

## **UNIT 1: TRANSITION TO THE MODERN WORLD: RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION**

### **Section A: A Review of the Middle Ages: The High Middle Ages: Secular Civilization**

Reading Palmer and Colton: 28-48

Feudalism: A Political and Military Definition- Strayer  
Feudal Society: A Social View of Feudalism- Bloch  
Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture- Cantor  
The Great Significance of the Crusades- Pirenne  
The Meaning of the Middle Ages: The Crusades Minimized- Cantor

Key Changes in Europe after A.D. 1000

Topics The Rise of Towns and Commerce  
The Growth of National Monarchies  
The Development of the Medieval Church and Papacy  
Intellectual Life: The Universities and Scholasticism  
The Crusades; New Invasions; Europe by 1300

### **Section B: Disasters of the 14th Century : The Decline of Medieval Ideas**

Reading Palmer and Colton: 49-55

Attack on the Papacy: The Conciliar Movement  
The Decameron: The Plague in Florence- Boccaccio  
The Black Death: A Socioeconomic Perspective- Meiss  
A Psychological Perspective of the Black Death- Langer

Key The Black Death and its Consequences

Topics Troubles of the Medieval Church  
The Conciliar Movement

### **Section C: The Renaissance in Italy**

Reading Palmer and Colton: 56-69

The Prince- Machiavelli  
The Civilization in Renaissance Italy- Burckhardt  
Renaissance or Prenaissance?- Thorndike  
Culture and Society in Renaissance Florence- Krey

Key The Italian Cities and the New Conception of Man

Topics Humanism: The Birth of Literature  
Schooling and Manners

**Section D: The Renaissance Outside Italy**

- Reading Palmer and Colton: 69-72  
Machiavelli and the Renaissance- Chabod  
The Renaissance: Christian Humanism- Ferguson
- Key Politics and the Italian Renaissance  
Topics Religious Scholarship and Science  
Mysticism and Lay Religion  
Erasmus of Rotterdam

**Section E: The New Monarchies**

- Reading Palmer and Colton: 73-77
- Key The New Monarchy in England, France, and Spain  
Topics The Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburg Supremacy

**Section F: The Protestant Reformation**

- Reading Palmer and Colton: 77-92  
Justification by Faith- Martin Luther  
On the Bondage of the Will- Martin Luther  
Institutes of the Christian Religion: Predestination- John Calvin  
Men and Ideas in the Sixteenth Century: Patterns in the Reformation- Hillerbrand  
The Continental Reformation: A Religious Interpretation- Headley  
A Political Interpretation of the Reformation- Elton
- Key Luther and Lutheranism  
Topics Calvin and Calvinism  
The Reformation in England  
The Religious Situation in 1560

**Section G: Catholicism Reformed and Reorganized**

- Reading Palmer and Colton: 93-98  
The Catholic Reformation- Olin
- Key The Council of Trent  
Topics The Counter Crusade

## Unit 1: Identifications and Study Questions

### Section A: A Review of the Middle Ages

High Middle Ages, vassal, Hugh Capet, manor, serf, three-field system, "law merchant", imperial free cities, Hanse, merchant guild, craft guild, Magna Carta, "estates of the realm", Holy Roman Empire, Cluniac reformers, Gregory VII and Henry IV, excommunication, sacraments, Innocent III, dogma, Fourth Lateran Council, transubstantiation, Anselm, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, "scholastic" philosophers

1. What changes about A.D. 1000 enabled Europe to pull itself out of the Dark Ages?
2. How would you define feudalism? What were its origins?
3. Distinguish between (a) the manorial system and feudalism; (b) the lord-vassal relationship and the lord-serf relationship.
4. Explain the role of commerce and of the towns in the High Middle Ages. What effects did each have on the rural countryside?
5. Describe the growth in the High Middle Ages of (a) royal power; (b) royal councils; (c) parliaments.
6. What fundamental changes took place in the church in the 11th century before Gregory VII? under Innocent III?
7. Discuss with reference to the intellectual life of the High Middle Ages: (a) the origins and nature of the universities; (b) the contributions of Arab learning; (c) the role of the scholastic philosophers.
8. Describe the motives and results of the European Crusades to the Holy Land.
9. Describe the civilization of Europe by A.D. 1300.

### Section B: Disasters of the 14th Century: The Decline of Medieval Ideas

Black Death, "jacqueries", Wat Tyler's rebellion, Hundred Years War, Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, Philip the Fair, John Wyclif, John Huss, "Babylonian Captivity", Great Schism, "annates", Council of Constance, Martin V, Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

1. How would you summarize the disasters that afflicted Europe in the 14th Cent?
2. Describe the social and political consequences of the Black Death with special reference to (a) peasants, (b) upper classes, (c) royal governments, (d) European population trends.
3. What difficulties and challenges did the church and papacy face in the 14th Century? How were they resolved?
4. Discuss the aims, accomplishments, and outcome of the conciliar movement.

### **Section C: The Renaissance in Italy**

Quattrocento, Medici Family, *virtu*, condottieri, Petrarch, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Lorenzo Valla, Pico de Mirandola, Castiglione, *Last Supper*, *Book of the Courtier*, *The Prince*

1. Why is "Renaissance" in some ways an erroneous term?
2. Explain the new attitudes and "new conception of man" that arose in Renaissance Italy? How would you contrast Renaissance attitudes with those of the Middle Ages?
3. How were Italian Renaissance attitudes reflected in "humanism"? What attitude did the humanists have toward the Middle Ages? toward the Greeks and Romans? Why?
4. How was the "fusion of civic consciousness and humanism" demonstrated in the careers of Salutati & Bruni?
5. Discuss the impact of the Renaissance on education and on manners. How was the idea of the gentleman and courtier developed in this age?
6. Discuss the special contributions made by Machiavelli to politics and political thought? What motivated his writings? How would you evaluate his conclusions?

### **Section D: The Renaissance Outside Italy**

Christian Humanism, Regiomontanus, Nicholas of Cusa, Copernicus, Paracelsus, Dr. Faustus, Meister Eckhart, Thomas a Kempis, Gerard Groot, Sisters/Brothers of the Common Life, *Imitation of Christ*, *Praise of Folly*, *Handbook of a Christian knight*, Modern Devotion

1. How did the Renaissance in Europe north of the Alps differ from the Renaissance Questions in Italy?
2. What special religious aspects were there to the northern Renaissance? Of what significance was the spread of mysticism and the development of religious groups outside the clergy?
3. How did the scientific and mathematical interests of the northern Renaissance resemble Italian ideas?
4. Explain the contributions of Erasmus to his age.

### **Section E: The New Monarchies**

Henry VII, Louis XI, Ferdinand and Isabella, Maximilian I, Charles V, Wars of the Roses, Tudors, "livery and maintenance", Star Chamber, Concordat of Bologna, Spanish Inquisition, conquest of Granada, Moriscos, Marranos, imperial Knights

1. Describe the origins, nature and accomplishments of the New Monarchies in the areas discussed.
2. What role did the following play in the growth of royal authority: (a) towns, (b) new weapons, (c) the revival of Roman law?
3. How did Charles V become the most powerful ruler of his day? How did Europe feel about the Hapsburgs?
4. What political and nonpolitical developments may be cited as important to the emergence of Protestantism?

## **Section F: The Protestant Reformation**

Protestant, "justification by faith", indulgences, Ninety-Five Theses, transubstantiation, Peasants' Revolt, Anabaptists, Schmalkaldic War, Peace of Augsburg, *cuius regio eius religio*, Ecclesiastical Reservation, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Michael Servetus, "predestination", Henry VIII, Act of Supremacy, Anglican Church, Thirty-Nine Articles

1. Describe the sources of dissatisfaction which contributed to the 16th Century religious upheaval.
2. What was revolutionary about Luther's position on authority in religious matters? What political support did he find for his views?
3. How did Lutheranism become mixed with political and social upheavals? How did Luther modify his position in the face of these events?
4. How did Calvin differ from Luther in training, background, and personality? How were they similar?
5. Explain the special course of the Reformation in England.
6. What common doctrines and beliefs were shared by all Protestants?
7. Discuss the thesis that one of the main motivations for the Reformation was economic.

## **Section G: Catholicism Reformed and Reorganized**

"episcopal" movement, justification by works and faith, Vulgate, pluralism, Paul III, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Ignatius Loyola, Society of Jesus, *Spiritual Exercises*, "ultramontanism", Index of Prohibited Books, Spanish Inquisition, Roman Inquisition

1. Why are the terms "Catholic reformation" and "Counter Reformation" both justified?
2. Explain the purpose, nature, and accomplishments of the Council of Trent. How did it affirm Catholic doctrine? How did it attempt to reform Church abuses?
3. Describe the changes in Catholicism at this time with reference to (a) new religious attitudes, (b) missionary activities, (c) the role of the Jesuits, (d) the "reforming popes."
4. How was the fate of European religion eventually to be worked out?

# Feudal Society: A Social View of Feudalism

Marc Bloch

## Unit 1 Section A Supplemental Readings

*Many historians view feudalism as much more than its legal, political, and military institutions, stressing a more holistic view that includes a particular set of social and economic relations. This approach to feudalism, which takes advantage of insights from the social sciences, was pioneered by perhaps the most respected medievalist of the last four decades, the French historian Marc Bloch. In the following selection from his Feudal Society, published at the beginning of World War II, Bloch describes feudalism and the context in which it arose.*

*Consider: The interpretive points Bloch is arguing against; the type of environment in which feudalism flourished according to Bloch; differences between Bloch's interpretation and Strayer's.*

The simplest way will be to begin by saying what feudal society was not. Although the obligations arising from blood-relationship played a very active part in it, it did not rely on kinship alone. More precisely, feudal ties proper were developed when those of kinship proved inadequate. Again, despite the persistence of the idea of a public authority superimposed on the multitude of petty powers, feudalism coincided with a profound weakening of the State, particularly in its protective capacity. But much as feudal society differed from societies based on kinship as well as from those dominated by the power of the State, it was their successor and bore their imprint. For while the characteristic relationships of personal subjection retained something of the quasi-family character of the original companionship, a considerable part of the political authority exercised by innumerable petty chiefs had the appearance of a usurpation of 'regalian' rights.

European feudalism should therefore be seen as the outcome of the violent dissolution of older societies. It would in fact be unintelligible without the great upheaval of the Germanic invasions which, by forcibly uniting two societies originally at very different stages of development, disrupted both of them and brought to the surface a great many modes of thought and social practices of an extremely primitive character. It finally developed in the atmosphere of the last barbarian raids. It involved a far-reaching restriction of social intercourse, a circulation of money too sluggish to admit of a salaried officialdom, and a mentality attached to things tangible and local. When these conditions began to change, feudalism began to wane.

It was an unequal society, rather than a hierarchical one—with chiefs rather than nobles; and with serfs, not slaves. If slavery had not played so small a part, there would have been no need for the characteristically feudal forms of dependence, as applied to the lower orders of society. In an age of disorder, the place of the adventurer was too important, the memory of men too short, the regularity of social classifications too uncertain, to admit of the strict formation of regular castes.

Nevertheless the feudal system meant the rigorous economic subjection of a host of humble folk to a few powerful men. Having received from earlier ages the Roman *villa* (which in some respects anticipated the manor) and the German village chiefdom, it extended and consolidated these methods whereby men exploited men, and combining inextricably the right to the revenues from the land with the right to exercise authority, it fashioned from all this the true manor of medieval times. And this it did partly for the benefit of an oligarchy of priests and monks whose task it was to propitiate Heaven, but chiefly for the benefit of an oligarchy of warriors.

# Feudalism: A Political-Military Definition

*Joseph Strayer*

*Scholars have differed over the precise meaning of feudalism. In the following selection Joseph R. Strayer, a Princeton historian who has written extensively on medieval history, rejects the narrower legal definition of feudalism in favor of a broader political-military one. At the same time, he rejects as too amorphous interpretations of feudalism that stress social and economic factors.*

*Consider: The three characteristics of feudalism according to Strayer; the ways in which this interpretation might be supported by the primary documents in this chapter.*

When we look at the political situation in Western Europe in this period, there are three things that strike us. First, there is a fragmentation of *political* power. Over much of Western Europe the county is the largest effective political unit, and in some places even the county has splintered into small, autonomous lordships. Moreover, even in these small districts no single ruler has a monopoly of political authority. There are rights of jurisdiction and administration which are held as hereditary possessions by lesser lords. There may be enclaves within a county or a barony in which the count or baron has no authority at all.

Second, this fragmented political power is treated as a private possession. It can be divided among heirs, given as marriage portion, mortgaged, bought and sold. Private contracts and the rules of family law determine the possessors of judicial and administrative authority. Public power in private hands is accepted as a normal and inevitable arrangement; no one considers it peculiar or undesirable.

Third, a key element in the armed forces—heavy-armed cavalry—is secured through individual and private agreements. Knights render military service not because they are citizens of a state or subjects of a king, but because they or their ancestors have promised to give this service to a lord in return for certain benefits. These benefits may range from mere sustenance in the lord's household to the grant of estates, villages, and even some rights of government. Increasingly, the grant of land comes to be the normal way of securing the services of a knight, but other arrangements are always possible. The essential point is that military service is provided through a series of private contracts between the lord and his men.

To sum up, the basic characteristics of feudalism in Western Europe are a fragmentation of political authority, public power in private hands, and a military system in which an essential part of the armed forces is secured through private contracts. Feudalism is a method of government, and a way of securing the forces necessary to preserve that method of government.

# Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture

Norman F. Cantor

*The Investiture Controversy of the eleventh century pitted the rising demands of a reforming papacy against secular authorities anxious to retain their powers. This controversy went far beyond the specific personal struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV over the appointment of Church officials. The origins of the controversy stretch back at least to the Cluniac movement, which began in the tenth century, and its effects extend beyond the formal solution to the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV over the appointment of Church officials in the Concordat of Worms (1122), years after both had died. Perhaps no historian has stressed the significance of this controversy more than Norman Cantor of New York University. In the following selection Cantor argues that this controversy was a great turning point in Western history.*

*Consider: Cantor's perception of the importance of this controversy; the ways in which this "world-revolution" compares to other "world-revolutions"; why the age of the Investiture Controversy should be considered the turning point in medieval civilization.*

It has been characteristic of the history of the West that its destiny has been shaped by four world-revolutions in which previous tendencies culminated and from which new ideas and systems emerged. By a world-revolution I mean a widespread and thoroughgoing revolution in world-view, the emergence of a new ideology which rejects the results of several centuries of development, organized into the prevailing system, and calls for a new right order in the world. In modern history these world-revolutions are well known — the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century, the liberal revolution of the eighteenth century, the Communist revolution of the twentieth. The investiture controversy constitutes the first of the great world-revolutions of western history, and its course follows the same pattern as the well-known revolutions of modern times.

Each of the world-revolutions has begun with some just complaint about moral wrongs in the prevailing political, social, or religious system. In the case of the investiture controversy the leaders of the revolution, who have been called the Gregorian reformers, complained about the domination of the church by laymen and the involvement of the church in feudal obligations. This system had led to severe abuses, especially that of simony, which came to be defined in its most general sense as the interference of laymen with the right ordering of church offices and sacraments. In their condemnation of simony as heresy, the Gregorians had a perfectly valid complaint.

It has been characteristic of all the world-revolutions, however, that while each has begun by complaining about abuses in the prevailing world order, the ultimate aim of the revolutionary ideologists has been not the reform of the prevailing system, but rather its abolition and replacement by a new order. In the case of the investiture controversy, complete freedom of the church from control by the state, the negation of the sacramental character of kingship, and the domination of the papacy over secular rulers, constituted the ideal new order.

As in the case of all other world-revolutions, the ideology of the Gregorians called forth violent opposition on the part of both vested interests and sincere theoretical defenders of the old order. After many acrimonious disputes and a flood of propaganda literature, bitter and protracted warfare resulted. The polarization of educated society into revolutionary and conservative left a large group of uncommitted moderates, including some of the best minds of the age, who could see right and wrong on both sides.

As in the case of all other world-revolutions, the ideologists of the investiture controversy were only partially successful in creating the new order. They succeeded in destroying the old system, but the new world was not the revolutionary utopia. Rather it was a reconstruction of the political and religious system which took into account both old and new elements and left room for the human limitations of greed and power. The church gained a large measure of freedom from secular control, and there was a noticeable improvement in the moral and intellectual level of the clergy. But the church itself, from the time of the investiture controversy, became more and more interested in secular affairs, and the papacy of the high Middle Ages competed successfully for wealth and power with kings and emperors. The church itself became a great super-state governed by the papal administration.

As in the case of all other world-revolutions, the ideologists during the investiture controversy were themselves united only upon the most immediate and more limited aims of the revolution. As the revolution proceeded, the Gregorians divided into a moderate and a radical wing, each led by eminent cardinals. The radicals were headed by Humbert and Hildebrand, the moderates by Peter Damiani. As in the modern world-revolutions, the radicals were for a short period in control of the Gregorian reform movement, a period which was long enough to destroy the old order. But as the conservatives and moderates of various complexions perceived at last the real aim of the radicals and their reckless disregard for consequences, the radicals lost their leadership and were unable to realize their utopian ideals.

As in the modern world-revolutions, the radicals lost their leadership not to the moderates of their own group, whom they had earlier swept aside, but rather to the politicians, the practical statesmen, who called a halt to revolution and tried to reconstruct from the shattered pieces of the old system and the achievements of the revolution a new and workable synthesis which would again make progress possible. This tendency is already evident during the pontificate of Urban II in the last decade of the eleventh century, and it became dominant in the papacy during the 1120's.

Like all world-revolutions, the investiture controversy never reached a final and complete solution. New ideas in a new generation made former issues less meaningful and the men of the new generation turned to other interests and new problems. Just as Voltaire and Hume could not understand why the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should have fought over abstruse theological principles, so already in the 1130's a canon of York Cathedral could not understand why Anselm and Henry I should have quarrelled over lay investiture two decades before.

The age of the investiture controversy may rightly be regarded as the turning-point in medieval civilization. It was fulfillment of the early Middle Ages because in it the acceptance of the Christian religion by the Germanic peoples reached its final and decisive stage. On the other hand, the greater part of the religious and political system of the high Middle Ages emerged out of the events and ideas of the investiture controversy.



# The Great Significance of the Crusades

*Henri Pirenne*

*In terms of rescuing Jerusalem from Islamic hands, the crusades were at best only temporarily successful. But as part of a European expansion reflecting a new strength in comparison to competing civilizations, the first crusade had great significance. More than most historians, Henri Pirenne has focused on the broad connections between Islam and medieval Europe. In the following selection he stresses the importance of the first crusade and related events of the eleventh century.*

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Consider: *The significance of the first crusade for the balance of power between Christianity and Islam.*

Before the counter-attack of Christianity, Islam thus gave way little by little. The launching of the First Crusade (1096) marked its definite recoil. In 1097 a Genoese fleet sailed towards Antioch, bringing to the Crusaders reinforcements and supplies. Two years later Pisa sent out vessels "under the orders of the Pope" to deliver Jerusalem. From that time on the whole Mediterranean was opened, or rather reopened, to western shipping. As in the Roman era, communications were reestablished from one end to the other of that essentially European sea.

The Empire of Islam, in so far as the sea was concerned, came to an end. To be sure, the political and religious results of the Crusade were ephemeral. The kingdom of Jerusalem and the principalities of Edessa and Antioch were reconquered by the Moslems in the twelfth century. But the sea remained in the hands of the Christians. They were the ones who held undisputed economic mastery over it. All the shipping in the ports of the Levant came gradually under their control. Their commercial establishments multiplied with surprising rapidity in the ports of Syria, Egypt and the isles of the Ionian Sea. The conquest of Corsica (1091), of Sardinia (1022) and of Sicily (1058-1090) took away from the Saracens the bases of operations which, since the ninth century, had enabled them to keep the west in a state of blockade. The ships of Genoa and Pisa kept the sea routes open. They patronized the markets of the east, whither came the products of Asia, both by caravan and by the ships of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and frequented in their turn the great port of Byzantium. The capture of Amalfi by the Normans (1073), in putting an end to the commerce of that city, freed them from her rivalry.

# The Meaning of the Middle Ages: The Crusades Minimized

*Norman F. Cantor*

*Not all historians agree that the crusades were of great significance. In recent years historians have tended to deemphasize their importance. This is exemplified in the following selection by Norman Cantor.*

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*Consider: What, according to Cantor, was most important about the crusades; how this interpretation differs from Pirenne's.*

Historians used to believe that the Crusades reopened the Mediterranean to east-west trade after centuries of isolation and thus made a critical contribution to the economic and intellectual development of Europe. It is true that the Crusades were inspired in part by commercial motives: from the middle of the tenth century, Venetian and Genoese merchants had aspired to take over certain commercial ventures from the Arabs and Byzantines and to acquire new ports in the eastern Mediterranean. The Crusades helped the Italian merchants in both ambitions, but that does not imply that they opened up the Mediterranean—east-west trade had never completely disappeared, and in the ninth and tenth centuries, long before the Crusades, it was growing fast spurred on by the growth of the Italian cities.

It is true that the Christian world absorbed a great deal of Muslim philosophy, medicine, science, and literature in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the Crusades did not contribute to this phenomenon—indeed, they probably inhibited it by stirring up religious fanaticism and hatred of Muslims. The intellectual exchange between Christians and Muslims did not take place among soldiers on a battlefield but in the cosmopolitan centers of southern Europe (especially those in Spain and Sicily) where Christians and Muslims lived side by side.

The tangible, institutional impact of the Crusades on the development of Europe was very slight: the institution of monarchy was affected almost not at all, and even the Church (apart from a slight rise in papal prestige) was not much affected by the Crusades in the twelfth century. Eventually two different kinds of crusading movements developed: external Crusades, directed mainly against Arabs, and internal Crusades against enemies within Christendom. The latter—the crusading ideal turned inward—had enormous impact upon the development of European civilization, but this was not fully realized until the thirteenth century.

The most important legacy of the crusading movement was the sanctification of violence in pursuit of ideological ends. This was not a new concept, but it took on new force when the pope and the flower of Christian chivalry acted it out in holy wars. The underlying concept outlived its religious origin, and eventually it was absorbed in the institution of monarchy. When the European kings grew more powerful, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they secularized the concept of justifiable violence and extended it into the political sphere. The defense of the realm and its head became a moral duty, and the state gradually replaced the Church as a holy cause.

# Attack on the Papacy: The Conciliar Movement

## Unit 1 Section B Supplemental Readings

*From 1378 to 1417 the Catholic Church was divided, with competing popes reigning simultaneously, each claiming authority. In an effort to end this schism, Church councils met at Pisa (1409) and then at Constance (1414-1417). These councils constituted the high point of a developing Conciliar Movement—an effort to place ultimate authority in the hands of a general Church council and diminish the powers of the pope. The council at Pisa worsened the situation by installing a third pope, but at Constance the schism was ended with the election of a single pope, Martin V. He and his successors repudiated the Conciliar Movement over the next few decades. Yet the Conciliar Movement represented a strong current of opinion within the Church and revealed the depth of the problems facing the Church. The following two documents are decrees passed during the Council of Constance at the height of this movement.*

*Consider: The intent of the Decree Sacrosancta; why the council felt it necessary to also pass the Decree Frequens; how the council justified its authority.*

### DECREE SACROSANCTA

In the name of the Holy and indivisible Trinity; of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

This holy synod of Constance, forming a general council for the extirpation of the present schism and the union and reformation, in head and members, of the church of God, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, to the praise of Omnipotent God, in order that it may the more easily, safely, effectively and freely bring about the union and reformation of the church of God, hereby determines, decrees, ordains and declares what follows:—

It first declares that this same council, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council and representing the Catholic Church militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and everyone, whatever his state or position, even if it be the Papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all those things which pertain to the faith and the healing of the said schism, and to the general reformation of the Church of God, in head and members.

It further declares that anyone, whatever his condition, station or rank, even if it be the Papal, who shall contumaciously refuse to obey the mandates, decrees, ordinances or instructions which have been, or shall be issued by this holy council, or by any other general council, legitimately summoned, which concern, or in any way relate to the above mentioned objects, shall, unless he repudiate his conduct, be subjected to condign penance and be suitably punished, having recourse, if necessary, to the other resources of the law.



### DECREE FREQUENS

A frequent celebration of general councils is an especial means for cultivating the field of the Lord and effecting the destruction of briars, thorns, and thistles, to-wit, heresies, errors and schism, and of bringing forth a most abundant harvest. The neglect to summon these, fosters and develops all these evils, as may be plainly seen from a recollection of the past and a consideration of existing conditions. Therefore, by a perpetual edict, we sanction, decree, establish and ordain that general councils shall be celebrated in the following manner, so that the next one shall follow the close of this present council at the end of five years. The second shall follow the close of that, at the end of seven years and councils shall thereafter be celebrated every ten years in such places as the Pope shall be required to designate and assign, with the consent and approbation of the council, one month before the close of the council in question, or which, in his absence, the council itself shall designate. Thus, with a certain continuity, a council will always be either in session, or be expected at the expiration of a definite time.

# The Decameron: The Plague in Florence

## Giovanni Boccaccio

*In the middle of the fourteenth century, a devastating plague swept across Europe. In some cities almost half of the population was lost, and for those who were left alive the effects were long-lasting. One survivor was Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), a well-known humanist of the Italian Renaissance. His best-known work is The Decameron, written between 1348 and 1353 when the plague struck Florence. Boccaccio initiated the work with a description of the plague, an excerpt of which follows.*

*Consider: How people reacted to the plague; the general understanding of the cause of the plague and how it spread.*

In the year then of our Lord 1348, there happened at Florence, the finest city in all Italy, a most terrible plague; which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broken out some years before in the Levant, and after passing from place to place, and making incredible havoc all the way, had now reached the west. There, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, such as keeping the city clear from filth, the exclusion of all suspected persons, and the publication of copious instructions for the preservation of health; and notwithstanding manifold humble supplications offered to God in processions and otherwise; it began to show itself in the spring of the aforesaid year, in a sad and wonderful manner. Unlike what had been seen in the east, where bleeding from the nose is the fatal prognostic, here there appeared certain tumours in the groin or under the armpits, some as big as a small apple, others as an egg; and afterwards purple

SOURCE: Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, in *Stories of Boccaccio*, trans. John Payne (London: Bibliophilist Library, 1903), pp. 1-6.

spots in most parts of the body; in some cases large and but few in number, in others smaller and more numerous — both sorts the usual messengers of death. To the cure of this malady, neither medical knowledge nor the power of drugs was of any effect; whether because the disease was in its own nature mortal, or that the physicians (the number of whom, taking quacks and women pretenders into the account, was grown very great) could form no just idea of the cause, nor consequently devise a true method of cure; whichever was the reason, few escaped; but nearly all died the third day from the first appearance of the symptoms, some sooner, some later, without any fever or accessory symptoms. What gave the more virulence to this plague, was that, by being communicated from the sick to the hale, it spread daily, like fire when it comes in contact with large masses of combustibles. Nor was it caught only by conversing with, or coming near the sick, but even by touching their clothes, or anything that they had before touched. . . .

These facts, and others of the like sort, occasioned various fears and devices amongst those who survived, all tending to the same uncharitable and cruel end; which was, to avoid the sick, and every thing that had been near them, expecting by that means to save themselves. And some holding it best to live temperately, and to avoid excesses of all kinds, made parties, and shut themselves up from the rest of the world; eating and drinking moderately of the best, and diverting themselves with music, and such other entertainments as they might have within doors; never listening to anything from without, to make them uneasy. Others maintained free living to be a better preservative, and would baulk no passion or appetite they wished to gratify, drinking and revelling incessantly from tavern to tavern, or in private houses (which were frequently found deserted by the owners, and therefore common to every one), yet strenuously avoiding, with all this brutal indulgence, to come near the infected. And such, at that time, was the public distress, that the laws, human and divine, were no more regarded; for the officers, to put them in force, being either dead, sick, or in want of persons to assist them, every one did just as he pleased. A third sort of people chose a method between these two: not confining themselves to rules of diet like the former, and yet avoiding the intemperance of the latter; but eating and drinking what their appetites required, they walked everywhere with odours and nosegays to smell to; as holding it best to corroborate the brain: for the whole atmosphere seemed to them tainted with the stench of dead bodies, arising partly from the distemper itself, and partly from the fermenting of the medicines within them. Others with less humanity, but perchance, as they supposed, with more security from danger, decided that the only remedy for the pestilence was to avoid it: persuaded, therefore, of this, and taking care for themselves only, men and women in great numbers left the city, their houses, relations, and effects, and fled into the country; as if the wrath of God had been restrained to visit those only

within the walls of the city; or else concluding, that more ought to stay in a place thus doomed to destruction.

Thus divided as they were in their views, neither did all die, nor all escape; but falling sick indifferently, as well those of one as of another opinion; they who first set the example by forsaking others, now languished themselves without pity. I pass over the little regard that citizens and relations showed to each other; for their terror was such, that a brother even fled from his brother, a wife from her husband, and, what is more uncommon, a parent from his own child. Hence numbers that fell sick could have no help but what the charity of friends, who were very few, or the avarice of servants supplied; and even these were scarce and at extravagant wages, and so little used to the business that they were fit only to reach what was called for, and observe when their employer died; and this desire of getting money often cost them their lives. . . .

Not to dwell upon every particular of our misery, I shall observe, that it fared no better with the adjacent country; for, to omit the different boroughs about us, which presented the same view in miniature with the city, you might see the poor distressed labourers, with their families, without either the aid of physicians, or help of servants, languishing on the highways, in the fields, and in their own houses, and dying rather like cattle than human creatures. The consequence was that, growing dissolute in their manners like the citizens, and careless of everything, as supposing every day to be their last, their thoughts were not so much employed how to improve, as how to use their substance for their present support. The oxen, asses, sheep, goats, swine, and the dogs themselves, ever faithful to their masters, being driven from their own homes, were left to roam at will about the fields, and among the standing corn, which no one cared to gather, or even to reap; and many times, after they had filled themselves in the day, the animals would return of their own accord like rational creatures at night.

What can I say more, if I return to the city? unless that such was the cruelty of Heaven, and perhaps of men, that between March and July following, according to authentic reckonings, upwards of a hundred thousand souls perished in the city only; whereas, before that calamity, it was not supposed to have contained so many inhabitants. What magnificent dwellings, what noble palaces were then depopulated to the last inhabitant! what families became extinct! what riches and vast possessions were left, and no known heir to inherit them! what numbers of both sexes, in the prime and vigour of youth, whom in the morning neither Calen, Hippocrates, nor Aesculapius himself, would have denied to be in perfect health, breakfasted in the morning with their living friends, and supped at night with their departed friends in the other world!

# The Black Death: A Socioeconomic Perspective

Millard Meiss

*Historians have argued that the Black Death, along with other mid-fourteenth-century developments, led to important economic and social changes that characterized the Late Middle Ages. Most concretely, historians point to increasing wages and greater opportunities for social mobility as directly stimulated by the demographic ravages of the plague. In the following selection Millard Meiss makes this interpretation in examining the consequences of the plague in Florence and Siena.*

In the immediate wake of the Black Death we hear of an unparalleled abundance of food and goods, and of a wild, irresponsible life of pleasure. Agnolo di Tura writes that in Siena "everyone tended to enjoy eating and drinking, hunting, hawking, and gaming," and Matteo Villani laments similar behavior in Florence. . . .

This extraordinary condition of plenty did not, of course, last very long. For most people the frenzied search for immediate gratification, characteristic of the survivors of calamities, was likewise short-lived. Throughout the subsequent decades, however, we continue to hear of an exceptional indifference to accepted patterns of behavior and to institutional regulations, especially among the mendicant friars. It seems, as we shall see, that the plague tended to promote an unconventional, irresponsible, or self-indulgent life, on the one hand, and a more intense piety or religious excitement, on the other. Villani tells us, in his very next sentences, of the more lasting consequences of the epidemic:

"Men thought that, through the death of so many people, there would be abundance of all produce of the land; yet, on the contrary, by reason of men's ingratitude, everything came to unwanted scarcity and remained long thus; . . . most commodities were more costly, by twice or more, than before the plague. And the price of labor, and the products of every trade and craft, rose in disorderly fashion beyond the double. Lawsuits and disputes and quarrels and riots arose everywhere among citizens in every land, by reason of legacies and successions; . . . Wars and divers scandals arose throughout the world, contrary to men's expectation."

Conditions were similar in Siena. Prices rose to unprecedented levels. The economy of both Florence and Siena was further disrupted during these years by the defection of almost all the dependent towns within the little empire of each city. These towns seized as an opportunity for revolt the fall of the powerful Florentine oligarchy in 1343, and the Siennese in 1355. The two cities, greatly weakened, and governed by groups that pursued a less aggressive foreign policy, made little attempt to win them back.

The small towns and the countryside around the two cities were not decimated so severely by the epidemic, but the people in these regions felt the consequences of it in another way. Several armies of mercenaries of the sort that all the large states had come to employ in the fourteenth century took advantage of the weakness of the cities. . . .

The ravages of the mercenary companies accelerated a great wave of immigration from the smaller towns and farms into the cities that had been initiated by the Black Death. Most of the newcomers were recruits for the woolen industry, who were attracted by relatively high wages. But the mor-

ality offered exceptional opportunities also for notaries, jurists, physicians, and craftsmen. In both Florence and Siena the laws controlling immigration were relaxed, and special privileges, a rapid grant of citizenship, or exemption from taxes were offered to badly needed artisans or professional men, such as physicians. . . .

In addition to bringing into the city great numbers of people from the surrounding towns and country, the Black Death affected the character of Florentine society in still another way. Through irregular inheritance and other exceptional circumstances, a class of *nouveau riches* arose in the town and also in decimated Siena. Their wealth was accentuated by the impoverishment of many of the older families, such as the Bardi and the Peruzzi, who had lost their fortunes in the financial collapse. In both cities, too, many tradesmen and artisans were enriched to a degree unusual for the *popolo minuto*. Scaramella sees as one of the major conflicts of the time the struggle between the old families and this *genite nuova*. Outeries against both foreigners and the newly rich, never lacking in the two cities, increased in volume and violence. Antagonism to "the aliens and the ignorant" coalesced with antagonism to the new municipal regime; the government, it was said, had been captured by them.

# A Psychological Perspective of the Black Death

William L. Langer

*Huizinga was one of the few and earliest historians to view the Black Death from a psychological perspective. But his analysis came in a period in which psychology was still in its infancy. Since then, considerable work has been done by psychologists, and in recent decades historians have been challenged to apply psychological insights to history. In 1957 William L. Langer, then president of the American Historical Association, issued such a challenge to historians in his presidential address to the annual convention. In the following selection from that address, Langer suggests how modern psychology might be used to interpret the Black Death and related developments.*

*Consider: The similarities and differences between this interpretation and Huizinga's; how a psychologist might explain various behaviors related to the Black Death; how The Triumph of Death fits with this interpretation.*

The Black Death was worse than anything experienced prior to that time and was, in all probability, the greatest single disaster that has ever befallen European mankind. In most localities a third or even a half of the population was lost within the space of a few months, and it is important to remember that the great visitation of 1348-1349 was only the beginning of a period of pandemic disease with a continuing frightful drain of population. . . .

At news of the approach of the disease a haunting terror seizes the population, in the Middle Ages leading on the one hand to great upsurges of repentance in the form of flagellant processions and on the other to a mad search for scapegoats, eventuating in large-scale pogroms of the Jews. The most striking feature of such visitations has always been the precipitate flight from the cities, in which not only the wealthier classes but also town officials, professors and teachers, clergy, and even physicians took part. The majority of the population, taking the disaster as an expression of God's wrath, devoted itself to penitential exercises, to merciful occupations, and to such good works as the repair of churches and the founding of religious houses. On the other hand, the horror and confusion in many places brought general demoralization and social breakdown. Criminal elements were quick to take over, looting the deserted houses and even murdering the sick in order to rob them of their jewels. Many, despairing of the goodness and mercy of God, gave themselves over to riotous living, resolved, as Thucydides says, "to get out of life the pleasures which could be had speedily and which would satisfy their lusts, regarding their bodies and their wealth alike as transitory." Drunkenness and sexual immorality were the order of the day. "In one house," reported an observer of the London plague of 1665, "you might hear them roaring under the pangs of death, in the next tiptling, whoring and belching out blasphemies against God." . . .

The age was marked, as all admit, by a mood of misery, depression, and anxiety, and by a general sense of impending doom. Numerous writers in widely varying fields have commented on the morbid preoccupation with death, the macabre interest in tombs, the gruesome predilection for the human corpse. Among painters the favorite themes were Christ's passion, the terrors of the Last Judgment, and the tortures of Hell, all depicted with ruthless realism and with an almost loving devotion to each repulsive detail. Altogether characteristic was the immense popularity of the Dance of Death woodcuts and murals, with appropriate verses, which appeared soon after the Black Death and which, it is agreed, expressed the sense of the immediacy of death and the dread of dying unshriven. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these pitilessly naturalistic pictures ensured man's constant realization of his imminent fate.

The origins of the Dance of Death theme have been generally traced to the Black Death and subsequent epidemics, culminating in the terror brought on by the outbreak of syphilis at the end of the fifteenth century. Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose that many of the other phenomena I have mentioned might be explained, at least in part, in the same way? We all recognize the late Middle Ages as a period of popular religious excitement or overexcitement, of pilgrimages and penitential processions, of mass preaching, of veneration of relics and adoration of saints, of lay piety and popular mysticism. It was apparently also a period of unusual immorality and shockingly loose living, which we must take as the continuation of the "devil-may-care" attitude of one part of the population. This the psychologists explain as the repression of unbearable feelings by accentuating the value of a diametrically opposed set of feelings and then behaving as though the latter were the real feelings. But the most striking feature of the age was an exceptionally strong sense of guilt and a truly dreadful fear of retribution, seeking expression in a passionate longing for effective intercession and in a craving for direct, personal experience of the Deity, as well as in a corresponding dissatisfaction with the Church and with the mechanization of the means of salvation as reflected, for example, in the traffic in indulgences.

These attitudes, along with the great interest in astrology, the increased resort to magic, and the startling spread of witchcraft and Satanism in the fifteenth century were, according to the precepts of modern psychology, normal reactions to the sufferings to which mankind in that period was subjected.

# The Prince

## Machiavelli

*The Italian Renaissance developed in an environment in which politics took on an increasingly competitive, secular tone. Within each Italian state, parties fought for power while at the same time the states fought each other for dominance or advantage. After 1492, Italy was invaded numerous times by Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire. These developments are reflected in the life and work of the great Renaissance political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527).*

*Born in Florence when it was under the rule of the Medicis, Machiavelli initiated his career in the Florentine civil service in 1498 during the period when the Medicis were out of power, replaced by a republican government. He rose to important diplomatic posts within the government, but was forced into retirement when the Medici family came back to power in 1512. He never gave up hope of returning to favor, and he wrote his most famous work, *The Prince* (1513), in part as an application to the Medici rulers for a job in the Florentine government. The book has since become a classic treatise in political theory, above all for the way that it divorces politics from theology and metaphysics. The following selections from *The Prince* illustrate its style and some of its main themes.*

Consider: *The ways in which this work reflects values or practices typical of the Renaissance; how these same principles might be applied to twentieth-century politics.*

It now remains to be seen what are the methods and rules for a prince as regards his subjects and friends. And as I know that many have written of this, I fear that my writing about it may be deemed presumptuous, differing as I do, especially in this matter, from the opinions of others. But my intention being to write something of use to those who understand, it appears to me more proper to go to the real truth of the matter than to its imagination; and many have imagined republics and principalities which have never been seen or known to exist in reality; for how we live is so far removed from how we ought to live, that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done, will rather learn to bring about his own ruin than his preservation. A man who wishes to make a profession of goodness in everything must necessarily come to grief among so many who are not good. Therefore it is necessary for a prince, who wishes to maintain himself, to learn how not to be good, and to use this knowledge and not use it, according to the necessity of the case. . . .

It is not, therefore, necessary for a prince to have all the above-named qualities, but it is very necessary to seem to have them. I would even be bold to say that to possess them and always to observe them is dangerous, but to appear to possess them is useful. Thus it is well to seem merciful, faithful, humane, sincere, religious, and also to be so; but you must have the mind so disposed that when it is needful to be otherwise you may be able to change to the opposite qualities. And it must be understood that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot observe all those things which are considered good in men, being often obliged, in order to maintain the state, to act against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion. And, therefore, he must have a mind disposed to adapt itself according to the wind, and as the variations of fortune dictate, and, as I said before, not deviate from what is good, if possible, but be able to do evil if constrained.

A prince must take great care that nothing goes out of his mouth which is not full of the above-named five qualities, and, to see and hear him, he should seem to be all mercy, faith, integrity, humanity, and religion. And nothing is more necessary than to seem to have this last quality, for men in general judge more by the eyes than by the hands, for every one can see, but very few have to feel. Everybody sees what you appear to be, few feel what you are, and those few will not dare to oppose themselves to the many, who have the majesty of the state to defend them; and in the actions of men, and especially of princes, from which there is no appeal, the end justifies the means. Let a prince therefore aim at conquering and maintaining the state, and the means will always be judged honourable and praised by every one, for the vulgar is always taken by appearances and the issue of the event; and the world consists only of the vulgar, and the few who are not vulgar are isolated when the many have a rallying point in the prince.

Unit 1  
Section C  
Supplemental  
Readings



# The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy

Jacob Burckhardt

Modern interpretations of the Renaissance almost uniformly start with the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, first published in (1860) Burckhardt rejected a chronological approach and pictured the Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a whole, strikingly distinct from the preceding Middle Ages and clearly a superior civilization. Until the 1920s, historians almost unanimously accepted his interpretation. After that time various aspects of his thesis were attacked, particularly by medievalists. In recent decades, however, Burckhardt's work has gained new respectability, at least as an idealized cultural history of the Italian Renaissance. In any case, all historians who approach this topic must deal with Burckhardt's argument, some of the central points of which appear in the following excerpt.

just idea

Consider: What most distinguishes the Italian Renaissance from the preceding Middle Ages according to Burckhardt; any support the primary documents might provide for this argument; how a proud medievalist might respond to this argument.

In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness—that which was turned within as that which was turned without—lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation—only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an objective treatment and consideration of the state and of all the things of this world became possible. The subjective side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a spiritual (individual) and recognised himself as such. In the same way the Greek had once distinguished himself from the barbarian, and the Arabian had felt himself an individual at a time when other Asiatics knew themselves only as members of a race. . . .

what prevented man from seeing outward and inward?

veil is lifted in Italy

In far earlier times we can here and there detect a development of free personality which in Northern Europe either did not occur at all, or could not display itself in the same manner. . . . But at the close of the thirteenth century Italy began to swarm with individuality; the charm laid upon human personality was dissolved; and a thousand figures meet us each in its own special shape and dress. Dante's great poem would have been impossible in any other country of Europe, if only for the reason that they all still lay under the spell of race. For Italy the august poet, through the wealth of individuality which he set forth, was the most national herald of his time. But this unfolding of the treasures of human nature in literature and art—this many-sided representation and criticism—will be discussed in separate chapters; here we have to deal only with the psychological fact itself. This fact appears in the most decisive and unmistakable form. The Italians of the fourteenth century knew little of false modesty or of hypocrisy in any shape; not one of them was afraid of singularity, of being and seeming unlike his neighbours.

# Renaissance or Prenaissance?

Lynn Thorndike

*One of the historians who attacked Burckhardt's interpretation and the legacy built up around it was Lynn Thorndike. In the early 1940s he wrote a now-famous article examining the historiography on the Renaissance and arguing that the concept of the Renaissance was not useful. He summarizes this argument in the following excerpts from that article.*

*Consider: Thorndike's explanation for why Burckhardt's interpretation is not only wrong but actually harmful; the advantages and disadvantages of this sort of criticism.*

Michelet called the Renaissance "the discovery of the world and of man," and was followed in this lead by the very influential book of Burckhardt, in which, on what seem too often to be dogmatic or imaginary grounds without sufficient presentation of facts as evidence, the Renaissance was no longer regarded as primarily a rebirth of classical learning and culture but rather as a pre-birth or precursor of present society and of modern civilization — "a period," to quote the *Boston Transcript* (February 27, 1926) concerning Elizabethan England, "that witnessed the birth pangs of most that is worth while in modern civilization and government."

This made a well-calculated appeal to the average reader who is little interested to be told that Erasmus was a great Greek scholar or that Leonardo da Vinci copied from Albert of Saxony, but whose ego is titillated to be told that Leonardo was an individual like himself or that Erasmus's chief claim to fame is that he was the first modern man — the first one like you and me. All this was quite soothing and flattering and did much to compensate for one's inability to read Horace or to quote Euripides. It even had its appeal for professors of modern European history and for teachers of the modern languages. It appears to be the concept of the Renaissance which such recent advocates thereof or apologists therefor as Wallace K. Ferguson and Hans Baron are concerned to defend, retreating to new standing ground of plausible hypothesis and ingenious conjecture, when some of Burckhardt's old bulwarks are proved to be untenable by new masses of facts concerning either or both the middle ages and the quattrocento. But would it not make things clearer, if they ceased to employ the old name, since the old concept has been abandoned, and, instead of talking of the Renaissance, spoke of the period or movement or whatever it is they have in mind as the Prenaissance?

The concept of the Italian Renaissance or Prenaissance has in my opinion done a great deal of harm in the past and may continue to do harm in the future. It is too suggestive of a sensational, miraculous, extraordinary, magical, human and intellectual development, like unto the phoenix rising from its ashes after five hundred years. It is contrary to the fact that human nature tends to remain much the same in all times. It has led to a chorus of rhapsodists as to freedom, breadth, soaring ideas, horizons, perspectives, out of fetters and swaddling clothes, and so on. It long discouraged the study of centuries of human development that preceded it, and blinded the French philosophes and revolutionists to the value of medieval political and economic institutions. It has kept men in general from recognizing that our life and thought is based more nearly and actually on the middle ages than on distant Greece and Rome, from whom our heritage is more indirect, bookish and sentimental, less institutional, social, religious, even less economic and experimental.

But what is the use of questioning the Renaissance? No one has even proved its existence; no one has really tried to. So often as one phase of it or conception of it is disproved, or is shown to be equally characteristic of the preceding period, its defenders take up a new position and are just as happy, just as enthusiastic, just as complacent as ever.

You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,  
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

Still lingers the sweet perfume of the Renaissance; still hovers about us the blithe spirit of the Prenaissance.

## Culture and Society in Renaissance Florence

August Krey

The most important center for art during the Italian Renaissance was Florence. Part of the reason (why art flourished in Florence) may lie in the Florentines' attitudes toward art and artists. In the following selection August Krey presents this reasoning, emphasizing the distinction between our view of artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Cellini and the view more typical of Renaissance Italy.

Consider (How this interpretation connects the history of art during the Renaissance to broader historical trends of the period;) how well this view fits with Burckhardt's interpretation of the Italian Renaissance.

In view of all the evidence, whether derived from the history of Florence before 1300, from the study of its artists after 1300, or from the attitude of its people throughout the period, it must be concluded that in Florence during the time of its highest artistic production art was never an activity apart from the affairs of ordinary life. Instead it permeated and transfused every ordinary occupation. The art of Florence was the work of craftsmen who were supreme in their crafts, crafts that had been developing in Florence for centuries before 1300. The object of the craftsmen was commercial; they wanted to sell the products of their skill. Every one of the Florentines who became famous as an artist after 1300, including Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, Cellini and Vasari at the very end of the period, had been trained as a craftsman prepared to make small articles for sale just as their predecessors had been trained before 1300. Furthermore, each of them continued to be a craftsman to the end of his days, and most of them, despite one or two interesting exceptions, were also good business men. They were a part of the fabric of life in Florence and reflected the same spirit that characterized the city itself, a spirit that made little or no distinction between art and utility but sought, as it were, to unify both aspects of reality. Later ages, it is true, have chosen to classify and single out some of the best of Florentine achievement as great art, but Florentine artists themselves strove only to do all work, however humble, exceptionally well. Possibly it was precisely because the Florentines were not conscious of any conflict between art and utility, between specialization and versatility, that they wrought even better than they knew. At all events the evidence seems clear that, up to 1550, Florentine attention was concentrated upon the perfect rendering of the specific task in hand, not upon art as a mysterious vision removed from mundane affairs. During the two centuries before 1300 as well as during the two that followed, the Florentines seem to have maintained this point of view. They saw no reason, apparently, why a pictorial artist, for example, should not do house painting, or, conversely, why a house painter should not seek to do a thoroughly artistic job. We must conclude that the Florentines had little interest in art as an abstract quality removed from experience but that their daily lives were ordered by a consistent impulse toward beauty in every manifest form. In Florence, at the height of the city's greatness, artist and skilled worker were not separate and somewhat antagonistic members of an indifferent community, but were one and the same person supported by the warm enthusiasm of a sympathetic group.

art part of ordinary life in Florence

artists as craftsmen wanting to sell their products

even artists had the materialistic spirit

no conflict between art and utility

combines art and utility

# Machiavelli and the Renaissance

Federico Chabod

Reactions to and appreciations of Machiavelli's thought in *The Prince* form an apparently contradictory history in itself. On the one hand, few thinkers in the history of political theory rank more highly than Machiavelli; he is recognized as being (the first modern political theorist). On the other hand, there is a more popular tradition of rejecting his ideas as immoral; the term Machiavellian is pejorative, referring to political opportunism and ruthlessness. In the following selection Federico Chabod, an Italian historian who has written extensively on Machiavelli, analyzes Machiavelli and the significance of his ideas.

Consider: (Why Machiavelli's ideas are so appropriate to the historical realities of his time) how the selections from *The Prince* support this interpretation of Machiavelli; whether Elton's picture of Charles V fits Machiavelli's image of the prince.

The leitmotiv of Machiavelli's posthumous life was his great assertion as a thinker, representing his true and essential contribution to the history of human thought, namely, the clear recognition of the autonomy and the necessity of politics, 'which lies outside the realm of what is morally good or evil'. Machiavelli thereby rejected the mediaeval concept of 'unity' and became one of the pioneers of the modern spirit. . . .

For Machiavelli accepted the political challenge in its entirety; he swept aside every criterion of action not suggested by the concept of *raison d'état*, i.e., by the exact evaluation of the historical moment and the constructive forces which the Prince must employ in order to achieve his aim; and he held that the activities of rulers were limited only by their capacity and energy. Hence, he paved the way for absolute governments, which theoretically were completely untrammelled, both in their home and in their foreign policies.

If this was made possible by the Florentine Secretary's recognition of the autonomy of politics, it depended, conversely, on his own peculiar conception of the State, which he identified with the government, or rather with its personal Head. Accordingly, in *The Prince* all his attention was riveted on the human figure of the man who held the reins of government and so epitomized in his person the whole of public life. Such a conception, determined directly by the historical experience which Machiavelli possessed in such outstanding measure and presupposing a sustained effort on the part of the central government, was essential to the success and pre-eminence of his doctrine.

✓ This was a turning-point in the history of the Christian world. The minds of political theorists were no longer trammelled by Catholic dogma. The structure of the State was not yet threatened in other directions by any revolt of the individual conscience. An entire moral world, if it was not eclipsed, had at any rate receded into the shadows, nor was any other at once forthcoming to take its place and to inspire a new fervour of religious belief; hence, political thought could express itself without being confused by considerations of a different character. It was an era in which unitarian States were being created amid the ruins of the social and political order of the Middle Ages, an era in which it was necessary to place all the weapons of resistance in the hands of those who had still to combat the forces of feudalism and particularism. It was, in short, an era in which it was essential that the freedom and grandeur of political action and the strength and authority of central government should be clearly affirmed. Only thus was it possible to obliterate once and for all the traces of the past and to offer to the society of the future, in the guise of a precept, the weapons which would preserve the life of the united nation in face of disruptive elements old and new.

This was the great achievement of Niccolò Machiavelli, who accordingly became the legitimate representative of politics and government, the man who was at once admired and hated, followed and opposed, throughout two centuries of European history; and it was on him that the eyes of men were to be fixed, because only he, a poor, weary citizen of a city divided against itself, had proclaimed with an eloquence that was now muted the nature of the arms which the sovereign authority must employ in order to achieve victory.

Unit 1  
Section D  
Supplemental  
Readings

## The Renaissance: Christian Humanism

Wallace K. Ferguson

*Most modern scholars argue that there were some differences between the Italian and the Northern European Renaissance. Perhaps most obviously, the Northern Renaissance came later. More important, while heavily influenced by Italian humanism, humanism in Northern Europe was more tied to Christian culture and concerns. Thus historians commonly refer to this humanism as Christian humanism. In the following selection Wallace K. Ferguson, a recognized authority on the Renaissance, expresses the view that Christian humanism was the most significant and distinct characteristic of the Northern Renaissance.*

Consider: *Connections between medieval scholasticism and Christian humanism; the results of Christian humanism in Northern Europe; differences between Italian and Northern humanism.*

Brought across the Alps by wandering scholars in the second half of the fifteenth century, humanism developed rapidly in the North. It reached full maturity in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, but thereafter fell into decline. During those decades it flourished most vigorously in the cultivated burgher circles where it had first taken root, but it also gained recognition in the royal courts and forced its way, despite more or less bitter opposition, into the arts faculties of the universities. In its development northern humanism followed two distinct lines, secular and religious. Yet the lines ran closely parallel, and few of the humanists felt any conflict between their interest in the worldly aspects of classical culture and their Christian piety. The literary pseudo-paganism, which had formed a sort of minority left deviation in Italian humanism, was very little in evidence in the North, while the religious spirit of the northern humanists was more deeply rooted and more actively productive than that of the Italians.

The northern humanists made their most distinctive contribution, however, in the fields hitherto monopolized by the scholastically trained clergy. The "Christian humanists," as they have frequently been called, carried a fresh, layman's attitude into the closed and rather stuffy atmosphere of theological study and religious thought. Not all of them were laymen, it is true, but they represented the characteristic point of view of educated lay society, in opposition to clerical scholasticism. In their attitude, the evangelical, subjective piety of the mystics and the burghers' discontent with the formal religion of the contemporary church were combined with the classicists'

dislike for scholastic logic and medieval Latin and the layman's interest in ethics and morals rather than formal theology. They found additional inspiration in the reconciliation of Greek and Christian philosophy, worked out by the Florentine Platonists, and in Valla's critical study of the New Testament, but, in the main, their program for the reform of religious thought and education was their own.

Reacting against the decadent scholasticism, which to them represented medieval theology, the humanists looked back across the Middle Ages to Christian antiquity, and sought in the Bible and the works of the early Fathers the pure sources of Christian doctrine. These they studied as they had been trained to study classical texts, in their original tongue and from the most authentic manuscripts, using all the equipment of philological and historical criticism that generations of classical scholarship had placed at their disposal. Their insistence that Greek and Hebrew were indispensable for the study of theology offended the theologians who lacked the knowledge of either, while their discovery of numerous errors in the accepted Latin text of the Vulgate aroused the conservatives to inarticulate fury. Moreover, the humanists ignored the allegorical interpretations on which so much of scholastic dogma was founded; they strove merely to understand the literal meaning of the sacred texts and thereby to arrive at the intention of the apostolic writers. The positive result of this revolutionary method was a simple evangelical piety, which laid greater stress on the moral and ethical spirit of primitive Christianity than on dogma or ceremonial practise. Without wishing to break with the universal church, the Christian humanists evolved a program for reforming it through enlightened education, using their concept of the "philosophy of Christ" as a touchstone to distinguish between what was fundamental to Christian teaching and the irrelevant accretions that had grown up about the medieval church.

# Justification by Faith

Martin Luther

The early leader of the Reformation was Martin Luther (1483-1546). Born in Germany to a wealthy peasant family, Luther became an Augustinian monk and a professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. While at this post in 1517, he became involved in the indulgence problem with Tetzel and issued rather academic challenges in his ninety-five theses. News of this act quickly spread, and a major controversy developed. Although originally intending to stimulate only modest reforms within the Catholic Church, Luther soon found himself espousing doctrines markedly differing from those authorized by the Church and taking actions that eventually resulted in his expulsion from the Church. *Memorandum*

Luther himself attributed his spiritual evolution to certain crucial experiences. The most important of these was his first formulation of the doctrine of "justification by faith," which constituted the core of his beliefs and much of the basis for Protestantism. In the following excerpts from his autobiographical writings, Luther describes this experience.

Consider: What Luther meant by "justification by faith"; why this doctrine might have been so appealing to many Catholics; why this doctrine might have been threatening to the Catholic Church.

I greatly longed to understand Paul's Epistle to the Romans and nothing stood in the way but that one expression, ("the justice of God,") because I took it to mean that justice whereby God is just and deals justly in punishing the unjust. My situation was that, although an impeccable monk, I stood before God as a sinner troubled in conscience, and I had no confidence that my merit would assuage him. Therefore I did not love a just and angry God, but rather hated and murmured against Him. Yet I clung to the dear Paul and had a great yearning to know what he meant.

Night and day I pondered until I saw the connection between the justice of God and the statement that "the just shall live by his faith." Then I grasped that the justice of God is that righteousness by which through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith. Thereupon I felt myself to be reborn and to have gone through open doors into paradise. The whole of Scripture took on a new meaning, and whereas before the "justice of God" had filled me with hate, now it became to be inexpressibly sweet in greater love. This passage of Paul became to me a gate to heaven. . . .

If you have a true faith that Christ is your Saviour, then at once you have a gracious God, for faith leads you in and opens up God's heart and will, that you should see pure grace and overflowing love. This it is to behold God in faith that you should look upon His fatherly, friendly heart, in which there is no anger nor ungraciousness. He who sees God as angry does not see Him rightly but looks only on a curtain, as if a dark cloud had been drawn across his face.

Unit 1

Section F

Supplemental  
Readings

# On the Bondage of the Will

Martin Luther

A central distinction between Luther's views and those of Catholicism concerned the power of free will and good works to effect salvation. According to Catholicism, people had the ability to contribute to their own salvation by choosing to engage in good deeds, pious acts, approved behavior, and so forth. Luther rejected this, arguing that people were powerless to effect their own salvation, that salvation was granted only by God out of his mercy. The following is an excerpt from Luther's On the Bondage of the Will, written in 1520 in response to a defense of free will and good works by the famous Christian humanist Erasmus.

Consider: How Luther's arguments here follow from his ideas about justification by faith; the characteristics of God in Luther's eyes.

I frankly confess that, for myself, even if it could be, I should not want 'free-will' to be given me, nor anything to be left in my own hands to enable me to endeavour after salvation; not merely because in face of so many dangers, and adversities, and assaults of devils, I could not stand my ground and hold fast my 'free-will' (for one devil is stronger than all men, and on these terms

*Luther doesn't even want free will why not?*

no man could be saved); but because, even were there no dangers, adversities, or devils, I should still be forced to labour with no guarantee of success, and to beat my fists at the air. If I lived and worked to all eternity, my conscience would never reach comfortable certainty as to how much it must do to satisfy God. Whatever work I had done, there would still be a nagging doubt as to whether it pleased God, or whether He required something more. The experience of all who seek righteousness by works proves that; and I learned it well enough myself over a period of many years, to my own great hurt. (But now that God has taken my salvation out of the control of my own will, and put it under the control of His, and promised to save me, not according to my working or running, but according to His own grace and mercy, I have the comfortable certainty that He is faithful and will not lie to me, and that He is also great and powerful, so that no devils or opposition can break Him or pluck me from Him.) 'No one,' He says, 'shall pluck them out of my hand, because my Father which gave them me is greater than all' (John 10.28-29). Thus it is that, if not all, yet some, indeed many, are saved; whereas, by the power of 'free-will' none at all could be saved, but every one of us would perish.

*never would know how much work was necessary*

*Key*

Furthermore, I have the comfortable certainty that I please God, not by reason of the merit of my works, but by reason of His merciful favour promised to me; so that, if I work too little, or badly, He does not impute it to me, but with fatherly compassion pardons me and makes me better. This is the glorying of all the saints in their God.

# Institutes of the Christian Religion: Predestination

John Calvin

Lutheranism was the dominant movement of the first decades of the Reformation. But by mid-century it had lost much of its dynamism and remained confined primarily to major portions of Germany and Scandinavia. Leadership of the expanding Protestant movement in other parts of Europe fell to John Calvin (1509-1564). Born in France and trained as a lawyer and Classical scholar in French universities, Calvin had an important religious experience and adopted many of Luther's doctrines. Because of his views, he fled France for Geneva in the 1530s, eventually establishing a theocratic government there in the 1540s. While agreeing with most of the doctrines of Lutheranism, Calvin stressed the notion of predestination. This is illustrated in the following excerpt from the Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536), Calvin's rigorously logical masterpiece, which systematically establishes and explains the Calvinist Christian theology. Here, he stresses the importance of justification by faith and calling—striving to live a good life doing that which one has been called upon by God to do—as evidence that one has already been elected by God for salvation.

Consider: How Calvinism avoids the danger of passivity and resignation that might be implied in this conception of predestination; how these views compare with Luther's views on free will and good works; why this doctrine would be threatening to Catholicism.

The covenant of life is not preached equally to all, and among those to whom it is preached, does not always meet with the same reception. This diversity displays the unsearchable depth of the divine judgment, and is without doubt subordinate to God's purpose of eternal election. But if it is plainly owing to the mere pleasure of God that salvation is spontaneously offered to some, while others have no access to it, great and difficult questions immediately arise, questions which are inexplicable, when just views are not entertained concerning election and predestination. . . .

By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which he determined with himself whatever he wished to happen with regard to every man. All are not created on equal terms, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation; and, accordingly, as each has been created for one or other of these ends, we say that he has been predestinated to life or to death. . . .

We say, then, that Scripture clearly proves this much, that God by his eternal and immutable counsel determined once for all those whom it was his pleasure one day to admit to salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, it was his pleasure to doom to destruction. We maintain that this counsel, as regards the elect, is founded on his free mercy, without any respect to human worth, while those whom he dooms to destruction are excluded from access to life by a just and blameless, but at the same time incomprehensible judgment. In regard to the elect, we regard calling as the evidence of election, and justification as another symbol of its manifestation, until it is fully accomplished by the attainment of glory. But as the Lord seals his elect by calling and justification, so by excluding the reprobate either from the knowledge of his name or the sanctification of his Spirit, he by these marks in a manner discloses the judgment which awaits them. I will here omit many of the fictions which foolish men have devised to overthrow predestination. There is no need of refuting objections which the moment they are produced abundantly betray their hollowness. I will dwell only on those points which either form the subject of dispute among the learned, or may occasion any difficulty to the simple, or may be employed by impiety as specious pretexts for assailing the justice of God.

God decided who gets salvation and who does not



# Men and Ideas in the Sixteenth Century: Patterns in the Reformation

Hans J. Hillerbrand

Since the Reformation's occurrence in the sixteenth century, scholars have sought to explain it. (Why did it occur?) Why did some people convert to Protestantism while others did not? Answers to these questions have been colored by religious preference as well as by interpretive biases. Careful historical and social analyses indicate that there are inherent difficulties in coming up with a clear answer. This is the thrust of the following selection by Hans J. Hillerbrand of the City University of New York.

Consider: The commonalities Hillerbrand finds among those who embraced Protestantism; how this interpretation might be used to criticize other explanations for the Reformation.

Peace of Augsburg

Thus, the fact that a certain territory became Protestant meant nothing more, on the face of things, than a decree of the political authorities that the Protestant religion was thenceforth to be the official one. Naturally, such official introductions themselves said nothing about the sentiment of the people, but were acts of state with varying degrees of popular support.

That people in large numbers did embrace the Protestant faith can be safely asserted; this fact constituted the prime reason for the persistent impact and success of the Reformation. Naturally, we would like to know the reason for their action and those among us fascinated by the insights and methodology of the social sciences will inquire about possible patterns of this change of religious allegiance. If such a pattern of ecclesiastical change does exist, it is difficult to discern. Only one comment may be made safely: people became Protestant (at least outwardly) whenever their ruler commanded them to do so. Otherwise, the situation is rather confusing: some of the clergy turned Protestant and others remained Catholic. Some of the nobility turned Protestant, others remained Catholic. Some artisans decided one way, some the other. In Germany the peasants rallied around Luther, while in England and Sweden they rose up in arms on behalf of Catholicism. It would be fascinating if all humanists, all academicians, all the educated (or all the uneducated), all the rich (or all the poor), all those in authority (or all those desiring authority) had become Protestant. But there is not such neat evidence, at least not so far as the general picture is concerned. What can be said is that the Protestants were generally the younger generation, outside the intellectual and ecclesiastical establishment. While this is admittedly a modest observation, it is the only one that may be made legitimately — except for the more obvious one that those concerned about religion were the most likely candidates for conversion to the new faith.

Why did people accept Prot.?

# The Continental Reformation: A Religious Interpretation

John M. Headley

*The oldest, most traditional interpretation of the causes of the Reformation is a religious one, focusing on the doctrinal and spiritual factors involved. While many of the older religious interpretations have been modified to take account of economic, social, and political factors, many historians still stress religious causes as being most fundamental in the Reformation. This is reflected in the following selection by John M. Headley of the University of North Carolina.*

Consider: The ways in which Lutheranism satisfied "men thirsting for God in a society saturated with religion"; connections that can be made between the Reformation and the Renaissance; how Hillerbrand might reply to this interpretation.

The Reformation grew out of the depths of a church that sacramentally and legally embraced all of society. If the progress of this movement was shaped by the social-political currents of the age, its point of origin is to be found in a question of authority raised by a troubled conscience and not in particular abuses. The late medieval church, through a process of excessive institutionalization, had sacrificed spirit to structure and had come to confuse authority with its own practices and judgments. Confusion over the actual tradition of the church was aggravated in the schools by the rending of scripture into a collection of arguments and propositions for philosophical inquiry. In each process scripture, the ultimate source of knowledge of the faith, had lost its unity and integrity. A jumble of competing images cluttered people's minds, as well as the naves of churches. Luther's insight had the effect of restoring to the center of Christian experience not simply the unity and authority of scripture but also the overriding fact of Christ as personal Savior. At Augsburg, Leipzig, and Worms, he exalted scripture above all other authorities, patristic, canonistic, and papal, defying a church grown overly confident in the exercise of its massive power.

Confusion  
in the  
medieval  
church

✓ To a religiously-starved generation Christ now appeared neither as a pious memory nor as a symbol in the mass but in the full and present reality of His person, communicated to the believer preeminently through the Bible—freshly and pungently translated and widely disseminated by the printing press. The direct encounter between Christ and the Christian who takes on the person of Christ was no longer a subject-object relationship, but one between persons in which Christ is always the same, a continuing reality. Here Luther and the Reformation struck a modern note and capitalized upon a strain in the experience of the Renaissance. What Catholic historians call "subjectivism," the profoundly spiritual event of personal appropriation, first emerged in the humanism of Petrarch, was shifted by Lorenzo Valla from classical texts to those of the early church, refocused by Erasmus on the example of Christ, and altered again by Luther to pertain to the gift of Christ. An essentially doctrinal reform, Christocentric and theocentric in character, it had an immense and immediate impact upon men thirsting for God in a society saturated with religion.

# A Political Interpretation of the Reformation

G. R. Elton

*In more recent times the religious interpretation of the Reformation has been challenged by political historians. This view is illustrated by the following selection from the highly authoritative New Cambridge Modern History. Here, G. R. Elton of Cambridge argues that while spiritual and other factors are relevant, primary importance for explaining why the Reformation did or did not take hold rests with political history.* ✓

Consider: How Elton supports his argument; the ways in which Hillerbrand and Headley might refute this interpretation.

The desire for spiritual nourishment was great in many parts of Europe, and movements of thought which gave intellectual content to what in so many ways was an inchoate search for God have their own dignity. Neither of these, however, comes first in explaining why the Reformation took root here and vanished there — why, in fact, this complex of anti-papal 'heresies' led to a permanent division within the Church that had looked to Rome. This particular place is occupied by politics and the play of secular ambitions. In short, the Reformation maintained itself wherever the lay power (prince or magistrates) favoured it; it could not survive where the authorities decided to suppress it. Scandinavia, the German principalities, Geneva, in its own peculiar way also England, demonstrate the first; Spain, Italy, the Habsburg lands in the east, and also (though not as yet conclusively) France, the second. The famous phrase behind the settlement of 1555 — *cuius regio eius religio* — was a practical commonplace long before anyone put it into words. For this was the age of uniformity, an age which held at all times and everywhere that one political unit could not comprehend within itself two forms of belief or worship. ✓

The tenet rested on simple fact: as long as membership of a secular polity involved membership of an ecclesiastical organisation, religious dissent stood equal to political disaffection and even treason. Hence governments enforced uniformity, and hence the religion of the ruler was that of his country. England provided the extreme example of this doctrine in action, with its rapid official switches from Henrician Catholicism without the pope, through Edwardian Protestantism on the Swiss model and Marian papalism, to Elizabethan Protestantism of a more specifically English brand. But other countries fared similarly. Nor need this cause distress or annoyed disbelief. Princes and governments, no more than the governed, do not act from unmixed motives, and to ignore the spiritual factor in the conversion of at least some princes is as false as to see nothing but purity in the desires of the populace. The Reformation was successful beyond the dreams of earlier, potentially similar, movements not so much because (as the phrase goes) the time was ripe for it, but rather because it found favour with the secular arm. Desire for Church lands, resistance to imperial and papal claims, the ambition to create self-contained and independent states, all played their part in this, but so quite often did a genuine attachment to the teachings of the reformers.

# The Catholic Reformation

John C. Olin

The history of the Catholic Church during the sixteenth century is almost as controversial as the history of the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, variations on the terminology used, from "Catholic reform," "Catholic Reformation," and "Catholic revival" to "Counter Reformation" reflect important differences in historians' interpretations of that history. The hub of the controversy is the extent to which reform and revival in the Catholic Church was a reaction to the Protestant Reformation or a product of forces independent of the Protestant Reformation. In the following selection, John C. Olin, a historian specializing in Reformation studies, addresses this issue and analyzes the nature of Catholic reform during the sixteenth century.

Consider, for Olin, the problems in labeling Catholic reform the Counter Reformation; what was the inner unity and coherence of the Catholic reform movement.

Catholic reform in all its manifestations, potential and actual, was profoundly influenced by the crisis and subsequent schism that developed after 1517. It did not suddenly arise then, but it was given new urgency, as well as a new setting and a new dimension, by the problems that Protestantism posed. What had been, and probably would have remained, a matter of renewal and reform within the confines of religious and ecclesiastical tradition became also a defense of that tradition and a struggle to maintain and restore it. A very complex pattern of Catholic activity unfolded under the shock of religious revolt and disruption. It cannot satisfactorily be labeled the Counter Reformation, for the term is too narrow and misleading. There was indeed a reaction to Protestantism, but this factor, as important as it is, neither subsumes every facet of Catholic life in the sixteenth century nor adequately explains the source and character of the Catholic revival.

Our initial task, then, is to break through the conventional stereotype of Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation to view Catholic reform in a more comprehensive and objective way. This will entail consideration of the reaction to schism and the advance of Protestantism, but this subject can neither serve as a point of departure nor be allowed to usurp the stage. The survival of Catholicism and its continued growth suggest another perspective, as do the lives and devotion of so many of the most important Catholic figures of this time. Indeed, if the real significance of the Catholic Reformation must be found in its saints, as has recently been remarked, then emphasis on schism, controversy, and the more secular reflexes of ecclesiastical man may be slightly misplaced.

Unit 1  
Section 6  
Supplemental  
Reading

Certain basic lineaments stand out in the Catholic reform movement, from the days of Savonarola and Ximenes to the close of the Council of Trent. The first and the most obvious was the widespread awareness of the need for reform and the serious efforts made to achieve it. This movement was in the beginning scattered and disparate, a matter of individual initiative and endeavor rather than a coordinated program affecting the church as a whole. Ximenes is the major example of an ecclesiastical or institutional reformer prior to 1517. Erasmus and the Christian humanists, however widespread and deep their influence, worked in a private capacity, so to speak, and sought essentially personal reorientation and renewal, though they did envision a broader reform of Christian life and society. With the pontificate of Paul III, Catholic reform became more concerted and official, and reached out to encompass the entire church. The arrival of Contarini in Rome in 1535 ushered in the new era. New blood was infused into the papal administration, the early Jesuits were organized and began their extensive activities, and the General Council was finally convened at Trent. Despite its diversity, the movement had an inner unity and coherence and followed an identifiable and continuous course.

Of what did this inner unity and coherence consist? It was manifested in the first place in the desire for religious reform. . . . [What features distinguish the Catholic reformers and link them in a common endeavor?] As we see it, two characteristics run like a double rhythm through the Catholic Reformation: the preoccupation of the Catholic reformers with individual or personal reformation, and their concern for the restoration and renewal of the Church's pastoral mission. In short, Catholic reform had a marked personal and pastoral orientation.

The Catholic reformers focused on the individual Christian and his spiritual and moral life. They sought essentially a *reformatio in membris* rather than dogmatic or structural change. The members of Christ's church must lead better Christian lives and be instructed and guided along that path. This is the burden of Savonarola's prophetic preaching, the goal of Erasmus and the Christian humanists, the objective of Ignatius Loyola and his *Spiritual Exercises*. The Theatines, Capuchins, and Jesuits emphasized this in terms of the greater commitment and sanctification of their members. The reforms of Ximenes in Spain, Giberiti in Verona, and the Council of Trent for the universal church had this as an underlying purpose in their concern for the instruction and spiritual advancement of the faithful. . . .

Such a focus presupposes concern for the reform of the institutional church as well, for if men are to be changed by religion, then religion itself must be correctly represented and faithfully imparted. Thus the church's pastoral mission - the work of teaching, guiding, and sanctifying its members - must be given primacy and rendered effective. Hence the stress on training priests, selecting good men as bishops and insisting that they reside in their dioceses, instructing the young and preaching the gospel, restoring discipline in the church, and rooting out venality and unworthiness in the service of Christ and the salvation of souls. The Bark of Peter was not to be scuttled or rebuilt, but to be steered back to its original course with its crew at their posts and responsive to their tasks. The state of the clergy loomed large in Catholic reform. If their ignorance, corruption, or neglect had been responsible for the troubles that befell the church, as nearly everyone affirmed, then their reform required urgent attention and was the foundation and root of all renewal. This involved personal reform, that of the priests and bishops who are the instruments of the church's mission, and its purpose and consequence were a matter of the personal reform of the faithful entrusted to their care. The immediate objective, however, was institutional and pastoral. The church itself was to be restored so that its true apostolate might be realized.

reform of membris  
of personal  
of reform  
of membris  
of reform