RECENT STUDIES ON THE POLITICAL THOUGHTS
OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE
IN KOREA

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## · Introduction

In Korea, generally speaking, the studies on the western history are much fewer than those on the Korean history. The reason is not only that Korean historians prefer studying national history to foreign history, but that they want to devote themselves to Korean national sciences on account of politically conservative nationalism. For instance, owing to an ideology "Korean democracy", they have laid more emphasis on special national history than unversal world history. In spite of such bad conditions, some historians have continued to study western history. However, they have also neglected the medieval history of Europe more than its ancient or modern histories. It is, I think, because of the view of the Renaissance and the Enlightment of the medieval history and the difficulty of Latin language. After the 1980's. however, professional medievalists published the translated western articles of | the medieval history, tranlated the basic books of middle ages and published their own articles. And yet the studies on the history of the medieval political thoughts are

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fewer than the studies on other fields of the medieval history, which has, I think, resulted from the interest in the social and economic history caused by Korean political situation, the neglect of medieval political history for the religional reason, and the difficulty of the study on the history of thoughts itself. order to study the medieval political thoughts, it is necessary, first of all, to understand the historical process of thoughts since ancient ages and the theories of other sciences, for example, philosophy and politics. At any rate Korean medievalists haven't studied the medieval political thoughts much and the result is, in a way, from the responsibility of the political scientists who won't try to study the history of political thoughts.

## I. Studies on the 9th to 11th centuries' Political Thoughts

Here the studies on the medieval political thoughts will be introduced chronically. To begin with, "The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne" by Yi, Chung-hee deals with the change of the imperial idea, the maturity of the imperial circumstances, the motive and proceeding of the coronation, and the effect and significance of the coronation. In this article two facts are pointed out as the cause of the imperial coronation. First, this coronation was achived by

the efforts to reconcile the political power with a title of authority. Second, it was achieved by the efforts to protect the religion and the church and to establish the theocratic policy. By the way, Pope Leo III changed the procedural order of the coronation, so that he emphasized his role rather than the acclamation and the election of the people.

This article explains its effect and significance as follows. This coronation was accepted as the revival of Roman Empire in Rome, but Charlemagne was regarded as only a powerful king in Byzantium. And the continuous effects of Charlemagne's imperial coronaion were the separation of Latin West and Greek East, the development of divisional feudalism by Christian unification in Latin West, and the development of Christian theocracy.

"A Study on Theocratic Kingship and Coronation" by Kang, Chi-won deals with the mutual relation between the royal coronation and the descending theocratic Kingship from the 9th to the 11th centuries. It is explaned, in this article, that the royal coronation distinctly shows the descending and theocratic character of the medieval kingship, and that it is the best visible way to legitimate and santify the kingship. In unction (with chrism and on the head), Dei gratia seemed to have been tangibly conferred on the king. In these way, the royal coronation

strengthened the theocratic kingship.

However, the limitations of the kingship were ironically revealed in the coronation. Three factors of equal force operate in the establishment of medieval government: (i) the hereditary title derived from kinright, (ii) the election or the acclamation as the consent of people, and (iii) the divine consecration in virtue of the intervention of church. These limitations of the medieval kingship were strengthened by the coronation as a sacrament. By the way, after the Investiture Controversy the change of coronation from a sacrament to a 'sacramental' brought into the secularization of kingship. This article is based upon the opinions of W. Ullmann, F. Kern, and G. Barraclough.

III. Studies of the Investiture Controversy "Gregory VII's Political Ideas in Relation to the Development of Papal Ruling System, "by Chang, Chunchul deals with (i) Gregory VII's papal governmental thoughts (councils, enactment of <u>Dictatus Papae</u>, and contents of papal governmental thoughts), (ii) the papal governmental system and organizations, and (iii) the relation of Gregory VII with European monarchs (Germany, France, England, and other regions). This article explains how Gregory VII realized the papal governmental thoughts. In Chang's opinion, the papal

governmental system established by Gregory VII in the llth century was the political means by which the church wanted to free itself from the power of the secular monarch and to execute the papal independent government. It is explained that the establishment of the papal system was itself not the aim but the means to realize the Christian justice. Chang supports two Gregory VII's excommunications of Henry IV.

Chang's article is written from the viewpoint of political history. But "A Study on the Investiture Struggle", by Kim, Mi-won seems to be written from the viewpoint of political thoughts. Confining the period of the Investiture Struggle only to the age of Gregory VII, Kim, in this article, explains the character of the struggle and the essence of the pope's ideas of the church reformation. In her opinion, the chief aims of Gregory VII were to reject the position of the clergy as the secular officials, to reform the priesthood and to accomplish the ecclesiastical authority and the institutional reformation.

In conclusion, the Investiture Struggle by Gregory VII was the struggle for the supremacy between the regnum and the sacerdotium and for the superiority between the head of the secular world and that of the ecclesiastical world. This article's opinion is that the Investiture Struggle was, in essence, to establish the order of Christendom based on his religious ideas. In result, the pope and the emperor each pursued the division of the Church and the State.

IV. Studies on Marsilius' Political Thought
As the studies on the political thoughts in the
fourth term of middle ages, there are three articles
in which Kang, Chi-won introduced Marsilius and there
are also two articles and Ph.D. dissertation in which
Park, Eun-koo introduced Ockham.

Kang's first article of Marsilius, "Political Thought of Marsilius of Padua: Popular Sovereignty," deals with the life of Marsilius and Defensor pacis, the law (the coercion of positive human law and voluntas populi), the government (legislator humanus's election and consent of pars prinicipans), and the church: (the church as universitas fidelium and the anticlericalism). This article accepts the opinions of W.Ullmann and W.Ebenstein but contradicts the opinion of E.Lewis. Consequently, the Marsilian doctrine is the most fully-fledged medieval example of the ascending and populist thesis of the government

and the law.

The second article of Marsilius, "Aristotelian Elements in the Political Thought of Marsilius," explains Aristotelian elements and non-Aristotelian elements in the Marsilian doctrine. The followings are introduced in this article: the opinions of Ullmann, A.Gewirth, and L.Strauss for Aristotelianism in Marsilius and the opinion of F.Oakley for non-Aristotelianism.

Ullmann's chosen Aristotelians of medieval history are Thomas, Dante, Jean de Paris and Marsilius. And he illustrates the process by which Aristotelian ideas, after an initial phase of hostility, were first received and absorbed into Christian cosmology, and then in the 14th century, released from the Christian garb. In Oakley's opinion, however, Marsilius provides a striking contrast to Aristotle in his separation of law and politics from morals, in his attribution of the legis ative sovereignty to the people, and in his own particular version of political naturalism.

In this article, Kang concludes that Marsilius didn't only adopt but adapted the Aristotelian doctrine, and didn't only expound but expanded the Aristotelian views. In Marsilian thought, therefore, we can discover his deviation from Aristotelianism as well as his acceptance of Aristotelianism.

Kang's third article of Marsilius, "Popular Sovereignty of Marsilius and Bartolus in the Later Middle Ages," compares Marsilius with Bartolus. What, with the help of Aristotle, Marsilius ideologically achieved for the political sovereignty of the people, his contemporary Bartolus, with the help of the Roman law, achieved for the legal sovereignty of the people.

One real difference between the two systems lies in Marsilius' envisaging his system on an universal scale, while Bartolus' system is applicable to the confined communities, the small states. Of more fundamental difference are the composition of the populus and consequently the kind of laws and tribunals it can create.

This article based upon the opinions of W.Ullmann and H.G.Walther contradicts the opinion of M.Wilks.

V. Studies on Ockham's Political Thought
Concerning the studies on Ockham's political thought
by Park, Eun-koo, I will introduce his Ph.D. dissertation,
"A Study on the Political Thought of William of Ockham."
This dissertation deals with Ockham's theory on the
church government, his theory on the secular government,
his theory on the natural law and Ockham and
Franciscanism. In Park's opinion, the studies which
were based upon the traditional framework of political
monism (the descending and theocratic political
consciousness, the ascending and secular political

consciousness, and the political parallelism), could not properly explore the essential structure of the political consciousness outside of political monism such as Ockham's political theory.

It is explained in this dissertation, that Ockham considered the church government a kind of autonomous institution which has the control of spiritualia based upon the Petrine Primacy. Therefore the limited and negative church government theory argued by Ockhaz contains a logic of resistance against the papalist's destpotic and arbitrary church government. Ockham considered the secular government an autonomous and self-contained human institution which has the control of temporalia. According to Park, the genuine peculiarity of Ockham's argument of the secular government is found, in that it defines the essence of publica utilitas as the political freedom of the ruled. The negative secular government, which was · strongly presented by Ockham, was a logical outgrowth of his political belief in the political freedom of the individual.

This dissertation explains that in Ockham the absolute natural law is ratio naturalis, that his conception of the ideal natural law as communis omnium possessio and omnium una libertas represents his strong desire for the ideal society, and that he understood the essence of ius naturale et suppositione

as ratio evidens and consensus humanus. This Political Ockhamism, which is sometimes understood as the primary motive of Via moderna, is firmly founded upon Ockham's strong belief in the traditional Franciscanism known as a very medieval ideology. The conclusion of this dissertation is that Ockham's separation of the role of the church government from that of the secular government and his limitation of both these governments to the negative function should be understood as his own prescription to solve the political problems of his age, and that Ockham is a creative thinker who regards freedom and rationality as essential in every political structure.

## Conclusion

Here we want to point out the problems of the above-mentioned studies on the political thoughts in the later medieval Europe. First, as we have seen, these articles are poor in terms of the problem setting and the discussion. Second, we should translate the primary sources and the original texts of the medieval thinkers. For these translations the financial support and the administrative measures are indispensable.

Third, we should recognize the medieval origin of the moern political thoughts, and make our efforts to study the medieval political thought. Fourth, for the active studies on the medieval political thoughts, we should understand the political problems of Korean reality and our historical present. Finally, when we don't only realize that the ideas and thoughts have their own developmental reason regardless of the process of history but that the development of thoughts is the product of the historical conditions of the past, we can hope for the studies which command a view of "both the forest and the tree" of the medieval political thoughts.

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