once when there had been a difference between him and Peter, in regard to racial equality, he had withstood Peter to his face. Later it turned out that not Paul but Peter was misconstruing the application of the Christian message. He interpreted faith as the one ground of salvation in all ages. The Epistle to the Galatians is a great historic document of freedom which, along with the Council at Jerusalem, played a significant role in rescuing the Christian from enslavement to ritualism and legalism and in interpreting Christianity as a universal religion. The Epistle to the Romans, written from Ephesus and expressing his hope to visit Rome, is an elaboration of the same principles and a more mature interpretation of the Christian religion. These two letters have played an important part in the history of the church. The Protestant Reformation owes much to them. Luther found inspiration in Galatians; Calvin considered his Institutes an interpretation of Romans.

On his second journey, Paul wrote from Athens a letter to the Thessalonians to encourage them in their resistance to persecution; and from Corinth he wrote them another to counteract instability resulting from their extreme views concerning the return of Christ. One of the most practical letters of Paul went

to Corinth from Ephesus. Opposing the worldliness of the Hellenistic members, and the revival of class and race prejudices among them, he applied the gospel to that social problem which haunted the polyglot cities of the Empire, even as it haunts the modern cities, the problem of sex and marriage. His conclusions became the basis of medieval asceticism. And yet in the great thirteenth century we have his development of the idea of love as the source of personality and of that mutual understanding that marks maturity.

While in prison at Rome, where he could survey the Empire, Paul wrote the letter to the Ephesians, and the letter to the Colossians, which is strikingly similar. He sent a brief letter to Philemon and a letter to the Philippians. Philemon is significant in showing how he dealt with an incident involving the institution of slavery. This letter is interpreted by some as indicating that the Christian social program inevitably creates a ferment within the hearts of men which leads ultimately to social change. Philippians gives Paul's formula for the attainment of happiness: to live consecrated to the task of transforming a vicious and desperate world, and to fight the good fight as one who is under no delusions of immediate victory but who is joyfully conscious of the ultimate triumph of his leader.

L. F. K.

LECTURES

- I. THE CHURCH AND CIVILIZATION: THE ACTS AND THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS
- II. CHRISTIAN LIBERTY: THE EPISTLES TO THE GALATIANS AND ROMANS
- III. PAUL AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY: PHILIPPIANS, PHILEMON, I CORINTHIANS

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The social and religious consequences of the materialism of the Roman Empire.
2. The experiments in communism in the early church. Why did they fail?
3. Peter and John as exponents of the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion.
4. The Christian solution for race prejudice.
5. The psychology of Paul's conversion.
6. The emancipation of the church from Judaism: the Council at Jerusalem.
7. Paul's experiences in the cities of Asia Minor and Greece and his analysis of the situation of the common man.
8. Paul in contact with Greek philosophy: the "Address on Mars Hill."
9. The first formulation of the Christian philosophy of life by Paul.
10. Paul's attitude toward marriage. Why did early Christians persuade women to avoid marriage?
11. Paul's attitude toward slavery in the Epistle to Philemon.
12. The mystery religions and their influence on the life and ritual of the church.
13. The meaning of religious freedom in the Epistle to the Galatians.
14. The Greek and Christian scheme for happiness: personal achievement or divine gift.
15. A Christian view of love in the Epistle to the Philippians and I Corinthians 13.
16. Compare I Corinthians 13 with the Symposium of Plato.
17. The influence of Paul of Tarsus on Western civilization.
18. Why did the benevolent Empire persecute the benevolent Church?

SOURCE READINGS

- The Book of the Acts
Epistle to the Galatians
Epistle to the Philippians
Epistle to Philemon
Epistle to the Romans
First Epistle to Corinthians, c. 13
Epistle to the Ephesians

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Asch: The Apostle
 Baumann: Saint Paul
 Deissmann: Paul, A Study in Social and Religious History
 Garvie: Studies of Paul and His Gospel
 Glover: Paul of Tarsus
 Glover: The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire
 Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions
 Lake: Paul, His Heritage and Legacy
 Legge: Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity
 Maritain: The Living Thoughts of St. Paul
 Nock: Conversion
 Rall: According to Paul
 Ramsay: St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen
 Ramsay: The Church in the Roman Empire

UNIT XV

THE CHRISTIANIZING OF EUROPE

The slightly more than two centuries which elapsed from the time of Constantine to the death of Justinian brought together the three great constituent elements of modern European civilization: classical culture, the Christian Church, and the Germanic races. Within this period a synthesis of these three forces was incomplete, but the process of fusion had well begun.

The Roman world emerged from a great crisis in the third century. Indeed it looked at the time as though pressure from the frontiers and the struggles of contending army generals, or barrack emperors, must inevitably destroy the Empire. From the depths it was raised by the genius of an Illyrian soldier. Diocletian performed a desperate operation which succeeded in prolonging the life of the Roman state for several centuries. He divided the Empire into eastern and western sections under co-rulers, but his elaborate plan of succession failed; he dropped the Augustan sham of the citizen king and made the emperor an outright oriental despot on the Persian pattern. For the sake of closer supervision and more centralized control he further divided the provinces and created new units, an improved civil service, and a court nobility. He also reorganized taxation and the coinage. He made the last determined effort to exterminate a group that many considered disloyal subjects, the Christians.

Constantine came to power soon after, and in many ways completed Diocletian's reforms. He did, however, reverse his predecessor's policy of persecution and, by the famous Edict of Milan, 313, embrace those he could not destroy. Thus Christianity ceased to work from the periphery, and at a stroke gained control of the very heart and center of an empire, a factor of the utmost significance in the Church's further development.

The Church, emerging from the dark night of persecution and from the fires which tried the quality of the believer's faith, now entered a sunlit era of success and faced entirely new problems. These were manifold and difficult. A Church ever increasing in numbers and growing further away from apostolic days and traditions had an urgent need for an authoritative canon of scripture and for a good Latin version of the Bible. The New Testament canon was finally established between 375 and 450, and Jerome's Vulgate became the standard version of the Church.

The problem of the relation of church and state was more profound, and was answered differently in East and West, and during successive centuries in the West. It was also necessary to clarify and defend a catholic dogma, to distinguish orthodox from heretical views in this world of diverse racial, religious, and philosophic backgrounds. Burning controversies arose over the nature of God and the Trinity; over the nature, substance, and will of Christ; over the use of images; over the nature of man, and other theological issues. Fully as important to the early Christian as these questions of dogma was the matter of personal ethics. What was the Christian's standard of character and life? How should he dress, consider matrimony, or meet persecution and prosperity? In the troubled days of the fourth and fifth centuries he was also called upon to answer another difficult question: Why did God permit a Christian empire to decline, whereas a pagan empire had stood firm?

The answers to all these problems were, in general, supplied from three great sources: the writings and opinions of the church fathers, the decrees of oecumenical councils, and the gradual development of the primacy of Rome. The century which began with Constantine's edict of toleration and his great Council of Nicea ended with Christianity triumphant. Theodosius I not only closed the old pagan temples and persecuted the pagans; he himself was humbled by the mighty St. Ambrose of Milan.

But simultaneously with Christianity's triumph came the beginning of the irruptions of hordes of Germanic peoples into the Empire, which have loosely been termed invasions. Rome had encountered and thrown off Germanic groups before, but now, possibly due to Hunnish pressure from the east, there were ominous stirrings beyond the borders. To meet this threat Rome was now defended by an army entirely composed of barbarians, mostly Germans. The earliest groups to seek access to the Empire, the Visigoths, Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and Ostrogoths, had certain traits in common: they had been touched to some extent by Roman civilization; they were Christians, though of the Arian faith; and they came in thinking of themselves more as allies, foederati, than as conquerors. They were pushed on and often used by emperors, and settled down as "defenders", for a price, of the "latinized" population.

It was into this unsettled world that Augustine was born. He was shocked into beginning his City of God by the Visigothic capture of Rome, 410, and died as the Vandals reached the gates of his North African city. Above all early fathers, he has been called the mind that made the Middle Ages, for, not only did he achieve the great synthesis of Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, with Christian tradition but, he gave the Church its philosophy of history, and, in defending it from the attacks of heretics, established its theology. In many respects a study of St. Augustine offers the most illuminative understanding of the great transition from the world of classical antiquity to that of medieval Christendom. Probably no other man has had greater historical influence than St. Augustine. The reason was his extraordinary sensitivity both to the historic tendencies and to the cultural and spiritual manifestations. His controversies 1) with the Manichaeans, led to his analysis of the cause of evil: it is due not to our physical nature, but to the weakness of our wills; 2) with the Irish monk, Pelagius, which led him to his faith in the prevenient grace of God, which

finds the strengthening of the will not in self-effort but in the mystical discovery of life's purpose in God's sovereign will; 3) with the Donatists in North Africa, which convinced him that only a universal, catholic, church can cope with world problems.

Thus, he transforms the Roman imperialists' faith in the destiny of the Roman Empire into a faith in the destiny of the Roman Church. Likewise, the inner struggle in Paul's soul which was re-experienced in his own life becomes normative for all men, everywhere.

Life thus has a far wider scope and a much deeper intensity in meaning in the Middle Ages than it had for ancient man.

The century following his death witnessed the final disintegration of the western part of the Empire. A striking, but hardly significant date was 476, when the barbarian general Odovaker removed the last puppet emperor of the West. He, in turn, was defeated in the name of the eastern emperor by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who re-established a short period of prosperity in Italy, and patronized Cassiodorus and Boethius, two Romans who did much for the preservation of classical literature. But the West was doomed. In the East Justinian made a last futile effort to reunite the Roman World, but his legacy is rather the final codification of Roman Law associated with his name, and the great church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople, the model and inspiration for Byzantine architecture.

J.H.D.

LECTURES

- I. CONSTANTINE TO JUSTINIAN
- II. EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE: CHURCH FATHERS AND CREEDS
- III. AUGUSTINE: MAKER OF THE MEDIEVAL MIND

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Constantine's motives for the establishment of Christianity as the state religion.
2. Nicene Creed: the value of a legal statement of the Christian faith.
3. The economic and social policies of the Christian emperors.
4. The reaction to Christianity in Julian the Apostate: the conflict of classical and Christian cultures.
5. The sources of Augustine's philosophy: Vergil, Plotinus, and Paul.
6. The life story of a Roman colonial: wanderings of Augustine from Tagaste to Milan.
7. Monica: the influence of Christianity on the aristocratic Roman matron.
8. The culture of Carthage: Phoenician and Roman.
9. Augustine's psychology: the four elements, Curiosity, Memory, Will, and Love.
10. Compare Vergil's concept of Fate, Paul's doctrine of predestination, and Augustine's theory of the sovereignty of God.
11. Trace the course of Augustine's spiritual odyssey from Paganism to Christianity.
12. Estimate Augustine's other-worldliness as the root of medieval Christian asceticism.
13. Explain how Augustine found peace: the goal of his search in the Confessions.
14. Augustine's philosophy of history: the City of God and the City of Man.
15. Justinian's aims and achievements: the Golden Age of the Byzantine Empire.
16. Santa Sophia: a symbol of Byzantine culture.
17. What problems of the early Church inspired the creation of the Athanasian Creed?
18. What influence did Byzantine civilization have on the culture of Europe?

SOURCE READINGS

Augustine: Confessions, Books I - X

SUGGESTED READINGS

Athenagoras: A Plea for the Christians
Augustine: The City of God
Boethius: The Consolation of Philosophy
Bury: History of the Later Roman Empire
Byron: The Byzantine Achievement
Cochrane: Christianity and Classical Culture
Dawson: The Making of Europe
Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History
Inge: The Philosophy of Plotinus
Justyn Martyr: Apologies
Justyn Martyr: Address to the Greeks
Lactantius: The Divine Institutes
Minucius Felix: The Octavius
Pickman: The Mind of Latin Christendom
Procopius: History of the Wars
Tertullian: The Apology

UNIT XVI

CLASH OF CULTURES AND RACES

After Justinian's death it was obvious to his successors that his dream of a reunited Empire was illusory. In the West centralized and unified authority was gone, seemingly for good. In the East, however, an Eastern Roman Empire survived until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, 1453. Based on its almost impregnable capital city, this Eastern Empire became increasingly Greek, or rather Byzantine, a name which implies the complex inheritance of Roman governmental and legal institutions and of Christian doctrines, set in the framework of Hellenistic cultural and philosophical ideas and language. For a few centuries it even managed to retain its hold on isolated spots in Italy.

In the period of the early Middle Ages, the Franks became the predominant political force in the West. This was not altogether fortuitous, for the Franks differed from earlier Germanic invaders in two great respects. They expanded rather than migrated, and they did so not only westward into Roman territory, but also over their Germanic neighbors to the east and south. Thus, they were not the rootless and wandering tribes their predecessors had been. In the second place, Clovis, their first great leader and founder of the Merovingian dynasty, embraced orthodox Christianity. This enabled the Franks to live in greater harmony with the Gallo-Roman population than had been possible for their Aryan forerunners. In fact, it gave Clovis an excuse for eliminating his rivals from the land. More important still, it paved the way for a rapprochement between the Franks and the papacy which became later of immense significance, and incidentally led clerical writers to coin the famous phrase, gesta dei per francos.

The Merovingian period was transitional, retaining elements both of

the old and of the new. Its kingship illustrates this fact, for it was a strange mixture of the Roman concept of imperial unity and the Germanic idea that the kingdom was an estate which could be divided among sons as private property. Then too, in local government new officials, such as counts, dukes, and margraves, were placed over the old municipalities. Elements of feudalism and manorialism were inherent in the land system of the late Roman Empire, but the period 500-900 added the distinctive features which justify one in speaking of a feudal or manorial system, which, it must be remembered, was never quite as uniform or clearly defined as is often supposed.

During these centuries, so often termed the "dark ages", there took place events of great import for the future. First in time was the advent of Mohammed, 570-632. Not only did he create a religion which is now one of the most influential in the world, but under his immediate successors and the Arab dynasty of the Omniads, 632-750, the whole of Syria, Persia, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain was swept into an empire which threatened not only Constantinople, but also seemed about to engulf Europe through France. Perhaps even more significant than the military conquests of Islam was a cultural synthesis, achieved chiefly under the Abbasids. This kept from destruction the medicine, philosophy, and mathematics of the Greeks and produced an entirely new civilization, the Saracenic.

In Europe, the Carolingian mayors of the palace finally supplanted the decadent Merovingians, 751. Pepin aided the papacy against the Lombards, and it rewarded him by crowning him king of the Franks. His son, Charlemagne, incorporated the Lombards, pushed back Slavs and Avars, conquered and Christianized the pagan Saxons, and even ventured into Spain. His reputation, however, rests mainly on his work as administrator and reformer of monasteries, churches and education. Here the credit goes chiefly to Alcuin, a product of a Northern

English renaissance, which in turn was inspired by Celtic monks from Ireland, whose knowledge surpassed any in Europe from the fifth to the ninth centuries. On a visit to Rome, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by the Pope, 800, but he always viewed himself and the Pope as equal co-laborers for the spiritual welfare of Europe. Soon after his death his empire fell rapidly apart. Fratricidal warfare broke out among his grandsons in which the great rivalry of French and Germans over the middle kingdom of the Rhine country began. Already in Charlemagne's time the drang nach osten was in evidence, for his frontier marks against Slavs and Avars laid the foundation of two great future states, Brandenburg and Austria. To make confusion worse, during the ninth century the vicious raids of the Vikings from Scandinavia began. This ruthless group pushed not only to Iceland and Greenland, but left large elements in England and Ireland, became Normans in France, and mixed with the Slavs to create the Russians.

These terrible years of confusion wiped out trade; made land, the fortified place, and the warrior on horseback, the only sources of strength and safety; in this period personal ties were the only basis for political relationship. Feudalism and manorialism might, therefore, be called the political and economic necessities of the age. Society consisted of clergy who prayed, warriors who fought, and serfs who worked. The two following centuries were still too troubled to produce much philosophy, art, or culture in the West. Out of Cluny, 910, emerged a monastic movement destined not only to reform monasteries, but to create a new conception of papal power. The Carolingian branches became enfeebled and died out, while in their place there emerged in Germany a Holy Roman Empire under Otto I, 965, which brought Germany and Italy into an unholy misalliance. In France the Capetian family took over, and struggled throughout most of the remaining medieval period to maintain little

more than a nominal suzerainty over great French foudatories.

By 1000 A. D. Europe was settling down enough for trade to timidly revive. It is this revival of trade which created a new entity, the medieval town. It was founded by a charter which gave its inhabitants the rights not only to certain judicial, governmental, and economic privilages, but also freedom of movement, person, and of sale, property. Thus a new class was added to the feudal three, the bourgeoisie. There were many varying types of towns: burghs, communes, where privileges had been wrested from lords, and villes neuves, or new towns created outright by king or lord on the pattern of modern "boom" towns. But all had about them an "air of freedom" and release from seignioral dues.

By the end of the eleventh century Europe was ready for expansion, and for counter-attack. In the preceding epoch, in fact, since the Germans had moved in on prostrate and nerveless inhabitants of the Empire, there had come wave after wave of invasion from the East: Huns, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, Magyars. Most of these were now converted. The Church had risen to new heights from which it dared challenge the Empire. It was now anxious to divert Europe from its investiture quarrels and to distract nobles from private war, for the feudality was becoming seriously overpopulated and land-hungry. These considerations and the call from Alexis for succor led Pope Urban II, as the chronicler says, urbanely to utter his sweet and persuasive eloquence at Clermont, 1095. The French nobility responded with the cry, "God wills it", and the Christian Holy War against Islam was launched. Christian imperialism had begun.

J.H.D.

LECTURES

- I. THE INVADERS OF WESTERN EUROPE: THEODORIC TO CHARLEMAGNE
- II. THE MANOR AND THE TOWN
- III. THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN IMPERIALISM

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The laws of the Franks and Saxons versus Roman Law.
2. The manor: the origin of the nobility of Western Europe.
3. The Christianizing of Western Europe.
4. Ireland: Christianity and art of the Celt.
5. The Carolingian Renaissance: its debt to Romans and Celts.
6. Charlemagne and his attempt at the unification of Western Europe: the Holy Roman Empire.
7. Mohammed: his character and creed.
8. The Moslem invasions of Europe: Moslem culture and its influence in the West.
9. The effect of the Crusades on the religion, literature, and architecture of the West.
10. The philosopher Averroes and the transmission of Aristotle to the West.
11. The Mosque: a cultural symbol of Islam.
12. The influence on civilization of Mohammedanism and Christianity as religions of a book: The Koran.
13. The historical significance of the Magna Carta and its influence on English and American law.
14. Explain the Song of Roland as a product of the clash between Moslem and Christian cultures in Spain.
15. Roland: the ideal of European chivalry.

SOURCE READINGS

Song of Roland

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Arnold: The Legacy of Islam
 Beowulf
 Chretien de Troyes: Perceval le Gallois
 Chretien de Troyes: Yvain
 Coulton: Medieval Panorama
 Crump: The Legacy of the Middle Ages
 Dampier: A History of Science
 Einhard: Early Lives, "Charlemagne"
 Froissart: The Chronicles of England, France, and Spain
 Saint Gregory of Tours: History of the Franks
 Grunbaum: Medieval Islam
 Husik: A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy
Magna Carta
 Malory: Le d' Arthur
 Paris: The Arab Heritage
 Rand: Founders of the Middle Ages
The Koran
The Nibelungenlied
The Saga of Burnt Njal
 Tacitus: De Germania
 Villehardouin and De Joinville: Memoirs of the Crusades

UNIT XVII

CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS OF THE WEST

By the tenth and eleventh centuries the outlines of the modern states of Europe became increasingly clearer. England reabsorbed the Danelaw, and the Anglo-Saxon monarchy succumbed to William I and the aggressive Normans, who not only introduced feudalism of a more centralized continental type, but succeeded in putting it under control. French Capetains began their long struggle to absorb the French fiefs of their English vassals and to extend royal justice over semi-independent dukes and counts. In Spain, French nobles aided the Church and the Christian counts of the North to push back the Moslem in a kind of pre-crusade. In the Empire, strong Saxon and Salian rulers developed a family policy and used the Church as an agent for extending royal control.

The papacy during an earlier epoch seemed utterly degraded and powerless, its prestige fallen from that of the days of Leo I or Gregory I. In fact, for long years it was fought over by factions of the Roman nobility, and this situation was hardly improved when German emperors intervened to decide the issue and to make appointments. From these depths the Cluniac movement rescued the papacy and elevated it to the dominant position it occupied from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

The Cluniac program started as a reform of Benedictine monasticism, to rescue the monastery from lay control, to end the evils of simony, and to eliminate the dangers of the hereditary tenure. Its chief aim was to separate the Church from lay appointment and control, and to insist that the chapter elect its own abbot, and depend entirely on the pope instead of

a local magnate or bishop. The secular clergy soon caught the spirit of separation, but faced a more bitter struggle, for feudal kings and lords who in many cases used their clerical appointees for political and military ends, were unwilling, without a bitter contest, to see control of the cathedrals and the lands of the dioceses drop idly from their hands.

The Clunian monk who became the standard bearer of the fight was Hildebrand, or Gregory VII, 1087-99. Already, a reforming German emperor had allowed the papacy to institute a method of election by the college of cardinals, 1059. Gregory, small and unimpressive in stature and voice, but driven by inner fire and conviction, launched the investiture issue which ultimately involved most of the rulers of Europe. Too often one remembers his apparently dramatic victory at Canossa, with Henry IV standing penitent in the snow, and forgets Hildebrand's unhappy end, and the fact that when his successors worked out concordats with the leading rulers, the papacy's gain was, for the most part, the rather hollow victory of clerical investiture, whereas, in nearly every case, the rulers kept their prerogative of controlling clerical elections.

If the eleventh century marked the rise of papal power, the year 1200 marked its zenith. Innocent III was perhaps the most powerful single individual in European history. He was the actual feudal suzerain of most of Europe; he placed his candidate, whom he later overthrew, on the German throne, and he brought the kings of France and England to their knees, launched the Albigensian crusade, developed the papal curia into a kind of world court, and convoked great international conventions, the third and fourth Lateran Councils.

The highest point in the papal claims came a century later, in the Unam Sanctam of Boniface VIII. But the emptiness of papal supremacy was quickly apparent. The universalism of the papacy wilted before the actual national power of Edward I, of England, and of Philip the Fair, of France.

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Two other great religious institutions played a role in medieval life second only to the papacy and the secular hierarchy: the monastery and the university.

Christian monasticism was almost as old as the Church. After the first flocking of hermits to the desert in the fourth century, the era of cenobitic life and of rules began. St. Benedict was the greatest name in western monachism, and his famous rule and his abbey at Monte Cassino were established in the early sixth century. In the estimate of the times the life of the "religious", or of those with drawn from this-worldly affairs, was spiritually superior to that of the secular clergy. The early Benedictines were the missionaries, the teachers, the copyists and transmitters of learning, and the agriculturalists of Europe. They kept a feeble flame alight in the "dark ages." Inevitably there were periods of decline, which produced reforming movements like that of Cluny, tenth century, and the Cistercians, twelfth century, which rescued the ideal of mystical devotion and the contemplative life. But as Europe settled down to growing nationalism, and as towns and trade developed, the ideal was increasingly difficult to maintain. Instead, the newer orders, though retaining some monastic vows, were designed to permit to the members participation in the affairs of men. At the time of the Norman Conquest apparently a third of the population lived on monastic

lands; there were 550 monasteries in England in the days of Henry VIII. England was typical, if extreme. But, throughout the West the monk played a dominating role in economic and social activities, as well as in religion and art.

The universities were also products of the "settling down" period of Europe. The older monastic and cathedral schools, even as reformed by Charlemagne, did little more than prepare clergy to perform divine service. The seven liberal arts degenerated beyond recognition. By the twelfth century several cathedral schools, partly as a result of the rediscovery of classical mathematics, logic, and philosophy from the Saracens, partly due to better opportunities for study, attracted great numbers of students of all social classes. The university, like the "new" town, offered escape from the cramping conditions of the manors.

In towns like Paris and Bologna, the guild, or universitas of faculty or students, wrested charters from clerical overlords, usually the cathedral chancellors or fiscal heads. Such charters established certain privileges, such as the granting of degrees, the holding of lectures, the disciplining of students. Gradually the four great faculties evolved: arts, theology, law, and medicine. Various methods for the oversight of students were also developed. The students at first organized themselves in such a cosmopolitan center as Paris by "nations." Later, the college, where the heart of the organization was a group of self-perpetuating teachers and scholars, evolved out of privately established halls or dormitories. By the end of the thirteenth century such institutions, or studia generales, were beginning to be scattered through Europe, but Paris maintained its

predominance, especially in theology.

A revolution in theology was also accomplished in the thirteenth century. The outstanding figure here was Thomas Aquinas, who created for the church a theology incorporating the Aristotelian view of the universe which tended to replace, though not without a struggle, the previous Augustinianism based on Plato. Out of school and university there came, both before and after Thomas, "schoolmen", who revelled in the delights of logic, and who divided into the schools of realism and nominalism over the old logical controversy on the nature of universals. Other views existed, such as the mystical approach of such men as St. Bernard, St. Francis, or St. Bonaventure, which ran counter to the prevailing intellectualism. But never, perhaps, as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did the mind of men wrestle more sincerely with the basic problem of the relation of faith and reason.

Considering these three extraordinary institutions of the later Middle Ages, the papacy, the monastery, and the university, we become conscious of the culturally creative power of the epoch. Ideally the papacy expresses the conviction that the peace of the continent of Europe rests on a common faith. Even if subsequent centuries were justified in challenging the actual methods used, namely the Inquisition, it remains to be seen whether they were also justified in substituting faith in nationalism for that common faith.

The monastery has passed away largely. Yet the monks' ideal, of a place where a man or woman could create a trinity of work, love, and faith, is the root of many of our social aspirations.

And in the university the Church created an institution capable of endowing society as such with a soul. Possibly this institution is our greatest heritage from the Middle Ages, the real source of human freedom.

LECTURES

- I. THE PAPACY AS A POLITICAL FORCE: GREGORY VII TO BONIFACE VIII
- II. MONASTERY AND UNIVERSITY
- III. THE MEDIEVAL VIEW OF GOD: THE SCHOOLMEN

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Causes for the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII: the Investiture Controversy.
2. The Political ideals and achievements of Innocent III: the Golden Age of Christendom.
3. The conflict of the papacy with France.
4. Realism versus Nominalism: William of Champeaux versus Roscellinus.
5. The most popular teacher of the Middle Ages: Abelard and the Theory of Conceptualism.
6. Medieval faith in innate ideas: Anselm's Ontological Argument for the Existence of God.
7. A day in a Benedictine monastery: the practical features of St. Benedict's Rule.
8. Thomas Aquinas and the renaissance of Aristotle.
9. Thomas Aquinas: the synthesis of faith and reason.
10. Thomas Aquinas: the five proofs for the existence of God.
11. Contrast the proofs for the existence of God in Anselm and Aquinas.
12. The contribution of the medieval university to culture: academic freedom.
13. The effect of the medieval university upon the Church: its contribution to religion.
14. The political policies of Boniface VIII: the Bulls Clericis laicos and Unam Sanctam.
15. The effect of the Avignon Exile on the institution of the papacy.
16. The ideal Christian king: Saint Louis of France.

SOURCE READINGS

The Rule of St. Benedict
 Anselm: Monologium
 Aquinas: Treatise on God

SUGGESTED READINGS

Abelard: The Letters of Abelard and Heloise
 Adams: Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres
 Aquinas: On the Governance of Rulers
 Aquinas: Summa Contra Gentiles
 Aquinas: Treatise on Man
 Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation
 Bonaventura: On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology
 Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire
 Coulton: Five Centuries of Religion
 Crump: The Legacy of the Middle Ages
 Dante: De Monarchia
 Gilson: The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy
 Rashdall: The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages
 Symonds: Wine, Women, and Song
 Taylor: The Mediaeval Mind
 Waddell: The Wandering Scholars
 Wolf: Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages

UNIT XVIII

THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE

In the Middle Ages the Church was the universal, dominant institution, affecting the lives and thoughts of all; but it should not be forgotten that the people in turn exerted their influence upon the church. For, though the Church was hierarchically organized, as was feudal society, it had its democratic aspects too. It furnished, even for the peasant, the career best suited to his talent, and allowed popular elements continually to creep into liturgy and observances.

With the spread of Christianity and its attendant monasticism through Europe, there developed a style of architecture for cathedral and abbey churches which was an outgrowth of the Roman basilica form, hence called Romanesque. Local varieties occurred in every country and from century to century, though Romanesque architecture reached its highest development in the twelfth century. Its solidity, and heavy walls, reflect the feudal age and bear close relationship to the castle. Indeed, many Romanesque abbeys and churches were centers of physical as well as spiritual succor during the "dark ages."

The twelfth century witnessed a great religious revival. It was the age of the last great monastic reform, of papal hegemony, of crusading zeal, of the growth of towns, and of other factors which contributed to create an outburst of building activity. In the North the search for height and light led to the development of the style termed Gothic. Anonymous builders found that by ribbed vaults they could carry weight from roofs to columns and thence by flying buttresses to outer supports. Thus church structures became skeletons in stone, with windows replacing heavy walls. This new style gave scope for the marvellous

development of stained glass. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries the craftsman worked out the detailed problems of vaulting, windows, and interior and exterior decoration which have given rise to the various "styles" of Gothic. At the same time the clergy were working out a complex and symbolic iconography seen in windows, portals, and capitals, which has led many writers to speak of the cathedral as the "Bible" of the poor. It was more than a "Bible." It was a speculum or mirror of nature, of history, and of theology.

The church also became mother of the drama. The great processions and even the sacraments themselves were dramatic representations, and Franciscans brought ox and ass into the church to give realism to the enactment of the story of Christ's birth. Simple dramatizations of other religious themes developed gradually into the great body of medieval drama, combining religion with popular entertainment. Later, religious drama was taken over by the guilds and finally drama became purely secular.

The literature of learning, theology, and philosophy continued to be written in the international language of the learned, Latin. This Latin had gradually changed in many respects from the highly inflected instrument of the classical period into a flexible and useful language later destroyed by the purity cult of the fifteenth century humanists. Outside the cloister there developed in Europe the vernacular tongues, Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and Romance languages, used as a means of everyday expression and, at an early date, of literature as well.

The earliest form of literature of any people or race has usually been the epic; and so we find it in Europe. The great epics of the medieval period, Beowulf, the Song of Roland, the Cid, the Volsung Saga, and the Nibelungenlied, were actually composed over a very long range of time, but in nearly every case the

actions described are based on deeds and episodes of Europe's time of trouble, the epoch of bravery, heroes, and personal loyalty. Superimposed on the basic story is a later chivalric and Christian veneer dating from the time of writing.

Out of Provence in the south of France came the musical and love elements into medieval poetry. Troubadour poets sang of wars or of courtly love in styles both clear and obscure. Partly through the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine this vogue of courtly love poetry spread to other sections of Europe, inspiring Trouveres in northern France and Minnesingers in Germany. In Champagne, the realm of Eleanor's daughter, a mixture of chivalric ideals and Celtic legend created a new form, the courtly romance. It is significant that at the very time of this outburst of secular love poetry, there developed within the church the cult of Mariolatry and passionate outpourings of poetry of love and devotion to the Virgin, reflected in another aspect in the great number of churches dedicated to Notre Dame.

Epics, troubadour poems, and courtly romances were essentially a literature for the noble classes. Even the first vernacular prose writers of note Willeharduin of Joinville, were great seigneurs. But by the thirteenth century, along with further development in prose, there came the Romance of the Rose, a Parisian product reflecting a bourgeois spirit and subjecting the ruling classes and clergy to the acid spirit of Gallic wit. Fabliaux, animal romances, and ballads were other forms of popular expression. Not all condemnations of the upper strata were witty and gay. In England, Langland, in his Piers Plowman, condemned the economic and social evils of his day in glaring contrast to another bourgeois, Froissart, who gazed at the glamorous side of decadent fourteenth century chivalry and recorded their deeds with the awe-struck wonder of a modern

society page reporter.

The climax of medieval literature was reached in the work of four widely divergent writers. Villon, a vagabond scholar poet, may be called the creator of the modern lyric; Chaucer helped form the English language and presented the world with his unforgettable gallery of medieval types; Commines, by his ability to analyze motives of men, laid the basis of modern history, finally, Dante, through earliest of the four in time, may be said to have summarized the medieval view of God, man, and the universe, coming as near as any poet ever has to viewing man sub specie eternitatis.

J.H.D.

SOURCE READINGS

Return
 Franklin: The Little Flowers

SUGGESTED READINGS

And Nicolette
and Character
Chaucer's Canterbury Tales
and Gregory
Adapted to Light and Color
Paris, Nancy
Maria Clara
The Making of the Middle Ages
by Foreigners: The Golden Legend
Flora Piccola
Medieval Art in France, XIII Century

THE BURROW LIBRARY
 Southwestern at Memphis
 Memphis, Tennessee 38112

LECTURES

- I. THE CATHEDRAL
- II. POPULAR LITERATURE
- III. THE MEDIEVAL VIEW OF MAN: SAINT FRANCIS AND DANTE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Gothic architecture: windows, vaulting, buttresses, sculpture, and ground plans.
2. The religious and educational value of the symbolism of the Gothic cathedral.
3. The influence of the arts and crafts on Western civilization: the social value of the guilds.
4. The life of Saint Francis of Assisi: his faith in poverty.
5. Saint Francis' scheme for the achievement of happiness.
6. The influence of the Franciscan movement on European literature and art.
7. Giotto: his interpretation of the spirit of Saint Francis.
8. The theory of justice in the Divine Comedy of Dante.
9. Compare Dante's theory of the fundamental weakness of man with the Greek theory of pride.
10. The degrees of sin and suffering in the Inferno: Dante's classification of the evils of man.
11. The poetry of Dante in relation to Romanesque and Gothic art.
12. The medieval mystic and his search for happiness.
13. Dante's knowledge of the science of the Middle Ages.
14. The medieval mind: its faith in the supernatural.
15. The medieval mind: its view of nature.
16. The tragedy of the inner man, Dante, compared with the tragedy of circumstance, Sophocles.
17. Dante's debt to the Symposium of Plato and the Confessions of Saint Augustine, in his idea of the beatific vision.
18. The odyssey of medieval man: the Divine Comedy of Dante.

SOURCE READINGS

Dante: Inferno
 Saint Francis: The Little Flowers

SUGGESTED READINGS

Aucassin and Nicolette
 Adams: Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres
 Chaucer: Prologue to the Canterbury Tales
 Chaucer: Troilus and Cressida
 Connick: Adventures in Light and Color
 Dante: Divine Comedy
 Dante: Vita Nuovo
 Huizinga: The Waning of the Middle Ages
 Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend
 Langland: Piers Plowman
 Male: Religious Art in France, XIII Century
 Morey: Medieval Art
 Power: Medieval People
 Taylor: The Medieval Mind, Vol. 2
 Villon: Le Grand Testament
 Vossler: Medieval Culture, Vol. 1, 2

UNIT XIX

HUMANISM IN POLITICS AND ART

The Renaissance was essentially a change in the nature of man. As a movement it appears in every area of life and thought in Western Europe. The parts of Europe that were not touched by the Renaissance, notably the Balkans, and Russia, have lagged far behind in cultural development. The chief ideas and institutions of the Renaissance, such as nationalism, science, and invention, Protestantism, capitalism, and mercantilism, intensified the change in human nature and in the forms of society. The ideological aspect of the Renaissance we call humanism. It is this humanistic approach which the Slavic nations have missed most of all.

In contrast to the static medieval world the Renaissance was a dynamic age. Whereas the Middle Ages had been other-worldly with the emphasis on God, the Renaissance was this-worldly with an interest in man. The Middle Ages had been conservative, locked in its traditions, and the new age was liberal and daring, even to recklessness. The medieval man had belonged to a community, living an agrarian life which offered security, while the intense individualists of the Renaissance moved into towns in search of adventure and achievement. The rise of cities is one of the aspects of the Renaissance. Florence took its place alongside Athens, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Byzantium, and Rome as one of the seminal cities in the history of western civilization.

Another significant aspect of the Renaissance is nationalism. The medieval world had been dominated by the internationalism of the Papacy, which reached its height under Innocent III. The city-states of Italy, such as Florence, Milan, and Venice, were among the first to oppose the papacy and achieve

independence from it. Machiavelli's humanistic reading of Roman history inspired him with the dream of the unification of the Italian state under the Medici of Florence. The growing national consciousness of France and England led to the break with Rome. Ferdinand and Isabella united Castille and Aragon, drove out the Moors, and created the nation of Spain. National leaders such as Charles V, Francis I, and Henri VIII dominated the affairs of Europe. The courts of Florence, Ferrara, France, England, and Spain became the centers of culture. The medieval unity of Europe under the papacy gave way to this individualism in politics and culture.

The secret force in the Renaissance was a new consciousness of man as man. Humanism came from the living waters of Greek and Roman classics. Sophocles' faith in the intelligence of man was reexpressed in Pico della Mirandola's oration, On the Dignity of Man. Thus humanism brought about an intellectual reconstruction that changed the mind of Western Europe. The latinization of the West begun by Julius Caesar in the first century B. C. seemed to have been completed, at least in the schools.

Some of the ancient classics had been available during the Middle Ages. But the medieval view of human nature had blinded men to their value. Their very faith in God seemed to rob them of their faith in man.

The forerunners of humanism appeared in the Trecento. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Giotto were the real founders of the new age. The source of the humanism of the Trecento was the Latin tradition as is shown by Dante's reliance on Vergil in the Divine Comedy. The Quattrocento was marked by a passion for Greek studies. Chrysoloras had come to Florence in 1393, and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 brought other Greek scholars to Italy. Pope Nicholas V collected Greek manuscripts for the Vatican library, and the timely invention

of the printing press made many books available to give new impetus to the revival of ancient learning. Florence was the center of Greek studies, and the Florentine Academy, which was founded by the Medici as a tribute to Plato's Academy, was the center of Italian learning. The philosophy of Plato was revived as the Renaissance foil for the medieval faith in Aristotle. The efflorescence of Italian humanism came during the Cinque cento when this intense intellectual activity spread over most of Western Europe. Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo in Italy, Reuchlin in Germany, Rabelais in France, Colot and More in England, and Erasmus of Rotterdam are, in this epoch, the guiding stars of the new Europe.

The ambivalent nature of humanism became apparent. Southern or Italian humanism was aristocratic and courtly, while Northern humanism was democratic and bourgeois. The interest of the Southern humanist was in art and beauty, while the Northern humanist turned to education and learning. Italian humanism was pagan and sensual; Northern humanism was Christian and moral. This element of Northern humanism is sometimes identified as a separate movement, so-called Christian humanism. Its incarnation was Erasmus, known as "the most civilized man of his age." The Northern humanists turned to the great Stoics, Cicero and Seneca. Inspired by Cicero, the man of action, Erasmus, Rabelais, and Calvin left the monastery and university and went out into the world. The scholar played an important role in society and forced a readjustment of outlook in education, church, and politics through such searching books as Erasmus' Praise of Folly and More's Utopia. Francis I founded the College de France to further the humanistic tradition in France, and to help in achieving nationalistic ideals. The gentleman scholar after the ideal of Castiglione's Courtier appeared at the courts of Margaret of Navarre and Elizabeth of England. Man again became the measure of life, and he achieved greatly in the arts and in adventures in the New World. The

Renaissance was a creative age in the history of Western man, and took its place beside the Periclean and Augustan Ages.

The very substance of the life of the Renaissance can be seen in the spectrum of the arts from Giotto to Titian. Unlike the anonymous medieval artist, the artist of the Renaissance signed his name to his works. The David of Michelangelo said in marble what Pico said in words. Yet the artist of the Renaissance did not have the private outlook of the modern artist, such as Picasso, but became the mouthpiece of his time, and spoke for the princes, and popes, and even the people, on the great issues of state and church. He broke with the stylism of Byzantine art and introduced the perspective of three dimensions. Giotto painted human beings as he observed them in life. The influence of St. Francis, who saw man as a human being as well as an immortal soul, can be seen in Giotto's works. Fra Angelico, weeping as he painted, reveals this same Franciscan spirit. Brunelleschi designed the dome of the Florentine Cathedral under the spell of the Roman Vitruvius; but there is no Renaissance architecture to equal the Parthenon, the Santa Sophia, and Chartres. Ghiberti's Doors to the Baptistry in Florence took twenty-two years of work, and Michelangelo thought that they were worthy to be "the Gates of Paradise." The figures of the panels reveal the classic style of the humanist. Donatello's portraits have the realism of ancient Roman portraiture and outstrip them in psychology. Luca della Robbia went to Etruscan art for the inspiration of his polychrome ceramic sculptures. Gozzoli's narrative of the Three Kings in the Medici Palace is a record of the pageantry stated in the lives of the princes of Florence. Every detail in that mural was taken from around Florence, and the peoples are members of the Medicean circle. Botticelli was inspired by Lucretius to create the Birth of Venus. He used the same model

for Venus and Madonnas to combine humanism and Christianity. His paintings are pageant scenes from the life of the court.

The incarnation of the Renaissance is Leonardo da Vinci. Art was scientific research to Leonardo. His Last Supper is a study in psychology. He possessed an intense intellectual curiosity, and designed ballrooms, pageants, gardens, costumes, kitchen gadgets, submarines, tanks, and flying machines with equal facility. His study of anatomy led him to dissect thirty human bodies. Leonardo saw but could not enter the modern world. Leonardo represents the scientific aspect of the Renaissance. Raphael is the religious symbol of the Renaissance. His Sistine Madonna is the apex of religious art. He is a conformist and a propagandist for the church. The School of Athens, one of the murals of the Vatican, was inspired by the Florentine Academy was an illustration of the history of philosophy found in the First Book of Aristotle's Metaphysics. Correggio is the antithesis of Raphael. He glorified the human body as a sensuously lovely object. Correggio's erotic art indicates a change in attitude toward the church. The goldsmith Cellini wrote his Autobiography, which maintains the social irresponsibility of the artist and is typical of the hybris which ultimately destroyed Southern humanism. Michelangelo stands alone as the "Puritan" of Southern humanism. If he had not been an Italian he would have been a Protestant. The Sistine Ceiling and Last Judgment are a synthesis of the Christian and classical traditions. In them he portrays the struggle between good and evil. A lonely and tragic figure, Michelangelo saw evil as Sophocles and Augustine before him had seen it, and as Rembrandt and Dostoevski after him saw it. He is a philosopher and a prophet who worked the heritage from the Hebrew prophets, as well as the Hellenic tradition, into his art. The Bellinis, Giorgione, Titian, and Tintorette were

influenced by the sensual Oriental element in Venetian life to display in opulent color the life of the Renaissance as they saw it. The Flemish and German art is bourgeois. The moral tone of the Gothic age lingered on in their works. This art has been called "the last flowering of the Middle Ages." Yet the Van Eycks, with their interest in nature landscapes, and Peter Brueghel's painting of the humble life of the peasant show the influence of the humanism of the Renaissance. Durer was touched, but not absorbed, by the Renaissance. Though he was Catholic, his art may be considered the first great work of Protestant art, for he illustrated the Bible with prints and woodcuts. Humanism is more clearly seen in the realistic portraits of Holbein. The art of the Southern Renaissance reveals the struggle of pagan and Christian forces. Raphael remained true to the church, Michelangelo strove for a synthesis, but Leonardo undoubtedly turned men's eyes to the nature of man and away from the Church as the source of meaning and truth. In the Northern Renaissance God was still the measure of life.

J.O.

LECTURES

- I. THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM IN THE WEST
- II. THE HUMANIST: THE SCHOLAR IN SOCIETY
- III. THE RENAISSANCE ARTISTS AND THE MEANING OF LIFE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Trace the Hundred Years' War in France.
2. Joan of Arc as the symbol of the new nationalism in France.
3. Trace the Hundred Years' War and its political and social consequences in England.
4. John Wyclif: the precursor of the English Reformation.
5. Compare the personalities and religious experience of Joan of Arc and John Wyclif.
6. Ferdinand and Isabella: the unification of Spain in politics and religion.
7. The Fall of Constantinople and the Turkish invasion of Eastern Europe: the political and religious consequences.
8. The popes of the Renaissance and their prevention of Italian political unification.
9. Erasmus as a typical humanist; the introduction of the humanities into education.
10. Thomas More's social idealism: his view of poverty, wealth, education, and religion.
11. Machiavelli's political theory: the character and importance of the ruler.
12. Leonardo da Vinci: the Man of the Renaissance.
13. Michelangelo: the synthesis of Christian and classical ideas in art.
14. Raphael: the artist as proponent for humanistic popes.
15. The technical achievements of the Renaissance artist in composition, color, and chiaroscuro.
16. The social role of the artists: the transition from craftsmen to creators of culture.

SOURCE READINGS

More: Utopia

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Allen: The Age of Erasmus
 Burckhardt: The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy
 Castiglione: The Book of the Courtier
 Cellini: Autobiography
 Cervantes: Adventures of Don Quixote
 Erasmus: In Praise of Folly
 Lang: Music in Western Civilization
 McCurdy: Leonardo da Vinci's Notebooks
 Machiavelli: The Prince
 Montaigne: Essays
 Pater: The Renaissance
 Rabelais: The Heroic Deeds of Gargantus and Pantagruel
 Randall: The Making of the Modern Mind
 Roeder: The Man of the Renaissance
 Symonds: Renaissance in Italy
 Taylor: Leonardo the Florentine
 Taylor: Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, Vol. 1, 2
 Vasari: The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects

UNIT XX

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation was a religious movement, but it had compelling political and economic aspects. The Church, which Augustine conceived as a Civitas Dei, had taken on many of the aspects of the Civitas Terrena. As an ecclesiastical institution it laid claim to both spiritual and temporal supremacy, announced most fully in Unam Sanctam, published by Boniface VIII in 1302, and vigorously asserted by the papal action of Alexander VI in 1493 deeding the New World to Ferdinand and Isabella. These claims gave the Church a voice in the policies of states, and gave the pope absolute rule over the members of the hierarchy for the administration of a kingdom which included lands and estates all over Europe, as well as rights of appointment to certain civil and religious offices. Exercise of these functions brought the Church into conflict with civil authorities to such an extent that religious reforms necessarily carried political significance.

The explanation for the wide departure from the original intent of the Church lay in the gradual and relentless acquisition of power over a thousand years of Western history. Europe's necessities became the Church's opportunities. The Church considered itself in possession of a divinely chartered monopoly for dispensing salvation. Its sacraments were the sole channels through which this grace flowed; its priests the sole agents of God. The Church held the keys to eternal life or to eternal death. When the masses either believed this sincerely or merely feared it as an ugly possibility, the masters of the Church became the masters of Europe.

It is still an open historical problem: whether the acquisition of power corrupted the leaders of the Church, or whether men corrupted by the cultural tendencies of this age attempted to hide their corruption in their assertions of religious and social power.

Pope John XXII, 1316-1334, is said to have been the first to make the dispensation of grace, temporal and eternal, a systematic source of revenue. Tithes, annates, procurations, subsidies, dispensations became avenues for the flow of vast sums of money into the church treasury. Among the factors which supported the Reformation were the desire to escape church taxes, to prevent draining of special funds from a territory, and to gain church estates which are estimated to have included a third of Germany and a fifth of France. Supporters of the reform movement often acted from mixed motives, but there were sincere people who recognized that the sale of church offices and of dispensations was wrong. Would none rise to object that the benefits of religion were to be had for a price?

A sale of indulgences proclaimed by Leo X in 1517 and promoted in the German states by John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was the immediate occasion for the spark which ignited that series of explosions in Western Europe called the Reformation.

By the opening of the sixteenth century an intense national consciousness had developed in northern Europe. England under the Tudors had achieved a strong national unity. The Hundred Years' War had given France a firmly established sovereign with centralization of authority. Germany was in an anomalous situation. The Holy Roman Empire, the outlet for German political aspirations, included too many non-Germans, in too loose an organization. However, the spirit of nationalism expressed itself in the strong principalities. Without the protection of the

Elector of Saxony, Luther could not have enjoyed freedom of action. Frederick refused to allow Tetzel to enter his territories, but some of the members of the church at Wittenburg purchased the indulgences, and Luther was dismayed at the exaggerated value people attached to these scraps of paper. He advertised a disputation on indulgences in the customary manner, nailing the Ninety-Five Theses to the door of the University Church, and immediately there was widespread demand for copies of these Theses. In them he distinguished between temporal penalties, which the Church imposed and which the Church could remit by an indulgence, and those penalties for sin which only God can remit. Sales of indulgences dropped off, and Luther's action was interpreted at once as an affront to the Pope. A series of events ensued which convinced Luther that the needed reform could not take place within the Roman Church. In 1520 a papal bill was issued against Luther condemning forty-one propositions attributed to him and demanding that he and his followers recant. Luther publicly committed the document to the flames and broke irrevocably with the Roman Church. There were men, like Erasmus, who were critical of the abuses, but would not make an open break with the organized Church. They either agreed to tolerate them or hoped for inner reform. But with Luther the issues were intensely personal: he had entered a monastery to save his soul; he out-stripped his fellow monks in asceticism and obedience; yet he became convinced that man cannot fit himself to be a suitable receptacle of grace, but that he can be justified by faith alone. His convictions made the break inevitable, and his action met with response among many to whom religion meant personal piety rather than ecclesiastical politics.

Influenced by the humanism of their time, Erasmus and Calvin took a great interest in historical sources. In particular they studied the Scriptures in their

original language. This study led to the recognition of the extra-Biblical accretions in church practice such as the worship of the Virgin, invocation of the saints, the celibacy of the priests, the use of relics, and the idea of purgatory. Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion became the textbook of the Reformation. Based on the Apostles' Creed, and, in a later edition, on the Epistle to the Romans, the Institutes attacked the priests' power of the keys, sought to show that sacramentalism is contrary to the New Testament, and set the reasoning of Paul in Romans against the view of human merit, built up through religious activities and self-sacrifice, as a basis of salvation. The place of individual experience in salvation under the concept of every man his own priest, accented by Luther, became a central feature of Protestant doctrine.

Calvin attracted to Geneva many friends from Europe's highest institutions of learning. Here he set up a remarkable theocratic rule. Here flocked Protestants from France, England, and Scotland. About six hundred men, pastors, scholars, social agitators returned home later with this Calvinistic schooling to send the Huguenots, Presbyterians, and Puritans into thorough-going reforms far beyond those adopted by the Lutherans or by the Church of England. Calvin's concept of the Church independent of the State, though cooperating with it, was in practice far more difficult to achieve than the Lutheran concept, that the Church was an essential department of the State. This distinction explains much of the variation in political and social developments of Lutheran and Calvinistic States in Europe. Was the Reformation a logical development of the Renaissance or a return to medievalism? Possibly the excessive emphasis on liberty in the Renaissance led to this new interpretation of Christianity, which rested on the sense of individual responsibility. Yet there was also in the Reformation movement a continuity with

medieval Christianity which at times threw it into conflict with the Renaissance spirit. Between the typical Renaissance man and the Reformation man there was wide divergence. The one sought human excellence and gloried in self-development, skill, coverness, and achievement. The other had a tragic sense of moral responsibility, an acute conscience, a childlike trust in God's providence, and an intense conviction that he was right so far as he followed the will of God. And yet there were men in Europe who believed they could unite the artistic achievements of the Renaissance and the moral advance of the Reformation in their own persons.

L.F.K.

LECTURES

- I. MARTIN LUTHER: FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND THE NEW NATIONALISM
 II. JOHN CALVIN: THE THEOCRATIC DREAM
 III. THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The course of the Reformation in Germany from the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses in 1517 to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.
2. An estimation of Martin Luther's place in history.
3. Luther's role in German nationalism: the divine rights of kings.
4. Luther's ethical dualism: the conflict of the Christian and the citizen.
5. Luther's concept of the Church and his criticism of the papacy.
6. A comparison of Calvin's humanistic with Luther's scholastic education. How did their education influence their thought?
7. Calvin's ethics: the consecration of the common lot.
8. The influence of Calvinism on politics: the Huguenots concept of the consent of the governed.
9. Calvin's theocratic principle: a free church and a free state.
10. Calvin's theories of predestination and total depravity: the revival of Augustine.
11. Calvinism and the rise of capitalism: freedom in economic enterprise.
12. The literary qualities of the King James Version of the Bible: its influence on English literature.
13. The Man of the Renaissance and the Man of the Reformation: their interests, tastes, habits, and characters.
14. Compare the individualism of Luther and Calvin with the individualism of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
15. In the light of subsequent events was the Reformation too radical or incomplete?
16. Ignatius Loyola: the religious and political principles of the Counter-Reformation.
17. The Council of Trent: the redefinition of the principles and program of the Roman Catholic Church.
18. Explain the art of Rembrandt as the revelation of the Protestant spirit.

SOURCE READINGS

- Calvin: The Institutes of the Christian Religion, Book IV, c. 20
 Luther: Address to the German Nobility
 Luther: Address on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church
 Luther: Concerning Christian Liberty
 Luther: The Ninety-Five Theses

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Benish: The Art of the Northern Renaissance
 Calvin: The Institutes of the Christian Religion
 Harkness: John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics
 Lindsay: A History of the Reformation, Vol. 1, 2
 Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises
 Mackinnon: Calvin and the Reformation
 Mackinnon: Luther and the Reformation
 Mackinnon: The Origins of the Reformation
 Melancthon: The Loci Communes
 Mumford: The Condition of Man
 Smith: A History of Modern Culture, Vol. 1

UNIT XXI

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

The latter half of the sixteenth century is known in history as the Age of Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth ascended the English throne in 1558, on the death of her unpopular sister, the Catholic Mary Tudor, and for almost half a century ruled England so intelligently, courageously, and successfully, that her reign has been proclaimed as one of the most brilliant periods in English history.

The new society which characterized the Elizabethan Age was the result of three great European revolutions. One of these was the political revolution which found Medieval Europe divided into hundreds of feudal states and dominated by a universal Church; and left it composed of a comparatively small number of national states, each ruled by a national monarch and possessing a national Church. Another of these revolutions was the intellectual and moral revolution, known as the Renaissance and Reformation; and the third was the geographical and commercial revolution, which opened up new worlds for seemingly unlimited expansion by the European States, and made inevitable tremendous changes in the economic and social life of Europe.

Absolutism reached its height in England under Elizabeth. Like her grandfather, Henry VII, and her father, Henry VIII, she did not have to support her absolutism by any Divine Right theory. She had sense and tact enough to ally herself with the nationalistic interests of the new society and to make herself the leader in every movement that would be for the benefit of the rising commercial leaders in Parliament. Under Elizabeth, however, the actual government of the land was in the hands of the Privy Council, not in the hands of Parliament. Today the government is controlled by the sovereign Parliament through the Cabinet members, but in Elizabeth's reign Parliament was managed by the sovereign Queen through the

Council, a group of men chosen by the Queen from among her loyal followers.

Elizabeth became a strong supporter of the popular doctrine of Mercantilism, which had as its object the placing of the economic life of the nation under the control of a strong central government in order that it might prosper at the expense of rival nations. In the Elizabethan Age the wealth of a nation was measured by the amount of silver and gold that it possessed. This accounts for the frantic efforts of the Drakes, Frobishers, and Hawkinses to find such wealth in the Americas, and for the zeal of Elizabeth's government in encouraging these adventures.

Under the stimulus of Mercantilism, the growth of the English merchant marine was phenomenal during the Elizabethan era. Elizabeth gave every encouragement to ship-building, and promoted the rise of regulated joint-stock companies by granting commercial monopolies to organized groups for the purpose of "developing trade, promoting colonies, and dealing in manufactures and mining." She was also in full sympathy with the mercantilist policy which fostered industry for the purpose of making the nation self-sufficient as well as for the purpose of giving the nation a surplus of manufactured goods with which to establish a favorable balance of trade. The great increase in industry naturally brought about decided changes in organization and method; and by the end of the Elizabethan Age the medieval guild system had been largely replaced by the well known domestic system, the predecessor of our modern factory system.

Perhaps the most important of all the policies of the "Virgin Queen" was expressed in the Elizabethan Compromise which established for England a national religion, a successful compromise between the extremes of Catholicism and Protestantism. The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity kept the extreme Protestants

quiet during her reign, but it did not stop the growth of the Puritan sects nor their interest in securing a Protestant English Bible.

John Wyclif and his Lollard friends translated the Bible for the first time into English in the late fourteenth century. This was a literal translation of the Vulgate, or Latin Bible of Saint Jerome, and it appeared long before the era of the printing-press. The first printed edition of the New Testament in English was made by William Tyndale in the early sixteenth century; and Tyndale translated straight from the Hebrew and Greek originals. At the same time, Miles Coverdale translated from German and Latin translations, a "complete" English Bible which was printed in 1535. The so-called Great Bible, the first to be printed by ecclesiastical authority, appeared in seven editions between 1539 and 1541. The second of these editions is known as Cranmer's Bible, because of the preface written by Archbishop Cranmer.

During the persecutions of Mary's reign, Coverdale and other prominent English reformers had fled to Geneva, where they published, in 1560 (two years after Elizabeth's accession), the so-called Geneva Bible, based on the latest Hebrew and classical scholarship, having the chapters divided into verses, and containing a marginal commentary. This translation became more popular, particularly among the Puritans, than the Great Bible, in spite of the fact that its use was prohibited in the churches. It was also in Queen Elizabeth's reign that the Rheims and Douai Versions, translations of the Latin Vulgate, were published by the Catholics, "for the more speedy abolishing--of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sects."

The Authorized or King James Version was published in 1611, eight years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, but during the great literary renaissance of

the Elizabethan Age. It was the work of splendidly trained scholars of the "new learning", and became for nearly three centuries the standard translation of the Bible into the English language. During the seventeenth century it was the one book familiar to every Englishman, and its influence, literary as well as religious, on the English-speaking world has been profound.

The "new learning" of the Renaissance reached its height in England during the Elizabethan Age, the age of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon. Shakespeare, the most famous of all the Elizabethans, stands next to the Bible in the number of commentators upon his works. In fact, his works became a sort of secular Bible to the English-speaking world. His historical plays portray brilliantly the life and ideas of the Elizabethan Age. Some of his characters, following the pseudo-Machiavellian pattern of the Elizabethan dramatists, were highly individualistic, restricted neither by rules nor morality in their quest for power. But Shakespeare is a great moralist, and his characters have a universal appeal. His patriotic fervor is expressed in his praise of England: "This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England", but he has curiously little to say of the Tudors, and especially of Elizabeth; he belongs to all ages, and is entitled to the rank of the world's greatest modern dramatist.

W.R.C.

LECTURES

- I. THE RISE OF THE SEA POWER OF ENGLAND
 II. THE GREAT TUDORS: HENRY VIII AND ELIZABETH
 III. SHAKESPEARE: HISTORIAN AND MORALIST

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The English Sea Dogs: the evolution of the English navy.
2. Political and religious consequences of the marriages of Henry VIII.
3. The Political and economic policies of the Tudors.
4. The economic and political consequences of the geographical discoveries on England.
5. In what respect was Elizabeth a typical Renaissance woman?
6. The Faerie Queene: Elizabeth as the incarnation of the spirit of England.
7. The Renaissance Court of Elizabeth: statesmen, courtiers, and adventurers.
8. Shakespeare's reading of the history of England from King John to Henry VIII.
9. Shakespeare's nationalism: is his patriotism a substitute for religion?
10. Shakespeare's analysis of Richard the Second's character.
11. The personality of Hamlet as the realization of the ideal Renaissance man: what are the elements in the make-up of the Renaissance man?
12. The meaning of evil and suffering in Shakespeare: is it Christian or Greek?
13. Shakespeare's interpretation of man in relation to nature.
14. Character delineations in the paintings of Rembrandt and the plays of Shakespeare.
15. Aeschylus and Shakespeare as poets of nationalism in rising empires.
16. Is Shakespeare's Tempest the greatest achievement of the English language?
17. Compare the Age of Pericles with the Age of Elizabeth.
18. Compare the humanistic spirit of Italy with the humanistic spirit of England.

SOURCE READINGS

- Shakespeare: Hamlet
 Shakespeare: The Tempest
 Shakespeare: The Tragedy of King Richard II

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Creighton: Age of Elizabeth
 Donne: Poems and Sermons
 Foxe: Book of Martyrs
 Greville: Life of Sir Philip Sydney
 Hakluyt: Voyages
 Hoby, tr.: Book of the Courtier
 Hooker: Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity
 Jonson: The Alchemist
 Marlowe: The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus
 Neale: Queen Elizabeth
 Raleigh: History of the World
 Spenser: Faerie Queene
 Tillyard: The Elizabethan World Picture
 Tillyard: Shakespeare's History Plays

UNIT XXII

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM

The seventeenth century, often called "the Age of Genius", was also an age of violent contrasts and conflicts. As it opened, the Empire was about to be engulfed in the great politico-religious struggle called the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648. This war not only ended the period of religious wars which followed the Reformation, but it also brought devastation to Germany and marked the end of Spain's predominance. It left the Holy Roman Empire a hollow shell. After it, the concept of the sovereign state emerged clearly, French hegemony of Europe began, and the independence of the Netherlands and of Switzerland was finally acknowledged.

England, having escaped the devastation of religious war, on the death of Elizabeth, 1603, greeted a new line of Scottish rulers, the Stuarts. Their pedantic insistence on divine right and their failure to accommodate their religious views and belief in prerogative to the growing political strength of parliamentarians and Puritans led to Civil War, 1640-1660. Out of the turmoil a timid mathematician and philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, emerged to frame a theory of absolutism which discarded divine right as formulated by James I, who had insisted on its hereditary, biblical, historical, logical, irresistible, unfathomable character, for a theory based on natural rights, the usual doctrine for revolution. Proceeding by logical steps from a mechanistic man to a warlike state of nature through a contract, "each with each", he arrived at a sovereign who was the sole source of laws.

The Civil War left the fundamental issue of Parliament versus Prerogative unsettled, and the Restoration seemed to consider the preceding struggles as a bad dream to be forgotten. But England's party development began, and when James II

attempted to force Catholicism on an unwilling country, Parliament, by calling in William and Mary, decided the issue of supremacy, and in the Bill of Rights imposed certain conditions on the monarchy. Divine Right was dead. This "glorious revolution", 1688, paved the way for religious toleration, freedom of the press, the union with Scotland, Cabinet government, and other famous English liberties. John Locke was its famous theorist.

It was in France that divine right reached its apogee, both in theory, in the writings of Bossuet, who really added little to the arguments of James, and in fact, in the person of Louis XIV. The Sun King, above all monarchs, played the role of King to perfection. There are many factors in the background of French history to account for the triumph of absolutism in France: the role of the Capetians in eliminating the English, the development of a bureaucracy trained from medieval times in Roman Law, the alliance of Crown and the middle class, and the early development of a standing army. Further, even though France made no break with Rome, her kings gained political control of the church by concordats.

The civil and religious wars of France during the sixteenth century endangered the existing absolutism. But Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon line, ended the religious conflict by his Edict of Nantes. He and his minister, Sully, undertook the physical and economic restoration of the country and began to lessen the power of the nobles by a policy of pensions and privileges which was later to cause trouble. They were about to confront the Hapsburg menace when Henry was assassinated, 1610. Again France was entangled in a female regency, but was rescued from its unfortunate situation by Cardinal Richelieu. His work, the crushing of the political powers of the nobles, the removal of the political rights of the Huguenots, and the launching of the attack against the ring of Hapsburg

power, was carried to completion by his successor, Mazarin, regent for the infant Louis XIV. The wily Italian met the last concerted attack, the Fonde, against the centralizing policies inaugurated by Richelieu. Louis XIV, entering on this heritage, could say, "I am the state."

Certain other historical facets of the seventeenth century should be noted. Three new powers emerged during the century. Sweden for a short period became the colossus of the north and practically enclosed the Baltic Sea at the expense of a weakened Poland and of Russia, torn by a "time of trouble." By the end of the century Russia found in the Romanovs, and especially in Peter I, the force which could drive her to westernization and turn the tables against Sweden. Finally Brandenburg-Prussia, under the genius of the Great Elector Frederick William, emerged as the leading German state, and the Elector laid the foundations of bureaucratic, militaristic Prussianism. Holland in the mid-century was Europe's greatest naval power and an asylum for refugees from intolerance. But it had internal conflicts between town and country elements, between religious liberals and conservatives, and it ruined itself by its great effort under the leadership of William of Orange to stop the aggression of France. William, King of England, in 1688 formed the famous Grand Alliance of England, Holland, and Austria which became an enduring diplomatic "system" to counter-balance a France "system" which usually included Sweden, Poland, Turkey, and often Prussia and Bavaria.

The great artistic movement running through the seventeenth century was the Baroque. Once considered a degeneration from Renaissance art, it is now seen as possessing an inner meaning and significance of its own.

The Baroque assumed that the great artists of the Renaissance knew what art was, especially those who inspired them, Michelangelo, Correggio, and Titian; and they themselves were the legitimate heirs. They applied their heritage to the

conscious enrichment of culture. Hence Baroque art is essentially glorification through decoration, an unconscious return to the patron art of the Roman Empire, in spirit if not in form.

The great monument of this movement is Versailles, both the palace and the gardens. While the main facade of this immense group of buildings is held in bounds, the lavish use of space, the most expensive factor in all architecture, and of classical ornamentation reveals its real spirit. The descendants of this building appeared at Potsdam, Schonbrunn, and in the Zwinger at Dresden. Thus a style first adopted or inspired by the Jesuits in their church at Rome was used by the proponents of political absolutism. The Jesuit colleges in France and Austrian monasteries show the same temples.

In painting, two great Baroque artists captured the imagination, Rubens and El Greco. The Ancien Regime artistically was the Age of Rubens. The room in the Louvre which Rubens decorated for Marie de Medici and her husband Henry IV with semi-mythological panels ending with the apotheosis of the French King reveal both the technique and temper of this art. El Greco, who had to wait for full appreciation until the twentieth century, is an even greater witness to this view of life: emotion, faith, courage, tenderness can be intensified by the use of distortion, light and shadow, and color until the effect is not only grand, but visibly super-natural.

Hence a movement in architecture starting with the use of Ionic volutes, broken pediments, cupids bearing festoons, Grecian urns, undulative walls, soaring towers, and fantastic vaulting becomes ultimately a way of feeling which inspires a way of living called the Grand Manner. The sublime, which stills the emotions, takes its place beside the beautiful, which stirs.

Even such a true Dutchman as Rembrandt does not escape its influence.

Perhaps the most successful simple expression of the Baroque is Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus", which literally lifted the first audience to hear it out of their seats. And that was written by a court musician. Thus both art and religion are conveyed as gifts of the state to the citizen.

J.H.D.

SOURCE MATERIALS

Machiavelli: *The Prince*
Hobbes: *Leviathan*, Part II, "On the Commonwealth"

SUGGESTED READINGS

Allen: *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*
Carr: *The Elizabethan Century*
Carr: *1588*
Carr: *Spain*
Carr: *The English Night of Kings*
Carr: *A Concise History of the Tudors*, Vol. 2
Carr: *1588*
Carr: *The New Law of Free Emancipation*
Carr: *The Elizabethan Century*
Carr: *The Elizabethan Century*
Carr: *The Art of Kings*
Carr: *Spain*
Carr: *The Making of the Modern Mind*
Carr: *The Age of Elizabeth*

LECTURES

- I. THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR ABSOLUTISM
- II. THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV
- III. THE BAROQUE ART: ITS INFLUENCE ON CULTURE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The influence of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin upon the history of France.
2. The international policy of France and the resulting wars.
3. The military strategy of Vauban: the art of fortification and siegecraft.
4. The effect of the revision of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 on the history of France.
5. The economic development in absolutism: the problem of taxation and mercantilism.
6. Estimate Louis XIV as the supreme incarnation of absolutism: the Sun King.
7. A description of Versailles as an expression of baroque art and the use of architecture for political ends.
8. The age of Rubens: the spirit and technique of baroque art.
9. Estimate the influence of baroque art forms in the New World civilization.
10. The influence of baroque art on the manners and morals of the age.
11. The sources of Machiavelli's faith in government based on his reading of Roman history.
12. Machiavelli's consideration of the Christian conscience as a handicap to civilization.
13. The influence of the Prince on European politicians and statesmen.
14. Compare Hobbes' view of man with the Puritan concept of man's total depravity.
15. The origin of the social contract theory of government.
16. The value of war in the political philosophy of Hobbes.
17. Evaluate Hobbes' arguments on the need for an absolute monarchy.
18. A comparison of the ideals of the Baroque Age with the ideals of the Renaissance.

SOURCE READINGS

- Machiavelli: The Prince
 Hobbes: Leviathan, Part II, "On the Commonwealth"

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Allen: A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century
 Clark: The Seventeenth Century
 Corneille: Le Cid
 Corneille: Cinna
 Figgis: The Divine Right of Kings
 Friedell: A Cultural History of the Modern Age, Vol. 2
 Harsanyi: Lover of Life
 James I: The True Law of Free Monarchies
 Moliere: The Misanthrope
 Mumford: The Condition of Man
 Packard: The Age of Louis XIV
 Racine: Phaedra
 Randall: The Making of the Modern Mind
 Voltaire: The Age of Louis XIV

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 James I: The True Law of Free Monarchies
 Moliere: The Misanthrope
 Mumford: The Condition of Man
 Packard: The Age of Louis XIV
 Racine: Phaedra
 Randall: The Making of the Modern Mind
 Voltaire: The Age of Louis XIV

UNIT XXIII

THE RISE OF MODERN SCIENCE

The scientists of the Renaissance turned to nature for truth and constructed a new world view. In science, the sixteenth century brought about one of the most significant revolutions in human thought since the Greek philosophers Pythagoras and Anaxagoras conceived of a cosmos. So sharp is the contrast with the past that this revolution has been called "a mutation" in human thought. Whereas Erasmus, Rabelais, and Michelangelo were interested in art and letters, and Luther, Calvin, and Loyola in theology, such men as Leonardo, Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton investigated the structure of the universe. Scientific advances were the joint product of the progress made in mathematics, of the determination of scientific method, of the invention of new and accurate instruments, and of the work of scientific societies. The rejection of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics as the basis for Western thought, and the substitution of Galilean physics were reflected in every phase of thinking and experience, from deism in religion to the technology of the industrial revolution. The return to the Platonic mathematical interpretation of the universe was at the heart of that revolution. Galileo, Descartes, and Newton discussed the universe in the language of mathematics. The static and therefore finite medieval hierarchy of being ceased to exist in their thought. They replaced it by a dynamic and therefore infinite universe governed by universal laws which were mathematical in their nature. Galileo, like Plato, insisted that the book of nature was written in geometrical characters.

Medieval man achieved little in science. Roger Bacon understood that the experimental method alone can give certainty in science, but his experiments were limited to elementary observations in optics, air-pressure, and explosives.

He did, however, break with tradition in stating that four causes of human error were blind acceptance of authority, habits, prejudices, and false confidence in knowledge. These are interesting anticipations of Francis Bacon's "Four Idols." But for most of the men of the Middle Ages Ptolemy's cosmology of the Almagest explained the universe as they saw it. Something was contributed through the impact of Arabian culture on Europe, for the Arabs had made great progress in the study of chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, metallurgy, and medicine. Avicenna is one of the great names in the history of medicine. The philosophy of Averroes, which exerted a powerful influence over Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was constructed on the science of Aristotle. Saint Thomas Aquinas met this thrust of Islamic scientific thought into Europe by working Christian theology into a synthesis with Aristotelian physics and metaphysics. If the forms of Thomas Aquinas' thought could have been kept open to discoveries, the history of science would have been different. But the science of Aristotle was unfortunately hardened into the dogma of the church, and nothing was added to the basic achievements of Aristotle and Galen, with the result that astrologers and alchemists, working in an air of magic and mystery, are thought more representative of medieval science than are its true scientists, such as Bacon and Avicenna.

The prophet of the scientific Renaissance is Leonardo da Vinci. He was a fore-runner of Copernicus, Vesalius, Newton, Bacon, Harvey, and a score of other scientific thinkers. His Notebooks and sketches reveal astounding achievements in anatomy, mathematics, physics, geology, meteorology, and chemistry. He was an inventor of such things as machine guns, tanks, airplanes, textile machinery, hydraulic pumps, steam engines, and air conditioning. He was an engineer who planned cities, flood control, irrigation projects, and bridges. Being so far ahead of his time he encountered the opposition of society. His efforts to deal with this interference caused him to write in reverse shorthand, running some words

together, breaking up long ones, and producing a mysterious code that his contemporaries could not read. The work of Leonardo was not developed, and it remained for others to effect the revolution.

The year 1543 marks the break with the past. In that year Vesalius published the Anatomy of the Human Body, and Copernicus, On the Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres, which dealt the death blow to the authority of Aristotle. These men heralded a revolution in the history of Western man.

The notion that the sun was the center of the planetary system was not a new one. The Pythagoreans had advanced the idea, but Aristotle's theory of the earth as center had prevailed in Alexandrian science and was inherited by Ptolemy. The Ptolemaic system was developed in the Almagest. The earth was regarded as the fixed center of the solar system, and was surrounded by concentric "spheres." The first sphere, nearest the earth, carried the Moon; then came Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, in their several spheres. The eighth, or "crystalline" sphere, was studded with all the fixed stars. These spheres moved around the earth with separate diurnal motions. Thus Ptolemy explained the irregular motions of the planets. The Ptolemaic system required eighty epicycles and was extremely complicated, but it explained celestial phenomena, and because of the lack of the telescope and other measuring instruments, was accepted for fourteen centuries.

The heliocentric, or Copernican, system, gets its name from Copernicus, a Polish canon, who died in 1543, the year in which his book, The Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres, appeared. He spent twenty years in working out the system which with minor modifications was to replace the Ptolemaic. Copernicus was a mathematician rather than an experimental scientist, yet he worked out a hypothesis that revolutionized man's idea of the universe. In the Copernican system the earth rotated on its axis; the moon circled the earth; and

the earth, with the rest of the planets, revolved around the sun. Copernicus need only thirty-four epicycles to explain these rotations, where Ptolemy had needed eighty. The geometry of the Copernican solar system was much simpler than that of the Ptolemaic. This mathematical simplicity convinced Copernicus of the validity of his system, but he made little change in the thinking of his day. Tycho Brahe, a Dane, saw how the Copernican system explained the motion of the planets, but he was unwilling to believe that the earth was not the center. He spent years in the astronomical observatory which he named Uraniborg, making and recording a vast number of observations, and finally he evolved the Tychonic system. This resembled the Copernican in that the planets, except for the earth, revolved around the sun, but the sun, carrying the other planets with it, revolved around a fixed earth. Strangely enough the observed phenomena substantiated the Tychonic as well as the Copernican and the Ptolemaic theories. Something more than the human eye was needed to see the truth. Kepler, Brahe's assistant, inherited the former's data and spent years of labor upon it. The laws which Kepler worked out with his data state: 1) that the paths of planets are ellipses with the sun at a focus; 2) that a line drawn from the sun to the planets sweeps over equal areas of space in equal times; and 3) that the square of the time it takes a planet to go around the sun is proportional to the cube of the distance of that planet from the sun. These three laws were published in 1609, the same year that Galileo looked through his newly constructed telescope. Kepler had shown the geometrical shapes of the orbits of the planets and their speeds in these orbits, but he failed to determine the reason for these behaviors. This was to be the work of Newton.

The drama of Galileo's life was played against the rich background of Italy in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Galileo was the center of

turbulent events at the universities of Pisa and Padua, in the Florentine court of the Medici, in Venice with its colorful pageantry, and in Rome with its papal splendor. Though versatile in the true Renaissance manner, he early found the field of study in which he could achieve most and gave his life to it. It was Galileo rather than Copernicus, who demanded the rejection instead of the modification of ancient and medieval astronomy. Learning of the telescope, he made one for himself and observed the mountains of the moon, spots on the sun, the phases of Venus, Saturn's moons and rings, and the moons of Jupiter. The Sidercal Messenger published in 1610, indicated that Galileo's astronomical observations had confirmed the Copernican theory. Galileo was warned that his activity did not meet with the approval of the Church, but in 1632 he published the Dialogue on the Two New Sciences, the first work on modern physics. In this he describes carefully planned and executed experiments for acquiring new data. His theory of space and time was unmodified until superceded by Einstein's relativity theory. In the Two New Sciences Galileo broke further with the Aristotelian tradition and offered a new theory of dynamics based on his experiments with moving and falling bodies. As a philosopher, Galileo believed mathematics to be the key to the universe, but he insisted that mathematical hypotheses must be constructed through the observation of natural phenomena. He is, perhaps, the first spokesman of modern science.

Francis Bacon, though not a professional scientist, saw the possibilities of scientific investigation and popularized it. There is nothing in Bacon which cannot be found in Aristotle, who not only understood induction, but practiced it, as a reading of the Posterior Analytatics will show. Still, Bacon is considered to have made the classical statement of the scientific method. This method is marked by: 1) the collection and careful observation of data; 2) the formulation of hypotheses; 3) the deduction of consequences; and 4) the verification of the

hypotheses by experimentation. Bacon called this instrument the Novum Organum, in the work of 1620 by that name, believing that with his inductive method he set up a new logic in opposition to the deductive logic of Aristotle's Organon. In the Novum Organum Bacon was inspired, like the medieval Roger Bacon, to state the major obstacles to human progress. These were: 1) the Idols of the Tribe, or race and class prejudices; 2) the Idols of the Cave, or a man's own idiosyncrasy; 3) the Idols of the Market Place, or difficulties arising from the meaning of words; 4) the Idols of the Theater, or the handicaps of one's role in society. Bacon conceived his utopian New Atlantis as a scientific scheme in which "Solomon's House" is a counterpart of the modern university or school of technology. It is a question whether Francis Bacon determined the course of scientific inquiry, or whether he merely moved with an already established trend.

During the Renaissance the universities of Padua, Pisa, and Bologna became known as centers of scientific thought, attracting scholars from distant countries. Among them was the English anatomist, William Harvey. To Italy also falls the credit for the foundation of the first scientific societies in Salerno and Florence. Galileo belonged to the Accademia Secretorum Naturae in Rome. Similar institutions where men interested in new sciences could gather for discussion sprang up over Europe. The Royal Society of London was founded in 1662. In France the Academie de Sciences was founded by Louis XIV in 1666. Most of the new academies sponsored journals which published the findings of the scientists and took the place of the laborious exchange of letters. Science was internationalized. Its findings were disseminated for the good of all, and it assumed a significant role in the history of civilization.

The science of the Renaissance includes advances in the study of anatomy. Galen, it is true, had dissected animals killed in Roman gladiatorial combats; but the findings of Galen in animal physiology were crude and unsatisfactory when

applied to man. Leonardo da Vinci, tradition says, dissected some thirty cadavers, and illustrated his anatomical studies with superb drawings. But it was Vesalius who really founded the science of modern biology with his studies of the human body described in his book On the Anatomy of the Human Body, to which were added excellent illustrations by a pupil of Titian. When William Harvey went to Italy he not only profited through the experiments of Vesalius, but he also learned something of the mechanics developed by Galileo. Out of a synthesis of his study of mechanics and anatomy he made the discovery which he explained in his work On the Motion of the Heart and the Circulation of the Blood. Thus a new era in the study of human physiology was born, and modern medicine was established on a scientific basis. Thus the great humanistic adventure reached its climax with a scientific view of man.

J. O.

LECTURES

- I. ASTRONOMY: COPERNICUS, KEPLER, AND GALILEO
- II. THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD: BACON
- III. THE RISE OF THE ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Contrast the Ptolemaic and Copernican explanations of the universe.
2. By what method did Copernicus make his discovery?
3. Compare Galileo's laws of motion with Aristotle's theory of motion.
4. Compare the lens system of Galileo's telescope with lenses now in use in telescopes.
5. The interests and importance of Kepler's laws of planetary motion.
6. Compare Vesalius' theory of the human body with Galen's. What is the cause for advance? Dissection of scientific observation?
7. What are the "Four Idols?" How are they a handicap to thinking according to Bacon?
8. Bacon on the value of history, poetry, and philosophy in stimulating memory, imagination, and reason.
9. "Solomon's House" as the prophecy of the modern university.
10. The effect of science on education. Why the schism of science and the humanities?
11. The reaction of science on religion, art, and politics.
12. The value of science in the everyday life of the people.
13. In the light of history will you accept Bacon's claims that the aim of science is health and wealth?
14. Compare the principles of induction in Aristotle with Bacon's foundation of the scientific method.
15. The scientist in society: trace Francis Bacon's career through the reign of Elizabeth and James I.
16. Can Bacon's claim to supersede Aristotle be justified?
17. The influence of the founding of academies of science on the history of civilization.
18. Art and the scientific method: Dürer, Leonardo, and Vesalius.

SOURCE READINGS

- Bacon: The Advancement of Learning, Book II
 Bacon: The New Atlantis
 Bacon: Novum Organum, "Aphorisms", Book I, Nos. 38-70

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Burt: The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science
 Copernicus: The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies
 Dampier: A History of Science
 Galileo: Dialogues Concerning Two New Sciences
 Harsanyi: The Star-Gazer
 Harvey: On the Motion of the Heart and the Circulation of the Blood
 Keston: Copernicus and His World
 McMurrich: Leonardo da Vinci the Anatomist
 Sarton: Introduction to the History of Science
 Sherrington: Man on His Nature
 Singer: A Short History of Science
 Smith: A History of Modern Culture
 Thorndike: Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century
 Thorndike: A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. 3, 4
 Vesslius: Preface to The Anatomy of the Human Body
 Wolf: A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

UNIT XXIV

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

"The Century of Genius", the seventeenth is spanned by the career of three great rationalists: Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz. Their thought, stimulating the scholars, scientists, and artists in France, Holland, and Germany, created a dominating movement in the modern mind. The eighteenth century as the Age of Reason was the direct realization of the program planned by these seventeenth century rationalists. In fact, if we consider the far-reaching consequences of this movement in philosophy, it can be thought of as gospel. Philosophy to the rationalists was no longer tolerated as a handmaid to an arrogant theology or to a no-less demanding political faith.

As a matter of historical sequence, the ambitious attempt to reach free thinking succeeded the Lutheran venture towards freedom of religion, expressed most famously in the dictum of William the Silent that a man's conscience is no concern of the state. It was involved in the struggles of the burghers of Western Europe to win political privileges and civic rights, and it was the underlying cause both of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent and of the Puritan Revolution in Britain. Yet by going to the very heart of the problem, namely, what man thinks of man and his powers, the rationalist started a fire upon this earth which is not yet quenched.

The diverse religious origin and environment of the three titular heads of Rationalism are significant.

Descartes was a Catholic, educated by the Jesuits at La Fleche. One could hardly denounce to the Inquisition the author of the most cogent version of the old Anselmic argument for the existence of God. Yet, this orthodox faith rested on a very modern concept of the meaning of reason. Faith is what springs, ever fresh and original, from each soul; it is not the submissive acceptance of

an inherited creed, much less the surrender of a defeated and broken spirit. Even those today who may find it hard to accept the formula that the "Essence" of God implies His "Existence" and who may argue that such an intellectual religion destroys the very meaning of religion, do, as a matter of fact, claim the right to believe as their most sacred and vital human right. All today who think, at least reserve the right to think as Descartes taught the seventeenth century to think.

You can test Descartes' theory on your own mind. When he laid down his famous two-fold test of truth--clearance and distinctness--he cast aside all other forms of authority. An idea's power rests and can rest on no outside support, whether of the state or the church. Both clearness and distinctness of an idea are the results of analysis. Clearness is the internal analysis; the idea is broken into its parts. Distinctness is the external analysis; the idea is separated from all other ideas. Clearness gives intrinsic meaning; distinctness, extrinsic.

Historically Descartes was not as novel in his technique as he thought he was. Both the logic of Aristotle and the psychology of Augustine can be discerned in his scheme. He had read much as a boy and had probably forgotten the sources of his plan. But his faith was novel; it might be considered a renaissance of epistemology. In his own case it led to creating a new mathematical discipline, analytical geometry; but it also led to Pascal's theory of conic sections and to Leibnitz's and Newton's calculus. In fact calculus is one vast inversion in mathematical methods. Out of it has grown the new mathematics and the new physics of the contemporary world.

Spinoza was a Jew. His family was a victim of the Portuguese Inquisition, and he himself had been excommunicated from the Synagogue. He has been considered one of the most Christ-like spirits we have ever had. In fact, if you

consider the Prophet Amos, Jesus of Nazareth, and Benedict Spinoza, you would be faced with the truly ultimate problems inherent in religion. Amos saw that without God justice cannot be guaranteed. Jesus knew that only as men love God can they love their fellow men and realize justice. Spinoza saw a great truth, but his rationalism blinded him to that other truth which Jesus knew, that man cannot love God unless God loves man and reveals that love to man. No man can hate God; some men have learned to love God, he claims; yet God has no needs, no desires, and cannot love.

To Spinoza rationalism was the key to toleration. Rationalism would end such human holocausts as the Thirty Years' War, still the most ruthless war in modern times.

Leibnitz made this rationalism the basis of invincible optimism. To him such a religion is "radiant faith." Leibnitz was a Protestant offering this gospel to the Protestant world.

Against the continental rationalists and their English disciple, Thomas Hobbes, stood John Locke, Gentleman. Though Locke denied the rationalists' faith in innate ideas and the endowment of the mind, there is much of the rationalist in the British empiricist. The classification of ideas into simple and complex sensations and reflections, proposed by Locke, is an alternative method for reaching clarity and distinctness. Yet the empiricists did not have a faith in the omnipotence of reason. Not only were all innate ideas discarded, but the creative power of the mind was doubted. The mind was but a humble instrument for recording, sorting, and retaining the facts given to us by the world, presumably through the world by God.

Locke, like Spinoza, preached toleration. His father had been a surgeon in Cromwell's army. He had known personally the cruel aftermath of war in political treachery and deceit. And he, too, offered toleration through

mutual understanding. However, it is through psychology rather than through logic that we learn to understand others. The tenor of his faith is best seen in his proposition that the goodness of an act can be determined by whether it preserves society. Preservation of society is set over against the principle of self-preservation.

Some evidence of Locke's influence can be seen in the fact that it was on the Continent, where rationalism was triumphant, that the most violent social experiments occurred and were climaxed in the French Revolution; whereas the English mind never forsook its faith in its historic past. To the Anglo-Saxon a theory is only a theory, but experience is a fact. To the true rationalist the truth, since it may be the solution of a problem, may lie in the future; to the honest empiricist truth must be in the past, since it is eternal.

However, the English mind, though turning back to the Magna Carta in politics, and to the ways of the squire in culture, did accept the intellectual revolution in science. At least, Isaac Newton and his associates in the Royal Society were fully aware of the mathematical and physical development on the Continent. In fact, that Society's unique function was not merely to provide the nation with an institution for pooling British scientific discoveries, but also to keep the British abreast of developments elsewhere.

Newton, in a sense, is a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism. The little boy who experimented by jumping with and against the velocity of the great storm which blew on the night that Cromwell died never lost his appetite for facts. The most curious parts of his masterpiece are the pages of astronomers' reports from all over the world on the route through the celestial sphere of Halley's comet. Yet, in spite of this passion for facts, it was his mind which saw so clearly the value of principles, in other terms, of guiding directive interpretative ideas, that it brought forward a perfectly clear and

therefore perfectly convincing explanation of the solar system. He also saw that principles which explain the movements of planets also explain pulleys, pumps, and the motions of your arms and legs. And no less was he a revolutionist, when, on the basis of experimentation plus rational explanation, he proved that colors are not dyes or distortions of white light, but its ingredients, for that is no less a wrench in thinking than the idea that measurement is through calculation, or that "to be is to be perceived." Science seems always to be a discarding of common sense.

Nevertheless, the purpose in Britain was not to transform Britain through philosophy; it was to use philosophy to build up power to build up an empire.

A.P.K.

LECTURES

- I. DESCARTES: RATIONALISM AS A GOSPEL
- II. LOCKE: FAITH IN EXPERIENCE
- III. NEWTON: THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE UNIVERSE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Descartes' "Clear and Distinct Ideas": the value of clearness and the ability to make distinctions.
2. Descartes' method of analysis: compare with Locke's method of comparison.
3. Examples of the innate ideas and the self-evident truths according to the rationalists.
4. Why did Locke reject innate ideas?
5. "I think, therefore I am." Is self-consciousness the key to reality?
6. What are ideas according to Locke? How do we get ideas according to Locke? How do we classify them and how can we verify them?
7. Compare Descartes' correspondence theory of truth with Locke's consistency theory.
8. Compare the influence of rationalism and empiricism on European education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
9. The relative value of history and mathematics in liberal education.
10. The ideals of toleration proposed by the rationalists and the empiricists.
11. Compare the rationalists' argument for God with the empiricists' argument for God.
12. The effect of rationalism and empiricism on the religion of France and England.
13. State Newton's "Three Laws of Motion": explain an example of the application of each law.
14. What did Newton discover in his famous spectrum experiment?
15. Indicate the significance of Newton's law of universal gravitation.
16. Compare the rationalists' ideal of self-realization with the empiricists' ideal of social welfare as the function of philosophy.
17. Compare Descartes' rules for the discovery of truth with Newton's rules for reasoning.
18. Can one have a purely rational religion?

SOURCE READINGS

Descartes: A Discourse on Method
 Locke: Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book I
 Newton: Axioms or Laws of Motion; The Rules of Reasoning in Philosophy

SUGGESTED READINGS

Berkeley: New Theory of Vision
 Crowther: The Social Relations of Science
 Dampier: A History of Science
 Gilson: The Unity of Philosophical Experience
 Hume: A Treatise of Human Nature
 La Mettrie: Man a Machine
 Nicolson: Newton Demands the Muse
 Pascal: Thoughts
 Randall: The Making of the Modern Mind
 Smith: Studies in Cartesian Philosophy; John Locke; A History of Modern Culture
 Wolf: A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
 Wolf: A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century

UNIT XXV

THE PURITANS

Subsequent to the appearance of the Puritans on the English scene, the history of England becomes a history of Puritans, according to John Richard Green. Spangler believed that the most significant event in modern history was the duel between the Jesuits and the Puritans, for the control of the New World with the Jesuits victorious in the valley of the Amazon and the Puritans in that of the Mississippi.

So unpopular was the Puritan version of the good life that the Encyclopaedia Britannica dismissed Puritanism as a movement in the English Church, and H. G. Wells, in his Outline of History, found the Presbyterians worthy of only a footnote. Even Macaulay, who rose to fame on the greatness of a solitary Puritan, Milton, saw the Puritans as kill-joys who objected to bear baiting on the grounds, not of their sympathy for the bears and dogs, but of their antipathy to simple human pleasures. The scholarly Ben Jonson, who detested Puritans, reveals his long-lasting animus by caricaturing them in the person of the Reverend Doctor Tribulation Wholesome. This worthy, though a scholar of Leyden, was but a feeble-witted villain who, covetously desiring to see the church collection transmuted into gold, lost it at the hands of a quack alchemist.

However, historic influence bears no direct ratio to numbers. The straight and narrow path is not over-crowded. Many are called; but the elect are few. Even such a critic as Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century preached the redeeming power of the minority. The Puritans, though a minority, established the belief that it is possible to be at once a scholar, a gentleman, and a Christian. In the words of Ernst Troeltsch, Calvinism is intramundane asceticism; or, in our terms, the Puritan attempted the difficult social role of living as a monk on Main Street.

The history of the Puritan movement, which convulsed Europe politically, economically, culturally, and which was one of the great forces in the creation of the United States, can be traced through three states.

Puritanism may be said to have first appeared in the days of the Tudors, though Wyclif, back in the fourteenth century, has always been regarded as prophetic of the movement. As Master of Balliol College, he practiced his belief that it was the task both of the church and university to work directly on the national and even the international plane. The rise of the capitalistic class, manufacturers and traders, in the days of Henry VII and Henry VIII, provided the Puritans with men, money, and theories. From Geneva came a portion of the six hundred ministers or social agitators who transformed France, the Low Countries, and Scotland, and penetrated deeply into the social structure of England. They had their heroes and their martyrs.

The second stage of the Puritan movement was in the seventeenth century when the Puritan element dominated Parliament and finally used gunpowder and the axe to win recognition of their political principle--that a law, to be a law, rests on the consent of the governed and not on the pleasure of the Prince. This is the ethical principle of Puritan politics. It is their contribution to American democracy. It may be debated; it cannot be evaded. This same epoch produced in the Netherlands a unique type of art, the work of Dutch and Flemish painters who attempted to depict the everyday life of the common man. Just as the English divine, Baxter, held that the common lot, even of weavers, could be consecrated, so the Dutch and Flemish artists believed that the common life could be glorified.

Into this golden age came John Milton. Milton, no less than Bunyan, was a social critic, who saw in the coarse and vulgar English life the fruits of original sin. Pandemonium is Parliament. The "fallen angels" are prototypes of cavalier politicians. The orgies of the antediluvians in Paradise Lost provide

an archaic parallel to Bunyan's Vanity Fair. No one, surely, can claim to grasp the inner significance of English literature who eliminates from consideration the Puritan with his intense faith in social redemption, his stoical contempt for rowdyism, and his almost classic love for perfection in form.

Milton's fight for the freedom of the press explains not only the rich variety of English literature, but also, in part, the moral and political greatness of the British Empire.

The third stage of Puritanism appeared in New England. At this point there is only one feature we need consider. Given a free hand in a new world under great difficulties, the Puritans were compelled by force of economic pressure to realize the full significance of free enterprise. Though taught to detest gambling as a sort of blasphemy against their tenet of Divine Predestination, no other men have actually been greater adventurers. The average Puritan had to sell out his possessions, the old farm, the old store, and even, as Brewster did, the old tavern, to raise enough from the stock companies for passage money to the New World and the stake for his belongings. This adventuring spirit is, no doubt, the secret of the Puritans' final economic triumph. At the same time it has tended to develop certain economic characteristics, which have brought upon them both envy and hatred.

The final outcome of Puritanism in Great Britain was curious and not uniform. In Scotland the Presbyterians were able to maintain control of the nation. This enlarged their outlook and softened some of their habits, although uneasy consciences led to considerable ill will which finally split and re-split the church.

In England, largely because of the influence of rationalism, the Puritans tended to Deism, which centered in Cambridge, the University most definitely

under Puritan influence. Yet not even the steady diet of Platonism at Cambridge could keep them free from continental rationalism.

Opposition to the rationalist viewpoint eventually led to the appearance of one of the most extraordinary figures in modern English life, Mr. John Wesley.

At first glance Mr. Wesley appears to be a resurrection of the early Puritan scholar, ascetic, and very much the gentleman. The adventurer too. In fact, Mr. Wesley might be called a sort of Robinson Crusoe of religion; witness his fantastic effort to Christianize the colony of Georgia. Further, his travels on the continent to see Count Zinzendorf taught him the value of the emotions, and he became one of the sources of the Romantic Movement. Last, but not least, it was Oxford University, which had produced John Locke and his faith in the ultimate value of experience, which also contributed John Wesley and his demand that each and every soul should undergo a personal religious and intensely emotional experience. So the entire evangelical movement may be considered as a synthesis of Puritanism with Empiricism. And as in every synthesis, there is first a conflagration or explosion, followed quite often, at least, by a separation into its constituent parts.

Wesley is the greatest speaker, quantitatively, the world has ever heard. He delivered forty thousand speeches--nearly three a day--in forty years. This circuit rider is credited with having saved England from the horrors of the French Revolution. But he did something much more positive; he made practical the old Puritan dream that the evil inherent in man can be removed by stimulating man's inherent goodness--by religious experience.

A. P. K.

LECTURES

- I. THE PURITAN IN SOCIETY
- II. THE PURITAN MIND
- III. JOHN WESLEY: THE REVIVAL OF PURITANISM

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. How was the execution of Charles I justified?
2. Estimate the greatness of Oliver Cromwell as a soldier and statesman.
3. What problem did Milton have in mind in his promise to justify the ways of God to man?
4. Milton's concept of God; its sources in the Greek dramatists and in the Old and New Testaments.
5. The cosmological outlook of Milton's Paradise Lost: Ptolemaic or Copernican.
6. Milton on English politics: Pandemonium compared to Parliament.
7. The effect of John Milton's Italian journey on his creative art.
8. A comparison of Milton's Paradise Lost with Michelangelo's paintings in the Sistine Chapel.
9. How far is the personality of Eve representative of all her daughters according to Milton?
10. The Puritan theory of the problem of evil and the Puritan solution.
11. Was Milton's dream of an education which synthesized Puritan and Courtier possible?
12. The social life of England as presented in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.
13. Is the criticism of John Bunyan as obsessed with his own destiny and indifferent to that of his wife and children inherent in Puritan philosophy?
14. Comment on G. B. Shaw's estimation of John Bunyan as a greater dramatist than William Shakespeare. Compare three dramatic scenes in Pilgrim's Progress with three from Shakespeare's plays.
15. Explain the spiritual experience of John Wesley which led to the Methodist interpretation of Christianity.
16. The adventures of John Wesley on his odyssey to the New World.
17. What values did Methodism have which helped to stabilize the English political and social scene?
18. The theology of John Wesley compared with that of the Hebrew prophets and the Christian apostles: Jeremiah and John.
19. Would you consider Methodism as a revival of Puritanism in the Age of Reason?
20. A study of John Calvin and John Wesley: Determinism versus Free Will.

SOURCE READINGS

- Bunyan: Pilgrim's Progress, Part I
 Milton: Paradise Lost, Books I-IV
 Wesley: Journal, Part I, October 14, 1735 to February 1, 1738

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Allen: English Political Thought 1603-1660
 Brown: The English Puritan
 Knatten: Tudor Puritanism
 Miller: The New England Mind
 Milton: Areopagitica; Essay on Education
 Snyder: The Puritan Mind
 Tawney: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism
 Tillyard: Milton
 Trevelyan: England Under the Stuarts
 Weber: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism
 Wolfe: Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution

UNIT XXVI

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fell within the Age of Reason, when the attempt was made to interpret the universe, man, nature, and life in terms of reason. During the eighteenth century the rationalistic idea that reason was the only infallible guide for the solution of man's problems, and the belief that the universe is governed by natural laws, became practically universal; and rationalistic thinkers turned to science rather than to theology for an answer to all their problems. The rejection of the old mysticism and of revelation gave rise to the eighteenth century to Deism, a "natural" religion, based upon reason.

The attempt to apply natural law to economics gave rise to a new political economy based on freedom of action, since Mercantilism, with its restrictive legislation, was in direct opposition to natural law. Confidence in their ability to arrive at truth by the use of reason gave to the men of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, a new optimism and a new faith in the concept of progress, based on the belief that the human race was continually progressing to ultimate perfection.

The eighteenth century witnessed the growth of Constitutionalism and the rise of the Cabinet system of government in England, and on the Continent the rise of enlightened despotism. It also witnessed the long and determined contest between France and England for colonial supremacy, finally won by England, but preparing the way for the two great revolutions of the end of the century -- the American and the French Revolutions.

Both of these revolutions, like the English revolution which preceded them, were expressions of the Age of Enlightenment and Reason. Both represented

Reason. Both represented the triumph of the bourgeoisie, or middle class. The American Revolution arose from a conflict between the political theories of John Locke, stressing freedom, and the economic theory of Mercantilism, stressing order. It came as a clash between the colonial producers of raw products, whose interests demanded freedom, both political and economic, and the English merchants and industrialists, whose interests demanded order in the colonial world. Hence, the political problem behind the Revolution was fundamentally the age-old problem of the proper balance between liberty and order, the colonies naturally stressing liberty while England was just as naturally stressing order.

Mercantilism in theory frankly admitted that the profits of an empire should center in the mother country, and in practice resulted in the exploitation of the colonies for the benefit of the home merchants. With the expulsion of the French from America as a result of England's victory over France in the Seven Years' War, legislators of the Merchant-Parliament in England found themselves in a position where they could safely enforce mercantile regulations on England's colonial subjects, while at the same time the colonials themselves had both been freed from the need of England's military protection and had also been prepared for self-defense by the French and Indian Wars. Hence the Grenville-Townshend Acts, by which mercantile regulations were for the first time efficiently enforced against the colonials, caused near-rebellion in the Colonies. The "Intolerable Acts", punishing Boston for the famous "Tea Party", led directly to the Battle of Lexington and the outbreak of the Revolution.

The winning of their independence from England as a result of the Revolutionary War placed the responsibility for establishing a proper balance between order and liberty in America on the founders of the New Republic. Their first

attempt to solve this problem was expressed in the Articles of Confederation, which stressed liberty at the expense of order to such an extent that it resulted in complete failure. Their second attempt, expressed in the Constitution of 1789, was a surprising success. In this Constitution, representing the victory of the bourgeoisie, so well-balanced were the necessary elements of liberty and order that Gladstone could unhesitatingly say, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The French Revolution has been called the most important event in modern history. It was likewise an attempt of the bourgeoisie to abolish the gross injustices and inequalities of the Old Regime, which had been so vigorously attacked by the philosophes of the Enlightenment, popularizers of the ideas of progress and justice. The government under Louis XV and Louis XVI was autocratic and inefficient, and had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy by 1789. The Church, though rich and powerful, worked hand in hand with the autocratic State, often neglecting its obvious religious duties. Society was divided in three classes: the nobles, the clergy, and the Third Estate, which carried the burdens, in spite of the fact that the middle class, through its wealth and intelligence, was fast becoming a dominant power in the nation. Education was in the hands of an intolerant clergy, and freedom of speech and of the press was rigidly suppressed.

These were the conditions when Louis XVI finally called a meeting of the States-General in 1789. In spite of opposition the middle-class representatives of the Third Estate soon changed this body into a National Assembly, and the Revolution was under way. During its early states the Revolution was under the control of the bourgeoisie. Mirabeau was their chief spokesman. The Constitution of 1791, made by the National Assembly, provided for a constitutional monarchy, and the reforms

accomplished were moderate, satisfying the bourgeois leaders, but wholly inadequate in the opinion of the radical working-classes. Unfortunately, the King played directly into the hands of the Radicals. Their leaders, Danton and Robespierre, were responsible for the Reign of Terror and the execution of the King, as well as for the expulsion from France of the Coalition of foreign powers, formed to crush the Revolution now under the complete control of the Radicals. To extend liberte, egalite, fraternite, to all Europe while extending the boundaries of France to the Rhine and the Alps, came to be the ambition not only of the radical leaders but of the French people as well. The First French Republic was set up by the Convention, called to make a new constitution for France on the downfall of the constitutional monarchy.

An important factor in bringing the Revolution back into the hands of the bourgeoisie was the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, who considered himself the "man of destiny." Napoleon's place in the history of France and of Europe can best be explained by assuming that there were really two Napoleons, one before Tilsit and one after Tilsit. The earlier Napoleon was an ardent nationalist, whose every move was made with the interests of France at heart; but the later Napoleon no longer cared for the greatness of France, only for the greatness of Napoleon. During his early years as Emperor of France, he proved himself not only the greatest military genius of his age, but one of the greatest statesmen of modern times as well. The Code Napoleon did more than codify the Revolution. It harmonized the reforms accomplished by the Revolution with the legal traditions and common law of the Old Regime; and so brilliantly was this done that it became the basis of the legal system of most of the countries of continental Europe. He made France a democracy so far as equality before the law is concerned, but left it an autocracy so far as political power is concerned.

Napoleon's brilliant military victories were the result of his ability to make rapid decisions and to carry them out with equal rapidity. All decisions were his own. His subordinates did nothing but carry out his orders. This accounts for his weakness after 1809, when his armies became so large that personal direction became too great a task even for a Napoleon.

During Napoleon's last four years, as a prisoner on the Island of St. Helena, he succeeded in building up a Napoleonic legend which became accepted as truth by the French people. The only reason he had been a despot, according to this legend, was that it was necessary for the world's good, and his only reason for waging wars was to make a United States of Europe like that founded in America by the Revolutionary War.

W.R.C.

LECTURES

- I. THE SATIRISTS AS CRITICS OF SOCIETY
- II. THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS
- III. NAPOLEON: THE TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW EUROPE

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Voltaire's analysis of human nature: its weakness and its strength.
2. Voltaire's reaction to the optimism of Pangloss.
3. Voltaire's attitude toward Christianity.
4. Voltaire's attitude toward politics and society.
5. Swift's attitude to British conservatism and toleration.
6. Gulliver's Travels as a political document.
7. Berkeley's idealism as a source of Swift's view of society.
8. Swift's satire on self-appointed saviours of society.
9. Rousseau on the innate goodness of all mankind.
10. Compare the infallibility of the general will with the Infallibility of the Pope and the infallibility of the Bible.
11. Is a faith in the general will equivalent to the faith in majority rule?
12. Education as individual emancipation: from what to what?
13. The value of enlightened despotism as typified in Frederick the Great.
14. The value of cabinet government as typified in Robert Walpole.
15. The origin of political parties in democracy. Is it a source of strength or weakness?
16. Napoleon's military success: the value of war in politics.
17. Napoleon's program for a new Europe. Compare with Adolph Hitler's.
18. The duel of France and England: the Battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo.

SOURCE READINGS

Voltaire: Candide
 Rousseau: The Social Contract
 Swift: Gulliver's Travels, Part III

SUGGESTED READINGS

Becker: The Heavenly City of Eighteenth-Century Philosophers
 Brandes: Voltaire
 Burke: Reflections on the Revolution in France
 Carlyle: The French Revolution
 Clausewitz: On War
 Fay: Revolutionary Ideas in XVIII Century France and America
 Goethe: Faust, Part I
 Martin: French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century
 Mornet: French Thought in the Eighteenth Century
 Pope: Essay on Man
 Randall: The Making of the Modern Mind
 Stephen: English Thought in the Eighteenth Century
 Swift: Gulliver's Travels

UNIT XXVII

THE CENTURY OF HOPE

The nineteenth century was ushered in by two great revolutions, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, the first primarily political and the second primarily economic; but together tending to revolutionize the whole life of the Western World.

We can well understand why the century has been called the "Century of Hope." It was hoped that the French Revolution had abolished forever the gross inequalities of the Old Regime, where the burdens had been borne almost wholly by the impoverished and down-trodden masses, and the privileges had been reserved for the selfish few. It was hoped that the inventions and discoveries now ushering in the Machine Age would create sufficient wealth to abolish poverty and disease from the face of the earth, and that the perfection dreamed of by the philosophers of the eighteenth century Enlightenment could soon be proclaimed as a goal already achieved.

The outstanding historical fact at the beginning of the century was the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte and the loss of the hegemony of Europe by France. When the Congress of Vienna met, on the fall of Napoleon, to restore the world to peace and prosperity, it was dominated by the reactionary philosophy of Prince Metternich, and "legitimacy", or the restoration as far as possible on the rulers and conditions of the Old Regime, was made the basis of the Vienna settlement. The Quadruple Alliance, composed of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England, was formed. This alliance was soon dubbed the "Fire Department of Europe", because of its zeal in rushing armies to any part of Europe, wherever the fires of democracy might arise to threaten the Metternich system.

The most important political movements of the century were the rise of a new nationalism and the rise of a new imperialism throughout Europe and the Western World. The Industrial Revolution, beginning in England and spreading over the rest of the European world, brought into wealth and power a new industrialist-capitalist class, which would need new economic and political theories on which to base its political actions. Mercantilism, the political philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was discarded; and the liberal laissez-faire principles of Adam Smith became the basic principles on which Bentham, Ricardo, Mill, and other economists of the nineteenth century constructed their Utilitarian philosophy.

The quest for social justice which absorbed the leaders of the early century and which in England brought about the Reform Bill of 1832, and the numerous social reforms following the passage of that Bill, was finally forced to give way, in part at least, to the zeal for colonial expansion as the most popular issue of the day. Queen Victoria became the Empress of India, Egypt became a protectorate in everything but name, and the lion's share of the colonial world in Asia, Africa, and America fell into the hands of England. The industrial leaders now saw in colonies new fields for the investment of surplus capital, new sources of raw material, and new markets for the sale of their goods.

On the Continent there took place in the first half of the nineteenth century the liberal Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 which led to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Following this war the liberal Third French Republic came into existence, the strongly nationalistic and imperialistic German Empire was finally created by Bismarck, and the work of Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi culminated in unification of the Italian States and the establishment of the liberal Kingdom of Italy.

In the United States both the spirit of nationalism and of imperialism flourished during the nineteenth century. The first war of the new Republic, the War of 1812, was the result of agricultural imperialism. The Mexican War was caused by the imperialistic ambitions chiefly of the Southern and Western agriculturalists. The Civil War was fought in part to determine whether Southern planters or Northern industrialists were to exploit the resources of the West; and gave the victory to Northern industrialists. After the Civil War the industrialists became the chief imperialists, and by 1898 they were ready to find new fields for the investment of surplus capital, new sources of raw materials, and new markets for the sale of their goods in American-controlled colonies.

The intellectual creator of the nineteenth century was Immanuel Kant, who lived most of his life in the eighteenth century. It was from Kant that the German philosophy of Romantic Idealism, which more or less dominated nineteenth century thought, received its inspiration. The universe, according to Kant, is composed of two worlds, the physical and the spiritual. The methods of knowing applicable to these two worlds are quite different. Through sense-perception and reason we can learn of the physical world, but not of the spiritual. Neither by science nor by reason can it be proved that there is a God, that the human will is free, or that the soul is immortal. The truth of these spiritual things can be affirmed, however, in spite of the fact that they cannot be proved by science, since faith, intuition, and conscience are valid instruments of knowledge in the realm of the spiritual. Kant, therefore, differed greatly from the rationalists of the eighteenth century, and the influence of his philosophy was profound in every field of thought following the publication of the Critique of Pure Reason in 1781.

Literature, as well as art of the early nineteenth century, was dominated by the Romantic movement, which had its beginnings in the preceding century. Primarily, the movement was a **reaction** against the cold rationalism of the Enlightenment, and emphasized the emotions and the imagination rather than pure reason. Wordsworth and Coleridge glorified the beauties of nature. Scott and Dumas wrote thrilling works in romance and adventure. Shelley and Byron were interested chiefly in the emotional side of the struggles for liberty and social justice which characterized the nineteenth century. The disregard for reason and science and the exaggeration of emotionalism were great weaknesses in the romanticist attempt to solve the social problems of the day, but literary romanticism did much lasting good in fighting injustice and in glorifying the common-man; and the modern world owes much to the great leaders of this movement.

W.R.C.

LECTURES

- I. THE NEW NATIONALISM AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM
- II. KANT: THE INTELLECTUAL CREATOR OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
- III. ROMANTICISM: THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The Congress of Vienna and the policy of Metternich.
2. The rise of Austria and Prussia: constitutionalism and benevolent paternalism.
3. The expansion of the British Empire: India, Burma, and the African Colonies.
4. The achievement of dominion status by England's Canadian Colony.
5. The struggle for Italian national unity under Cavour and Garibaldi.
6. The strange career of Napoleon III, the democratic Emperor; his schemes and industrial liberalism.
9. Kant's distinction between analytic and synthetic thinking.
10. Kant's distinction between a priori, innate, and a posteriori, empirical, factors in thought.
11. In what sense did Kant restore metaphysics?
12. Is Kant's "categorical imperative" a restatement of the Golden Rule?
13. Is Kant's substitution of the sense of duty for a system of rewards and punishment a revival of Stoicism?
14. Comment on Heine's criticism that Kant's philosophy is that of a Prussian drillmaster.
15. Are we justified in finding the source of Nazi philosophy in the work of Kant?
16. Estimate romanticism as the artists' revolution.
17. The effect of the romantic movement on education.
18. The symbolism of the Rime of the Ancient Mariner.

SOURCE READINGS

Coloridge: The Rime of the Ancient Mariner
 Kant: The Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Ethics

SUGGESTED READINGS

Byron: Don Juan
 Flaubert: Madame Bovary
 Goethe: The Sorrows of Werther
 Lowes: The Road to Xanadu
 Marvin: The Century of Hope
 May: The Age of Metternich, 1814-1848
 Merz: A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century
 Munchausen: The Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen
 Shelley: Prometheus Unbound
 Weyley: Kant and His Philosophical Revolution
 Wordsworth: The Prelude

UNIT XXVIII

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

The idea of progress is peculiar to Western Civilization. It is an element in a dynamic philosophy of history which holds that men and society are moving toward some higher end. The static and cyclic theories of history of the Orient include no such idea. Neither was the atmosphere of the ancient Greek and medieval Christian worlds favorable to it, for both looked back to the Golden Age rather than forward. It was not until the sixteenth century that the scientific renaissance provided the necessary intellectual climate for the growth of the idea. Progress needs a dynamic universe. It needs the sciences. The achievements of Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton provided a metaphysics for the philosophy of progress. It was believed that, when the laws of the universe had been learned, the mastery of man over nature would bring in the Golden Age.

Descartes emphasized the supremacy of reason, while Galileo struck off the shackles of dead authority and tradition. Descartes, Galileo, and Newton stressed the invariability of the laws of nature and dispelled the idea of the capricious intervention of Providence. They pictured the universe as a vast machine whose movements were ordered by laws which could be known and even controlled by human reason. Man, too, is a machine, and Descartes thought that when the laws of life became known there would be no need for death, but that the life span of man could be indefinitely extended. It is no wonder that Cartesianism is called "the declaration of the independence of man."

The Idea of Progress was first clearly formulated by the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, who in 1773 sketched a philosophy of history, antithetical to that of Hesiod and the Book of Daniel, in which he traced the development of Europe

from an Age of Iron and Bronze to the contemporary Age of Silver and pointed to a Golden Age in the future. The Abbe, with the optimism of all the philosophers of progress, thought that a few wise reigns would usher in the Golden Age. He shared the illusion of many that government is omnipotent and can bestow happiness on man. The belief in the natural goodness of man borrowed by Leibnitz and Rousseau from the Chinese, the work of Turgot, the contribution of the Physiocrats, and the philosophy of Vico, are important elements in the movements of thought which converged in the opening years of the nineteenth century to make the Idea of Progress a peculiar mark of that era. The man of the Age of Reason had discovered the Laws of Nature; the man of the nineteenth century could control the forces of the universe through these laws. Not only nature, but man and society were subject to natural laws. There was no longer mystery, caprice, or chance in the nature of things. Men could plan for Utopia.

It was in such an historical context that Adam Smith formulated his philosophy of laissez-faire, which freed economic thought from the fetters of the Mercantilists and Physiocrats. Adam Smith's book, The Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, contained the economic theory that the government should place no interference or restrictions on commerce or industry, for it is through individual freedom that the greatest wealth and prosperity of the nation is achieved. Smith held that all men are motivated by self-interest and that, left to their own devices, they will be guided by the "invisible hand" to contribute to the common good. Since, according to Smith, labor is the source of all wealth and the measure of value, a nation must achieve a maximum productivity of labor to obtain the greatest wealth and prosperity. This can be achieved best by the old Platonic division of labor, each citizen doing the job for which he has the greatest aptitude. Smith's theory of labor value is based on Locke's idea that the amount of labor represented in each

commodity is the measure of the value of that commodity. Smith believed that his laissez-faire philosophy would work for the benefit of both capital and labor and that progress in the economic area of human life would result.

Jeremy Bentham had an even greater interest in progress through social welfare than did Adam Smith. Bentham retained the individualism of Smith in his theory that the individual is not only the best judge of his own interests but also of his own pleasures. To Bentham the object of all legislation is "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He inquired of all institutions whether their "utility justifies their existence." These concepts, utility and happiness, are the bases of his theory of Utilitarianism. Economic liberalism fosters the freedom that makes for happiness. Yet for Bentham individual freedom is not enough; the community must also be considered. True pleasure is not obtained at the cost of others; and to be real it must create the greatest possible chain of pleasures rather than regrets. "The good of the individual is the greatest sum of pleasures possible to him; the good of society is the greatest sum of pleasures possible to the greatest number of its members."

John Stuart Mill modified and systematized the Utilitarianism of Bentham. Although in his youth he adhered strictly to Bentham's doctrine, he soon came to question the thesis that man is motivated entirely by self-interest and that pleasure, as defined by Bentham, is the ultimate goal of all action. Nevertheless, he clung tenaciously to certain tenets of Utilitarianism throughout his life. He abandoned much of the doctrinaire laissez-faire of the classicists and sought a compromise with the new and challenging socialist theory. He appears to vacillate in much of his writing, for he was trying to maintain a modified laissez-faire. He felt that government interference for the reform of existing institutions was warranted if it benefited the weak and

exploited. Mill considered the social question as important as the political one, and he spent a great part of his life in attempts to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes. Unlike Bentham, he was partially in agreement with socialist principles but felt that the time had not yet come for socialism. He was essentially a liberal and a social reformer, and, although he contributed no original or consistent theory of economics or philosophy, he prepared the way for new ideas.

In contrast with Adam Smith, the great exponent of individual freedom and private enterprise, Karl Marx stands as the champion of socialism. Yet Marx was an economist who worked in the classical tradition, some of the main tenets of Marxian socialism being merely reformulations of classical theories. Particularly is this evidenced in his labor theory of value and its corollary theory of surplus value. Like Smith, Marx emphasizes that all commodities are produced by human labor and that the ultimate value must be measured in terms of the "socially necessary" labor involved. But Marx goes further and condemns capitalistic society in that employees receive, not the full value of their labor, but merely a portion of it, wages. The rest is surplus value, which is absorbed by the employer. Since labor produces more than it can consume on a limited wage, surpluses pile up, and wealth is soon concentrated in the hands of the few. What Marxian socialism proposes to do is to eliminate this capitalistic exploitation by abolishing private property and putting the means of production and distribution in the hands of the members of a classless society. It is only then that the laborer's efforts are rewarded in full, and all men share equally in the bounty of nature and industry. These changes can be achieved only by a revolution of the proletariat. Marxian philosophy is derived from a dialectical theory of history based on the philosophy of Hegel to the effect that the history of all past society "is the history of class

struggles." The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels is a materialistic interpretation of social trends which has become the basic philosophy of the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The impact of Karl Marx upon the twentieth century is largely a result of the restatement of Marx's theories by Nicholai Lenin and the rise of Russia.

The theory of evolution states that life on the earth has proceeded from simple to complex and from lower to higher forms. The idea can be found in the writings of Anaximander, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Aristotle. But it was the philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who gave new force to the theory. The philosophy of Hegel, which treated the universe as a process, had a far-reaching effect. Lamarck had explained the change in forms of life by the inheritance of acquired characteristics. A giraffe acquired his long neck through the fact that somewhere in the remote past his ancestors had stretched their necks, reaching for leaves on the trees, and this long neck was transmitted to the offspring down the ages. Charles Darwin had accompanied a scientific expedition on the Beagle, during which he collected a large amount of data about natural life. His reading of Lyell's Principles of Geology and Malthus' Essay on Population suggested theories which fitted into the data which he was studying. In 1859 he published his great work On the Origin of Species in which he announced his theory of natural selection. This theory is built on the principles that: 1) like tends to produce like; 2) while animals tend to produce offspring like themselves, no two are exactly alike, and individual variations occur; 3) many more forms of life are produced than can survive in the struggle for existence; and 4) the forms with the most favorable variations survive. The forms selected by nature produce offspring with new variations to bring about "the survival of the fittest." In the Descent of Man, published in 1871, Darwin applied the theory of natural selection to human

beings. Darwin's theory has been modified since his day by Weismann's theory, that there is a continuity in the germ cell which is not affected by variations in the body cells, and by DeVries' mutation theory, which holds that there can be sudden changes or variations which breed true from the first. The theory of evolution held out the optimistic hope that in the process of time man could achieve perfection if the fittest survived. The idea was transferred to every area of man's activity to provide a scientific basis for the Idea of Progress. It also justifies ruthless competition and was held to support laissez-faire economics.

As the nineteenth century moved toward its close, the Idea of Progress was generally accepted. Support had been received from Herbert Spencer and Auguste Comte. Spencer insisted that progress was the fundamental law of all nature and that nothing could stop man's steady advance. The discovery of new laws would enable men to control all phenomena, whether inorganic, biological, psychical, or social. Evolution was a cosmic process. In his Synthetic Philosophy Spencer planned the great synthesis of nineteenth century thought. One of the most significant contributions came out of the philosophy of Comte, who formulated a social program based upon the contribution of science to human life. In the Positive Philosophy he describes how mankind passes from a primitive and superstitious theological stage, through a transitional metaphysical stage, to the final positive or scientific stage which was now at hand for Europeans. Progress was the theme that bound Smith, Bentham, Mill, Marx, Shelley, Darwin, and Spencer together. All alike believed that nature would be conquered and mankind liberated by mechanical inventions and scientific developments. No one paid attention when Henry Adams warned the century that the machines which it had created were losing a disintegrating and destructive force on the world. He

regarded the dynamo as an emblem of destruction and prophesied a secularization of life with the rise of the Machine Age.

As Maritain, with the thunder of the guns on the Western front in his ears, put it, the cry of "progress" has turned into a shriek of anguish. In the shadows of two world wars, and with the atomic clouds of Hiroshima and Bikini on the horizon, modern man, in his pessimism, has returned to the old Stoic idea of history--the cyclic theory. The Idea of Progress was an illusion. History is a wheel. It goes round and round in a circle.

J. O.

8. Explain Mill's five methods of discovering truth: induction, deduction, analogy and experience.
9. Mill's argument for the value of free speech as the key to economic liberalism.
10. Was Mill's belief in the freedom of speech and press as a guarantee of political and economic freedom justified in the light of future developments?
11. Is a benevolent God self-limited by the granting of freedom to man?
12. On what facts did Darwin base his Theory of Evolution?
13. What elements in the Darwinian Theory of Evolution are still accepted and what elements are denied? Why?
14. How is the theory of Lamarckism related to the Theory of Evolution? Is freedom a law of nature?
15. The Hegelian influence in Marx's materialistic interpretation of history as found in the Communist Manifesto.
16. Evaluate the place of Marx in psychology. Are all ideas a result of the individual's economic situation?
17. How much of Marx's communist program is in operation in the United States today?
18. Evaluate the life and work of Pope Leo XIII. How did the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas influence Leo XIII's attitude toward social and economic problems?

SOURCE READINGS

- Smith: An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Book I, ch. 10
- Marx and Engels: Communist Manifesto
- Mill: Essay on Liberty

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Adams: Our Business Civilization
- Beard: Economic Basis of American Civilization
- Bentham: Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation
- Chase: The Industrial Revolution
- Coakley: The Economic Mind in American Civilization
- Edwards: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism
- Malinowski: An Essay on Population
- Marx: Capital
- Marx: The Theory of Political Economy and Revolution
- Marx: The Communist Manifesto
- Marx: Capitalism and Socialism
- Marx: The Economic Basis of American Civilization

LECTURES

- I. BENTHAM AND MILL: THE ETHICS OF THE LIBERAL
- II. THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION: THE SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION FOR FAITH IN PROGRESS
- III. SMITH VERSUS MARX: INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS COLLECTIVISM

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. Was the laissez-faire doctrine the cause or the result of the industrial revolution?
2. Is economics a science? Is the law of supply and demand a complete explanation of economic phenomena?
3. The meaning of free market, free trade, and free enterprise.
4. The origin of Utilitarianism in Smith's theory of sympathy as the highest virtue.
5. Bentham's synthesis of the principle of utility, happiness of the greatest possible number, with hedonistic psychology.
6. What is a government for in the theory of the Utilitarians?
7. The religious consequences of Utilitarianism in the substitution of the "happiness of the greatest number" for the glory of God as the highest good for man.
8. Explain Mill's five methods of discovering truth: inductions from observation and experience.
9. Mill's argument for the value of free trade as the key to economic liberalism.
10. Was Mill's belief in the freedom of speech and press as a guarantee of political and economic freedom justified in the light of future developments?
11. Is a benevolent God self-limited by the granting of freedom to man?
12. On what facts did Darwin base his Theory of Evolution?
13. What elements in the Darwinian Theory of Evolution are still accepted and what elements are denied? Why?
14. How is the theory of laissez-faire related to the Theory of Evolution? Is freedom a law of nature?
15. The Hegelian influence in Marx's materialistic interpretation of history as found in the communist Manifesto.
16. Evaluate the place of Marx in psychology. Are all ideas a result of the individual's economic situation?
17. How much of Marx's communist program is in operation in the United States today?
18. Evaluate the life and work of Pope Leo XIII. How did the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas influence Leo XIII's attitude toward social and economic problems?

SOURCE READINGS

- Smith: An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Book I, c. 1-9
- Marx and Engels: Communist Manifesto
- Mill: Essay on Liberty

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Adams: Our Business Civilization
- Beard: Economic Basis of Politics
- Bentham: Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislature
- Dietz: The Industrial Revolution
- Dorfman: The Economic Mind in American Civilization
- Hobson: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism
- Malthus: An Essay on Population
- Marx: Capital
- Ricardo: On Wages, The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation
- Saligman: Economic Interpretation of History
- Snyder: Capitalism the Creator
- Tawney: The Acquisitive Society

UNIT XXIX

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

Mr. Gerry, of Rhode Island, rose frequently in the Constitutional Convention and asked this question: "What are the United States?" Neither then nor later has the question been answered to everyone's satisfaction.

Suppose we measure the United States on the axis of history. We, or perhaps only men in a later age, will observe one of the most spectacular episodes in human history: a group of colonies, operating under royal charters and financed largely by English and Dutch capitalists, achieving independence in not much over a century and a half. Then, in the next century and a half attaining power, financial and military, America became twice in a generation the savior of Europe.

Two questions emerge, questions in the mind not only of the American, but also in the mind of the European and even the Asiatic who has seen the rise of America. To all observers this country is either a crucial event in the life of mankind or a vast social experiment whose meaning, since the experiment is not yet concluded, is still uncertain. That the United States is universally admired is as questionable as the American myth that we can "lick creation", but through the pressure of the great current of world history we have been forced to become exponents and champions of a way of life or an ideology. There is also bitter world-wide controversy as to what we do stand for. We are probably the most loved and hated, the most admired and despised people on earth.

Historically, we imported our political, social, and religious ideals or aims; our methods, presumably the chief of all our inventions, are our own.

A glance at any of the State Constitutions, of Massachusetts, New York,

Pennsylvania, Virginia, will reveal the influence of the Westminster Assembly, when the British Parliament set up a Constitution for the Church. In a certain sense the theocratic dream, of which the Mathers of Massachusetts were the spokesmen, is an integral factor in our politics. That is natural. The great German historial Ranke's dictum also holds: the English Presbyterians were Republicans. When they had a free hand in this country it was inevitable that they should adopt those principles on bloc. Our government at least was created on the principle of a social contract; the people of the United States, in Congress assembled, created the government of the United States.

When we turn to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, we find present also the ideas of French Rationalism and even Romanticism. The carriers of these ideas were Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson. The appeal in the Declaration is to the "laws of Nature and Nature's God", to "self-evident" truths. Perhaps unconsciously we have also adopted the rationalists' optimistic view of human nature: all men are born innocent as well as free. Certainly no other land has ever produced a greater company of romantic sentimentalists, and when this Puritan theocratic ideal and Rousseau's social dogmas were fused, there resulted a Christian Democracy.

This ideal was at stake in two struggles: 1) internal controversies of the United States for the last century and a half, and 2) external threats to the ideal which forced us into two world wars.

A synthesis, like all intellectual compounds, is not perfectly stable. For the first seventy years of our national existence the problem of national unity, or of the "strong" central government as against a relatively "weak" federation of sovereign states, was the chief problem. The names of the parties changed; personalities and implied problems, such as land grants, tended to confuse the issue. As

a Mississippi senator stated it, up to 1847 the States created the United States, after that the United States created States. Hence we have two different types of states, either natural or artificial political entities. And it was this same problem that was settled in 1861-1865. Even if the title of this war is changed from that of the Great Rebellion to the War between the States, you cannot obscure the fact that there then existed a vast fund of ill-will on which demagogues on both sides were able to draw. The fact that geographical lines and even military fronts, can be drawn, cannot obscure the fact that an idea was at stake. What idea? Scarcely that of the destiny of the Negro. Perhaps the full meaning of that idea lies in the future. But at least the nation then became a significant entity, conscious of a world task.

In unravelling the threads we have already woven on "the roaring loom of time", perhaps the most fruitful method is to analyze the individual minds that have contributed to that still intensely active entity called the American mind. Here we submit a list which every American conscious of the problem of America should consider:

1. Roger Williams, according to the greatest historian of Puritanism, the strangest man who ever emigrated to America, an exponent of religious individualism.
2. Jonathan Edwards, the metaphysical genius and scholar in the Colonial era when such pursuits entailed personal self-sacrifice.
3. Benjamin Franklin, adventurous printer, inventor, diplomat, and philanthropist; held by some Europeans as the author of the idea that work is an end as well as a means, that thrift is a virtue as well as the secret of happiness.
4. Thomas Jefferson, a political theorist, an architect, and a champion of free thought; a democrat who did not believe in an omnipotent government.
5. Ralph Waldo Emerson, greatest of our humanists, an intense in-

dividualist, a traveler who believed in an emancipation of the American mind from the ideas and ways of the Old World.

6. Abraham Lincoln, who personifies the realization of the Romantic dream of the genius, a product of the primitive life of the frontier, who believed that a President is in fact the servant of the people.

7. Walt Whitman, the self-crowned poet laureate of democracy, a congener of the patent medicine man, the Buffalo Bill of poetry, who reveled in this land, in its glories and its dirt, in its greatness and even in its sins.

8. Andrew Carnegie, the pauper immigrant who became a millionaire and demonstrated the American ability to unite an utter lack of conscience in practical business with an intense and grandiose social philanthropy, as extraordinary an historical figure as Cardinal Richelieu or Sir Robert Walpole.

9. William James, the only American whose name can be mentioned in the same breath as Plato's, according to his chief disciple, John Dewey, expressed in his formula that truth must have cash value, that success determines right and wrong, the popular faith of the majority. The verdict on the value of such value-judgments lies in the future. So far it has transformed the schools, the churches, and the thinking of the Supreme Court.

10. Woodrow Wilson, a man born out of due time, the Puritan Internationalist to whom Democracy was a religious faith because he had a religion. Again history will determine the value of his belief that only as international relations are based on eternal principles can world peace be an enduring peace.

If you take these few men separately, whose lives cover two centuries, you will see the extraordinary sweep of events in our history; but if you consider them together you will also see not only the types of men who have made America, but the type of man America has made. And that type is the individualist who has found in this land the source of his own achievement. Some of them were

shrinking men. All of them seem conscious that this is indeed a land of infinite possibilities, a land where a man is master of his destiny, where competition is intense, where the race is only to the swift, but where the rewards are certain and great.

A.P.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE OLD WORLD IN THE NEW: INSTITUTIONS AND IDEALS
- II. THE BREAK WITH THE OLD WORLD: THE CONSTITUTION
- III. THE AMERICAN MIND: THE NEW WORLD SYNTHESIS

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The Puritan theocratic dream and its influence on American politics and education.
2. The Augustinianism of Edwards: the spiritual experiences of a colonial American.
3. The influence of Rousseau's equalitarianism on the cavalier mind of Thomas Jefferson: an analysis of the Declaration of Independence.
4. The influence of John Locke on the search for toleration and permanence in government: an analysis of the first ten papers of the Federalist.
5. Franklin's ethics: work, thrift, and happiness.
6. Franklin as inventor and scientist: his relation with European philosophers and scientists.
7. Emerson's American Scholar: can American culture be emancipated from the Western World?
8. Emerson's essay on Self Reliance: the value of individualism.
9. Emerson's theory of retribution and the medieval theory of rewards and penalties.
10. Emerson's debt to German idealism and to Immanuel Kant.
11. Hawthorne: the romantic critic of American culture.
12. The individual and social consequences of hypocrisy in Young Goodman Brown.
13. The power of personality as presented in Rappaccini's Daughter.
14. Walt Whitman, the poet of democracy. Does democracy create egoism?
15. Henry Adams on the worship of technocracy: science and religion.
16. What is pragmatism? Is it the American philosophy of life?

SOURCE READINGS

- Adams: Education of Henry Adams, c. 25, "The Dynamo and the Virgin."
The Constitution of the United States of America
 Edwards: The Personal Narrative
 Emerson: The American Scholar: Compensation: Self Reliance
The Federalist, Nos. I - X
 Franklin: The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin
 Hawthorne: Rappaccini's Daughter: Young Goodman Brown
 James: Pragmatism, c. 2, "What Pragmatism Means"
 Jefferson: The Declaration of Independence
 Lincoln: Gettysburg Address
 Whitman: Song of Myself

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Blau: American Philosophic Addresses, 1700-1900
 Bryce: The American Commonwealth
 Curti: The Growth of American Thought
 Dorfman: The Economic Mind in American Civilization
 Hacker: The Shaping of the American Tradition
 Matthiesson: American Renaissance
 Miller: The New England Mind
 Paine: Rights of Man
 Parrington: Main Currents in American Thought
 Perry: Puritanism and Democracy
 Schneider: A History of American Philosophy
 Tocqueville: Democracy in America

UNIT XXX

OUR AMERICAN DESTINY

Twice within a generation the world has exploded into World Wars. The first was fought out on three land fronts. The fluid front through Poland and Southern Russia saw the end of the last of the governments based on the seventeenth and eighteenth century theory of absolutism. Instead, there emerged a totalitarian communism consciously devoted to the realization of the economic thesis of Karl Marx. The Western Front was one vast siege operation, where advances were usually measured by yards and at a colossal cost in human life. This conflict brought an end to the benevolent paternalism of Prussia, and to an absolutism, internally softened by German idealism, Christian humanitarianism, and Romantic art. Out of the struggle there emerged in Italy and Germany a totalitarianism which owed its cruelty to the medieval secret societies, and its technique to that of American gangsters; and also an economic theory which attempted at once to emulate American Big Business and to reach the Utopian Socialists' goals. Arabia and Palestine constituted the third front, destroying the structure of the Turkish Empire, which only two and a half centuries before had threatened all Eastern Europe. There were also naval engagements in the North Sea and along the coasts of South America.

The impoverishment of the British Empire in wealth and potential leadership and the intensification of class hatreds in France were among the unhappy results of the first World War.

Into this conflict the United States entered ostensibly as a champion of the freedom of the seas. But when the Puritan Schoolmaster, as Mr. Wells

called Mr. Wilson, gave as a slogan, "Making the world safe for Democracy", and proclaimed his Fourteen Points, he revealed an underlying purpose that was much greater than the freedom of the seas.

The twenty-one years of uneasy peace were ushered in with the Versailles Peace Treaty. Here Woodrow Wilson, and with him America, was defeated. The Treaty was attacked by Germans, pro-Germans, and most successfully, from his standpoint, by Adolph Hitler. Whatever the merits of the treaty, it did not establish peace.

In the interim, for seven years, 1922-29, the American people gambled on wheat, on Florida and California real estate, and on the stocks and bonds of the great corporations. In one week, in November, 1929, the greatest financial cataclysm occurred. Eighty-nine billion dollars of paper or credit wealth were lost.

From 1933 to 1939 a series of measures aiming at recovery were initiated. Relief in innumerable forms and on a hitherto inconceivable scale was applied. Some contemporaries describe this as the Third American Revolution. If so, the Revolution is still in process and the outcome uncertain.

In 1939 Germany invaded Poland. While France and England waited ineffectively, Russia joined Germany to crush and partition Poland.

In 1940 France fell. Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Norway were invaded. The Italians attacked Greece ineffectively. Austria and Czechoslovakia having already succumbed to the Germans, the road into the Balkans was open, and Germany swept all Southwestern Europe into its new empire. Britain was bombed.

Then Germany attacked and swept the Russians back to Stalingrad. And the Japanese sank most of the American fleet at Pearl Harbor. The American scheme

of being the "arsenal of democracy" ended; and America was drawn into the greatest conflict of all time.

The German army in North Africa was crushed; Italy was invaded. American and British armies crossed the Channel. An American army invaded the South of France. The American and British armies and the Russians converged on Prussia.

If we had not lived through this we could not believe this recital. If we had not had ocular demonstration, we would not believe that a bomb about the size of a baseball wiped eighty-thousand Japanese off the face of the earth.

History which started on the plains of Mesopotamia six thousand years ago has come to a grand climax.

Two great questions have now emerged. They are definitely connected, and involve innumerable implications.

Is there to be another world war? Is the materialistic, openly atheistic, and totalitarian philosophy by which Russia is controlled, and which aims at penetrating and controlling its neighbors, bound to come into conflict with that other philosophy of a democracy which we can hardly call Christian, but which is at least spiritual to the extent of recognizing the dignity of the individual?

With this question goes its corollary: How can man be spared this crowning horror? Through firmness toward Russia? Through emergency appropriations for the weakened and frightened petty semi-democracies? Through \$150,000,000,000 investment in all, but largely in Russia, to buy good will? Or what?

The second is a much deeper question. Throughout the sweep of time we have seen emerge and develop a religion. It is not the only religion man has developed, but it is unique in that it is a faith that God's will works throughout

history; that it was His outstretched hand and His mighty arm that delivered the Hebrews from slavery. And it is this same faith that saw in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth not a regrettable incident, but an act of God for the liberation of man from the fear of life, the fear of death, and the fear of God Himself, to make possible that perfect love which casts out all fear.

This religion is the key to the cultural evolution of Europe. We cannot ignore it and still explain the transformation of Western Europe. Western Europe as we know it started as a group of colonies of which the greatest of Roman observers said, "They make it a desert and call it peace." It became in the Middle Ages a great, experimental field, in which sprang up the several cultures, arts, sciences, and ways of life. Freedom in Europe was fought for on a thousand battle fields, and worked out in multitudes of lives. It was once known as Christendom.

Mr. Fosdick has seen in the reverence for personality the greatest and most dominant idea in the Bible. Whether that is correct is a problem for theologians, but undoubtedly it is what the man of the Western World has found in Christianity. And it is this thought which is the key not only to the Bible, but to the literature, philosophy, and law of the West.

We owe to the Greeks the form of Democracy, but it is that inner feeling for self which keeps Democracy alive. And the reason for this is clear. A democracy which is based purely on the economic nexus between man and man, the communist claim, appeals either to self-interest or to class hatred. The same thing applies to a democracy which is purely political. As long as the party wins, such democrats are friends. But a democracy, to live, and life means weathering storms and entailing sacrifice, must be rooted in brotherhood. Democracy cannot give or create that feeling; only the spirit that makes man conscious of God as his Father can create it.

Thus the final question is: Can a godless world survive? And if it can, will it be worth it?

Karl Marx believed that ultimately all classes will either drop down or be pulled down to the level of the proletariat. Karl Marx, of course, never attended an American high school or college, or he would have realized that another possibility is conceivable. The desire to rise, to transcend the past, has often enough taken a fantastic and even immoral form, but essentially it is rooted in the eternal gospel, preached by Moses to slaves, by Plato to the defeated Athenians, by Jesus of Nazareth to the victims of the Pax Romana, by Paul to the inhabitants of the bazaars of the Near East: the possibility of living a life which escapes self-righteousness by working for a Kingdom of God on earth--an earth which stands waiting, as Paul put it, for the revelation of the Sons of God.

In that sense the last thirty years have been a veritable revelation.

A.P.K.

LECTURES

- I. THE FULFILLMENT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM
- II. AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS
- III. THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN DEMOCRACY

DISCUSSION TOPICS

1. The equalitarianism of Jefferson: are all men born free and equal?
2. Andrew Jackson: the reason for his popularity and influence.
3. Lincoln's contributions to the American philosophy of life: the value of the common man.
4. An estimate of Franklin D. Roosevelt's future place in world history.
5. The causes and course of World War I.
6. America's entry into World War I; Wilson's reasons and the effects of the war on American economics.
7. The rise of communism in Russia: an estimate of the personalities of Lenin and Stalin.
8. Explain the rise of Mussolini and Hitler: an estimate of their personalities.
9. The cause of American entry into World War II and the course of war.
10. Prophecy the effect of World War II on American ideals and institutions.
11. The Atomic Bomb as a chapter in the history of physics.
12. The Atomic Bomb: its effect on the war and international politics.
13. Is religion essential to democracy?
14. In the light of this course how would you answer the question, "What is religion"?
15. In the light of this course how would you answer the question, "What is history"?

SOURCE READINGS

Kant: Perpetual Peace
 League of Nations Covenant
 United Nations Charter

SUGGESTED READINGS

Berdyaev: The Meaning of History
 Cousins: Modern Man Is Obsolete
 Hershey: Hiroshima
 Hitler: Mein Kampf
 Lenin: State and Revolution
 Mahan: The Influence of Sea Power upon History
 Mann: The Magic Mountain
 Mumford: Technics and Civilization
 Niebuhr: The Nature and Destiny of Man
 Northrop: The Meaning of the East and West
 Sorokin: The Crisis of Our Age
 Spengler: The Decline of the West
 Toynbee: A Study of History
 Whitehead: Adventures of Ideas
 Whitehead: Science and the Modern World