

# HIS101--24 The Middle Ages © Dec. 26,1999

Raymond J. Jirran

## A. *Introduction*

This lesson follows more of an intellectual approach to the Middle Ages than the previous lesson on the Church, Topic Twenty-one. There is an effort to integrate some of the important findings of psychology with sound history. More importantly, the present approach tends to make much more sense out of the Middle Ages than was possible before. Problems associated with this approach are treated in the supplement. The course goal for this topic is **to evaluate the legitimacy of human rights in society** according to a criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted.<sup>1</sup>

## B. *What*

### 1. Law and Literature

Pre-Twelfth Century law was concerned about what was done, not why it was done. Literature, particularly as exemplified in Gregory of Tours held the same limited concern. Gregory, for example, writing about Clovis, detailed the gory deaths of the enemies of Clovis, apparently unconcerned with justifying why it was that Clovis himself had ordered the deaths.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. Monastic Life

Monastic life emphasized holiness with following rules about when to get up, when to eat, what prayers to say aloud, and the like. In the Sixth Century Saint Benedict gave monasteries a common sense rule based on dividing time between work and prayer. A more mature approach would have better addressed the rationale behind the directives.

All of this Pre-Twelfth Century environment is like the first stage of moral development as theorized by Kohlberg when, unable to grasp the intention of the rule-maker, children interpret rules literally, without that variance needed to meet unpredicted circumstances. In the second stage, the child tries to please rather than obey, and is prepared to judge a criteria on intentions. This is developed a little more in the supplement.

## C. *Why*

### 1. Law

A comparable, inward-looking, attempt-to-please change took place about the time of the Twelfth Century. The differences were subtle but real. In law, the base of authority shifted from God and those men who imposed laws on individuals to individuals themselves who developed their own laws. This shift was exemplified by the 1142 Decretum of Gratian.<sup>3</sup> By clarifying what the laws were, Gratian made it possible to understand why the laws were made. This correlates with the second stage.

In 1215, the Magna Carta spelled out what was meant by individual autonomy more specifically: due process, reasonable limits to taxation, and trial judgment by peers.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, the

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Fourth Lateran Council forbade the participation of priests in ordeals.<sup>5</sup> In 1234, Henry III of England was effectively prevented by the law from arbitrarily declaring subjects outlaws.<sup>6</sup>

While the 1258 Provisions of Oxford were abrogated, power, nonetheless, was gradually, but steadily, passing away from the unanswerable mandate of the king.<sup>7</sup> In a very real sense, by 1234 the law belonged to the whole community administered in the name of the king. These Thirteenth Century dates serve as guides for interpersonal relationships of the third stage in the schema. This third stage was particularly important for women because during the Thirteenth Century the qualifications for sainthood underwent a change. The new emphasis on personal responsibility gave women like Saint Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) a chance for recognition.

Saintly women often asserted control of their destiny by an introverted effort to control their bodies through excessive fasting. This attitude continued from the Thirteenth through the Sixteenth Centuries. With the Protestant revolt the church made it more difficult for women to achieve sainthood through masochistic behavior. Proof for this is in witchcraft trials and the establishment of the all-male Jesuit order.<sup>8</sup> Protection of the papacy was one of the major purposes of the all-male Jesuit order. This correlation of feminism with sainthood is elaborated below in the supplement.

In the Eighteenth Century, the notion of sainthood turned to do-gooder, making women again eligible, this time for their good deeds, rather than self-control. The fourth stage, concerned with maintaining institutions, more properly belongs to the end of the Middle Ages, namely the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

## 2. Literature

Saint Thomas Aquinas wrote his Summa Theologica in the Thirteenth Century.<sup>9</sup> The Summa, perhaps, is the greatest Medieval literature. While Aquinas looked to Aristotle,<sup>10</sup> Aquinas did more than simply accept what Aristotle taught. Aquinas used the logic of Aristotle to develop new modes of thought.

Aquinas was actually looking toward the human rights and universal justice of the fifth and sixth stages of individual, human, psychological development. Needless to observe, the mature teachings of Aquinas have never been accepted by most individuals in any society, Western or non-Western. Had the mature teachings of Aquinas been accepted, Western civilization would have become a civilization of saints. This never happened. In the words of Christopher Dawson, the problem is not that Christianity was tried and found wanting, the problem is that Christianity was never tried.<sup>11</sup> The use of logic by Aquinas, however, has been accepted.

## **D. Conclusion**

By examining the reading, studying the Introduction, What, and Why, the student is better able to evaluate the legitimacy of human rights in society.<sup>12</sup> Students are reminded to read, study, think, and prepare a comment.

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Supplement

## **E. Introduction**

The section on Monastic Life used to be in the main lecture, but moved entirely to the supplement in the June 8, 1992 rendition. The purpose of the move was to shorten the main lecture. The other part on the law is from a powerful thinker, like Harold J. Berman, who takes a while to get used to.

## **F. Monastic Life<sup>13</sup>**

A major difference separates Byzantine from Latin monasticism. Byzantine civilization looked to the monasteries for holiness, whereas Western civilization looked to the monasteries for learning, evangelism, and organized charity. As Patriarch Jeremias II put it:

It is not the practice of our Church to innovate in any way whatsoever, whereas the Western Church innovates unceasingly. . . . We were taught--and such is our purpose--to obey and to be subject to those who were before us.<sup>14</sup>

States of development in the Church were paralleled by similar developments in monasteries. Even the Church had accepted authority from outside herself, permitting politicians to name the pope. In 1059 this permission was officially denied to the politicians.

The procedures written in 1059 have been followed to the present day. In 1073, they were used to elevate Hildebrand, a Cistercian Benedictine monk, to the papacy as Gregory VII.<sup>15</sup> The reforms of Gregory were actually an outgrowth of monastic ferment then going on.

Gregory VII needed his "vassals of St. Peter" in order to effect his reforms in the face of opposition from the German Emperor, Henry IV. Gregory needed the Lorrainers, the Canossans, and the Normans of southern Italy. Legitimacy of authority was the real issue involved with the German Emperor, Henry IV standing barefoot, according to legend, in the snow at Canossa in 1077. That humiliation of the emperor was only possible because Pope Gregory was supported by a papal excommunication recognized by the German nobility.

Not the kings, but the lower nobility not only made the Gregorian reforms possible, but also the Spanish crusades and the First Crusade. There was a payback for the German princes, where "the real victor" of the investiture controversy was "the estate of princes."<sup>16</sup>

The former way of thinking was that the acceptance of punishment was sufficient. While Gregory VII himself knew better, he was not in any position to change things. If Henry said he was sorry, then, apparently, Henry had to be forgiven. At Canossa, the unacceptability of the former dependence and the need to get on with the new independence was emphasized. Churchmen themselves had to look more closely beyond the mere letters of the law to intentions.

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The reason Henry stood in the snow was important. Henry wanted control over the bishops. He was not particularly sorry for his sins. The contention occurred because Pope Gregory would not let Henry control the bishops.

Henry IV subjected himself to his own sort of ordeal in order to be judged innocent. The ordeal is an approach to the legitimacy of authority and human rights based on what is to be done, rather than on why anything should be done. This judicial approach was in vogue between the Fifth and the Fourteenth Centuries. The ordeal began in the Fifth Century with trials by fire and water. If one did not burn or was not drowned, he was judged innocent. Later ordeals were but variations of these.<sup>17</sup>

The ordeal came from the Franks, under the Carolingians, rather than from an earlier generic pan-Germanic source. From the Ninth Century ordeals were limited to certain kinds of cases. "It was a device for dealing with situations in which certain knowledge was impossible but uncertainty was intolerable."<sup>18</sup> Among others, some cases involving slaves and other cases involving sexual purity, utilized the ordeal.

During the Twelfth Century, a change took place. Ordeals were the instruments of secondary, rather than primary, face-to-face communities. Ordeals were used by the clergy and nobility to force compliance. Use of ordeals did not decline, but was abandoned. The ordeal was not abandoned "because it was irrational, it became irrational when they abandoned it."<sup>19</sup> The abandonment of the ordeal paralleled the abandonment of the earlier union between priests and secular rulers.

A long time, most of the Thirteenth Century, elapsed before ordeals were entirely abandoned. The ordeal was replaced by the trial by jury in England and a few other places, as well as by the inquisition and torture. More importantly, the ordeal was replaced for "its lack of harmony with their [the scholastic and curial elites of the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries] specialized and novel ideology, not with the outlook of the great majority."<sup>20</sup> The violence of politics was giving way to the law of truth. This shift legitimated human rights. The lives of the monks and the lives of the papacy flowed together.

The Papal Inquisition began in 1231 when Pope Gregory IX issued the papal bull, *Excommunicates* against heretics. As a last resort, punishment included execution by the secular authorities. By the Fourteenth Century the Papal Inquisition was a dead letter.<sup>21</sup>

The Spanish Inquisition began in 1479 under Ferdinand and Isabella. That inquisition was designed to rid Spain of the Muslims and, in the process, of Jews who pretended to be Catholics. This is the notorious inquisition of torture and death which everyone, including Catholics in the United States, abhors. This inquisition only ended in 1834 with a monarchial decree.<sup>22</sup>

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The Roman Inquisition began as a Papal congregation in 1542 and, with a change of name in 1965 to Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), continues to the present day.<sup>23</sup> Pope John Paul appointed Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger to head the CDF beginning November 25, 1981.<sup>24</sup>

In early modern Italy, the Roman Inquisition provided the accused with a public defender and used imprisonment as a punishment. Alternatives in the secular courts were limited to burning at the stake, mutilation, and galleys, and banishment. The Roman Inquisition can be regarded as leading the way in many aspects of modern criminal law. As the scholar of the Roman Inquisition put it, "the Roman Inquisition used more moderate, less cruel, more logical methods to suppress religious dissent and witchcraft than any other judicial body in Europe."<sup>25</sup> This is not to deny, however, that within several centuries, by about 1600, the *Index of Forbidden Books* caused the cultural death of Italy.<sup>26</sup>

## G. The Law

The main lecture takes a particularly feminist, sharing, approach toward developing group maturity. This section has a more masculine, competitive, focus. What happened was that toward the end of the Eleventh Century thinkers were approaching knowledge with great eagerness for all things new. Very young children have a similar enthusiasm for learning, which all too soon is stifled by the simple exercise of power. At a later stage, children then begin to put what they are learning together for themselves. Similarly the great scholastic thinkers of the Thirteenth Century, exemplified by Aquinas, synthesized the knowledge before them. Scholars are only now beginning to examine the broader social and political structures and their relationships to the broader medieval experience.<sup>27</sup>

While the legitimacy of human rights is important, the professor hesitates to place any more emphasis than is already present in the lectures. Yet, more needs to be written.<sup>28</sup> In thinking about civil rights, law can be seen as little else than an expression of the public mind, 'public mind,' an expression Lincoln used to use.

Harold J. Berman<sup>29</sup> is a scholar's scholar, someone at Harvard who gets his mind into everything, makes excellent sense, but does not fit into the patterns into which the rest of us have grown accustomed. His thoughts on the law are powerful and given enough time will work their way into what we already think we know. Berman is rather like a U. S. Egyptologist, correct, but ignored for insufficiently catering to preconceived notions. For example, if Berman is correct, history should no longer be divided into ancient, medieval, and modern because the great turning points do not occur at 476 from Ancient to Medieval and 1500 from Medieval to Modern. Instead, the great divide occurs at 1100.

Good law is of whole cloth, integrally formed out of reason, religion, and morality. What is present in contemporary Western civilization is often regarded as an instrument of state, lacking moral content. The result is a contempt for law.

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Between 1050 and 1150 (St. Raymond of Penafort was born in 1175), Christian theology, classical Roman Law, and the practical needs of the times shaped the legal structures that emerged from what Berman names the "Papal Revolution." Henry IV was at Canossa in 1077. This Papal Revolution was the first great revolution in Western civilization. Out of this revolution came the great divide between church and state.

The points of legal contact were marriage, inheritance, property contracts, and procedure. In addition, the secular rulers developed royal, feudal, urban, and mercantile law. The Papal Revolution led from an age of "Christ-centered Kingship" to an age of "law-centered Kingship."<sup>30</sup>

The Papal Revolution also concerned the relationship between the papacy and the other episcopal sees. This constitutional problem facing the late medieval church has continued into the late Twentieth Century. Mendicant theologians, like Saint Thomas Aquinas, favored the papacy. Secular theologians favored the bishops. This matter is treated above in Topic 17, Nationality (July 5, 1999) in the sixth paragraph under E. Medieval Politics (continued).<sup>31</sup>

Through rhetoric, the popes turned Twelfth and Thirteenth Century theology to their own advantage. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century theologians took this rhetoric too seriously. In that way, the Papal Monarchy became firmly established over the bishops. People like Saint Raymond of Penafort were quite reluctant to attribute any autocratic power to the pope. This reluctance is not found in general theory, but in how that theory was applied.<sup>32</sup>

The idea, that law is an expression of the public mind, can be taken one step further, to the point where law is viewed, not as politics, but as theology. Law is not so much the will of the sovereign as an old and organic cultural tradition, with vestiges in the meeting of Rome and Christianity and Germanic folk law. The origin of Western jurisprudence, in fact, may be found in the doctrine of the atonement of St. Anselm (1033-1109), the archbishop of Canterbury during the time of William the Conqueror. Anselm is one of the co-founders of scholasticism. Anselm is treated in the sixth edition of Chambers on page 282-283 in the seventh edition.<sup>33</sup>

Law in the West may have developed in five revolutions: that of (1) the papacy from medieval princes in the Eleventh Century; (2) the German Reformation in the Sixteenth Century; (3) the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688; U. S. Revolution of 1776 and (4) the French Revolution of 1789. In all of these revolutions, both the legal tradition and the Hebraic faith survived, the one in the other. Law developed less as a set of rules than as a set of values.

In the Eleventh Century papal revolution, there became established a separate, autonomous state, namely, the Church, with its own body of law. There was a view to the Last Judgment, along with a clarification of the notion of purgatory, that is, temporal punishment due to sin. One may move from the notion of temporal punishment due to sin, that is, the violation of Divine Law, to the notion of temporal punishment due to the violation of civil law, for example, in jail.

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While the inquisition would be superseded in jurisprudence, the purpose of the inquisition suits the theme in this lecture well. The purpose of the inquisition was to substitute legal due process for majority lynch law.<sup>34</sup>

Martin Luther rejected the political notion of purgatory but accepted the truth of faith. The Glorious Revolution rejected the political notion of the divine right of kings to rule and accepted the true right of parliament to rule. The U. S. revolution rejected the political notion of one nation giving another legitimacy, much the same as the French Revolution rejected the political notion of one estate of people giving another its legitimacy. The people themselves legitimated their own acts, but all of this always with a view to the truth of Judeo-Christian tradition. As we put it in this country, "In God we trust," which means that "In politicians we do not trust."

While the French Revolution did treat the Church as "the infamous thing" of Voltaire, the French Revolution also respected the truth. At first Napoleon did dictate what the truth would be, with his codification of the French laws. Later, however, all of the rest of Europe demanded that truth take precedence over politics in determining the directions civilization would take.

When Western civilization ingested Aristotelian logic, Western civilization also ingested a relativity toward the truth. Aquinas wrote in the Thirteenth Century. The relativity of his theology was developed in the Fourteenth Century. By the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries an intellectual malaise settled over Christian thinking. Thinkers turned away from philosophy and theology and toward empirical science.<sup>35</sup>

While truth was to be supreme, absolute truth became a never-ending search. Mathematics eventually promised a clarity and exactitude which Aristotelian logic could never provide. This love of clarity and exactitude of truth begot the scientific clarifications and exactitude of the late Twentieth Century. The problem of wisdom, of what to do with the mathematical insights of Western civilization, remains.<sup>36</sup>

While, in the main, the ideas in this section are not those of the professor, neither are these ideas widely accepted by scholars. The purpose in bringing such notions before students rests in trying to come to terms with the paramount issue of this day, namely, the legitimacy of human rights. Unless and until we find such legitimacy, the Damocles sword of the Nuclear Holocaust will forever haunt the nightmares of our dreams.

## ***H. Psychohistory***<sup>37</sup>

It is bad enough trying to fathom the hidden recesses in the minds of bygone personages. It is even more difficult to use psychological tools to fathom public minds. The reason the professor uses this more difficult task is not because he has great confidence in the method, but because the method makes more sense out of the middle ages than any other paradigm of which he is aware. Whenever a paradigm makes sense out of the facts, that theory merits consideration until a better one comes along.

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Psychohistory has been slow to be accepted by professional historians. Excellent studies have been done, for example on the problems of assimilation facing Central European Jews. Is it better to integrate psychohistory history with mainstream history or to stand in opposition? Dr. Jirran would rather try to integrate the two.

Dr. Jirran falls in line with the reviewer who observes:

By attempting to draw connections between theory and practice, he has also undertaken a more difficult task. The price exacted is a somewhat burdensome measure of repetition and a certain lack of clarity in the overall organization of his study. The gain, however, is clear: a convincing demonstration.<sup>38</sup>

Sexism is a problem in church history. In the Eleventh, Twelfth, and early Thirteenth Centuries monastic men produced a quantity of documents that historians continue to mine. While monastic women produced far less documents, their importance was present. Highlighting this importance, in 1997 Bruce L. Venarde published *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215*.<sup>39</sup>

More than 850 monasteries for women have been identified in fifteen French and English dioceses between 400 and 1350. Not all existed simultaneously. In the year 1000 there were 70; in 1170, 400; in 1220, 525; and in 1300, 625.<sup>40</sup> In 1999 there were 750 Poor Clare monasteries, world-wide.<sup>41</sup> Counting the monasteries yields interesting insights. The period between 1080 and 1170 marked the greatest growth for both men and women. Roughly, that is the time from William and Conqueror (1066-1087) to Henry II (1154-1189). While new style monasteries, such as the Poor Clares and Franciscans, flourished as historians expect, unexpectedly old style Benedictine monasteries also flourished.<sup>42</sup>

In 1988 Sharon K. Elkins wrote a more regionally specialized study with *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England*.<sup>43</sup> The Twelfth Century includes the 1080-1170 period highlighted by Venarde above. The men helped the women develop a variety of religious lifestyles and the women welcomed the help. In the beginning small numbers of religious men remained part of the convents, helping the women. Lay brothers often did much of the manual work and a prior ran the house along with a prioress. Eventually regulations separated the men from the women.

Sexism moves in strange circles. Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, retreated from history. The point is that historians continue to struggle with sexism, much as did Freud. The relationship between Freud and history is germane here.<sup>44</sup>

The issue is the status quo. Freud, with his psychoanalysis, leaves room to protect the status quo. Dr. Jirran as a feminist who can pass for White is uninterested in overly protecting the status quo, especially as a historian. Things do not have to be as they now are, nor have they ever been as

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they now are. Psychoanalysis endures the status quo within the depths of the soul. History insists on facing the problems of the soul with historical realities.

## *I. The Church and Medieval Culture*

When Dr. Jirran came to Thomas Nelson Community College in 1969 he had to eliminate several lectures in order to adapt from the semester to the quarter system. One of the most difficult tasks he had was to eliminate the following lecture, which only became incorporated into this supplement with the June 8, 1992 rendition. The original lecture was not documented. Since students are to judge this material "according to the degree of certitude warranted," how well these thoughts have stood the test of time is germane.

### 1. Urbanization and the Church

Between the Eleventh and Fifteenth Centuries, three phases distinguish the cultural growth of Western Europe. First, the Church and the rising towns joined energies to provide a basis for the systematic adaptation of elements from Islam and Byzantium. This development reached its climax between the time of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303).

Next came a time of conflict, when the efforts of the Church to control cultural activity became a restraint, rather than a stimulus. A more purely secular spirit began to find expression in urban circles. This period of tension and transition lasted throughout the Fifteenth Century, north of the Alps.

Meanwhile, in Italy, a third development became apparent. Italian towns were stronger and in closer touch with the non-Christian world than their counterparts to the north. By the end of the Fifteenth Century, a secularized style of life, the renaissance culture, pervaded the inner-most circles of the papacy itself and had begun to influence the courts and capitals of northern Europe.

### 2. The Mind of the Middle Ages

When the Roman theologian Tertullian (ca. 150-ca. 230) was asked about the relationship between Jerusalem and Athens, he answered that there was none. Tertullian meant that it was not necessary to know philosophy in order to be Christian. Men, nevertheless, were curious. Scholasticism developed within the next thousand years as a school of thought concerned with the use of reason in debatable areas of Faith. The primary interest was in the nature of reality.

The central thought of scholastic philosophy concerned the nature of reality reached by the mind, such as manness, chairness, and horseness, called universals, as distinct from reality reached by the senses, such as men, chairs, and horses. Nominalists asserted the universals were names and nothing more. Realists asserted the universals were actual objects outside the mind.

At issue was the nature of God. With the nominalist doctrine, the indivisible Trinity dissolved into three divisible persons. At issue was the nature of the Church. With the nominalist doctrine, the Church ceased to be a divine institution with a life of her own and became simply a convenient designation for the whole body of individual Christians. At issue was the nature of the state. With

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the nominalist doctrine, political authority rested with individual citizens, rather than with the body politic. The issues remain.

### 3. Medieval Thinkers

Abelard (1079-1142) offered a compromise between realism and nominalism. In this theory of conceptualism, the universals existed only in minds, but not outside thereof. Even more important than what Abelard said, was what he did, namely, unfurl a challenge against the mental habits of his age. Abelard stimulated intellectual curiosity by compiling a list of contradictory statements taken from the most authoritative writings of the Church in a work entitled Sic et Non (Yes and No). This helped set in motion a system of inquiry which was to bring the many problems later associated with Biblical criticism juxtaposing similar statements.

Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) offered the most satisfactory answers in his hylomorphic theory. Aquinas said that the reality touched by the senses furnished the mind with raw data from which that reality unable to be touched by the senses could be reached. Thus, by encountering many individual chairs which the senses could touch, the mind could comprehend chairness, which the senses could not touch. According to Aquinas, all material reality is composed of matter and form; matter suitable for sensual knowledge, form suitable for intellectual knowledge.

Internal Church politics put Thomistic work on the condemned list for a while. Eventually, however, the studies of Thomas Aquinas came back into favor. Only toward the beginning of the Twentieth Century did the Catholic Church mandate that Thomism had to be taught in all her seminaries. Only toward the mid-Twentieth Century was Aquinas well enough understood to be able to hold its own again in philosophical circles. The Thomistic philosophy peaked in the 1950s<sup>45</sup> The professor studied Thomistic philosophy during academic 1955-1957 and Thomistic theology during academic 1957-1959. The professor is a Thomist. At the present time, Thomistic philosophy and theology are once again enduring difficult times within the Catholic Church. They are not studied like they used to be, forty years ago.

Religion offered Western civilization a sense of values which in turn gave a sense of security out of which came the advanced technology in which Thomas Nelson Community College takes pride. Eventually institutional religion became untrue to itself. Such untruth has made it relatively easy to substitute the history of scandal for the history of the Church and Medieval culture.

### **J. Conclusion**

The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between violence and law. Truth favors law over violence. As with the other tensions, there are no clear winners, though there is a clear preference in Western civilization for law.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0295-0317

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in

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many significant ways with mainstream thinking. These disagreements are set forth in the following comments.

Page Column

Paragraph

Line

0300 1 2 3<sup>rd</sup> & 4th last “. . . the unfree classes, the serfs and villeins who constituted 80 percent of the population . . . ”

Dr. Jirran associates villeins with England; serfs with Russia; peasants with France; slaves with the Slavs. Dr. Jirran regards the differences as the English unfree lived in villages with some sort of community strength; serfs lives on the land of the Boyars. While serfs could not be moved from the land, there was nothing to stop the owner of the land from brutalizing the serfs. Peasants were farmers, working for lords. When times were good and population increased, peasants left the farms for the cities, where they became entrepreneurs. Some Russian peasants became very wealthy. There is much overlapping between these distinctions, in an attempt to ensure that the distinctions do have differences.

The problem with the vocabulary is illustrated by the scholar who prefers slave to serf for early medieval peasants. The scholarly reviewer is confused by what the author means.<sup>46</sup>

0350 illustration In the caption on page 400, Chambers writes, “Giotto. . . the expression of human emotion. . . ”

Dr. Jirran sees a similar emotion portrayed here on page 0350.

0306 1 3 3<sup>rd</sup> last “. . . *Holy Roman Empire* . . . ”

The Holy Roman Empire is never exactly the same on any two maps.

0310 2 1 4-6 “Mendicant orders were known as friars rather than monks, because they were to live with the laity rather in the seclusion of the monastery.”

The problem is that the Poor Clares are a mendicant order who live a life of enclosure, very much apart from the laity.

0313 caption Giotto is treated again on pages 0399 and 0400.

0314 2 3 7<sup>th</sup> last “. . . Mass as a miracle . . . ”

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Chambers is confusing here because anything which happens as frequently as Mass, by definition, cannot be a miracle. A miracle must be an unusual occurrence. The "closest analogy lies not with miracles but with the act of creation."<sup>47</sup>

This is treated again in the Comments on Chambers for page 344 in Topic Twenty-five, Demography and for page 421 in Topic Thirty-two, The Renaissance.

On page 442, column 1, paragraph 2, Chambers writes that "Luther asserted that . . . there is no miraculous moment."

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup>Formerly footnote 1, computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>2</sup>Formerly footnote 2, computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>3</sup>Formerly footnote 3, computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>4</sup>Formerly footnote 4, computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>5</sup>Formerly footnote 5, a computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>6</sup>Formerly footnote 6, a computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>7</sup>"Provisions of Oxford" is a heading in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 346. Provisions is indexed in the fifth edition, but not indexed in the sixth edition. The section on Provisions of Oxford is omitted entirely in the sixth edition. While the title is omitted in the seventh edition, the substance is included. It was the Provisions of Oxford by which "In 1258 the barons took control of the government . . ." on page 331.

<sup>8</sup>Vern L. Bullough, review of Rudolph M. Bell, Holy Anorexia, The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 4 (October 1991), , pages 895-896.

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<sup>9</sup>Formerly footnote 8, a computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>10</sup>Formerly footnote 9, a computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>11</sup>Christopher Dawson, The Making of Western Europe, ???

<sup>12</sup>Formerly footnote 11, computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>13</sup>Formerly footnote 10, a computer wipe-out for this and all footnotes after Topic 13, #1, was discovered December 16, 1984.

<sup>14</sup>Patriarch Jeremias II as cited by Kallistos Ware, "Eastern Christendom," in The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity, ed. John McManners as further cited in the review by ???, The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 77, No. 3 (July 1991), page 489.

<sup>15</sup> Roland E. Murphy, "Patristic and Medieval Exegesis—Help or Hindrance?" *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (October 1981), page 512.

<sup>16</sup>Geoffrey Barraclough The Origins of Modern Germany, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1949), 135, 162-63 as cited in John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 2 (April 1988), page 332 footnote 77.

<sup>17</sup>Draws from Edward Peters, review of Robert Bartlett, Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989), pages 1073-1074.

<sup>18</sup>Robert Bartlett, Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal page 33 as cited by Edward Peters in his review in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989), pages 1073.

<sup>19</sup>Robert Bartlett, Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal page 86 as cited by Edward Peters in his review in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989), pages 1073-1074.

<sup>20</sup>Robert Bartlett, Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal page 164 as cited by Edward Peters in his review in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 4 (October 1989), pages 1074.

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<sup>21</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 668.

<sup>22</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 668.

<sup>23</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), pages 668-669.

<sup>24</sup> George Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Cliff Street Books: An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 1999), pages 437.

<sup>25</sup> Antonio Santosuosso, review of John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (April 1992), page 302.

<sup>26</sup> Antonio Santosuosso, review of John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (April 1992), page 302.

<sup>27</sup> Draws from Tina Stiefel, review of Steven P. Marrone, William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century in The American Historical Review, Vol. 89, No. 3 (June 1984), pages 748-749.

<sup>28</sup> This section is drawn from memory from a review in the A.H.A. and directly from Thomas L. Shaffer, review of TNCC Library # K/ 150/B47/1983 Harold J. Berman, Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition, in Religion and Intellectual Life, before August, 1985, pp. 117-118.

<sup>29</sup> Brian Tierney, review of TNCC Library # K/ 150/B47/1983 Harold J. Berman, Law and Revolution. The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. LXXI No. 3 (July 1985), pages 431 and 432 forms the basis for these supplementary comments. Other reviews have been as laudatory.

<sup>30</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz as cited in Tierney, review of Berman, page 431.

<sup>31</sup> Francis Oakley, review of Kenneth Pennington, Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. (The Middle Ages.) in The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 3 (June 1985), page 662.

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<sup>32</sup>Francis Oakley, review of Kenneth Pennington, Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. (The Middle Ages.) in The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 3 (June 1985), page 662.

<sup>33</sup>Anselm is treated in the fifth edition of Chambers on pages 328 and 371; in the sixth edition on page 240; seventh, 282-283.

<sup>34</sup>Colin Morris, "Christian Civilization," in The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity, ed. John McManners as further cited in the review by ???, The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 77, No. 3 (July 1991), page 490.

<sup>35</sup>A. Mark Smith, "???", The American Historical Review, Vol. 96 ??, No. 1 ?? (February ?? 1991 ??), NOT ?? page 744.

<sup>36</sup>A. Mark Smith, "???", The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 1 (February 1991), page 744.

<sup>37</sup>This section draws from Bruce Mazlish, review of Peter Loewenberg, Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach in The American Historical Review, Vol. 89, No. 1 (February 1984), pages 94 and 95. For the historian interested in learning something about psychohistory, Robert Brugger, Our Selves, Our Past is more appealing.

<sup>38</sup>Francis Oakley, review of Kenneth Pennington, Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. (The Middle Ages.) in The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 3 (June 1985), page 662.

<sup>39</sup>Joseph H. Lynch, review of Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 84, No. 3 (January 1998), pages 530-531.

<sup>40</sup>Joseph H. Lynch, review of Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 84, No. 3 (January 1998), pages 530.

<sup>41</sup>Telephone interview, Mother Colette, Poor Clare Monastery, Newport News, Virginia, October 6, 1998.

<sup>42</sup>Joseph H. Lynch, review of Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 84, No. 3 (January 1998), pages 530-531.

<sup>43</sup>Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* as reviewed by Ann K. Warren in ??, page 149.

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<sup>44</sup> Michael S. Roth, "Performing History: Modernist Contextualism in Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (June 1994), page 732.

<sup>45</sup> Rodger Van Allen, review of Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* in *Academe: Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 82, No. 5 (September-October 1996), page 68.

<sup>46</sup> Constance B. Bouchard, review of Pierre Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, translated by Jean Birrell, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (October 1992), page 1196.

<sup>47</sup> Aidan Nichols, O.P., *The Holy Eucharist: From the New Testament to Pope John Paul II* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1991), pages 72-73.

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