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THE HISTORY OF SCHOLASTICISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A Thesis Presented to

The Faculty of Concordia Seminary

Department of Church History

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

PA

Walter Herman Huber, B. A.

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Approved by:

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AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I.

This is to be a Bachelor of Divinity Thesis in the field of Church History. Immediately, however, it becomes evident that in the coverage of the above subject we cannot restrict ourselves within the bounds of Church History. It is impossible altogether to divorce Church History from general history. When one is taken and isolated from the other, both automatically suffer an infinite loss. Apart from the history of the world we cannot understand the history of the Church; and with the Church throughout all Christian ages playing so great, influential, and important role in the general history of mankind, it is equally true that general history is unintelligible when studied alienated from its ecclesiastical counterpart.

And within the field of Church History itself the writer found that this project was concerned with the several distinct phases of this branch of study, viz., Church Polity, (history of organization); Church Dogma, (history of the creeds and confessions of the Church); etc. Adequately to discuss these various appects of Church History over such a long period as the Middle Ages is in itself an immense task. But the presence of the terms 'Scholasticism' and 'education' in our theme, required that we also to a great depth delve into the History of Philosophy and into the His-

tory of Education, as a glance at our bibliography will reveal.

Considering the darkness of the Middle Ages and the fact that by many Scholasticism is held in contempt, at first thought one might question the value of the justification of much time and effort expended on this work. We shall, to begin with, attempt to remove any doubt as to the worth of this investigation. Let us first establish this fact: No period of Church History can be called unimportant, for it is God Who rules over the destinies of His Church. He governs her. And that means that He makes her history. Therefore the course she takes, i.e., every era in her long history, has its place and purpose. The Eternal Head of the Church leads and directs her to the end for which she exists, and what we call Scholasticism and The Dark Ages have their rightful place in the Church's life history. God was in His heaven directing both the ecclesiastical as well as the secular affairs of the globe also during these centuries. That fact alone gives significance to this study.

Furthermore, we must bear in mind that the study of Church History, or any part thereof has great and varied values. The curious and inquisitive Church History student certainly possesses an interest in the person of Jesus Christ. A knowledge of the past history of the Church broadens the perspective, and gives a more correct evaluation of the Son of God Who is the central figure in both Church and universal history. Every part of the history of God's Kingdom on earth adds to the portrayal of the fulness of the stature of the Christ.

Numerous reasons can be advanced for a study such as this.

It is necessary to know something of Scholasticism if we would understand why theology in the early 16th century was entirely out of touch with the spirit of the age. Nor can we hope to understand the kind of Christianity which precedes the Reformation period without

an intelligent grasp of the modes of thinking that prevailed from the time of Anselm, for example, down to the opening of the Council of Trent.

In the present endeavor no profession is made of an ability to exhaust our wide and comprehensive theme. Volumes have been printed on the subject. The folly of an attempt at a thorough and complete work is readily seen when we consider that the Middle Ages is a period taken to cover almost a millennium. If in these pages we shall succeed in assembling the salient points of the great movement of Scholasticism, bringing out the influence which it exerted on the Church of the Middle Ages and on education of the same centuries, we shall be humbly satisfied with our results. That is the task to which we are devoted.

An overview of the centuries immediately preceding the dawn of Scholasticism is prerequisite for an entrance upon Scholasticism proper. In the history of theology, what is known as the ancient period, or the Patristic Age comes to a close with Gregory I. Between the end of this Patristic era (in the 5th century) and the beginning of the Scholastic era (in the 11th century), there intervene a number of intercalary thinkers, such as Claudianus, Mamertus, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, the Venerable Bede, and others.

These were important because of their assistance in handing down to the new generation the traditions of the Patristic age. Through them the heritage of the past was to some extent preserved.

This was a period of enthusiastic missionary activity by the Church. She entered in earnest upon the work of converting and

II.

l. The period from the beginning of Christian speculation to St. Augustine, inclusive, is the Patristic era in philosophy and theology.

^{2.} Scotus Erigena, who also labored in this intervention, will be given individual attention in another paragraph.

training the nations of Germanic origin. The Romanizing process was aided and speeded by intermarriage. Another accelerating factor was the coming forth of the Franks, the most influential Germanic tribe, as a Catholic power. Their example was soon followed by other tribes.

Papal supremacy during the early centuries of the Middle Ages was greatly suppressed. The king was the head of the national Church, and all clergy gave oath of allegiance to him. He controlled property, appointed bishops, called national synods, etc. Consequently, by the middle of the 8th century the Church had come to a low ebb. And a similar situation prevailed in the field of education. The only use for learning was now in the service of the Church. Education became narrow and limited. What learning remained passed into the hands and under the control of the Church.

ecclesiastical, and educational state of affairs, rapidly becoming worse toward the end of the 8th century, had to be halted. For just that great work, Charlemagne (764-814) appeared on the scene. He patronized learning and education to such degree that we speak of a Carlovingian Renaissance. During his regency there came a renewal of intellectual vigor; schools were established. There was a period of reawakened interest in the spiritual training of youth. He employed the Church as the best means for furthering the education of his Empire. Alcuin, the learned Anglo-Saxon scholar, was called to the king's court as chief minister of education in 782. With the Carlovingian revival of learning in the 9th century began a period

^{3.} Fisher, "History of Christian Doctrine", p. 199

^{4.} This situation was reversed in the period of Scholasticism proper.

^{5.} Western Europe was being overrun by Germanic tribes who were without intellectual life of their own. They vandalistically destroyed artistic and literary collections, thus obliterating much that represented culture. Cubberley, p. 126

^{6.} Made Emperor 800 A. D.

of educational activity which resulted about two centuries later in a new phase of Christian thought, namely Scholasticism.

III.

Synchronous with Charlemagne's revival was John Scotus
Erigena (c.800-880), whose appearance at this time is an anachronism.
Erigena worked at the court of Charles the Bald of France, who was
making a zealous effort to keep alive the work of his grandfather,
Charlemagne, for the advancement of learning.

We do not allow Erigena to have the honorable distinction of being called the "first of the Schoolmen", as some have said his title should be. But certainly he is a foreshadowing of what will appear two hundred years later. With him philosophy and theology are almost identical in content and object; they differ only in form. Philosophy, in his opinion, explains what religion believes, and this is, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the fundamental tenet of Scholasticism, viz., that there is no antagonism between faith and reason. In this respect, Scotus was the first original thinker, the real John the Baptist of Scholasticism.

Much of the dogma of Erigena was questionable and rejected by the Church; e. g., his subordination of authority to reason. Resembling the Alexandrian school, he placed ANDTE above TITTE. In Scholasticism philosophy did not have the leading position which he assigned to it, but was rather the handmaid, the 'ancilla' of theology. It is, however, to this predominance of dialectical procedure; to the conjunction of reason with authority;

^{7.} Erigena was later sent to Paris to become head of the School of the Palace.

^{8.} Marique, "History of Christian Education", p. 163.

^{9. &}quot;quod est aliud, de philosophia tractare, nisi verae religionis qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa Deus et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regular exponere? Conficitur inde, verram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam." De Praedestinatione, i.

ment and refutation of objections; and to the array of scriptural,
patristic, and other testimonies in support of his conclusions that
Scotus owes his title to be considered the precursor of the school10
men.

Not much credit can be given to him for his direct influence.

Perhaps it died with him. He was "out of his age". However, he had awakened reflection, and this impulse was transmitted to later times.

He was, without doubt, foremost among the makers of medieval eccle
ll siastical philosophy.

magne and Scotus, Scholasticism was still not "here to stay". Between its dawning in the 9th century and its proper historical beginning and growth which took place about the middle of the eleventh, there intervenes the tenth century, a century famed for its barbarism, — the darkest of the Dark Ages. This deplorable condition was due to the political chaos ensuing upon the breaking up of Charlemagne's empire, and the neglect of Latin as the spoken language while the modern languages, formed on the basis of it, were not yet reduced to writing. The new impulse given to education by the Great Charles was never entirely lost, although greatly obscured by the troubled times which followed his death. His learning was to a degree pre-

^{10.} Erigena also furnishes the prelude to the great controversy between the Realists and Nominalists by his doctrine of ideas and his qualified reason.

ll. His two major works were: "De Divina Praedestinatione", and "De Divisione Naturae".

^{12.} Fisher, ob. cit., p. 208

served by cathedral and monastic schools. 13

IV.

During these post-Charlemagne divisions and confusions, the Church took advantage of the strifes and rivalries of princes and parties and races in the secular arena. And here and now the papacy begins its climb to supremacy. The 10th and 11th centuries saw a revival of religion break across Europe. So soon as Christendom had won a clear space in which to work (against the enemies), the Church returned to her specific task. And she had an abundance of work waiting for attention. She had to recast her own thoughts about God and man. The brutalized manners which a long continued state of war had brought on Christian Europe must be tempered by the spirit of her Head, Christ.

Dangers also were threatening to undermine the spiritual character of the Church, such as simony and lay investiture. This abasement, however, was stopped by a movement of spiritual renovation at Cluny, (France) and scattered over Europe by the Cluny monks, and by the great initiative of a great pope, Gregory VII (1073-1085).

^{13.} Seeley says of these: "Cathedral schools were instituions connected with each cathedral for the purpose of training priests for sacred offices, but they were not limited entirely to priests". Seeley, p. 143. The scope of learning was comprised within the seven liberal arts and philosophy on the secular side, together with some dogmatic instruction in doctrine of the Church, the early Fathers, and Scriptures. Theology was not yet organized into a philosophical system. Literature at this time was at a low ebb due to the growing interest in problems of philosophy and Christian Doctrine. Parochial schools were established in many places for the purpose of training children in doctrine. Thus, as early as the ninth century the Church sought to extend the benefits of education to the people as well as to the priesthood. While the parochial schools were limited in their instruction, somewhat after the manner of the early catechumen schools, the changed conditions of Christianity permitted a much broader training than formerly.

^{14.} Three measures of Gregory VII: 1) Institution of Cardinals (to donduct papal elections; 2) Celibacy of the clergy; and 3) A struggle against lay investiture.

The consequence was that the pope's supremacy was asserted over the Church and also over all civil rulers.

At about the half-way mark of the 11th century, Europe was beginning to awaken from its intellectual sleep. This awakening can be attributed to a number of factors: There was communication with the East by trade; the crusades instigated new thirst for learning, a new interest in theological science. This intellectual activity awakened by the Crusades began to manifest itself everywhere during this century and we shall see that eagerness for knowledge was epidemic during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The minds of men were stirting and beginning to inquire into the dogmas they had long been content to accept. By about 1100 a distinct turning point had been reached in the development of the New Latin-Teutonic civilization. Stimulated by the contact with Graeco-Arabian 19 civilization in Spain and the Orient, a new cultural movement arose which vitally affected every phase of European life and ultimately culminated in the Renaissance and the Reformation. The new intellectual life gave rise to a spirit of rational and historical curiosity.

^{15.} Under Innocent III the papacy reached the meridian of its power, exercising effective world-supremacy; at its height in the 13th century, it was the leading institution of Europe.

^{16.} The Church had become secularized. Bishops had become ministers of State, partly because there were no others who had the capacity to fill the necessary function; partly because they had to support the civil power in the struggle with heathendom.

^{17.} There was renewed intercourse with the Greek Empire, where the light of learning had never gone out.

^{18.} The beginning of this period found theological science in a degenerate and moribund condition. Achievements of the preceding periods were not even being properly conserved, and advance was out of the question.

^{19.} There was a great influence from Arabic schools in Spain, where mathematics, astronomy, and medicine were cultivated, and where Greek culture, especially Aristotle, were studied through the medium of translations. The Arabic renderings of Aristotle were the real beginning of Scholaticism.

If we wish to connect the beginning of Scholasticism to one certain year, let us agree with Fisher, 20 and establish its birth year as 1054. For in that year, Lanfranc, the abbot of the cloister of Bec, in Normandy, and Berengarius, who was at the head of the School at Tours, engaged in a controversy on the Lord's Supper, in which argument they made use of the Aristotelian logic. This debate, then, may well stand as the landmark to define the beginning of Scholasticism.

the origin of the name of the period about which we are writing.

In early Christian institutions the head of the school was often called 'magister scholae', or 'scholasticus'. In the curriculum, besides the seven Liberal Arts, dialectic was also taught. (This was at the time the only branch of philosophy systematically taught.) The head of the school generally taught dialectic, and out of his teaching grew both the manner of philosophizing and the system of philosophy that prevailed during the Middle Ages. Consequently, the name 'Scholastic' was, and is still, used to designate the method and system that grew out of the academic curriculum of the schools, or more definitely, out of the dialectical teaching of the masters of the schools.

By some writers, the term is used to name the doctrines and the methods of the Christian philosophers and teachers of the Middle Ages and the representative products of the thought of that period. The word has come largely to mean an extraordinary method of argumentation or disputation. 23

^{20.} Fisher, ob. cit., p. 209

^{21.} The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, pp. 548-552

^{22.} Thus, Scholasticism agreed with ancient philosophy in that it was based upon dialectics, i.e., upon oral discussion by question and answer.

^{23.} Knight, "Twenty Centuries of Education", p. 118.

In this work we adopt the broader meaning of the term.

Scholasticism is thus commonly used to designate a system of philosophy and a type of education which were the philosophy and education of Western Europe from the 11th to the 15th century. It includes the approach to learning which all medieval scholars shared. We shall then think of Scholasticism as a certain type of approach to learning, a mental attitude, a method followed in philosophical and theological study.

24

Both the movement and the ear which it covers are designated by the word 'Scholasticism'. The men who lived in that era and were part of that movement are known as the 'scholastics', or schoolmen. They were the great thinkers, the minds of the Middle Ages.

The content of scholastic speculation and endeavor was confined almost exhusively to the doctrines of the Church. One reason for this which we wish to advance is the fact that theology had been more studied than any other science; its terms were better defined; its implications were better thought out; and it was the one subject on which the schoolmen had an adequate library, the works of the Fathers. One of the dominant interests of every medieval thinker was eternal salvation. Following Augustine, who had written, "God and the soul, these will I know, and these are all," the medieval mind was fitted with contempt for the things of the world.

IV, B. The me thod of the schoolmen needs elucidation. The material

^{24.} In reading on this subject, we find that the term is frequently applied to the type of intellectual activity involved in this philosophy and education and the period furing which both flourished.

^{25.} Smith, "Pre-Reformation England"

^{26.} Bewkes, Jefferson, Adams, and Brautigam, "Experience, Reason, and Faith".

in theology was furnished by revelation, set down in Scriptures and in the dogmas established by the Church Fathers. With very rare exceptions the scholastics accepted as truth the teachings of the Fathers. 27 There was little attempt to gain new knowledge by experiment and observation. Free rational inquiry and investigation with independent speculation in this system were to be frowned upon. The Medieval Scholar rather devoted himself to a careful reflective reworking of old materials. Reason, of course, was active in this process, but it acted only within the framework of doctrine assumed to be true. The function of reason was to explain, not to criticize. Starting with the Fathers' body of doctrine the schoolmen would show its meaning and attempt to make it consistent and compatible with reason. They took up the task of showing that in many cases reason led to the same truths which the Church had proclaimed to be divinely revealed truths. 28 The essence, then, of Scholasticism is a union between faith and reason, between theology and philosophy. Faith affirms, for example, "Deus Homo". - God became man, and reason asks, "Cur Deus Homo?", Why did God become man? In order to answer this and similar questions, theology formed an alliance with philosophy. 29

^{27.} The highest and most important truths were regarded as revealed to man by God. The theological-philosophic work was guided by these basic principles: 1) The Bible is the only absolutely reliable divine revelation; 2) The Bible must be interpreted in the light of tradition, i. e., in harmony with the decisions of popes and councils and the views of the Church Fathers; and 3) Recognition of Aristotle as a greater authority than some of the Church Fathers,... (Qualben, "History of Christian Church", p. 177)

^{28.} The Humanities, Syllabus, p. 168

^{29.} Marique, "History of Christian Education", p. 167

and since God was thought to be the source of both theological and philosophical first principles, it was the task of the scholastics to see to it that their philosophical and theological deductions were harmonious. And even if some truths, like that of the Trinity, for example, were beyond reason, they were not contrary to it. Scholasticism was to be an application of reason to theology, not to correct the accepted creed, but to systematize and vindicate it. 31

The motto of Scholasticism was: Faith seeking for knowledge.

Faith aids reason, - "credo ut intelligam," I believe that I may understand; reason aids faith, "Intelligo ut credam," I understand the better to believe.

The instrument of Scholasticism was the syllogism. This form of argument attained its full development in Aquinas. First, a question was stated. Then there was brought forward an array of authorities and syllogisms in defense of one thesis, and another series for the opposite view. After these had been explored and analyzed, the preferred conclusion was stated. Against this conclusion any number of objections were advanced and refuted. This method indeed must have afforeded exceptional facilities for the harmonious combination of orthodoxy and intellectuality. After this method most famous scholastic treatises are constructed.

^{30.} Since some points in doctrine had not been officially decided, they were open to discussion, and in discussion reason, logic, (the method of Greek philosophers) was legitimately made a mode of approach, in fact, the only possible mode.

^{31.} This vindication by Christian thinkers was made necessary by the attacks of pagan philosophers upon the Christian doctrine.

^{32.} It was felt that the better the imaginary opponent's case could be stated, the more credit there was in refuting it. The cholar's intellectual enjoyment of thirty ingenious arguments against the immortality of the Soul was met with thirty-six equally ingenious arguments. (Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, pp. 366-367)

T.

IV, C. When discussing the individual schoolmen we do well to break the scholastic era into periods. A natural three-section division offers itself for our adoption. The first of these sub-divisions, beginning about the middle of the 11th century may be said to come to a close with Alexander of Hales, and contains, besides him, (in their chronological order) Anselm, Peter Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Victor Hugo, and Peter Lombard. This is the introductory period of Scholasticism and not themmost important. The second sub-division of the era may be said to be co-extensive with the 13th century. It was the flourishing period, the period in which the most famous representatives of the movement toiled and thought. In this period we must dwell upon the accomplishments of such great minds as those of Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Raymond Lull. And finally, we come to the closing section, the period of decline and dissolution, ending at the inception of the Reformation. Marked by decadence, this third period has as its thinkers William Ockham and Gabriel Biel. 33

The empire in philosophy was divided between Plato and Arietotle. Plato's philosophy appealed most to the early Christian thinkers. The Patristic Age definitely inclined toward Platonism and
grossly underestimated the importance of Aristotle. Upon the Platonic
principles the Fathers strove to construct their system of Christian
principles. Thus reason was brought to the aid of Revelation. This
inclination to Plato resulted in a leaning toward the doctrine of the
mystics and a reliance more upon spiritual intuition than upon dialectical proof for the establishment of the highest truths of philosophy.

^{35.} Fisher suggests this division of the scholastic era.

^{34.} The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, pp. 548-552.

The influence of Plato, affecting the contents of theology, was indirect. It was exerted principally through Augustine. Not all of his works were available in the West. 35

The Scholasticism with which we are concerned was due to the recovery of Aristotle. The last half of the 12th century was distinguished by the introduction to the West, which had thus far had little of Aristotle, of the greater part of his works, and much Greek philosophy besides, by the Jews of Spain and Southern France, who, in turn derived them from the Arabs. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 led ultimately to the direct translations from the originals. The result was to be a greater outburst of scholastic activity in the 13th century. 36 37 In this philosophy alert thinkers found a veritable mine of knowledge already arranged and classified.

But to medieval Christendom the advent of the complete Aristotelian philosophy in the 12th century was a shock. The first reaction of the Church, therefore, was one of sharp condemnation. From the standpoint of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, there were two chief objections to Aristotle: 1) His teaching that the universe is eternal, and hence that there was no creation; and 2) Personal immortality is impossible. These aberrations the Medieval Church perceived and condemned at first sight.

Furthermore, Aristotelianism was fundamentally dangerous to the Catholic position in another aspect. Aristotle had confidence in

^{35.} Often we meet with the term Neo-Platonism. Later philosophers, such as Platinus (third century A. D.) restated the philosophy of Plato; hence, Neo-Platonism.

^{36.} Sheldon, "A History of the Christian Church", p. 267.

^{37.} The close geographical proximity of Cordova and the intellectual interests of Christian scholars combined to bring Aristotle to Europe. His Greek text had been translated into Syriac and thence into Arabic.

^{38.} Aristotle taught that form and matter both are eternal, and that the function of God consists solely of being the Unmoved Mover,

the worth of natural knowledge based on sense perception. Given this confidence, man may undertake to probe the secrets of the world by observing it, and, in reflection upon what they observe, reach conclusions not in harmony with authoritative dogmas. Here was being introduced a principle of knowledge and a method of gaining truth that brook no authority except their own results.

There was further danger that Aristotelianism might lead to naturalism in philosophy of life as well as in the philosophy of reality. His interest in the natural world was alien to the spirit of medievalism which concentrated attention upon the things of the next world and regarded this world as but a transient scene in the drama of salvation whose denouement is in heaven. This was, of course, the very antithesis of Catholicism. In spite of all the Church could do in opposition, it soon came to be that in matters of science as in theology, the final appeal was to authority. The question was not what nature revealed, but what Aristotle had said. Eventually, instead of condemning Aristotle, as the Church had done from the outset, she began to expurgate his most dangerous elements, such as his teaching on the eternity of the world and the mortality of the soul. Thus was begun the process of harmonizing the new philosophy with the old theology of the Fathers, an undertaking that

a conception quite alien to the Hewish Christian notion of creation. He taught also that all men are essentially one, that the individual is produced by the union of the form of the species with matter, and that such individual differences as we possess are due not to our essential nature but to the accidents of the matter in which the form of our species happened to be embodied. Hence, while the essential form of man does not die with the body, that which survives is neither personal nor individual. On the eternity of the world Aquinas later held that philosophically the honors for and against the doctrine of creation are about even, leaving the decision to faith. For him to conform the Aristotelian philosophy to the Christian belief in personal immortality was somewhat difficult. But he claimed that it was possible and that it could be demonstrated philosophically.

reached its highest form in the work of Thomas Aquinas. What had been feared as a source of dangerous innovation, a challenge to authority, was in a short time turned into a new and authoritative system of Christianized philosophy. And soon, though censored, Aristotelianism permeated the universities and the scholars' interest in his work was not to be denied. Faced with defeat on her original intentions, viz., that of keeping Aristotelainism down and out, the Church was astute. If this philosophy was destined to triumph, why not try to make of it an ally for the advancement of faith? Aristotle had indeed built a theology upon his natural science. With some changes, Aristotle's God might be made tenable to the Christian belief and his argument for God's existence made a powerful instrument for the defense of the faith.

VI.

Because they will be referred to repeatedly in connection with the various schoolmen, we must pause here and devote our attention to the three medieval views on the status of universals, 39 namely, Realism, Nominalism, and Conceptualism. 40 On this question of the status of universals the schoolmen were sharply divided into three schools of opinion, and the development of Scholasticism was inaugurated and accompanied by discussions as to the nature of objects. This question as to the existence of genera and species was originally ocassioned by the Isagoge of Porphyry. 41 And thereafter this metaphysical controversy, dating back to classical times, has occupied much attention.

^{39.} This medieval quarrel between Realism and Nominalism is largely the very essence of Scholasticism; it profoundly influenced its theological conclusions.

^{40.} The status of universals was the philosophical question uppermost in the scholastic age because this question had an important bearing on theological doctrines, such as original sin and the Trinity.

^{41.} Porphyry died at Rome in 301.

VI, A.

Realism contended that such ideas as 'dog' and 'cow' are not mere names (nomina), but realities in a truer sense than any individual cow or dog possessed reality. The followers of this view declared that universals as such are real, the only reality, according to some. 43 The universal is true reality, of which particulars and individuals are only appearances. Realism assumed numerous distinct types. It had been the doctrine, in an extreme form, of Plato. He and his successors asserted that universals existed apart from and antecedent to individual objects (ante rem, i. e., the genus 'man' was anterior to and determinative of the individual man.) The New-Platonic views of Plotinus were also strongly realistic. Plotinus held that the general ideas existed in the Divine Mind which proceeded from the Absolute One Good. The individual objects and qualities were more or less imperfect copies of ideas having eternal existence in the Divine Mind. On the other hand, the moderate realists, under the guidance of Aristotle, taught that universals existed only in connection with individual objects, (in re).

VI, B.

At the end of the 11th century an opponent of realism appeared. He was Roscellin, 45 who established a peculiar school of dialectics. In doing so he became the founder of Nominalism. The opposite of realism, nominalism held that names given to general

^{42.} Humanities Syllabus, pp. 167-168

^{43.} This is the extreme form of Realism.

^{44.} The genus and species have a reality in Divine Intelligence (universalia ante rem); they are real in the mind of the thinker (universalia post rem); and they are real in the essence of the individual objects (universalia in re).

^{45.} Humanities Syllabus, p. 167

VI, C.

classes (e. g., dog, cow) were only abstractions, describing the common elements found by observation of various individuals. 46 Universals are mere sounds and particulars are the only true existence. Ideas or concepts are only names for real things, reality consisting in the individual concrete objects. Universals are mere names, signs, designating collections of individuals, abstractions having no objective reality. Nominalists, following Stoic precedent, held that universals had no other existence than in thought (post rem).

This difference of opinion as to the nature of the knowledge of things continued for centuries, throughout the scholastic
47
era, and there was little success toward settlement of the controversy. As an outcome, a group arose which tried to harmonise realist
and nominalist views. Their compromising view is known as Conceptualism. Historically, Conceptualism is antecedent to moderate
realism, and was thus a step forward towards the correct doctrine
of modified realism.

From among these three scholastic views on universals the Church had to choose one. And she had to make an intelligent choice. She picked realism, for the realist position seemed more favorable for explaining certain Christian doctrines and was usually favored by the orthodox, while the followers of nominalism showed an unmis-

^{46.} Roscellin maintained that in knowing we are only made acquainted with individual objects; that general ideas are only nomina, not res.

^{47.} Eventually, nominalism, which held that truth can be reached only through investigation and the use of reason speeded the decline and dissolution of Scholasticism.

trines of the Church. 48 49 50 And still there were also hidden dangers for Christian belief in realism. William of Champeaux, a realist, declaring that the universal alone has reality, and that individuality is only an accidental variation of the universal essence, occasioned distressing theological implications by reducing the three persons of the Trinity to unessential and addidental modifications of God. This was to deny that Christ was a real person and left the incarnation a mere appearance. Furthermore, the exaltation of the universal, which was characteristic of realism, allowed the individual merely accidental status as an instance of the universal, is also at heart inconsistent with the Christian belief in the worth and dignity of every person and makes the theoretical possibility of personal immortality difficult. Furthermore, realism affirmed that the Church Universal, not

^{48.} The decision of the church to choose realism had an important bearing on the development of Church doctrine, especially the Eucharist. If ideas or substances are realities, they are independent of the attributes or qualities which identify them in the concrete. Hence, it is possible, according to the realist, to distinguish between the idea or substance of the Eucharist and the elements which identify this idea in the concrete. It is also possible, according to this view, to conceive of a change in the substance without a corresponding change in the attribute. In this way the Church justified the doctrine of transubstantiation.

^{49.} The Nominalists, represented by Jean Roscellin, held that universals were mere "breathings of the voice, names that we give to the qualities that things of a class have in common. From this he reached the theological conclusion that the Trinity was merely a name given to the similarities of three individual gods. He was tried by a council of the Church for teaching polytheism.

^{50.} Another danger of Nominalism to doctrine was this: This view would make of the Holy Catholic Church merely a name for a collection of congregations, and free the individual from the taint of Adam's sin and remove him from the reach of Christ's redemption. It also becomes an ally to the naturalistic spirit which is directly opposed to ecclesiastical dogma founded in revelation. It is pregnant with the principle of private judgment which in modern times was to displace, except with the Catholic minority, the principle of authority.

individual congregations, was held to be the depository of faith and the source of sacramental grace. Mankind must come before individual men, else how put meaning into the notion of original sin incurred by Adam's fall or into the notion of redemption through Christ's sacrifice? 51

- The bold attempt of Scotus to effect a union between philosophy and theology has been referred to, and called an anachronism.

 When he lived, the time for such union was not yet. For several centuries therefore, his attempt remained isolated. But when in the beginning of the 11th century Anselm appeared, this same bold attempt reappeared (in a somewhat less free spirit) in what is properly called Scholasticism. We now turn our focus on Anselm, the first schoolmen of the first schoolastic period.
- VII, A, 1. Anselm, born at Aosta, 1033, was the first really speculative thinker after Scotus. He was a disciple of Lanfranc, entered the monastery of Bec in Normandy, succeeded Lanfranc as Abbot in 1078 and as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093. One of the greatest of the early scholastics, he has been rightly called the "Father of Medieval Scholasticism".

The scholastic theory, namely, the view which recognizes that faith has roots of its own and that scientific knowledge may become, and is destined to become, coextensive with it, is traceable to Augustine, and is ably propounded by Anselm. He was steadfast in adhering to his maxim, "Credo ut intelligam", always desiring to understand God's truth, which in his heart he believed and loved. He did not seek to understand in order to believe, but believed in order to understand. And he believed that even if he did not believe, he

^{51.} We shall observe that the schoolmen of the First and Third periods of Scholasticism were nominalists, while those of the Second were realists.

should not understand. 52 In Anselm's estimation it was important that faith precede understanding, since of the two sources of human knowledge, reason and faith, faith can exist without reason, but reason cannot exist without faith. "Fortunately, there is certainty for faith, and therefore for reason, in Scripture. The authority of every truth which reason cannot but gather is contained in Scripture; the Scriptures affirm all truths and deny none. The Christian may therefore proceed to understanding by way of faith; he should not arrive at faith by way of understanding; nor should he, if he cannot understand, depart from faith. Even more, no one well established in faith can be weakened by the attempt to understand what he believes. Not to understand what is believed is a weakness, not of faith, but of reason; to understand faith is necessarily to approach God. It is presumptuous therefore to hope to understand without believing; but on the other hand, it is negligent to appeal to reason for the explication of faith. One believes in order to understand; one does not understand in order to believe."53

Anselm's great confidence in the power and validity of the human mind lends an extraordinary boldness to much of his speculation. But still he is not raionalistic, for he admits that there are some truths which it is beyond the human intellect to comprehend, and to which, though it finds itself unable to comprehend them, it must still bow. How such truths are imparted to men, and what is the

^{52.} Anselm, "Proslogium", Migne, 158, 227

^{53.} Richard McKeon, "Selections from Medieval Philosophers", 142

^{54.} The Christian ought to advance to knowledge through faith, not come to faith through knowledge. A proper order demands that we believe the deep things of Christian faith before we presume to reason about them.

ground on which they must be received, Anselm does not determine. 55

His view with regard to the place of reason in theology is aptly summed up in his treatise "De Fide Trinitatis", as quoted by McGiffert:

"No Christian ought in any way to dispute the truth of what the Catholic Church believes in its heart and confesses with its mouth. But always holding the same faith unquestionably, loving it and living by it, he ought himself as far as he is able, to seek the reason for it. If he can understand it, let him thank God. If he cannot, let him not raise his head in opposition, but bow in reverence". 56

And Anselm practiced what he proclaimed. He never questioned the validity of any of the Church's doctrines, but held them to be true because they had been revealed, and accepted without question on the authority of the Church; that these truths were contained in Holy Scripture and in the Creeds of the Church seemed a sufficient answer for him. To Anselm the Church's dogma was divine in its origin and in its authority.

But in his mind, human intelligence was equally divine in its origin, and within its limits, in its authority also. Therefore, he was convinced of the rationality of revealed truth; he felt it could be proved by taking course to dialectics. We should, he maintained, press the disciplines of logic and philosophy into the service of theology, and let the power of reason play upon the affirmation of faith. He felt that such "reasoning out" of Christian faith would make it understandable and rationally acceptable even to the Jew and pagan, without reference to any Scriptural authority.

^{55.} Anselm was far from the attitude "credo quia absurdam". This was sometimes the refuge of skepticism; sometimes the defiance of ignorance. Anselm was not a skeptic.

^{56.} A. C. McGiffert, "History of Christian Thought", II, 136

^{57.} It was the confidence of Anselm and his public claim that all accepted doctrines of the Catholic Church could be demonstrated by the use of reason alone, without recourse to revelation. He assumed, a priori, that revelation and reason are in perfect accord for the truth which is received by faith and the truth which is discovered by intelligence are both of God. They cannot finally conflict, for they are two manifestations of the same Supreme Intelligence.

In short, it is fitting and proper that reason should try to understand dogma, but in the event this cannot be done, reason must yield gladly to authority. 58

Anselm had entered into the field of scholastic theology because he was a man of genius who was also a profound religious thinker, seeking only to serve his generations according to the will of God. He was a religious leader, possessing a deep sense of personal piety, a keen, capacious intellect, a spirit of courage and devotion to principle, and a faculty of winning love and confidence of those whom he sought always to influence and lead. His significance for the Christian Church lies in his depth of thinking both in philosophy and in theology.

The famous books of Angelm are three works which have perhaps contributed most (second only to the works of Aquinas) to the
great body of Christian philosophy. Although Angelm was never a
systematic theologian, his mind was more systematic than that of
Augustine. His writings were chiefly short, disconnected essays,
and still his was the first attempt toward the grouping of doctrines,
and his synthesis, though not complete, prepared the way for others.

Of his three important works, the first we wish to dwell upon is his Monologium, the subtitle of which is "Faith sceking Understanding", a meditation of the soul on God. This work sets forth Anselm's famous cosmological proof for God's existence, which, it must be acknowledged, is largely based upon his own 'a priori' doctrinal assumptions. Since all things lead so definitely to God, His existence can be proven wherever a well-attested existence is discovered.

^{58.} This accounts for the singular paucity of Scriptural references in the writings of Anselm.

Putting aside all Scripture authority, the Monologium attempts to prove the being of God in the light of pure season, and to define His nature and attributes, and His relation to the world and men. 60

In addition to his cosmological argument, Anselm developed also the ontological proof for the existence of God. This is his attempt in the Proslogium, which, like the Monologium, is an a priori, deductive treatise. We have, he says, in ourselves the idea of a perfect being. We have this premise to begin with. Now, perfection implies existence, hence, God exists. But since all things

It would be an easy matter to deduce pantheism from the arguments of the Monologium. Before the creation, he says, things did not exist by themselves, independently of God; hence we say they were derived from non-being. But they existed eternally for God and in God, as ideas. Al this is pure Platonism. - Perry and Weber, "History of Philosophy", pp. 166-167.

^{59.} At one time Anselm makes knowledge positively dependent upon faith; at another, as here, he assumes reason can of itself demonstrate the absolute necessity of each and every dogma of the whole faith of the Church. This, indeed, comes very close to the essence of rationalism.

^{60.} Everything that exists, he says, has its cause, and this cause may be one or many .. If it is one, then we have what we are looking for: God, the unitary being to whom all other beings owe their origin. If it is manifold, there are three possibilities: 1) The manifold may depend on unity as its cause; 2) Each thing composing the manifold may be self-caused; or 3) Each thing may owe its esistence to all the other things. The first case is identical with the hypothesis that everything proceeds from a single cause, for to depend on this number of causes, all of which depend on a single cause means to depend on this single cause. In the second case we must assume a power, force, faculty of self-existence common to all particular causes assumed by the hypothesis. This, however, would give us an absolute unitary cause. The third supposition, which makes each of the first causes depend on all the rest, is absurd; for we cannot hold that a thing has for its cause and condition of existence a thing of which it is itself the cause and condition. Hence, we are compelled to believe in a being which is the cause of every existence, without being caused by anything itself, and which for that very reason is infinitely more perfect than anything else; it is the most real, most powerful, and best thing. Since it does not depend on any being or on any condition of existence, other than itself, it is a se and per se; it exists, not because something else exists, but it exists because it exists; that is, it is necessary being. It is necessary being.

^{61.} In this work we readily recognize Anselm's principles of exaggerated realism.

share the universal attribute of existence, there must be a Universal Existence from which individual existence is derived. Hence, the idea of a universal ground of existence, single, and perfect, that is, of God, is a necessary idea. We must then believe that God is that than which a greater can not be conceived. But God would not be that than which nothing higher can be thought if He were only in the understanding. God must then exist also in reality, since that is a superior existence. Anselm's ontological argument, though later severely criticized, has never been successfully refuted. 65

As the third great effort of the first outstanding schoolman we mention Anselm's <u>Cur Deus Homo</u>. This extensive study of the
doctrine of the atonement represents one of the most important chapters in the history of Christian thought. In the writings of the
Post-Apostolic Fathers, who laid great stress on the incarnation in
connection with the atoning work of Christ, no theory of the atonement looms large. It remained for Origen to advance the theory
that the atonement was a payment which Christ made to the devil.
This theory remained firmly imbedded until the time of Anselm.

Augustine likewise had formulated no elaborate theory of the atonement, but he had stressed sins and grace, thus shaping Anselm's thoughts

^{62. &}quot;Et quidem credimus te esse aliquid que nihil majus cogitari possit... Et certe id que majus cogitari nequit non potest esse in solo intellectu. Se enim vel in solo intellectu est, potest cogitari esse ét in re, qued majus est. Si ergo id que majus cogitari non potest in solo intellectu, que majus cogitari non potest est que majus cogitari potest. Sed certe hoc esse non potest. Existit ergo procul dubio aliquid, que majus cogitari non valet, et in intellectu et in re". (Proslogium, Ch. II.)

^{63.} A God in 'intellectu' is less than a God who is likewise in 're'. (Migne, 158, p. 228)

^{64.} By Kant.

^{65.} Coates, p. 675

^{66.} In place of the prevalent idea that the death of Christ was a ransom paid to the devil, Anselm, in his Cur Deus Homo, set forth

on this doctrine. Hence, until Anselm's day the Church, in so far as it held any specific dogma on the subject, generally believed and taught that the atonement of Christ was a ransom paid to the devil. Anselm's thus, though not the first, was the first serious effort on the part of the Church to bring the relation between the humiliation and passion of Christ and remission of sins into the court of reason and conscience.

Wherever his ideas were accepted, Anselm's influence was great. However, his works found but little acceptance among later scholastics. And yet he continued to bear a significant influence on the soteriology of the Western Church down through the period of the

the proposition that this was rather to be regarded as a satisfaction, or reparation, demanded by God's honor. He essayed to prove this on the basis of reason and in the form of a philosophical approach. This conception of the atonement then he explicated in his epochal treatise which opened up a new area in the domain of Christian theology, and which gave rise to the most important theological discussion since the time of Augustine. Cur Deus Homo is a formal and logical explanation of the atoning work of Christ; the treatment throughout is based on reason; little reference is made to Scripture. He wanted to show that both the birth and death of Christ, God's Son, were necessary and "grounded in the very nature of things". His purpose was to accomplish a rational understanding of that which he had already comprehended by faith. He begins by showing why none other than God could have liberated man. The honor of God, he says, must be kept inviolate. Sin, however, deprives God of His honor, and constitutes a debt. Thus man becomes guilty before God. God's justice demands that either the guilty be punished, or that God be repaid for the loss which He has sustained. (Cur Deus Home, I: 11, 12.) Now, the honor of God cannot be restored by the obedience of man, for man owes God this obedience in any event. Hence there remain only two possibilities for the reparation: a) Punishment of the offender; or, b) satisfaction. God deesn't desire punishment; this would cause God to undo His own work. (Cur Deus Homo, I, 14.) Man of himself cannot provide compensation for his own sin. So then: either man cannot be saved at all; or he must be saved by some means other than those taught by Christianity; or he must be saved by Christ, God's Son. Anselm rules out the first two, and sets out to prove the validity of the third, (Cur Deus Homo, I, 25.) Man must render satisfaction, but cannot, therefore: in order to actualize this satisfaction, God became man in the person of Jesus Christ. He proves his thesis in syllogistic fashion. (Cur Deus Homo, II, 6.) He did not hold that Christ was punished for the sins of men, but only that He rendered satisfaction for them.

Reformation. 68 Had the Anselmic soteriology prevailed in the theory and practice of the Church generally, the Reformation of the 16th century would have occurred in the 11th century. The doctrine of vicarious substitution was not maintained in this pure and unqualified form by the successors of Anselm. Some scholars, those nearest to him in time, retained his theory only in feeling, not in its strict scientific form. The later schoolmen essentially altered this doctrine, confounding sanctification with justification; teaching that an additional merit derived either from the Church through its sacraments, or from voluntary penance on the part of the individual is requisite in order that the satisfaction of Christ may be a complete and efficacious one. In the departure from the Anselmic theory of an absolute as distinguished from a relative satisfaction, we find the germs of the subsequent papal soteriology which during the middle and latter part of the scholastic period shoot up with ever great rankness and luxuriance. 69

We must then confess that, though his views did not pass over into the Church at large, Anselm exerted no little influence through his immediate pupils. His books mark the first real effort in Western theology to reach a surer foundation than Augustine had offered. Furthermore, he had given to the Church a freedom of language. He had won for the Church a means of self-expression through which the revived life of the Church could make itself felt. This was at least a start; with each of the following schoolmen adding their share, there was the possibility that Scholasticism might achieve something.

^{68.} Not many accepted the Anselmic theory in toto. The nearest approach to the acceptance of this theory is found in Thomas Aquinas, whose doctrine has become the basis for modern Catholicism. Through him, Anselm's influence has been extended down to our own times. As a result, the conception of satisfaction has become fixed in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the atonement.

^{69.} Shedd, "History of Christian Doctrine", p. 318

^{70.} Marique, pp. 161-178

Vas brought to a head by Abelard, (1079-1142), one of the most famous professors of philosophy and theology of his century. He studied realism and nominalism, and attempted to create a mediating position, i. e., conceptualism. The universal concepts which the mind entertains, Abelard held, are more than mere empty names for surface resemblances of things, but that universals do not exist apart from the things in which the mind discovers them. Instead, they are abstractions from objects of those general characteristics which really exist in the objects. In short, the universal has no reality apart from the individual object or person; outside of the individual it exists only as a concept. Aberlard's conceptualism foreshadowed the view finally accepted as the philosophy of the Catholic Church.

On the question of the place of reason and faith in theclogical problems, Abelard quoted with approval the words of an ancient skeptic, The Ecclesiasticus, The that believes quickly is light
minded. In his famous book Sic et Non (Yes and No), he set down a
large number of doctrines and then set opposite each quotations
from the Fathers both for and against, thus showing that the Fathers
at least were not of one mind on important items of faith. This
treatise Abelard prepared for the use of his students, hoping that
they might be inspired by his disclosure of patristic discrepancies
to search out the truth for themselves, and thus sharpen their

^{71.} The battle over universals, appearing on the surface as a philosophers' debate of a technical issue unrelated to practical concerns, was seen to bristle with theological implications. Remembering that theology was by medieval minds considered a vitally practical subject, since it deals with the central concern of eternal salvation, we can understand how the issue over universals should have generated so much excitement.

^{72.} No doubt Abelard was himself a decided skeptic and his methods of discussion greatly promoted skepticism.

^{73.} Sic et Non came to be adopted as the basal text in theology and greatly assisted the scholastic method of teaching.

wits. His purpose was to stimulate his students to think rather than to tell them what to think. In the introduction to the book, he says that "constant or frequent questioning is the first key to wisdom", and he quotes Aristotle, whom he calls "the most clear-sighted of all," as saying, "Indeed, to doubt in special cases will not be without advantage". Through doubting we come to inquiry, and through inquiry we discover the truth. Now, doubtless, this was a fine educational principle, and true, but it must have been very shocking to his ecclesiastical superiors to have him parade the fallibility of the Fathers in order to train theologians for the Church. Abelard taughts it is impossible to believe what was not understood in the first place. He sought to prove the principle that the use of reason precedes faith and leads up to it, with the aid of revelation and grace.

Even if Abelard was condemned, in time much of his method and many of his conclusions were accepted by the Church and came to be taught in the schools. His influence continued and the question of the relationship between faith and reason survived as the central problem of theology for some centuries. His work promoted Scholasticism and educational enthusiasm and led later to the formation of the universities.

^{24.} Abelard maintained that the Church Fathers are to be read, not "cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate". The Bible itself can be appreciated fully only with a discriminating exercise of the understanding. He, in some cases, aimed rather at a momentary dialectical triumph than at a solid development of Christian truth.

^{75.} Bewkes, etc., "Experience, Reason, and Faith", p. 401, f.

^{76.} This was a plain reversal of the accepted Augustinian principle to believe first in order to understand.

^{77.} In mystic fashion, Abelard pictured spiritual progress as in three stages: 1) Cogitation, formation of sense-concepts; 2) Meditation, their intellectual investigation; and 3) Contemplation, the intuitive penetration into their inner meaning. This last attainment is the true mystical vision of God, and the comprehension of all things in Him.

TII, A. 3. The great Church leader of the West, and the great antagonist of Abelard was Bernard of Clairvaux. He failed to hold the traditional, philosophical, and ethical elements in equipoise. Hodest and humble and very Church-minded, Bernard was a man of faith rather than a scientist. His great aim was to put down all heresies and to heal the schism in the papacy. To him the speculations of Abelard were most daring innovations. His evaluation of reason and faith was this: he bowed with awe before the body of Christian dogma as held by the historical Church, which means, he did not give reason a foothold at all. And yet we would be inaccurate to say that he was a mere unthinking traditionalist. Divine truth, he contended, must be apprehended here by faith; for a full rational insight we must wait for the life to come. Meantime, more is to be learned by visions of the up-lifted soul, in moments of eastasy, than by subtle reasoning and prying curiosity. He was more mystical than philosophical; he preferred a mystical approach to truth and ultimate reality.

The mystics did not reach an intelligent compromise with the dialecticians until the end of the 12th century. Finally, rationalism, having modified its unreasonable claims, triumphed in the Christian schools, without, however, driving mysticism from the field altogether.

^{78.} Fisher, "History of Christian Church", p. 204

^{79.} McClintock-Strong, "Encyclopedia of Bib., Eccle., & Theo. Knowledge", p. 418.

Ages. Definition of Mysticism: Any personal experience of intuitive apprehension of a supernatural reality; and individual experience in which the soul is united with God. (The first great mystics were St. Augustine, 430, and Pope Gregory the Great, 590-604). The mystic, to find God, must shut out the world and seek divine presence in his own heart. Hence, monastic life was ideal for mysticism, since it made possible long periods of contemplation. There are three stages in the mystic method: 1) Purgation - the soul cleanses itself in humility of earthly sin; 2) Illumination - withdrawn within itself, it receives the light of God's grace; and 3) Union - in ecstasy of love and joy, the soul is joined with God Himself. Thus, through a contemplative life, the mystics achieved a complete triumph over human limitations. - The Humanities Syllabus, p. 163.

Bernard was not a prolific writer; his influence on the Church and education of the Middle Ages was indeed not great. His chief work, De Consideratione, exhibits a certain value in so far as it suggested papal house-cleaning. In it he warns Pope Eugene III against the danger to the papacy from misconduct of the incumbents of the office.

VII, A, 4. Sometimes referred to as the 'alter Augustinus' because of his familiarity with the works of that great Father of the Church, Hugh of St. Victor, (1096-1141), was the first systematizer of the whole body of Christian doctrine. This medieval mystic, philosopher, and theologian produced works which cover the whole range of the arts and sacred science taught in his day. After synthesizing the dogmatical treasures of the Patristic age, Hugh systematized them and formed them into a coherent and complete body of doctrine. Herein lies his claim to significance in the Church of the Middle Ages. By his excellent dogmatic synthesis, entitled De Sasramentis, he paved the way for the great Summae of the 13th century.

To Hugh of St. Victor the existence of God is provable both from internal and from external experience, especially that of the changeability of creatures. By the use of reason, he held, man can and must arrive at the knowledge of God. Throughout his writings he systematically avoided the whole question of universals, although in places he rejects some of the principle arguments put forward by the realists.

The Summa Sententiarum of Hugh is composed in true Scholastic

^{81.} Fisher, "History of the Christian Church", p. 214

^{82.} In this he maintained that creation and restoration are the critical events of the history of the world. By the first the world was constituted, and by the latter it regains its lost glory. The work of creation can be known by a study of the profane sciences; that of the restoration is revealed in Holy Scriptures. His sacramental teaching clarified many points later adopted by his successors.

form, resembling in make-up the Sic et Non of Abelard. Successively, he treats of all the dogmas of the Church, sustaining them by citations from Scripture and from the Fathers, adducing then the various objections of the opponents, and finally deciding each case according to Scripture and tradition. This work exerted great influence on later scholastics, such as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and especially on mystics like Bonaventura and Gerson.

Hugh of St. Victor reacted vigorously to the theories of Roscellin and Abelard. When the heterodoxy of Abelard endangered the new method which was being applied to the study of theology, it was hugh and his followers, who by their moderation and orthodoxy, gave reassurance to alarmed believers.

VII, A, 5. Next in the array of scholars who paraded their minds' theological and philosophical contents across the medieval world stage was
Peter the Lombard, (c.1100-c.1160). Receiving his education at Paris,
he later became the bishop of that metropolis, and because of his
work was given the honorary and deserved title of 'Magister Sententiarum'.

Just as Hugh, in compliance with pure scholastic practice,

Peter brought forth his dialectical work of merit, the Sententiae,

(four books of sentences), which cover the whole body of theological doctrines and unite it in a systematical whole. The Sentences

are a synopsis of the whole movement of scholastic theology. The

work is primarily a collection of the opinions of the Fathers,

^{83.} Harnack terms Hugh "the most influential theologian of the 12th century", (Harnack, "History of Dogma", tr. London, 1899, VI, 44.) His teaching was one of the foundations of scholastic theology, and his influence has effected the whole of Scholasticism.

^{84.} It is surprising that among the schoolmen, a group of men with the same central idea of harmonising reason and faith there should be so much disagreement. They had often to oppose and check each other, it seems, to achieve the purpose for which they were laborings

^{85.} Cath. Ency., VII, p. 521-522

(sententiae patrum), in which he tried to decide which ones were most weighty. The first book of sentences treats of God; the second, of the creatures; the third, of incarnation, the work of redemption, and the virtues; and the fourth, of the seven sacraments and eschatology. "Its important point is the definite assertion of the doctrine of the seven sacraments and the acceptance of the definition of a sacrament, not merely as 'a sign of a sacred thing', but as itself, 'capable of conveying the grace of which it is the sign'."

The Sententiae soon attained great popularity, and ultimately became the textbook in almost every theological school. The Sentences are the chief source whence many theologians of the Middle Ages drew their knowledge of the Fathers. 88 And Through others who followed him, Peter the Lombard had a great influence in fixing the views which the Church eventually pronounced as correct. Due to the proper order in which he expounded the doctrines of the Creed and the thorough fortification by citations from the Fathers, especially from Augustine, his work, for centuries, was the foundation of academic lectures. Numberless commentaries were written upon the Sententiae.

It can be said that this was the schoolman who initiated the movement of endless questioning and answering; of thesis and antithesis; arguments and counter arguments; of dividing and splitting
up the matter of doctrine ad infinitum. This had its start, but not
its end, with Peter. It was destined to endure as a characteristic

^{86.} Ency. Brit., Vol. 17, p. 649. The number of Sacrament was definitely fixed at seven by Peter; formally sanctioned by the Council of Florence in 1439.

^{87.} Ibid

^{88.} Very little of the works of Peter is original. It is mainly a compilation.

^{89.} The Humanities Syllabus, p. 169

method until the obituary of the scholastic era was to be written.

In all his compilations and writings, he endeavored carefully to steer the middle course between the opposing tendencies of speculation and authority. And by doing that he achieved remarkable orthodoxy. Borrowing freely from Abelard, he neverheless stayed on guard against his predecessor's errors, making full use of the Bible and the Fathers, yet never going to the point of refusing reason its due role.

VII, B.

At this point we are ready to enter the second period of the scholastic era, which we have dated as embracing the whole of the 13th century. A few introductory remarks may well precede this entrance upon a new period. The taking of Constantinople in 1204, the introduction of Arabic, Jewish, and Greek works into the Christian schools, the rise of universities. 90 the foundation of the mendicant orders, - these events led up to the extraordinary intellectual activity of this century, which centered in the university at Paris. This is the flourishing period of Scholasticism, during which the most eminent schoolmen lectured and wrote, and when realism, "I taking the place of nominalism, was in the ascendent. During this century not only the logic, but also the other writings of aristotle were in use and helped to mold and formulate the scholastic doctrines. With the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle in the hands of the schoolmen, esteem for that ancient philosopher was carried to its highest attainable peak. In their minds, he was

^{90.} The foundation of the mendicant orders and the rise of the universities are two such important and inseparable factors in the history of Scholasticism and its influence on the Church and education of the Middle Ages that we are compelled to reserve space below for their special consideration.

the philosopher. He was deemed to have exhausted the resources of the human mind in ascertainment of ethical and religious truth. Often by the scholars of this period the Bible and Fathers were neglected and passages were cited from Aristotle in support of dogmas, as if he were an inspired, inerrant oracle. And yet, luckily for the Church, his influence on doctrine was mainly in the directions in which current opinion, independently of his teaching, was strongly and persistently tending. This in not altogether true of the tendencies of the schoolmen which appear and labor toward the end of this period. They, due to their leaning toward a withdrawal from common tenets, whould be placed in a transitional category by themselves.

The gigantic task set before the scholastics of the next one hundred years was to be an unrelentless contention against a subtle and formidable Pantheism, the cause of which was largely and ultimately traceable back to the influence of New Platonism, and which was reaching the scholars' speculative minds through various channels. Let us see how the schoolmen of the 13th century wrestled with this task.

VII, B, 1. The prosperous period of Scholasticism opens with

Alexander of Hales, (c.1175-1245), who studied both at Oxford and

at Paris. Alexander, also called the 'Doctor Irrefragabilis' and

'Fountain of Life' later became a teacher at Paris, and belonged to

^{91.} This was commonly realism in its Aristotelian form, i.e., the doctrine that corresponding to the name of a species there exists a reality which inheres in each individual.

^{92.} Fisher, "History of the Christian Church", p. 215
93. It was from the Arabic writers that Pantheism in its most fascinating shape penetrated into the Christian schools.

the Franciscan Order. He was one of the first English scholars and theologians to make his influence felt in Paris, where he attained his Master's degree, first in arts (philosophy), and later in theology.

Alexander of Hales was the initial schoolman to draw materials from the writings of Aristotle. Very little can be said with certainty about his theories. However, we know that he tried to correlate the predominating Augustinianism of his day with the newly introduced philosophy of Aristotle and the Arabians. Apart from the doctrines that were common to the scholastics, we find in Alexander certain theories that were to become characteristic of the Franciscan school.

His chief work, Summa Theologiae, in which there was great breadth and thought, wasfounded on the Sentences of Lombard.

Many Summae had appeared prios to this, but his was the first in which the physical, metaphysical, ethical, and logical treatises of Aristotle were employed. He quotes Aristotle often, and thus prepares the way for Albert, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, and others who were to hold Aristotle in the same high regard. The Summa consists of four parts: 1) Treats of God and the Trinity; 2) Treats of creatures and sin; 3) Treats of Christ and redemption; and 4) Treats of the Sacraments. The treatment is very similar to the Sic et Non of Abelard, and is in strict methodical form, exhibiting a heroic effort

of body and soul, the existence of an intelligible matter or potency in all spiritual creatures, and the Augustinian theory of Divine Illumination in knowledge. "The coextensiveness of matter with created being later on became a distinctive tenet of the Franciscan school". (Cath. Ency. Vol. I, pp. 298-299.

^{95.} These following schoolmen made extensive use of the Summa of Alexander of Hales.

to reduce his knowledge into a system. He opens with a recital of objections, follows with the thesis and proofs (from Scripture, Patristic sources, and reason), and finally answers the objections.

The theology of Alexander is identical with that of Thomas Aquinas. However, he had a marked tendency to favor the extreme inferences of Catholic doctrine, (e. g., the thesauris gratiae, immaculata conceptio passiva Virginis Mariae). And also he betrayed an ocassional Pelagianizing tendency. The human mind, he asserted, can comprehend what God is. Philosophically, he was a moderate realist.

It would not be difficult to overestimate the influence of this medieval thinker, for he lacked real speculative power.

VII, B, 2. Contemporanious with Alexander of Hales was St. Bonaventura, (1221-1274), the pupil of the former, who later became general of the Order of the Franciscans. Called the 'seraphic doctor', he was an excellent logician. Bonaventura adhered strongly to the Sugustinian school with its Patristic elements and accepted Aristotle only in so far as his teaching was compatible with the revelation and tradition commonly acknowledged. He set a higher value on spiritual illumination than on intellectual exertion as a source of religious knowledge. No one can know what God is, he said; but no one can ignore the face of His existence. All things proceed from God; all inquiries start with Him.

St. Bonaventura wrote an almost every subject treated by the schoolmen, however himself preferring to confine his writings to theological and philosophical subjects. His Commentary on the Sentences, his greatest production, deserves special attention. Concerning creation, he does not believe that the materia prima is mere potentiality. If it were, it is difficult to see how it could be re-

lated to the God who is pure act. He does not believe in the eternity of matter. He thinks more of the beauty of things than of their purpose. About man, he has this to say: Body and soul were alike endowed with matter and form; and so believing, he escaped the difficulty which St. Thomas found in accounting for the soul's survival at death. At the same time, he rejected the Platonising theory that the soul is related to the body as a boatman to his boat; for the body is much more than the instrument of the soul.

The Saint rejects the doctrines of physical and admits only a moral efficacy in the sacraments. They contain, he says, within themselves the healing truth and grace which they present and in presenting, confer what they promise.

But he did not believe like Thomas that they were physical causes of grace. Also he did not regard them so much as divine instruments for the adorament of the soul, as opportunities for divine companionship.

VII, B, 3. No theologian of German birth in the Middle ages was the equal of Albertus Magnus, (1193-1280), teacher at Cologne and general of the Dominicans in his fatherland. He received his education in the schools of Paris, Padua, and Bologna. The great Albert made a larger use of Aristotle than had his predecessors. "His great task was the philosophic labor of preparing Aristotle for the West, for although nearly all the works of Aristotle were known to philosophers before the writings of Albert were ready, it is only after Albert that

^{96.} This led Bonaventura to formulate a doctrine which is known as Occasionalism, which regards the sacrament as having no virtue apart from its appointed use, and while being used in the appointed way; so that a lost Host or a Host consumed by an infidel would not in any sense be the Body of our Lord. This theory has been revived today by those who deprecate extra-liturgical devotions to the blessed Sacrament.

^{97.} Mc.Keon, p. 324

the force and power of Aristotle is felt through every division of the philosophic encyclopedia". Albert was the first to state the philosophy of the ancient Greek in systematic form, for which effort he has been termed the "organizing intellect of the Middle Ages". While he deserves credit for bringing the scientific teachings of Aristotle to the attention of medieval scholars, and while appreciating Aristotle himself, let us not get the notion that he blindly followed him. His appreciation was highly critical. He did not simply accept statements made by others, but investigated every statement thoroughly before adopting it.

Christian philosophy and theology form and method, which substantially have been retained to this day. His chief work, Summa Theologiae, eliminates many useless questions and objections. In it he desired to purify the works of Aristotle of Rationalism, he desired to purify the works of Aristotle of Rationalism, haverroism, Pantheism, etc. Albert respected authority and tradition and was prudent in porposing the results of investigations. Theology was maintained by him to be a practical science, (sciential de his quae ad salutem pertinent) treating of God and of His works. Revelations and reason are in harmony, for both theology and philosophy rest upon experience, - theology upon our experience of supernatural and philosophy upon our experience of natural, and both natural

^{98.} Against the Rationalism of Abelard and his followers, Albert pointed out the distinction between truths naturally knowable and mysteries, (e. g., the Trinity and Incarnation), which cannot be known without revelation.

^{99.} Aristotle had at first excited strong opposition. Albert knew this was due to the fact that Abelard and others had drawn false doctrines from the writings of Aristotle. This he wanted to set aright in his own writings.

and supernatural rest upon the harmonious plan and will of God.

He applied himself to the experimental sciences, so energetically, in fact, that he was accused of neglecting the sacred sciences. 101 It has been affirmed that his astonishing progress in the science of nature was not surpassed for three hundred years. He, together with Roger Bacon, proved to the world that faith and science may go hand in hand, and that the Church is not opposed to the study of nature. Throughout, his life and writings emphasize the importance of experiment and investigation. 102

Albert's view on universals was this: General ideas are in the mind of God, but are realized in individual things. Albert was also affected by Platonic and New Platonic doctrines. His influence was great, his fame in part being due to the fact that he was the forerunner and teacher of Aquinas. His compositions los were a "veritable encyclopedia containing treatises on almost every subject and displayed insight into nature and knowledge of theology which surprised his contemporaries and still excite the admiration of learned men in our own time". His additional name, 'Doctor Universalis', was fitting, proper, and deserved.

It is possible to get an accurate and practically complete comprehension of the second period of Scholasticism by studying only one of its representatives. That representative is Thomas Aquinas,

^{100.} This supernaturalism of Albertus stands in close connection with his Platonizing derivation of all creatures, by a descending emanation from the absolute God. (McClintock-Strong Encyclopedia, p. 420)

¹⁰¹ Because of his marked acquaintance with natural science, he was suspected by the vulgar of being a sorcerer.

^{102.} Cath. Ency. Vol. I, pp. 265-266.

^{103.} Albert was a compiler and commentator rather than an original theological genius.

^{104.} Catholic. Ency. Ibid

a native of Aquino, near Naples. A taciturn youth, he grew up to be the light of the Dominican Order. Called the Angelic Doctor, he was most profound and most acute; taught at Paris and Cologne, Rome and Bologna. Without controversy, in him Scholasticism attained its noblest development. At Paris his influence first made itself felt; and it was immediately challenged by a great body of university teachers, and even by masters of his own order, as that of an innovator and a dangerous supporter of that remote and half legendary Aristotle whose writings had been found to be so disastrous to the temper of faith.

The one great desire and aim of Thomas was to face the facts and fine the truth. 105 He divided all religious truths into two classes: such as are above reason, (e. g., the doctrine of the Trinity), and such as are accesible to reason, (e. g., the doctrine of the being of one God). And also with regard to this last class of truths, for various reasons, there is a high advantage in having them verified by authority of revelation.

The problem confronting his predecessors was that theology and philosophy did not coincide. And in desperation they had invented the doctrine of twofold truth, according to which something may be true for science and philosophy which is not true for theology, and vice versa. Thomas, following the lead of Albert, accepted the dis-

^{105.} Thus Thomas represents at its best the Dominican seal for orthodoxy. Their highest goal was the vision of God, the 'visio Dei', the highest possible achievement.

lo6. General religious notions, Aquinas thought, can be reached by way of logical demonstration. But to supernatural end of man we can attain only through supernatural revelation. Theology is a science based on revelation and guided by faith; other sciences are based on nature and guided by the light of reason. Natural reason serves as a preparation for faith. Thomas' essential feature is the sharp distinction made between that religious knowledge which is attainable by reason and that which we owe to revelation, as also the designating of revealed truth as "supra sed non contra rationem".

^{107.} Fisher, ob cit., p. 219

tinction between philosophy and theology, between doctrines of natural knowledge and those which are revealed. Thus, while he accepted the distinction between theology and philosophy, he left no room for the suggestion of opposition between reason and faith. The two kinds of truth are not opposed, they are rather supplemental. We must have both kinds of knowledge if we wish to have the full saving truth. With this formula he brings reason and faith, philosophy and theology, into a harmonious, consilient system, by assigning to each a distinct sphere. 108 Some truths fall into the field of philosophy; there are other truths which fall into the field of theology. Each has its place and the two cannot contradict. God is the source of all truth, whether it be communicated to us directly by revelation, or attained through experience and reason, hence, of necessity, all truth must be non-contradictory. Thomas esteemed reason to be man's greatest gift because it enables him to think God's thoughts afresh. He believed in a rational religion, ultimately based on accurate and detailed knowledge, capable of intellectual processes. 109 But the attainments of reason are inadequate. They must be augmented by revelation, which is the only final authority. This huge and important

^{108.} Thomas does not commit himself to a theory of two realms of truth when he says that a thing may be true for philosophy but false for theology. This solution he would have abhorred. There are two sources of truth, not two kinds. Philosophy begins with the world and ascends to God; theology begins with God and descends to man. While this results in two bodies of truth, they merely supplement each other.

^{109.} Smith, "Pre-Reformation England", p. 315

^{110.} This revelation, the Scriptures, are to be understood in the light of the interpretations of the councils and the Fathers as comprehended by the Church.

task of harmonizing natural knowledge and the revealed knowledge as represented by the Church dogmas, a task, the foundations of which had been laid by Albertus Magnus, needed to be accomplished in order to bring about the defeat of unbelief. 111

Intellectually, Aquinas' work was marked by a clarity, logical consistency, and a breadth of presentation that places him among the few great teachers of the Church. His Commentaries on Lombard's Sentences, Summa Contra Gentiles, and Summa Theologica are his three great literary achievements. In these he most fully elaborates his system. It is in the Summa Contra Gentiles that he works out the relationship between revealed theology and philosophy. It is a defense of the Christian faith against the attacks of those who relied on Aristotelian teachings to challenge Christian belief. In the first and third parts of the Summa Theologica he treats of the whole Christian drama of salvation, while in the second part he presents the most elaborate treatment of Christian ethics ever produced. This, his greatest work, was popular in its own time, and remains an authoritative statement of Catholic doctrine to this day. Tradition tells us it was composed as a textbook for the novices of the Dominican Order. It stands alone in the history of medieval Christianity, yes, even in all Christianity, as the deepest, the most original, and the most stimulating account of religious and ecclesiastical ideas that may be found outside Scripture itself. No thinker of the Middle Ages has given to his posterity so large a literary inheritance, - so, at least, the followers in his faith think. Never resting, never has-111. Bewkes, Jefferson, Adams, & Brautigam, "Experience, Reason,

and Faith", p. 403

^{112.} By the declaration of Pope Leo XIII, in 1879, this work is the basis of present theological instruction of the Roman Catholie Church.

tening, Thomas built up a coherent system of theology and philosophy which still survives. "It is the most consistent and hopeful attempt ever made to set up Christian faith as the ruling principle in all departments of human activity".

In St. Thomas we reached the highest perfection of the scholastic method. Now we hasten toward the close of the reign of Scholasticism, as we mention next a chief representative among the Franciscans, Duns Scotus, (c.1270-1308). Founder and leader of the famous Scotist School, he taught at Oxford, Paris, Cologne, earning for himself the special title of 'the Subtle Doctor'.

The Scotist teaching on the relation of reason and faith is similar to that of St. Thomas. Yet, in many ways, the later schoolmen opposed the Saint. 115 On nearly all of the more profound and more characteristic issues of the philosophy of Aquinas, Scotus seems to have delighted in running counter to the supreme thinker who had originated them. He taught the great truth of divine freedom and combatted the determinism of Aquinas.

All of this gave to his theology a character of its own.

He is accredited with attempting a synthesis between the Aristotelian

^{113.} Hort, "Hulsean Lectures", p. 74

^{114.} This gave rise to the vigorous debates between Scotists and Thomists, which continued to the end of the scholastic period, or rather until the time of the Reformation.

ll5. The chief points of difference were on the question of the relation of grace to the human will. Thomas followed for the most part Augustine; Scotus inclined toward Semi-Pelagianism. Thomas was an Aristotelian Realist; Scotus, a Realist of a more extreme Platonic type.

and Augustinian schools. Conclusions which Thomas claimed to have proved, Scotus regarded as only probable. He went so far as to deny that theology was capable of being a science in the strict sense of the word, but allowed it to be called a practical science, because theologians pursued a practical end, vis., the knowledge of God. He admitted that theology provided the mind with immutable truths, but they were known only by revelation. Such subjects as the emmipotence of God, creation, and the immortality of the soul he transferred to the domain of faith. He believed in the absolute truth of official orthodoxy of the Church. Theology, he maintained, is the science of man in his relation to God and of God in his relation to the Universe. The idea of God's infinity dominates all his thought. "If we believe in infinity, there must be infinite being, and Infinite Being is God".

Scotus advanced and held to the so-called Acceptilation
Theory. Christ did not make an absolute objective equivelant payment for the debt of man's sins. The Savior's work becomes an equivelant simply because God graciously wills to accept it as such as a creditor may choose to discharge a debtor on receiving, not the precise and full debt that is owed, but something less and different, yet so valuable and welcome as to satisfy the wishes and make him content.

^{116.} Scotus definitely widened the gap between faith and reason.

^{117.} Although philosophically improbable, such truths, Scotus claims, must be accepted on the authority of the Church. This marks the beginning of the break-down of Scholasticism, for its purpose had been to show the reasonableness of Christian truth.

^{118.} Smith, "Pre-Reformation England", p. 320

^{119.} Smith, Ibid.

In the case of Christ the dignity of the suffere and the circumstances attending his submission to death are taken into account.

Many derogatory statements have been made about Duns Scotus. He was no systematizer. He reached an extreme in the nicety of distinctions, going beyond all other schoolmen except william Ockham. To express these finespun distinctions, Scotus was obliged to invent many new Latin words, giving to his style a barbarous character. Lacking the spiritual depth of Aquinas, Scotus, it is written, better at tearing down than building up. Since he had no unified system and due to the obscurity of his language, his works were not extensively read and used. It has also been asserted that he did more harm than good to the Church, and by his criticism, his subtleties and his barbarous terminology, he prepared the ruin of Scholasticism. Perhaps this is an unfair underestimation of Scotus. Such too severe criticism is possibly due to an insufficient understanding and false interpretation of his doctrines. He does indeed deserve a certain amount of credit for constructive efforts. His teaching was orthodox. 123 Being a keen and able schoolman and a creative genius, he left behind him many followers and also founded a school which has its redoubtable champions even in our own day.

VII, B, 6. The reader has noticed that in the last scholastics mentioned we have begun to see a definite trend away from an exclusive devotion

^{120.} Fisher, op. cit., p. 222

^{121.} Cath. Ency. Volume containing article on Scotus, p. 194-198

^{122.} Duns Scotus marks the separation of religious and logical interest, and the ascendance of the latter.

^{123.} The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, since declared a dogma of the Catholic Church, was strongly advocated by Duns Scotus.

to philosophy, theology, and logic. The next scholar, Roger Bacon, (c.1214-1292), fits well into this trend, coming into the picture at this time when the drift of studies, which had been wholly in the direction of metaphysical theology, and away from literature, is taking a turn toward languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences, for which he had a predilection. This noble and able English philosopher lectured for some time at Paris.

Bacon was not altogether uninterested in the field of theology. Although often incorrect in doctrine and imprudent and inaccurate in expression of the same, he produced three important works: Opus Majus, Opus Minus, and Tertium. The first of these deals in seven parts with: 1) Errors and their sources; 2) the relation between theology and philosophy; 3) the necessity of studying biblical languages; 4) mathematics and their relation to the sacred sciences; 4) perspective, or optics; 6) experimental sciences; and 7) ethics. The great tenet of Bacon was this: Ecclesiastical study must be reformed. He openly exposes what he terms the seven sins in the study of theology. He was an enemy, not of Scholasticism, but of its extravagances, its subtleties, and its fruitless arguments. And he was not afraid to say what he thought.

While the other teachers of his time were disputing on the nature of genera and species, Bacon was with ardor prosecuting researches in optics. He well understood the value of mathematical science as a key to physical knowledge. 125 Certainly his versatility

^{124.} In this work he proves that all sciences are founded on Holy Scripture.

^{125.} Perhaps the really outstanding manifestation of Bacon's scientific ability lies in that extraordinary foresight which led him to see the magnifying properties of convex lenses, the inherent power in gun powder, and the possibility of flying machines and mechanically propelled boats, or of circumnavigating the globe.

and knowledge far surpassed the average science of his age. And yet

It must be admitted that Bacon, the 'Wonderful Doctor', had no marked

influence on his immediate successors. This was, without a doubt, due

to the fact that, although he displayed reverence for the pope and

veneration towards the Church Fathers, his works were condemned.

III, B, 7. At the death-bed of the second and flourishing period of Scholasticism stands Raymond Lull, (c.1232-1315). First a hermit, then tertiary of the Order of St. Francis, Lull was inspired with a great zeal for the conversion of the Mohammedans, going to work to Christianize the Saracens. Because of this hunger for the ingathering of Orientals, he caused chairs of Oriental languages to be established at Paris, Oxford, and Salamanca. His one great and chief aim was to check the progress of the Pantheistic infidelity which had come forth from Arabian schools in Spain, especially that of Averroes.

In connection with and preparation for this praiseworthy undertaking, he produced a work on universal science, designed to provide an invincible method of argumentation against the Mohammedans and infidels.

Holding the extreme view that there is no distinction between philosophy and theology, so that even the highest mysteries may

^{126.} If the Church wanted Scholasticism to survive, then it is my opinion that she made a mistake here. By exposing the evils of the present trends of the schoolmen, Bacon was trying to check its rush toward self-annihilation.

^{127.} Lull later taught at Paris himself.

^{128.} Averroes, (1126-1198), an Arabic philosopher, held the principle of two-fold truth, religious and philosophical, each having its own sphere. A commentator of Aristotle, he tried to unite Aristotelian philosophy with Mohammedanism. His influence on the thinkers of the Middle Ages was great.

be proved by means of logical demonstration, Lull removed all distinction between natural and supernatural truth. "His rationalism was of a highly mystic type. Reason needs faith; but on the other hand, faith needs reason". At once the Church sensed the jeopardizing consequences which might easily follow from the breaking down of the difference made between natural and supernatural 130 truth.

In his numerous writings (about 300 in all) Lull expounded Christian theology in a most clear manner.

on universals during Scholasticism's first period. Nominalism was dethroned by Realism after some time, and now in the last stage of the scholastic movement, the third period, which embraces the 14th and 15th centuries, Nominalism regained the hold which it had forfeited in the middle period. This is the age of the decline, fall, and dissolution of this medieval method and system. It has been said that Nominalism was "the tomb of Scholasticism" and the cause for its bankruptcy.

VII, 0, 1. William Ockham, a disciple of Scotus, is the important figure of this period. Born about 1280, he belonged to the St. Francis Order, and became a teacher at Paris University. In 1320 he composed famous works on Aristotle's physics, and on logic. He was a controversial

^{129.} Cath. Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, p. 670-671

^{130.} And therefore the Church did not canonise Lull.

^{131.} bull invented a mechanical contrivance, a logical machine, in which subjects and predicates of theological propositions were arranged in circles, squares, and triangles and other geometrical figures, so that by moving a lever, turning a crank, or causing a wheel to revolve, the propositions would arrange themselves in the affirmative or negative and thus prove themselves to be true. This he called the Ars Generalis Ultima, or Ars Magne.

writer, and in 1323 resigned his chair at the university to devote himself to ecclesiastical politics.

We ask, why the change back from Realism to Nominalism? This substitution was probably due to the failure of realism to resolve the truths of philosophy and theology into a unitary substratum of knowledge. What Ockham introduced was not a true Nominalism, but a moderation, a Conceptualism. He might be called a "conceptualist endeavoring to state his case in terms of nominalism". Whatever his view is called, he fiercely attacked anything that favored realism. Only individual objects exist, he said. Any association in general or species is purely mental, having no objective reality. It is simply a use of symbolic terms. 132 "Real things are known to us by intuitive knowledge, and not by abstraction. The universal concept has for its object, not a reality existing in the world outside us, but an internal representation which is a product of the understanding itself and which supposes in the mind, for the things to which the mind attributes it, i. e., it holds, for the time being, the place of the thing which it represents".

The result of Ockham's moderate nominalism, or Conceptualism, was a completely skeptical tendency in his system. In philosophy he advocated a reform of Scholasticism both in method and in con-

^{132.} Ockham distinguishes between the term of mind, the term uttered, and the term as committed to writing. Only the first possesses reality. For this view Ockham has often been referred to as a "Terminist".

^{133.} Cath. Encyclopedia., Vol. XV, p. 636

tent. His aim in general was simplification. He transferred all the articles of religion to the province of faith, and regarded the gulf between religion and science as fixed and impassible. Declaring that Holy Scriptures were infallible, he professed his faith in all the articles of the Creed, teaching that Scripture, and not the decisions of councils and what he deemed a derelict papacy is along binding on the Christian. The doctrines, he declared, can be clearly deduced from revelation; but, he adds, they cannot be demonstrated by man, and are in themselves so highly improbable that men restricted to reason would pronounce them false. And here is where his views were wide open for skepticism. While his system undoubtedly aided investigation by permitting the most free philosophical criticism of existing dogma, it based all Christian belief on arbitrary authority (rationalism). 137 And that was really to undermine theclogy, for men do not long hold as true what is intellectually indefensible. That explains the increasingly marked turn toward mysticism in the 14th and 15th centuries. There was too much distrust

^{134.} He is remembered as the author of the famous 'Law of Parsimony', or Ockham's Razor, "things ought not to be multiplied except under compulsion". (Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate).

^{135.} He believed in transubstantiation, in the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, in the miracles and cults of saints, etc.

^{136. &}quot;There is no wonder that Luther, in this respect, could call him 'dear Master'." (Sheldon, p. 279)

^{137.} His doctrine, when applied to the deeper things of religion and life, eventually issued in the facile and flippant agnosticism so characteristic of too many of the schoolmen down almost to the middle of the 16th century.

^{138.} If not driven to skepticism, men returned to Augustine for the intellectual and religious comfort which Scholasticism was no longer able to afford.

of the ability of the human mind to reach certitude in the most important problems of philosophy and theology.

Ockham contributed a number of pamphlets and treatises to the polemical literature of his day, of which the most important are: Opus nonaginta dierum, Compendium errorum Joannis Papas XXII, and Quaestiones octo de auctoritate summi pontificis.

Although the philosophical views of Ockham gained increasing sway after his death, it cannot be said that his influence was for the good. He did more in his own person to lower the prestige of Aquinas and Scotus than any other master of this time. This must, however, be said to his credit: He stood in direct relation to the greatest event of the next age, the Reformation. Although he was no forerunner of Luther as a reformer, he was one of the factors without which the Reformation probably would have been impossible.

And perhaps this was no ocassion for lamentation, for what was being produced was becoming ever more disreputable. There was a great need for a thorough reformation of the whole body of theology. And just toward this end Biel, (c.1425-1495) made a final, earnest, but fruitless attempt, an attempt to prop up the tottering super-structure of the old system.

The work of Gabriel Biel consisted in the in the systematic development of the moderate, nominalistic lal theories of his master,

^{139.} Ockham's own skepticism appears in his doctrine that human reason can prove neither the immortality of the soul nor the existence, unity, and infinity of God.

^{140.} Ockham's views in this connection will be treated in detail in a following chapter on Church and State, Papal Power.

^{141.} Some of his works show him to be more Scotist than Nominalist.

Ockham, which theories were expounded in his Epitome et Collectorium ex Occamo super libros quattour Santentiorum. 142 It is the best specimen of the final aspect of Scholasticism, and must have found some approval in the eyes of the Catholics, for his theologicals writings were later repeatedly brought into the discussions of the Council of Trent.

Besides his theological works, Biel, who was once a professor at the newly founded University of Tuebingen, whote a treatise
bearing the title, De Potestate et Utilitate Monetarum, which gives
him a place in the history of economic theory. This is interesting! Note how far, and gradually, the schoolmen have progressed
in getting away from the one subject: the harmonization of philosophy and theology. Anselm, for example, would never have even
dreamed of devoting his time and energy of mind to a discussion of such
worldly subject as economics.

Biel is the last scholastic on our long list for consideration. And he has been given the title of "Ultimus Scholasticorum". It is, however, incorrect to call him the "last scholastic". For the movement of Scholasticism, at least traces of it, did not cease with Biel, even in Germany, and it continued to simmer long after his time in the universities of Spain. Neither is it correct to say that it has completely perished from off the face of the earth to this day. In various degrees, it still can be found in some of the

^{142.} It is estimated that this had considerable influence in giving form to the doctrines of Luther and Melanchton.

^{143.} According to him, the just price of a commodity is determined chiefly by human needs, by its scarcity, and by the difficulty of producing it. How true!

universities in our own time and in our own land.

TIII.

Why did Scholasticism decline, and finally fail and almost disappear altogether? The answer to this question would be worth sixtyfour dollars on any modern quiz program. The question can not be answered by singling out and putting a finger on one cause. No, it is not easy to account for the decline of a movement which once had meant so much to the Christian Church. We must rather put our hands on a group of causes. Perhaps the death of Scholasticism was due to Scotism; perhaps its curious loss of prestige was caused by the partisan spirit that too early developed in opposing schools and bread, first dissatisfaction, and afterwards, disdain; perhaps the followers of Ockham were to blame for the lowering of the whole morals of the scholastic world; perhaps it was the unsettled state of men's minds caused by the long papal schism that accounted for the growing neglect of a system that now offered little food for thought; or did perhaps the Black Death of 1348, which sapped the moral energies and general mind of Europe in so many subtle and unnoted ways, also contribute its sinister share to this failure of a great medieval institution? We do not profess to be able to say the cause was

^{146.} In the University of Chicago, for example, a survival of Scholasticism may still be found in what President Robert Hutchins calls the higher learning.

^{145.} It was the keen and unrelentless search of Duns Scotus for the weak points in the Thomistic philosophy that irratated and wounded the susceptibilities among the followers of St. Thomas and brought about the spirit of partisanship which did so much to dissipate the energy of Scholasticism in the 14th century.

^{146.} The great Papal Schism lasted from 1378 until 1417.

this or that. Rather, let it suffice for us to expand on a number of causes which in our opinion afford the most probably and sufficient answer.

Scholasticism, we are agreed, started out with the express purpose of reconciling faith and reason. That was the cause for its inception. And it finally came to the point where it accepted the dictum that what was true in philosophy might be false in theology. Those who acquiesced in such a conclusion confessed that Scholasticism had failed. And is that not a legitimate conclusion, for when any institution or method or system falls short of the accomplishment of the purpose of its inception, that short-coming automatically becomes a reason for its decease, does it not? Advancing this as a reason. Baur traces the decline of Scholasticism back to Duns Scotus. He says that it had already lost its peculiar character when theology was defined as a practical science, for this made a separation between theology and philosophy, and abandoned the position of the unity of faith and knowledge, which was essential to Scholasticism. The more sharply Scotus distinguished between understanding and will, the more did he separate the two and disconnect the practical from the theoretical. All that remained was to separate thought from being, and the dissolution was complete. And this very move was made by Ockham, so that faith was at last left to rest merely upon authority. Bewkes, Jefferson, Adams, and Brautigam, in their treatise, "Experience, Reason, and Faith", dwell on this separation at length, saying:

"....although Thomas Aquinas did his work so well that his is still the official philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church, there were certain problems and tendencies in his synthesis that contributed

^{147.} Baur, "Dogmengeschichte", p. 229

eventually to the disintegration of Scholasticism as a universal philosophy and to the triumph of modern modes of thought and life. Two inherent weaknesses of Scholasticism were: 1) The Aristotelian respect for sense experience as a reliable mode of knowledge, with its corollary that observation is a fruitful method, asserted itself in new explorations and investigations, like those of Columbus, Tycho, Brahe, and Galileo. These discoveries, and the new theories that followed them, entailed revolutionary consequences. If nothing more, the results of looking at and probing into nature destroyed the medieval pre-occupation with the supernatural and led eventually to modern naturalism and humanism; and 2) the Thomistic reconciliation of faith and reason left some tension between philosophy and theology. He taught that there were certain truths which cannot be dealt with by reason but must be taken on faith. Duns Scots saw that one must decide whether reason or revelation is the final test of truth. Boldly he declared that he believed in the Bible and ecclesiastical doctrines only because these conform to reason. He thus held reason to be the final test of all truth, altho still believing that Christian teaching can be shown to be rational. William of Ockham said there was no rational proof of doctrine and called upon the leaders of the Church to abandon their futile speculations and become practical propagators of faith. So philosophy became divorced from theology, claiming reason for itself alone and leaving theology to faith unchecked by logic. It was inevitable that philosophy, thus free, should bring forth theories of the universe contradicting those of the Church, while theology, thus isolated, tended more and more to crystalize. A philosophy cannot survive the actuality which it served to raionalize. On this theory of the nature and function of philosophy, we shall expect to find Scholasticism, the intellectual synthesis of medieval civilisation and culture, declining and disintegrating along with the life whose substance it mirrored. The Protestant Reformation, with emphasis on salvation by faith alone made the sacramental system of the Church superfluous and undercut the doctrine of ecclesiastical authority in the sphere of religion. The interest of the Renaissance Humanists in the values of this world and in the individual who could enjoy them meant the repudiation of the medieval ethics with its otherworldliness and asceticism. Discoveries in astronomy and physics discredited theology as the supreme interest of scholars and brought forth new philosophies to replace Scholasticism".

Another suggested explanation for the decline is this: The

haste toward its end exhibited by Scholasticism in the century and a

half after Scotus' death might have been in obedience to the inevitable sounter-sweep in things which we recognize as the law of reaction or the instinct for change. This law and instinct became noticeable immediately in the instance when a system discontinues to serve its purpose. Certainly Scholasticism had well spent itself by the middle of the 15th century. You will observe that the decline of Scholasticism set in when the energies of the scholastics became more and more absorbed in empty quibbling, - a practice which brought the system into ill repute. That was not a mere coincidence; it was a reason and a result. This is just another example in ecclesiastical history of the fact that when a social institution or system fails to serve human purposes, it is either altered or entirely discarded. There can be no doubt that Scholasticism had failed finally to meet the needs of its time and place, just as other vague doctrines and methods of education had done before and have done since. Like the so-called Greek scientists, the shhoolmen of the Middle Ages kept themselves aloof from the real problems of the life of the masses of the people of their time and place, and "unspotted from the world". Their labors became mere mental gymnastics without bearing on life; researches which resulted in no discovery; the worship of logic for logic's sake; endless conflicts in which the foes lost sight of each other "in more than Egyptian darkness and in labyrinths without issue".

As a system of philosophy Scholasticism failed to keep pace with the progress of science. The Scholastics' exclusive at-

^{148.} Knight, "Twenty Centuries of Education", p. 116

tention to philosophical and theological questions, in which, at times, dialectics were reduced to absurdity, caused an almost total neglect of the study of the physical world and a disregard for the functions of the intellect. They did very little in the interest of the extension of knowledge, 150 and less still in an effort to apply it to the problems of nature and man. So far as human beings in this world were concerned, the aims of Scholasticism lacked activity and vitality. Attempts to find new and more wital aims had to wait on the Renaissance.

II. A.

In the early part of the Middle Ages, the Church possessed practically unlimited power and authority. This position was not severely criticized, questioned, or challenged, because, with the exception of Charlemagne and his regime, the secular world had very little to offer. The little and only intellectual life

^{149.} There were, of course, some exceptions. Bacon studied the physical sciences; Albertus Magnus was a student of nature and an authority on both natural and physical sciences; and the work of Grosseteste, as the chancellor of the University of Oxford, shows that care for the liberal literary culture was not entirely unknown.

^{150.} This is proven by the fact that Encyclopedias of general information in use during the Middle Ages show little or no advance in positive knowledge beyond the treatment of similar subjects in works by Isidore of Seville, who live about 570-636.

^{151.} The excessive cultivation of formalism and subtlety, the growth of artificial and even barbarous terminology and the neglect of the study of nature and of history, - all these contributed their share to the same result. It has been said that Gerson, Thomas & Kempis, and Eckhart were more representative of what the Christian Church was actually thinking in the 14th and 15th centuries than were the Thomists, Scotists, and Ockhamists of that period, who wasted much valuable time in the discussion of highly technical questions which arose in the schools and possessed little interest except for adepts in scholastic subtlety. When Des Cartes, in practice if not in theory, effected a complete separation of philosophy from theology, the modern era had begun and the age of Scholasticism had come to an end.

discernable was that preserved in and by the Church. This was then the Church's opportunity to grow strong, and with the notion in mind that to her belonged "all power in heaven and on earth", she grabbed every opportunity, taking advantage of the State's weakness, to become the supreme power. This rise to power was to be given an early impetus by Anselm at the dawn of Scholasticism. His struggle with the State had always had as its most powerful motive to win for the Church the opportunity to do her distinctive work within the kingdom. Also through the influence and efforts of Anselm, the Church, through the symbolic rite of staff and ring, had the power to refuse Church office candidates put up by the king. And thus, during the centuries following Anselm, the Church became stronger, the State weaker, until the time of Aquinas, when the papacy had almost reached supreme sway, both in temporal and in spiritual matters. George Park Fisher, in his "History of Christian Doctrine", pp. 251-253, speaks of this climb to power as follows:

> "The conversion of the Church into an ecclesiastical monarchy, with almost absolute power in the Regent at Rome, was not the work of theologians. Nor was its success in building up a worldwide monarchy, to which nations and kings should be subject, owing, as a main cause, to their craft or their ambition. The Schoolmen came forward with formulas and arguments in behalf of the result of an ecclesiastical development which had grown out of tendencies long fife in the Church, and out of the conditions of European society. The attempt to trace the growth of hierarchical prerogatives and of the papacy would take us into the field of jurisprudence. The subject belongs more to a record of the rise and progress of canon law than to the history of doctrine. In the alterations and accretions which that system experienced from time to time, forgeries, of which the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals were far from being the exclusive example - a great fraud which nobody, at that time, was competent to detect and expose - were an auxiliary cause. But the structure, as a whole, arose from circumstances involved in the relation of the Church to the semi-civilized nations, and from the judaistic elements mingled in its

faith and its ceremonies. The compilation of Gratian in the middle of the 12th century was succeeded by the rapid growth of a system of canon law. Enlarged collections, each outdoing its precursor in exalting priestly and papal authority, appeared in the next following centuries. Under such popes as Alexander III. and Innocent III., new decrees of councils and ordinances of Popes carried the pretensions of the papal see to the highest point short of an apotheosis of the sovereign pontiffs. The process went on through the reign of Boniface VIII.

"l. The old theory of the equality of bishops as regards the essential basis of their office was given up. The Pope was not only Vicar of St. Peter and universal bishop, but became the Vicar of Christ, or of God, and under Christ, the fountain of Epiecopal authority, which from him is distributed among His fellow-bishops. They are all His vicars. Their relation to the Pope was compared by Aquinas to that of a Proconsul to an Emperor. The Pope having this station, supreme legislative power was more and more attributed to him, and along with it a coextensive judicial authority. To him was ascribed the exclusive right to depose bishops as well as to confirm their appointment, to summon general councils, and to ratify, or to veto, their doings, to dispose of benefices and to tax the churches, to grant absolution in all cases which he chose to reserve to himself, and to decree canonization.

"2. The personal infallibility of the Pope respecting Christian doctrine remained a subject on which there were opposite opinions. Yet papal infallibility is approved by Aquinas on the ground of the prayer of Christ for Peter that his faith might not fail (Luke xxii, 32). But much stress is laid on a priori reasoning, and on the injunction, 'Feed my sheep' (John xxi, 16, 17). The Thomist opinion on this point was espoused generally by the Dominicans.

"3. The claims of the Popes to a superior authority in relation to kings and princes were explained and asserted by Aquinas. The doctrine was that the two swords, emblems of temporal and spiritual authority, were given to Peter, but that the wielding of the temporal sword is delegated to the Civil Power, which, however, is answerable for the use of it to the successors of the Apostle. To the Church was given the power to bind and to loose, and this stretches over princes as well as subjects. The sentence in the bull of Boniface VIII. (1302), the Unam Sanctam, which declares that every human being is subject to the Roman pontiff, occurs in Aquinas. If the priesthood, according to the current doctrine and practice, were raised far above all others (the laity), the popes were exalted to a corresponding height above all other holders of the priestly office."

The schoolmen of the first period of Scholasticism and a number of those of the second period, as a rule, took this relation of the Church and papacy as a matter of course, and as being correct and not undesirable.

However, this trend experienced its first change when Thomas Aquinas came into the picture. With regard to the respective authority of the pope and the emperor or king, Thomas took a moderate position. He accepted the traditional Gelasian doctrine of the division of jurisdiction between the spiritual and the civil powers, and rejected the tendency to elevate the admitted supremacy of the spiritual power into legal supremacy. The fact that the Church represented to him a higher form of organization than the State did not lead him to question the power and authority of the State in its own sphere. He regarded the actual situation as divinely ordained.

The controversy became more heated at the time of Ockham, who really had something to say on this matter. Ockham threw his lot with the Imperial power. He acknowledged the primacy and supreme power of the Roman Pontiff in the spiritual realm, but in common with many other theologians of his time, he was opposed to the papacy, denounced the wealth and temporal power of the popes, and maintained the superiority of general councils, at least to the extent that they could compel the popes' resignations. Thus, by denying the the popes the right to exercise temporal power or to interfere in any way whatsoever in the affairs of the Empire, Ockham became the most interesting figure in the great contest between pope and emperor, laying the foundations of modern theories of government.

^{153.} Bewkes, Jefferson, Adams, Brautigam, op. cit., p. 293f.

IX, B.

Arguing that Christ gave only spiritual jurisdiction to St. Peter and that Peter could confer no more on his successors, Ockham insisted on the independence of kingly authority, which he claimed is as much an ordinance of God as is spiritual rule. Any powers that the pope had beyond the spiritual hemisphere had been received from human grants or were usurpations acquiesced in by indolent princes. In his writings on the Church and State Ockham included a discussion as to what is meant by the State. 154 He struck onto a definitely new line of thought regarding the relation of temporal and spiritual authority of the Church and State.

In this conflict there arose a need for the development of Canon Law. Canon law was organized, systematized, and restated so that it would be in full accord with the absolute primatial power of the pope. The Decretalium Gregorii IX Compilatio, published in 1234, became the standard laws for the Church until they were superseded by the Corpus juris Canonici of the 16th century. Through these laws the Church assumed the position of a legal institution or corporation. These laws were placed on par with, if not above, the Roman Corpus juris civilis.

Scholasticism had an influence on the Church also in that it served to systematize the Church's doctrines. If any institution was awake during the Dark, Middle Ages, it was the Church. She was looking around for something new to crop up, and to use it to

decidedly expressed in his "Tractatus de jurisdictione imperatoris in causis matrimonialibus". In this he contends, e. g., that it belongs to the civil power to decide cases of affinity and to state prohibited degrees.

^{155.} Qualben, "History of the Christian Church", p. 178

her service. Hence, when Scholasticism came, she was ready and prepared to use the new learning in an intelligent manner, especially the method and philosophy of Aristotle and to bring reason to the support of faith when she acquired new intellectual interests.

the doctrines of the Church, 156 to arrange them into an elaborate 157 system, and to discuss and defend them at every point. By this time most of the doctrine of the Church had already come into existence, and consequently it was not the duty of the scholastics to produce new doctrines. Their concern, rather, was the systematization and the organization of the faith and doctrine of the Church. In the more positive sense of the terms, the schoolmen were not original thinkers and investigators.

During the Dark Ages, from the 7th to the 12th century, and during the scholastic epoch, from the 12th to the 16th century, very little of essential principle was added in the way of either biblical or historical criticism. Very little was furnished during this great span of time to the explanation of the Word of God.

^{155.} Most schoolmen did not in any way advance or alter dogma, they only furnished it with an apparatus for scientific nomenclature, and transferred it from the Church to the schools.

^{157.} Card. Hergenroether defines Scholasticism as "dialektisch geordnete, systematische Theologie, die an die Philosophie sich anlehnte und die Dogmen theils als vernunftgemaess, theils als fiber jede vernünftige Einsprache erhabe zu begründen suchte". (Krichengeschichte, i. 952.)

^{158.} The structure of ecclesiastical doctrine was complete with the exception of a few parts, e. g., the doctrine of the sacraments, by about 730. The great Church creeds had been formulated before the separation of the eastern and western Churches. Yet many points of interpretation remained without authoritative definition for many centuries. They were: Transubstantiation (whether the substance of bread and wine is literally changed into the body and blood of Christ, or only in a spiritual sense), and Free Will and Predestination. But the main pillars of Theology and Christology were firmly established by the decisions of councils held during the preceding periods; and Augustinism had given (at least in the West)

In their exegetical works we see the schoolmen at their worst.

They treated the letter of Scripture, even in its plainest histories, as an enigma which veils the latest after-thoughts of theology. Concerning this, Farrar says: "The greatness of the schoolmen was so paralyzed by vicious methods, by traditional errors, and by foregone conclusions that many of their comments on Scripture became not only inconsequent, but even childish".

IX. C.

Since the era of Scholasticism was characterized by great legislative activity on the part of the popes, there was necessitated also a dogmatic development of the Church, in order that she might keep pace with the growth of ecclesiastical consciousness. Let us notice the influence which Scholasticism had on a number of the more important doctrines of the Medieval Church.

IX, C, 1.

Creation: John Scotus Erigena had held very pantheistic ideas with respect to this particular dogma. By the schoolmen as a rule, creation was considered to be an act of the divine will. The narrative in Genesis was commonly taken in both a literal and allegorical sense. However, Anselm, too, didn't succeed in avoiding Pantheism in his representation of God's relation to the world of contingent things. God was in and through His whole creation.

a definite character to anthropology, to the doctrine of salvation connected with it, and lastly, to the doctrine of the Church. All that still remained to be done for the Church doctrine consisted partly in the collection and completion of existing materials, partly in the emission to sift them, and partly in the effort made to prove dialectically particular points.

^{159.} He gives this example to bear witness to the truth of his statement: "Let not the foot of pride come against me" (Psalm 36, 2) Why foot, he asks. Because, he says, he who walks on one foot falls more easily than he who walks on two.

taught, was created by the flat of God, out of nothing. This involves beginning in time. There was then a time before which the universe of created things had no existence by itself. But this does not imply that it had no existence whatever. In a sense it existed from the beginning. It existed in God's thought even before all time. That God saw that the universe would come into being, that God not only foresaw its actual existence, but had even premeditated its coming into existence, constituted for the universe an eternal existence.

160

The spiritual expositions, says aquinas, must be framed on the basis of the literal meaning, which is first to be accepted. And aquinas indeed accepted creation, but as a matter of faith, not as a matter of philosophy.

II, C, 2.

being. Man's morality has no justification beyond the divine fiat; and God made acts good and evil as He chose. He could even conceive of God saving the wicked, damning the blessed virgin, or commanding men to hate Himself. Thomas insisted that by means of philosophy we may prove the existence of God. In accordance with his Aristotelian theory of knowledge he also disposed of the argument that the idea of God is inborn, or that it is self-evident and needs no proof. Nor did he have any use for the familiar cosmological argument which asserts that there must be a creator to account for the existence of the universe. If we lack at the world, we can see

^{10 160.} Welch, "Anselm and His Work", p. 68f.

^{/ 161.} Smith, op. cit., p. 293f.

about us the effects of God's activity. Motion and growth are the most evident of facts; since objects are not self-moved but remain at rest until moved from without, philosophy must account for motion. We must trace motion back to God as the Prime Mover Who is Himself unmoved. Thomas also says much about God's character. He is the only example of pure actuality, hence, He is one and unchanging; being perfect, He is good; being infinite, He is possessed of infinite intelligence, knowledge, goodness, freedom, and power, - all of which are attributes but partly possessed by finite beings. Nicholas of Cusa had no respect for systems which claimed to explain God and the universe on an adequate basis of facts. He distrusted the syllogistic method, and did not believe that any advance in knowledge could be made by logic. In his "Docta Ignorantia" he maintained that the right attitude of man to God and the universe was one of wonder. For him, God is the infinite, the One and All. He unfolds all things in Himself and unfolds Himself in all things. 164

II, 0, 3. Free Will: This doctrine continually occupied the mind of Anselm, who defined liberty as the power of conserving the rectitude of the will and of obeying reason. Reason, he said, directs man's will. Scotus was interested in men as individuals and this was in line with the importance which he assigned to a free will in God and

^{162.} Bewkes, etc, "Experience, Reason, and Faith", p. 401f.

^{163.} Nicholas of Cusa wrote in the 15th century.

^{164.} Certainly this is dangerously near Pantheism.

man. He thought first of the will, which was prior to intellect, and may influence, but does not determine, it, as men often act in defiance of their better judgment. In his libertarianism, Scotus approached the perilous and forbidden frontiers of Pelagius. God's will is free, and since man is created in His image, man is also free. He is free to act and responsible for his actions; but God from all eternity knew what he would choose to do, and planned human history in the light of that knowledge. Aquinas, on the other hand, like his forerunner, Albertus Magnus, was a determinsit. "There are second causes," he said, "but God is the Prime Mover, acting upon the second causes, and, in the case of the will, so to speak, is within them. The will is not necessitated when it is moved by God to act in a particular direction, since there is no external constraint. That which is produced is the inward inclination itself". 166 "God, in moving the will, does not coerce it, since He gives it its own inclination. To be moved by the will is to be moved by one's self, that is, by an internal principle, but that intrinsic principle may be from another extrinsic principle; and thus, to be moved of one's self is not inconsistent with being moved by another".

IX, C, 4. The Sacraments: The number of sacraments remained quite unsettled until the middle of the 11th century. The number had been

^{15 165.} Smith, op. cit., p. 293f.

^{14 166.} Fisher, "History of Christian Doctrine", p. 238.

^{167.} Aquinas, "Summa Theologica", P. I., Qu. 44, Art. 4, as translated by Fisher, ob. cit., page 238.

set at five by Abelard and Hugo of St. Victor, but was increased to seven by Lombard, which number was accepted, as before said, in 1439, at the Council of Florence. Of these, Baptism and the Eucharist were usually prognounced to be the principal sacraments. Of these again, we shall discuss the views of the schoolmen one only one, namely, the Eucharist.

It is interesting to note how the teaching of the scholastics on the sacraments played an important part in the climb of the Church to her great temporal power. The schoolmen, whose conclusions determined the dogma of the Church, maintained that the ministration of a priest was necessary to make the sacraments efficacious. This is known as 'sacerdotalism', namely, that there can be no valid sacrament unless officially administered by a representative of the Church. And the twin dictum to this was the teaching of 'sacramentalism', viz., that there can be no salvation without the use of the sacraments. Put these two together and you have this terrible situation: There is no salvation outside the Church. This elevated the Roman hierarchy to a 'mediating position between God and man'. The people were persuaded that the Church had an important spiritual mission, and in the Church were their fears and hopes. She held the keys to heaven and to hell. The Church was the only custodian of the message of salvation, and herein lay her power. This power the Church exercised in the

^{168.} They are: Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Penance, Ordination, and Marriage.

^{169.} The Humanities, Syllabus, pp. 156-157

Interdict, which, due to the teachings of Sacerdotalism and Sacramentalism, as a rule, brought all into obedience to the Church.

I, C, 5.

Eucharist - (Transubstantiation): Toward the beginning of this thesis we made the statement that what is properly called 'Scholasticism' can be said to have begun with the argument on the Lord's Supper between Berengarius and Lanfranc. In this argument Berengarius had opposed transubstantiation, (the literal change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ), which was defended by Lanfranc, and which was an advance upon the Augustinian view which had prevailed earlier in the Middle Ages. To this Anselm added that "the whole Christ, God and man, is received when the bread is received and likewise when the cup is received". Yet Fisher adds, quoting from Anselm. "Non tamen his sed semel Christus accipimus". It was the contention of William Ockham that transubstantiation is logically indefensible, but must be believed because the Church so decided. 174 Scotus came very near to denying the sacrifice of the Mass, and opened the way for Protestant opinions. At any rate, he clearly distinguished between the sacrifice

^{170. &}quot;The Interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. The total interdict forbade public worship, the administration of the sacraments, and Christian burial. Churches were closed; no bell could be rung; no marriage celebrated; no burial ceremony performed. The sacramentals of baptism and extreme unction alone could be administered". Qualben, op. cit., p. 200.

^{171.} Heldebert, Archbishop of Tours, (died in 1134) was the first known to use the word "transubstantiate".

^{172.} Fisher, "History of Christian Doctrine", p. 211

^{173.} Anselm, Epp. L., Iv, 107 (Migne, 159, p. 255)

^{174.} The Lateran Council of 1215 gave the first official sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

of the Cross, and the offering made in the Mass. Bewkes, Jefferson, Adams, and Brautigam, in their work, "Experience, Reason, and Faith", present the view of Aquinas concerning the Lord's Supper as follows:

"Thomas' use of the aristotelian principle of the union of matter and form in the constitution of actuality is further illustrated in his theory of the sacraments. Here again, the natural and the salesnatural supplement each other to make a sacred tring. In a sacrament the words of institution are the form and the materials employed are the matter; men tues are brought together in authorized families that the stitute the sacrament. Applying this principle to the Sucharist, Thomas was able to emisis the tilficult doctrine of transmistantiation ... The week and the wine, natural substances, became matter for the sacred substances of Christ's body and blood them they are informed by the priestly sumis of institution. When this is done, there is nothing left of the bread and wine, but their appearance. That title is not also changed with the substance, Thomas explained as follows: First, because it is not musticmary but horrible for men to eat the flesh of a man and drink his blood, the flesh and blood of Christ are offered to us under the form of things which are more frequently used, namely, bread and wins. Secondly, lest this sacrament might be ridiculed by unbelievers if we ate our Lord in His own form. Thirdly, that while we receive the body and blood of our Lord invisibly, this may contribute to the merit of our faith".

Inspiration: The Scholastics had very little to say about this particular phase of the doctrine of the Church. It will suffice for us to hear the words of Rudelbach in this connection: However much the scholastic divines have done in the development of the other fundamental ideas which determine the sphere of revolution, and however much we owe to them, expecially as regards produced in the objective idea of a miracle, jet their terminal management this point (inspiration) are very scanty. This point as a second a being

^{175.} Smith, op. cit., p. 293f.

^{176.} Bewkes, etc., op. cit., p. 401f.

an ANY TONTY, which needed no further proof, inasmuch as the whole Christian Church moved in this element".

The final part of our thesis is to be a study of the influence of Scholasticism on the aducation of the Middle Ages.

We would do well to begin this closing chapter by reviewing the status of education at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Something concerning Charlemagne and Alcuin, the educator in the former's court, was said when we spoke of the world into which Scholasticism came. Here some repitition and amplification is necessary.

Charlemagne well realized the need for educational facilities for his nobles and clergy. When he came to power, he found learning in a most deplorable plight. It had been almost obliterated during the two centuries of wild disorder before the rule of this great ruler, (c.600-800). The monastic and cathedral schools which had been established earlier, had in a large degree disappeared, and the monasteries had lost their earlier religious seal and worth. The clergy was ignorant, - an injury to the Church. Books became fewer due to negligence in the work of copying, and learning was slowly, but surely, dying out.

The first effort of Alcuin and Charlemagne was to improve the education among the monks and clergy. To assist in this work a number of monks were imported from Italy. Although the actual re-

L, A.

, B.

^{177.} Rudelbach, "Die Lehre von der Heiligen Schrift", p. 48-49

^{178.} Alcuin served at the Palace School, which included the princes and princesses of the royal household, relatives, attaches, courtiers, and even the king and queen in its enrolment. Instruction was of the catechetical type, and was very deficient when compared with the learning of our time. Poetry, arithmetic, astronomy, the writings of the Fathers, and theology made up the course of studies. Charlemagne himself learned to read Latin, but never mastered the art of writing.

awakened; an impetus was given to the study of letters, which resulted in a genuine revival in the educational work of some of the monasteries and cathedral schools. After Charlemagne's death, education and civilization in general received a most devastating setback at the hands of another series of invasions, and accompanying barbarism. The disastrous results of the invasions were to an extent counteracted by the endeavors of Alfred the Great, (871-901) to revive learning in his kingdom.

I, C.

as far as the 4th century and pick up the thread of monasticism and following it through the ages, show how it fits into the pattern of Scholasticism. Christianity from the first had an ascetic tendency, longing to escape from this world. This trend, which had become general by the 4th century, was somewhat anti-social and anti-human. By 543 monasticism, developing into community cloisters, became an important basis for the preservation of civilization. Monasteries were thus chiefly responsible for keeping alive the civilization and culture of Europe during several most bleak and dismal centuries. Monks influenced the progress of religious education by keeping religion alive at periods when it was threatened with extinction. In their schools they were teaching men vigorous religious leadership. In the reals of conduct they taught with an unremitting patience the virtues of obs-

^{179.} By the Northmen, the Danes and Norwegians.

^{180.} Monks became the most skillful artisans and farmers to be found, and from them these arts in time reached the developing peasantry around them.

dience, courage, and self-sacrifice.

suffered a set-back similar to that which was experienced by the reforms of Charlemagne and Alfred the Great. Monastic lands were seized by barons and monasticism speedily declined. But in the loth century monasticism was renovated in Cluny (France) and during the following four hundred years religious education as well as education in general, was confined to the monasteries. The only type of education that existed was that which centered in the homes of monks. However, it was a very undesireable situation that the training of the monks was quite exclusively ecclesiastical. And practically all education at all worthy of the name was that given to candidates for the priesthood of the Roman Church, which, of course, meant an almost total neglect of the mental enlightenment of the masses.

In the course of time the monasteries, the only source of education and culture, passed into a period of selfishness, corruption, and degeneracy. In an effort to check the on-coming degradation, there arose two mendicant orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, among whose members corruption did not at

^{181.} The 13th century was the greatest for Monasticism.

^{182.} In this respect the monasteries had a negative influence. They denounced all secular education (in the earlier
period), claiming that education aside from the Church, was of the
devil. They followed narrow and formal methods, confining their
efforts almost entirely to the preparation of young men for the
Church. Teaching was intensely dogmatic. They served the
Church's interest rather than the pupils' welfare. They ignored the fundamentals of every true educational process.

^{183.} De Blois, p. 27.

once become outspoken. The ablest of the schoolmen belonged to
one or the other of these two mendicant orders, each of which early
secured a chair of theology at Paris. It is in this way that the
influence which they exerted was spread and passed on to their
students. It has been said that education, art, morality, and religion of the later Middle Ages were in a large measure molded by
the influence of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Both organisations had great scholars, preachers, teachers, and popes.

The educational set-up of the early Middle ages, as seen from our discussion, was intended for a limited class, and was secondary rather than elementary. There were as yet no independent schools or scholars. While the Church had almost absolute authority in education, she did not encourage training for the masses. Against the barbarism of the invading hordes the Church had developed a type of absolutism in Church government and had been compelled to insist upon her own way. This authoritative position, expressing itself in a repressive attitude, did great harm in its influence on the education of these centuries. And thus, up until about the close of the 11th century, Western Europe continued to live in an age of simple faith, the Christian world being under "a veil of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession". Upon this unhappy situstion Scholasticism exerted an undeniable influence. The greatest benefit of the schoolmen to education and to the future ages was its influence in the foundation of medieval universities. To the beginning and rise of this institution of learning we now turn our

^{184.} The Dominicans and Franciscans were established with the express aim of suppressing heresy. They were to go everywhere, preaching and teaching the doctrine of the Church, upholding uncompromising orthodoxy, and promoting papel power.

^{185.} Cubberley, op. cit., p. 175

attention.

I, D.

By the 12th century monastery and cathedral schools, stimplated by a new interest in dialectic, were developing rapidly.

Such 'studia generalia' became popular and drew many students
from great distances. Out of these cathedral schools, by a long
evolution, developed the university. From the beginning the
universities were teacher and student guilds, fashioned after
the trade guilds which had become plentiful in the years just
prior to the rise of the universities.

Practically all the universities of Western Europe took as their model one of these two. Bologna was the mother university for almost all the Italian universities, for some Spanish universities, for Montepelier and Grenoble in France, and for Glasgow, Upsala, and others; and the University of Paris became the university mother of most of the new schools in northern France and Spain, -

^{186.} Such schools at York, Paris, and Canterbury were becoming famous as centers for study of the Liberal Arts, (Trivium: Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic; and the Quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music) and of Theology.

^{187.} They were given this designation because they were places where lectures were open to any one who wished to hear some noted teacher read and comment on the famous text books of the time.

^{188.} The spread of scholastic theology was largely due to the rise of the universities. Institutions of this character had existed in ancient times. At Athens and at Alexandria, at Rome and at Constantineple there were flourishing seats of learning, generally organized and sustained by public authority. These, however, passed away with the decay of ancient civilisation.

^{189. &}quot;The universities, at their origin, were merely academic associations, analogous, as societies of mutual guaranty, to the corporations of working men, the commercial leagues, the tradeguilds which were playing so great a part at the same epoch; analogous also by the privileges granted to them, to the municipal associations and political communities that date from the same time". G. Compayre, "Abelard and the Rise of Universities", p. 33

D. 1.

for Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Copenhagen, Oxford, Can190
bridge, and Harvard.

A fully organized university possessed four faculties, which embraced all human knowledge, representing the four great divisions which had been evolved, - Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts (or Philosophy). This is their historical order of precedence: Theology, (1259-1260); Law, (1271); Medicine, (1274); and Arts, (1281). The last includes all subjects not embraced in the first three. Thus, all branches of science, history, language, mathematics, etc., belong to the Faculty of Philosophy. early days of the universities, the works of Aristotle dominated the instruction in the Faculty of Arts. In the Faculty of Law, which occupied an important position in the medieval university, the Corpus Juris Civilis of Justinian and the Decretum of Gratian were the textbooks read. In the Medical Faculty, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna and other Jewish and Moslem writers were the sources for lectures. And, of course, in the Theological Faculty, the Sentences of Lombard and the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas were exclusively used. All instruction was in the Latin tongue.

From the beginning the greatest limitation of the fully scholasticized medieval universities was their failure to seek for

^{190.} When once the university idea had taken hold upon the public mind, it became the ambition of every province and great city to have such an institution of learning. Bologna was established in 1158; Paris, about 1200; Montepelier, about 1180; Oxford, about 1200; Salerno, before 1200. During the 13th century eight universities were founded; during the 14th, 20 were founded, 20 more came into existence during the 15th century, and so forth.

^{191.} Seeley, p. 145.

storehouses, preservers of the truth, they were in time to be a factor for tremendous advancement and extension. In time they were to become the first organizations to break the monopoly of the Church in learning and teaching. The manifest tendency of the universities toward speculation was ultimately to awaken inquiry, investigation, rational thinking, and the birth of the modern spirit. The university organization took the preservation and transmission of knowledge from the monastery and handed it to the school; it took these important duties from the monks and from the Church and gave them to doctors, a body of logically trained men.

D, 2.

the scope of its learning. These had already been definitely fixed during the 5th and 6th centuries by such writers as Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus. Of the seven liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were classed as the Trivium, or lower studies; and Arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy as the quadrivium, or higher studies. The scope of this education was wider than is indicated, at first thought, by the subjects mantioned. Grammar included an introduction to, and a study of the content and form of literature. In practice the teaching varied from a liberal literary culture to a dry and perfunctory study of just enough grammar to give some facility in the use of Latin.

Dialectic was mainly

^{192.} Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,

^{193.} Our own state universities were the first to be entirely separated from the Church.

^{194.} Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. VII, p. 975.

formal logic. It paved the way for metaphysics. Rhetoric covered the study of law and history, as well as composition in prose and verse. Geometry was what is now meant by geography, natural history, and surveying. Included also in geometry was a study of the medicinal properties of plants. Arithmetic, with its clumsy Roman notations, did not go beyond the simplest calculations required in ordinary life and the computation of the calendar. Music, including a broad course in theory, embraced the rules of the plain-song of the church, some theory of sound, and the connection of harmony and numbers. Astronomy dealt with the courses of the heavenly bodies, comprehended some physics, and advanced mathematics, and was seldom kept free from astrology.

D, 3.

university was twofold: lectures by the master, and disputations among the students. Thus, the training of the medieval student consisted not only in acquiring the subjects offered, but also in learning to debate upon them. To begin with, the master, located on a raised, pulpit-like platform, read and explained the text-book under consideration. This was done for the acquisition of the subject matter. In addition to the text itself, the teacher would also present many explanatory notes, summaries, cross-references, objections to the author's statements, and even his own commentaries. This gloss often was greater in volume than the text itself. The scarcity, and consequent prohibitive prices of text-books made them out of the question for the students. This made it necessary that the instructor read

the passages very slowly, often repeating for emphasis. The scholars listened and took notes. Latin was the single language employed. The formal disputations also were an important part of the instruction. These consisted of logical debates in which one student, or group of students, argued with another. In these contests, which also were carried on in Latin, arguments were stated, authorities were quoted, opponents' arguments were criticized, and the whole discussion was then summarized, not unlike our modern debates. Each student must be able to handle either side of the argument. Disputations of this kind were, no doubt, a powerful incentive towards personal investigation and independent thinking. However, toward the close of the 15th century it had become no longer reputable. The aim came to be to win and to secure applause without regard to truth and consistency.

, D, 4.

The influence of a purely theological caste on the advancement in the education in medical science, a non-theological branch of
learning, was a tendency of retardation. At Salerno, which became a
distinguished school of medicine, the medical works of Hippocrates
and Galen were revived. But under Christian auspices interest in
this science decreased, and medical science fell under a cloud of
suspicion. The Christian theory of disease, - that it was a visitation of Providence, - caused progress in medical science to be
slow for many centuries.

D, 5. The study of Law, both civil and canon, on the other hand, did not meet with the same opposition as did that of medicine. On

^{195.} Graves, A Student's History of Education, p. 50f.

^{196.} Knight, op. cit., p. 131f.

matter of medieval universities. Rashdall, in his concluding paragraphs of "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, says that "from a broad political and social point of view one of the most important results of the university was the creation, or at least the enormously increased power and importance, of the lawyer-class....the lawyer-class has always been a civilizing agency". It was natural that law should attract students, for by the 13th century the medieval church was a vast administrative machine which needed lawyers at its helm. 197 This need gave birth and growth to the University of Bologna, the most eminent center for the study of Law in the Middle Ages.

Scholasticism must receive credit and applause for the rise of universities. And in the institutions to which it had given birth, Scholasticism lived on, and has ever since, to a more or less marked degree, made its impression upon the pages of the history of education. Scholasticism, through the universities, has had an unmistakeable influence on learning, in the medieval ages as well as on all succeeding eras. Through the universities Scholasticism became cosmopolitan, as men traveled from university to university, and gathered about them minds eager to learn.

Another important service of the universities was the creation of a surplus of teachers. These were compelled to create a market for their abilities, a necessity which resulted in

^{197.} Haskins, The Rise of Universities, p. 50f.

the establishment of many secondary schools. Soon grammar schools arose about cathedral and collegiate churches, and as a direct result of the spread of the universities, the blessing of education was made available to the lower age levels. And in the women's monasteries, as well as in the home, education began to become a privilege of girls also, who up until this time had been grossly neglected.

In the case of every movement, such as this, men find fault. We will not deny that this is easy to do in the case of Scholasticism. Thomas More declared that he might as soon obtain bodily nourishment by milking a male goat into a sieve as spiritual nourishment by reading the schoolmen. Scholasticism has been called "degenerate learning", "worthless mental abstractions, distinctions destitute of the smallest foundation", etc. Perhaps these criticisms have some foundation in fact when restricted to some period of Scholasticism or to some of its representatives. But such derogatory criticism becomes shallow and even untrue when aimed at the scholastic movement as a whole.

As a closing thought, this we wish to imprint on the readers' minds: Scholasticism, through the universities which it had brought into the world, was directly instrumental in preparing leaders for the future State and Church in law, theology, and teaching. For us, for students interested vitally in the great things that were about to come to pass in the fullness of time, the Renaissance, and especially, the Reformation, this is important. To understand what these meant, we must study what went before. While it is difficult to catalogue a great number of outstanding and constructive influences of Scholasticism on the

^{198.} Pace, De Fructu, p. 83

Church and Education of the Middle Ages, and while there is a tendency to ignore its right to favorable comment, we cannot gainsay its claim to a niche in the molding of world history, secular, ecclesiastical, and educational.

II.

Time marched on, and with it went Scholasticism. Toward its sun-set in the fourteenth century Humanism came vigorously to the front, and eventually pushed the scholastic institution out of the picture. The rapid and continual development of the towns gave rise to the new movement of humanism. Towns signified a greatly increasing exchange of goods, the rise of new social classes, the necessity for new forms of government, all of which finally and inevitably made new demands upon the human mind. This development explains why men no longer would abide by the Summa of Thomas Aquinas as the last word of human wisdom. During the age of Scholasticism the "other world", heaven, the "hereafter" was the one great problem of mankind; humanism concerned itself with man, with this life, with individuality, with literary art and fame, and with the beauty of nature. Such desires could not be satisfied by what Scholasticism had to offer. In the Middle Ages classical literature had been regarded merely as a means of education; it had been known through secondary sources only. But the new movement of humaniam aimed at basing every branch of learning on the literature and culture of classical antiquity. The spirit of the new movement was one of opposition to authority and of assertion of individual liberty; it was nothing short of a vast mental revolution, and "when that revolution had at last

been replaced by the modern world". It was Petrarch (1304-74) who, with his many new interests, first boldly blazed the new trail. He did not hesitate to declare war on the outmoded nuisance of Scholasticism as he revolted against the whole edifice on which Scholasticism was built, namely, the study of logic. The worn-out method of education met none of the intellectual needs of Petrarch, hence he replaced it in the schools with literature, i.e., with the classics. This action was the beginning of the New Learning, called Humanism, and it was the death-blow to Scholasticism.

Per licit, Carletten religious Dingstions Principles and Principles, Carlette and Minister, Planting St. Sprint Co.,

^{199.} The Humanities, Syllabus, p. 208

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