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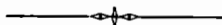
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ART. III.—SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

NO. III.—PART I. HISTORICAL.

THERE are some singular "curiosities" to be found in the "Decretum" of Gratian, which was long regarded as the backbone of the Western Canon Law. But few of these will compare for curiosity with the following :

Ego, Berengarius . . . ore et corde profiteor de sacramentis dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere quam dominus et venerabilis papa. Nicolaus et hæc sancta synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit mihique firmavit, scilicet panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur post consecrationem non solum sacramentum sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi esse : et sensualiter, non solum sacramentum sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari et frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri ; jurans per sanctam et homooision Trinitatem et per hæcsacrosancta Christi evangelia.—("Decret.," Pars. III., "De Consecr.," Dist. II., can. xli., p. 1274 ; edit. Venice, 1567.)

By the side of this stands the gloss :¹

Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii in majorem incidēs hæresim, quam ipse fuerit. Et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas.

¹ The gloss was written by John Semeca, or Zemeke (known also as Joannes Teutonicus), in the thirteenth century. See Allix, Præf. to "Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis," p. 22, who quotes similar language from Herveus and Richardus de Media Villa, and adds : "Sic loquuntur illi haud advertentes formulam fuisse a Nicolao Secundo Berengario præscriptum . . . atque adeo non Berengarium, sed Consilium Romanum condemnare se, cum hanc formulam exsibilant" (p. 23, London, 1686).

Semeca was Provost of St. Stephen, of Halberstadt. He died in 1267, according to Du Pin, "Eccl. Hist.," vol. xi., p. 74 ; London, 1699. His *Glossa Ordinaria* is said to have been written in 1215, and completed by Bartholomew Brixiensis about 1236. See Tardif, "Histoire des Sources du Droit Canonique," pp. 186, 319, 320.

The student of history will not fail to recognise in this the confession of faith which was extorted from Berengarius at the Council of Rome, under Pope Nicolas II.

It was unquestionably formulated for the very purpose of expressing most distinctly and unequivocally what at that date (1059) was regarded by the bishops present as the orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist in the Church of Rome. Drawn up by a Roman Cardinal, its language, we must believe, was carefully chosen, that in its natural sense it might clearly define that doctrine, and fence it off from all heretical misinterpretation. Yet the gloss bears witness that, from the standpoint of what was regarded as the orthodox doctrine at a later date, the language of this confession in its natural sense was viewed as dangerous in the extreme; and that except as this natural sense was explained—*i.e.*, reduced to an unnatural sense, or explained away—it was seen to teach a more grievous heresy than that of Berengarius himself, whose (so-called) heresy it was intended to exclude and condemn. "Thus," says Bishop Jewel, "these fathers, by their own friend's confession, redress the less error by the greater; and in plain words in general council, by solemn way of recantation, profess a greater heresy than by their own judgment ever was defended by Berengarius." ("Works," vol. i., p. 459. P.S. Edit.)

This is assuredly a *curious* example of the growing, and therefore changeful, character of Roman orthodoxy—of the varying phases through which the doctrine of the Eucharist in its development had to pass. But in order to estimate this example aright it is important to regard it in connection with the history which surrounds it. It is only thus that the most striking points of this "curiosity" come into view.

The discovery by Lessing of the lost treatise of Berengarius, in the library of Wolfenbüttel—his reply to Lanfranc—if it has done nothing to raise our estimate of his character or his theology, has certainly enabled us to form a truer estimate of the doctrine which Berengarius taught concerning the Supper of our Lord. It is no longer possible to suppose that he was justly accused of a desire to reduce the Holy Sacrament to bare and ineffectual signs of a grace not present, or of a Saviour really absent. He vehemently opposed a gross materialism, but he strongly upheld a spiritual and effectual presence to the soul of the Christian. The superstitious notions which, especially since the time of Paschasius, had been leavening the Church, and gradually corrupting the faith, laying hold on men's minds, and spreading their influence far and wide—these were the object of his attack. The doctrine which had been taught by Joannes Scotus Erigena, and which

is probably identical with that which we know as contained in the treatise ascribed to Ratramnus¹ or Bertram of Corbie—this was that which he seems to have maintained as the truth; and he maintained it by appealing to the writings of the fathers, rightly contending that, in this matter, novelty of doctrine belonged, not to himself, but to his opponents.

We are not concerned to uphold the Christian courage or consistency of Berengarius, nor to maintain in all things his perfect theological accuracy, though there can be little doubt that his conduct has been misrepresented, and his doctrine misunderstood.²

But in view of this declaration, which thus became part of the Roman Canon law, we must first touch very briefly on the previous course of this remarkable man, whose life has made an epoch in the history of Latin Christianity, and specially in the evolution of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Papacy.

Berengar's name has always been associated with the town of Tours. Here he was born about the year 1000 A.D. Here

¹ See Hagenbach's "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 91; Clark.

Some have maintained that Scotus was the author of the book; but Claude contends for the authorship of Ratram, while also urging that it will only have greater weight if written by Scotus ("Catholic Doctrine of Euch.," pp. 277 *sqq.*; London, 1684). On this question see Gieseler ("Eccles. Hist.," vol. ii., pp. 288, 289; Clark), who also holds that Ratram was the author. See also D'Achery's "Spicilegium," vol. iii., p. 852; and especially Robertson, "Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iii., p. 348.

² He is commended by Platina, in the life of Pope Joan. XV., who says: "Fuisse in pretio hâc tempestate constat et Odilonem abbatem Cluniacensem et Berengarium Turonensem, viros sanctitate et doctrina insignes." But this commendation is, of course, qualified in respect of his Eucharistic doctrine. See other testimonies in Ussher's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 215, 216.

A remarkable eulogium on his character, said to be written by Fulbert, or Hildebert of Le Mans, may be seen in Hospinian's "Works," vol. iii., p. 284. It is taken from William of Malmesbury. It could hardly have been written by Hildebert, if the tractate, "De Sacramento Altaris," published in the volume of his works by Beaugendre (c. 1103 *sqq.*; Paris, 1708), be really his.

Archbishop Trench's unfavourable estimate ("Mediæval Ch. Hist.," p. 189 *sqq.*) appears to rest very much on the notion that he taught *two* doctrines on the Eucharist (p. 191). And this seems founded on the opinion that the teaching of a trope must be inconsistent with the doctrine of a real communion of the body and blood of Christ—a mistake, as we think, too commonly made, and one which would tend to the condemnation of the great divines of the Reformed Church of England, not less than of Berengar. Bishop Cosin truly says: "Nequaquam igitur hâc suâ doctrinâ Christi Corpus e sacramento exclusit, sed sacramentum in legitimo ejus usu cum re sacramenti conjunxit; et Corpus Christi, non ore et modo carnali, sed spiritu, mente, et animâ, manducari docuit" ("Hist. Transubstantiationis," cap. vii., § 6).

was the famous theological school which was spoken of throughout the world. Of this school Berengar became the master in 1031, having previously studied theology under the celebrated Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, whose writings, as we have seen, have been so strangely manipulated by De Villiers.

Afterwards (in 1039) he became Archdeacon of Angers.

As a professed disciple of Erigena, he soon found himself an object of suspicion, and shortly afterwards of opposition. In 1049 he wrote a letter to Lanfranc—afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—but at that time the master of the then ignoble monastic school of Bec. The letter was written in a style of somewhat condescending superiority, reproaching Lanfranc for maintaining the doctrine of Paschasius, and declaring that the doctrine of Scotus is that which had been taught by Ambrose, Augustin, and Jerome.¹

In 1050, in a synod held at Rome—it is questionable how far through the interposition of Lanfranc—Berengar's letter to Lanfranc was read, in consequence of which he was excommunicated and summoned to appear at another synod to be held at Vercelli in September. At this synod Berengar, in his absence (for he had been imprisoned by King Henry I.),² was again condemned, and the book of Scotus was committed to the flames. The next year he appears to have been again condemned in two Councils, one at Brionne, and the other at Paris. In 1054, he was summoned to a council to be held at Tours under Hildebrand (afterwards Pope Gregory VII.) as papal legate. But Hildebrand left hastily for Rome, in consequence of the illness of the Pope (Leo. IX.), and the proceedings were abortive. Then followed the brief pontificates of Victor II. and Stephen IX. To Stephen succeeded Nicolas II.,³ under whom another synod was held at Rome, where Berengar appeared, relying probably on the favour of Hildebrand. At this synod Berengar succumbed to the force of the opposition. Here it was that he signed the declaration "Ego Berengarius." It was drawn up by Cardinal Humbert. And "Berengar" (to use the words of Canon Robertson)

¹ See "Mansi," tom. xix., c. 768.

² See "De Sacra Cœna," p. 42; Berlin, 1834.

³ For Benedict X. is not accounted a true Pope. Platina says: "Legitimus Pontifex non fuit, cum simonice per vim, et metum contra canones, et juramenta Pontificatum occupaverit." In the same council which condemned Berengarius it was decreed that such a Pope was to be regarded as "non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus."

Probably Pope Nicolas was in some measure influenced by Berengar, "Henricus Knightonus" ("Chron.," lib. ii., cap. 3), "Leicestrensis Monachus, Berengarium 'fere Nicolaum papam corrupisse' asserit." (Archbishop Ussher, "De Christ. Eccles. Succ. et Statu," c. vii., § 30; "Works," vol. ii., p. 221).

“overpowered (as he tells us) by the fear of death, and by the tumult of his opponents, took the document into his hands, prostrated himself in token of submission, and cast his own writings into the fire” (“Hist. of Christian Ch.” vol. iv. p. 361).

Our object in this summary of the earlier period of Berengar’s history is to show the change which had come over the views of western Christendom in the space of two centuries. The teaching of Paschasius in the ninth century had called forth strong opposition and condemnation from prominent men and able divines in various parts of the world. It was felt to be a novelty.¹ And the novelty was felt to be doing violence to the spiritual instincts of the Christian Church. But now the tide has turned. And the gross materialistic view of the Lord’s Supper, as expressed in the confession imposed on Berengarius, has evidently taken hold of the popular mind, and has the support of very many, even of the leading men, and the learned men—the men who stand forth as the defenders of the faith and the upholders of orthodoxy.²

But we turn now to the subsequent period of Berengar’s life, and we shall see what clear evidence it affords, that even still the doctrine of his opponents—though now in the ascendancy

¹ See Edgar’s “Variations of Popery,” p. 371; and Claude’s “Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist,” Book VI., chaps. viii.-xi.; and especially Gieseler, “Eccles. Hist.,” vol. ii., p. 289; Clark.

² It should be noted, however, that in the Synod of Arras, in 1025, Bishop Gerard had insisted (while upholding views akin to those of Paschasius) that “*hæc gratia non consumitur morsibus nec dentibus teritur, sed interioris hominis palato, hoc est, ratione et intellectu percipitur*” (“Mansi,” tom. xix., c. 432). Compare Augustin, “In Johan. Ev. Tract.,” xxvii., § 3, Op., tom. iii., par. ii., c. 502; edit. Ben., 1680.

It would be a great injustice to Lanfranc to suppose that he was only a patron of the materialistic view of the Eucharist. He taught doctrine to which De Villiers would fain have prefixed his “*dicet hæreticus.*” Thus he wrote to a Bishop in Ireland: “*Fidelis quisque, Divini mysterii per intelligentiam capax, carnem Christi et sanguinem non solum ore corporis sed etiam amore et suavitate cordis comedit et bibit; videlicet amando et in conscientia pura dulce habendo, quod pro salute nostra Christus carnem assumpsit, pependit, resurrexit, ascendit, et imitando vestigia Ejus et communicando passionibus Ipsius. . . . Hoc est enim vere, et salubriter carnem Christi comedere, et sanguinem ejus bibere*” (“Ep.” xxxiii., p. 232, Op.; Venice, 1745). Compare the following: “*Corporali . . . ore corporaliter manducamus et bibimus . . . Spirituali vero ore cordis spiritualiter comeditur et hauritur, quando suaviter et utiliter, ut dicit beatus Augustinus, in memoria reconditur quod unigenitus Dei Filius pro salute mundi carnem accepit*” (“De Corp. et Sang. Dom.,” c. xvii., Op., p. 179).

It may be added that many who firmly maintained the corporal presence held it as subservient to spiritual manducation. See “Eucharistic Worship,” pp. 331, 332; and “Lectures on the Lord’s Supper,” p. 41 *sqq.*

—was far from having yet attained the position of a fixed and unquestionable dogma of the faith.

On his return to his own country, Berengar returned also to his own opinions, and to his diligence in propagating them. He was attacked by Lanfranc in his treatise "De corpore et sanguine Domini." It was in answer to this that Berengar wrote his work "De Sacra Cœnâ adversus Lanfrancum liber posterior," which is the treatise discovered by Lessing. In this he declares that on his side of the controversy stood very many of every rank and dignity.¹

We may pass over the pontificate of Alexander II., who took no measures against him beyond a friendly exhortation to forsake his errors. We may pass over also the Council of Poitiers, in 1075, from which it is said that he hardly escaped with his life. But we must not pass over the Council of Rome in 1078. Hildebrand, now Gregory VII., would very gladly have bidden the sword of the Berengarian controversy "put up itself into its scabbard, rest, and be quiet." But it was not to be. Neither Berengar nor his opponents had the least intention of yielding to Papal dissuaves. His adversaries required that he should undergo the ordeal of hot iron. And here comes in the most remarkable and the most instructive episode of this very curious and instructive history.

In spite of all that may have been argued to the contrary, it seems to be almost certainly established, that the Pope himself, and that Pope a very Saul among Popes (albeit an earnest Reformer, according to his own views), was, to say the least, rather disposed to favour the views of Berengarius than those of his opponents. But beyond this, we are assured upon evidence which, as it seems to us, cannot easily be set aside, that the Pope, seeking special guidance from above by means of the devotions of a saintly monk, who was desired specially to invoke for this purpose the aid and guidance of the blessed Virgin Mary, had a special revelation vouchsafed to him, by which he was instructed that there was nothing in the teaching

¹ Thus Berengar writes to Lanfranc: "Contra conscientiam tuam dicis, quam latere non potest, quam plurimos vel pene infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuum de sacrificio ecclesie execrentur errorem atque Pascasii Corbeiensis monachi" ("De Sacra Cœnâ," p. 54; Berlin, 1834).

"Nec solus tum Berengarius hanc orthodoxæ vetustatis sententiam defensavit. Constat enim ex Sigiberto, Gul. Malmesburiensi, Matth. Parisio, et Matth. Westmonasteriensi, 'omnes' fere hujus temporis, 'Gallos, Italos, et Anglos' eidem sententiæ adhæsisse" (Cosin, "Hist. Transubstantiationis," c. vii., § 6).

See also the testimony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus; and of Rupertus Tutiensis, as cited in Ussher's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 211, 212, 217, 218; "De Christ. Eccles. Succ. et Statu," c. vii., §§ 19, 20, 26, 27.

of Berengarius which conflicted with the inspired Scriptures, and that beyond the teaching of the Scriptures on the subject, nothing ought to be insisted on.

Let the reader to whom these things are new stand aghast! The doctrine of Berengar shielded by a Pope—and that Pope the imperious Hildebrand! The doctrine of Berengar supported by a revelation from heaven! The doctrine of Berengar defended as Scriptural by the Exalted Virgin! And the infallible head and doctor of the Church instructed by a heavenly vision to require no faith in the Mass, but the faith of the Scriptures as taught by Berengar of Tours!

The reader may well be pardoned for being incredulous. But his incredulity must vanish as he reads these words addressed by Gregory to Berengar: "Ego plane te de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas bene sentire non dubito, tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his, quæ me movent recurrere, ante aliquot dies imposui religioso cuidam amico jejuniis et orationibus operam dare, atque ita a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret quorsum me de negotio, quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio, reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem. Religiosus vir a B. Maria audivit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum nisi quod haberent authenticæ Scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat."¹ (See Gieseler, "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 409; edit. Clark; and Neander, "Ch. Hist.," vol. vi., p. 331; edit. Clark.)

No wonder Pope Gregory had to bear the reproaches of those who regarded themselves as the champions of the true faith. No wonder that the synod of Brixen denounced him as nothing less than a hæresiarch. No wonder that voices were heard above a whisper, declaring the Pope to be infidel. Hear the words of one, "Jejunium indixit Cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane Ecclesia an Berengarius—dubius in fide, infidelis est"² (Benno in "Goldast," p. 3). Hear the mourning of another, "En verus pontifex et verus sacerdos qui dubitat, si illud quod sumitur in dominicâ mensâ, sit verum corpus et sanguis

¹ It should be well noted that Berengar solemnly declares that these words were spoken to him by Hildebrand: "Audiente Portuensi Episcopo." See "Mansi," tom. xix., c. 765.

² Cardinal Benno was no friend of Hildebrand, and some of his accusations may have a doubtful origin; but there is every reason to believe that this assertion has a foundation in truth.

Hildebrand had his enemies. A synod of thirty bishops condemned him as "an old disciple of the heretic Berengar" (Martene et Durand., "Thes. Anec.," iv., p. 103. See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 124).

Christi" (Egilbert, in Eccard, "C. H. Medii (Evi," ii. 170. See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 119).

Well has Dean Milman written concerning this Council at Rome in 1078:

The conduct of Gregory at this council, his treatment of the great heresiarch, is in the strangest contrast with that of his imperial antagonist. Hildebrand, on all questions of Church power so prompt, decisive, instantaneous in his determinations, so impatient of opposition, so merciless to a foe within his power, so pertinacious to crush out the last words of submission where he feels his superiority, so utterly, it should seem conscientiously, remorseless, when the most remote danger can be apprehended or warded off from the vast fabric of the theocracy, from the universal, all-embracing, as he hoped, eternal ecclesiastical dominion—is now another man. Compare Gregory VII. in the condemnation of investitures, and Gregory in defence of transubstantiation; Gregory with King Henry at Canossa, and with Berengar at Tours or at Rome. Hildebrand, it might almost seem for the first time, on this cardinal doctrine is vacillatory, hesitating, doubtful. He will recur to the blessed Virgin to enlighten him, and the blessed Virgin appears to acquit Berengar of any dangerous heresy. He even bears the clamour of the populace. He lays himself open to the bitter taunts which he must well have known that his enemies would seize every opportunity to heap upon him to protect Berengar from an unjust or too rigorous sentence. He dismisses the heresiarch, it might seem, uncondemned, or even with honour. Berengar, already censured by former Popes, bears with him in triumph commendatory letters from Gregory VII. Berengar dies in peace, in full possession of his ecclesiastical dignities. Was it that from the first the bold logical mind of Berengar at Tours had cast a spell upon Hildebrand? Was it a calm, stern sense of justice, which believed, and dared to assert, that Berengar's opinions had been misrepresented by his blind or malignant enemies? Was it that he was caught in the skilful web of Berengar's dialectics? Was his sagacity at fault for once? and was his keen foresight obtuse to the inevitable consequences which the finer instinctive dread of the greater part of the religious world felt to its very heart, that from the doctrine of transubstantiation, in its hardest, most material form, once defined, once avowed, once established by the decrees of Popes and councils, there was no retreat without shaking the sacerdotal power to its base, that bolder men would inevitably either advance on Berengar's opinions, or teach undisguised that which Berengar concealed under specious phraseology? The priest's power, as it was afterwards intrepidly stated, of making God, the miracles which became, or had become, so common, to prove, not the spiritual, but the grosser material transmutation, fell away at once, and with it how much of sacerdotal authority, sacerdotal wealth, sacerdotal dominion! Some might suppose of true and humble reverence for the mystery of the Eucharist! With the whole religion, now and for some centuries become materialism more or less refined, how perilous spiritualism in its holiest, most august rite! Gregory can hardly have supposed that by mildness, moderation, candour, he could propitiate to silence or to inactivity the busy, vain heresiarch. Be it as it may, Gregory had to bear—and he can hardly but have foreseen that he should have to bear—the reproach that he himself doubted the real presence of the body and blood of the Redeemer in the Sacrament,¹—that he was an infidel.—("Latin Christianity," Book VII., chap. iii., vol. iv., pp. 116-119; London, 1867.)

¹ So the Council of Brixen, in the Tyrol (A.D. 1080), condemns Gregory as "Catholicam et apostolicam fidem de corpore et sanguine Domini in

By Baronius, of course, these reproaches are regarded as nothing but vile calumny.¹ (See Ann. 1079, §§ 4, 5, 6, tom. xvii., p. 454, Paris, 1869.) But it is scarcely possible for the impartial historian not to recognise them as having a foundation in fact.² "Every circumstance," says Mr. Greenwood, "attending these conferences shows that the Pope had conceived a great regard for Berengar, and that he was solicitous to protect him against the violence of his adversaries. Up to the end of his residence at Rome, Gregory treated him with distinguished kindness, and dismissed him with an autograph safe-conduct in the amplest and most cordial terms, threatening all persons who should molest him on his homeward journey, or thereafter presume to call him heretic, with the anathema of the Church."³ He sent with him a chamberlain of his own household to signify the favour of the Holy See, and wrote to the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishop of Angers, and the Earl Fulk of Anjou, to insure him against all further molestation on the score of his opinions."⁴ ("Cathedra Petri," book ix., ch. v., pp. 136, 137.)

We need not dwell on the remainder of Berengar's history. But it should be added that, at this Council at Rome in 1078, under Gregory VII., he signed another confession, which,

quæstionem ponentem, hæretici Berengarii antiquum discipulum" ("Mansi," tom. xx., c. 548, 550). On the history and character of this synod of thirty Bishops, see Milman's "Latin Christianity," Book VII., chap. iii., vol. iv., pp. 123-125. Milman notes (p. 124) : "This charge no doubt arose from his acceptance of the ambiguous confession from Berengar ; and no doubt much was made of the declaration which Berengar asserted him to have made, that he had received a special message from the Virgin Mary, testifying that the doctrine of Berengar was consonant with the Scriptures."

¹ Du Pin also speaks of them as "groundless and unjust" ("Ecc. Hist.," vol. ix., p. 11 ; London, 1698).

² See especially Mosheim, "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 359, note ; edit. Soames, 1845.

³ The language of Hildebrand in this safe-conduct should be well noted. It will be found in D'Achery's "Spicilegium" (tom. iii., p. 413) : "Literæ commendatitiæ Gregorii VII. datæ Berengario post concilium Romanum. Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Omnibus beato Petro fidelibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Notum vobis omnibus facimus nos anathema fecisse ex Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, omnibus qui injuriam aliquam facere præsumserint Berengario Romanæ Ecclesiæ filio, vel in persona, vel in omni possessione suâ, vel qui eum vocabit hæreticum ; quem post multas quas apud nos, quantas voluimus fecit moras, domum suam remittimus, et cum eo fidelem nostrum Fulconem nomine."

⁴ It must, however, be remembered that the Pope's commendatory letters were written (as Du Pin observes) after Berengar's confession of *substantial change*.

though it satisfied Gregory, was too ambiguous to satisfy his opponents.¹ In the following year, therefore, he submitted to sign another confession, acknowledging that the elements are *substantially*² changed into the real Body and Blood of Christ, which, though very different from the "Ego Berengarius" of 1059, appears to have satisfied the opposite party. He appeared again in 1080 before a Council at Bordeaux, and died near Tours in 1088. He is reported by some to have died in the "Catholic" faith,³ but according to his contemporary Bernold, he persevered in his opinions to the last. (See Robertson's "History of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 368, and Gieseler, "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 411.) His memory, we are told, was revered in the district of Tours, and there was, down to late times, a yearly solemnity at his tomb. (*Ibid.*) N. DIMOCK.
(*To be continued.*)

¹ Of the confession of 1078, it has been said: "The doctrinal exposition of Pope Gregory and the Roman council would have satisfied any of the reformed denominations. . . . Mabillon acknowledges the Berengarian creed's ambiguity and insufficiency. The contemporary patrons of the corporal presence held the same opinion as Mabillon, and insisted on the substitution of an unequivocal and explicit confession, and the insertion of the epithet 'substantial.' This accordingly was effected next year" (Edgar, "Variations of Popery," p. 7).

² See Canon Robertson, "Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 367. This confession was probably (as Canon Jenkins supposes) exacted by the Pope to clear himself of the suspicion of heresy, and to enable him to throw over Berengarius the shield of his protection. See CHURCHMAN, October, 1892, p. 19. Berengar's apology for himself in the matter of this confession may be seen in "Mansi" (tom. xix., c. 763 *sqq.*). He soon recalled it. At the time of this confession Berengar must have been nearly eighty years of age. The synod of Brixen, which elected the Antipope Guibert, and which formulated the charge of Berengarianism against Gregory, was subsequent to this; but that imputation had no doubt found expression much earlier.

Allix quotes from a MS. work on St. Matthew, which is attributed to Gregory, the following: "Qui fit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis quæri solet? Quod autem formalis non sit, manifestum est; quia forma panis et vini remanent. Utrum vero sit substantialis, perspicuum non est. . . . Nos autem incerta relinquentes, quod ex auctoritatibus certum est profiteremur, scilicet substantiam panis et vini in substantiam Corporis et Sanguinis converti, modum vero conversionis ignorare non erubescimus fateri" (Præf. to "Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis," p. 7). Compare Lombard, Sent. Dist., XI.: "Si autem quæritur qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis: definire non sufficio. Formalem tamen non esse cognosco."

When his end drew near Gregory declared his faith as to the Eucharist, "probably," says Canon Robertson, "with a view of clearing himself from the suspicions of Berengarianism, which his enemies had industriously cast on him" ("Hist. of Christian Church," vol. iv., p. 344.)

³ See Du Pin, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. ix., p. 11; London, 1698.

