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A HANDBOOK
OF
CHURCH HISTORY
A.D. 30—1483.

A HANDBOOK OF CHURCH HISTORY

FROM THE APOSTOLIC ERA TO THE
DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

BY THE

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"A HANDBOOK TO OLD TESTAMENT HEBREW" ETC.

*WITH FULL DATES
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES
AND INDEX*

LONDON

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

4 BOUVERIE STREET AND 65 ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

1904

PREFACE

THE following pages are intended to present an outline, with illustrative details, of the chief events connected with the establishment and growth of Christ's kingdom upon earth. Some competent knowledge of these facts, and of the life and character of those personages who by their actions and writings have mainly affected the history, ought surely to be acquired in the course of every Christian's education.

The too general neglect of the study may have arisen in part from its complexity. It ranges over so many lands; its centre is so frequently shifting; its points of contact with human interests are so numerous and varied; its biographies so strangely exhibit human nature at its best and almost at its worst; while the conflicts of opinion which it describes are so bewildering and painful, that the earnest-minded reader is too often disheartened and repelled.

In one important respect, indeed, the history cannot be

written. The life of faith and devotion often flows in hidden channels: "the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Early in the last century, the evangelical Church historian Joseph Milner announced his intention thus: "Nothing but what appears to me to belong to Christ's Kingdom shall be admitted; genuine piety is the only thing which I intend to celebrate." The design was admirable; but its full accomplishment required a "discerning of spirits" hardly attainable by insight less than divine. The aim expressed by the philosophic Neander better meets the possibilities of the case: "To exhibit the history of the Church of Christ as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof, for all who are disposed to listen."

The history naturally divides itself into distinct periods. Classification by centuries, as often adopted, although convenient on some accounts, is artificial and unsatisfactory. The great landmarks of the narrative seldom coincide with these notes of time. Certain other dividing points are more consistent with the progress of events, and are generally recognized. Limiting the narrative to the eras preceding the REFORMATION in the sixteenth century, the following periods may be specified; each with its distinct and special characteristics:—

I. The APOSTOLIC AGE, to the close of the First Century of the Christian era.

II. The AGE OF CONFLICT; the Church confronted by the

forces of the Roman Empire; the era of heathen persecutions, of literary attacks upon the faith, and of the great Apologies. This period extends to the enactment of Toleration, A.D. 313.

III. The AGE OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT; the formulation of beliefs, the conflict with early heresies, and the repression of early schisms; the second and crowning period of patristic literature. This age came to a close with the pontificate of Gregory I. "the Great," A.D. 604.

IV. The BEGINNINGS OF MEDIÆVALISM; from Gregory to Charlemagne. Here the outstanding facts are the progress and arrest of Mohammedan invasion, and the development of Missions in Pagan lands. This period ends on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was crowned in Rome.

V. The RISE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. This period is especially marked by the contests for supremacy between the civil and ecclesiastical rulers; also by the severance of the Eastern and Western Empires, by the growing discordance between the Greek and Roman Churches, and by the glaring corruptions of the Papacy. The *Middle Age* of the Church, to A.D. 1054.

VI. The CULMINATION OF THE PAPACY; the age of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.); also of the Crusades; the period of Scholasticism; the Albigensian and Waldensian revolts; rise of the Mendicant Orders; removal of the Popes to Avignon; "the Babylonian Captivity," A.D. 1305.

VII. The AGE PREMONITORY OF THE REFORMATION. Movements of independent thought, and efforts for freedom; the

“Reforming Councils.” The age of Wyclif and Huss ; birth of Luther, A.D. 1483, and eve of the Reformation.

The Tables and Indices contained in this volume will, it is hoped, materially contribute to the elucidation of the narrative. The CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE is especially important, as in many parts of the work the arrangement according to subjects might tend to obscure the order of different and unrelated events.

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THE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE WORD "CHURCH."

THE New Testament word translated *church* is *ἐκκλησία*, *ecclesia*, derived from *ἐκκαλέω*, to call out,¹ or summon, and was employed among the Greeks for the regularly-convened assemblies held for legislative or judicial purposes in the several states or cities. In this sense it is once used in the New Testament, Acts xix. 39, "It shall be determined in the legal assembly." The same chapter, however, shows that the word had lost its special meaning, being used to denote an assembly of any kind, see ver. 32. It is used in the Old Testament, Septuagint version, for the religious assemblies of the Hebrews (Deut. iv. 10, xviii. 16), and for the whole assembly or "congregation" of Israel (Deut. xxxi. 30; Ps. xxii. 22: so also in the New Testament, Acts vii. 38; Heb. ii. 12). Hence its Christian application (1) to the general body of the faithful, as Matt. xvi. 18, xviii. 17 (the only instances in the Gospels); 1 Cor. x. 32; Ephes. i. 22, etc.; (2) to individual congregations, larger or smaller, Acts viii. 1; 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 1; Rev. i. 4; Rom. xvi. 4, and many other passages; (3) according to Schleusner, to the place of meeting, in 1 Cor. xi. 18, xiv. 19,

¹ This etymology has been sometimes pressed unduly, as though it suggested the idea that the Church is "called out" by God, as Abraham from Chaldæa, and Christians generally from the world. The strict ety-

mological sense had vanished before New Testament times, and it would hardly be resumed for theological purposes in so occult a way. But see Maurice, *Lect. Eccles. Hist.*, Lect. I.

28, 33—35; 3 John 6. But this is doubtful, although undoubtedly the word was frequently employed in this sense afterwards. The “church” in a city and the “churches” in a country are always carefully distinguished.¹

The English word *church*, according to the best philologists, is connected with the adjective *κυριακός*, “the Lord’s,” *house* being understood; *δῶμα κυριακόν*. (For the adjective in other connexions, see 1 Cor. xi. 20; Rev. i. 10.) Hence would come *kyriak*, *kyrk*, *kirk*, *kirche*, *church*. Another proposed etymology, connecting the word with the root *circ* (*κύκλος*, *circus*, *circulus*, *cirque*, *circle*), originally designating the ancient temples, which were circular in form, though once strongly maintained, is now generally regarded as untenable.²

“The chief difference between the words *ecclesia* and *church* would probably consist in this, that *ecclesia* primarily signified the Christian body, and secondarily the place of assembly; while the first signification of *church* was the place of assembly, which imparted its name to the body of worshippers.”

The word *catholic*, “universal,” as an epithet of the Church, was of very early origin, and appears to have been at first applied, not to the whole organised Christian community, but to individual churches, almost in the sense of *orthodox*: as holding the beliefs “universally” recognised as Christian. Afterwards it was used in the wider application, as in the Nicene Creed—“one universal and apostolic Church.” The primitive sense, however, is that expressed by the martyr Ignatius in the early part of the second century: “Wherever Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.”

¹ There may be an exception to this usage in Acts ix. 31, where the reading approved by most modern critics is singular, “the church.”

² See the elaborate article in *The New Dictionary of the English Language*.

PART I.
THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL HISTORY.



- A. D. 30 TIBERIUS, Emperor (acc. A. D. 14)
- 35? Aretas at Damascus
- 36 Pontius Pilate banished
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- 39 Herod Antipas banished
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CHAPTER I.

NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH HISTORY.

§ I. THE BIRTHDAY OF THE CHURCH.

THE history of the Christian Church begins with the Pentecost that succeeded our Lord's Resurrection. The Feast of Firstfruits¹ was the appropriate occasion for the first ingathering of converts: and if, as Jewish writers state, the Pentecost also commemorated the giving of the Law, the contrast between the old and new dispensations would be brought into strong relief by the coincidence of the anniversary.²

The Eleven apostles, with other disciples, to the number in all of a hundred and twenty, were congregated in "the upper room;" probably that in which Christ had partaken with them His last Passover, and had instituted the Eucharist. This had been the place of their meeting during the ten days³ which had elapsed from the Ascension, and which they had spent in united prayer, interrupted only by the election of a successor to Judas in the apostolate.⁴ The early morning of the Pentecost found them thus assembled; when

¹ See Exodus xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 15—22; Numbers xxviii. 26—31; Deut. xvi. 9—12.

² Many readers will remember the Whitsunday poem in the *Christian Year*, beginning, "When God of old came down from heaven." The Whitsun festival appears to have been the first yearly celebration instituted in the Church. Compare Acts xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

³ Christ was crucified (as we believe) on the 14th day of Nisan (A.D. 30). The Pentecost or "fiftieth day" was

reckoned from the sixteenth, the day of the Resurrection. Forty days of that period had been spent by Him on earth with His disciples, Acts i. 3. By calculation it will appear that the Pentecost was on the first day of the week, "Sunday."

⁴ Opinions are divided as to whether this was a legitimate act, whether the Saviour had not designed another to fill up the number of the Twelve, even Saul of Tarsus. See 1 Cor. xv. 8

suddenly a new, strange power filled their souls. A rushing wind, with the appearance of dividing flames,¹ expressively symbolized the quickening of every faculty, the new apprehension of truth, the mighty impulses of love, which found expression in an outburst of devotional ecstasy, uttered in many languages or dialects foreign to the speakers themselves. Tidings of this wonder rapidly filled the city. "The multitude came together," crowding probably in quick succession into the upper chamber, to see and to hear, until Peter with the eleven came forth to the assembled throng. To the scoffing, misinterpreting critics of the scene, he declares the portent to be a sign of "the day of the Lord;" the token of a world-wide revelation.² Then he proceeds, in accordance with the trust committed to him of the keys of the kingdom of heaven,³ to "open" the ministration of the glad tidings, with such continued power from on high, that by the evening of the same day three thousand souls had been added to the company of believers; and in the midst of the typical, covenant nation, the true antitype, God's spiritual Israel, appeared.⁴

¹ Not *cloven*, as in the A.V.—the literal rendering is, "tongues of fire distributing themselves" as from some central source (R. V. "parting asunder").

² It has been often assumed, without Scriptural authority, that the gift of tongues was an endowment for missionary purposes, enabling the apostles at once to preach in the language of any nation to which they might bear the word of life. The assumption seems contradicted by the facts of the apostolic ministry (see Acts xiv. 11, 14); besides which it quite misses the true purport of the miracle. The gift was a *sign*, I Cor. xiv. 22, and might exist apart from the power to interpret, verses 5, 13. The other recorded occasions on which it was conferred, Acts x. 46, xix. 6, were quite unconnected with missionary work. In this first instance, moreover, the employment of the tongues was not in preaching the Gospel, but in speaking "the wonder-

ful works of God" (*τὰ μεγαλεῖα*, Luke i. 49, "great things," Ps. lxxi. 19), an expression properly denoting the utterance of praise (so the verb "to magnify," *μεγαλύνω*, Luke i. 46; Acts v. 13, x. 46, xix. 17). The "speaking with tongues" was always, we may conclude, a strictly *devotional* exercise, prayers and praises being poured forth with exalted fervour. "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the Spirit he speaketh mysteries," I Cor. xiv. 2.

³ Matt. xvi. 19.

⁴ The "call," Acts ii. 39, is the direct antithesis to the call of Abraham and of Israel; and reveals the difference between the two dispensations. Each is based upon a heavenly "calling," the former outward, the latter spiritual.

The progress of the Church from this point, as set forth in the Acts of the Apostles, is marked by three distinct successive stages: the gathering and consolidation of the Church in Jerusalem; the extension of evangelic labours to Samaritans and proselytes; and the calling of the Gentiles.

§ 2. THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM.

Within a short time, the disciples in Jerusalem numbered five thousand, forming one society, of Hebrews and Hellenists, under the direct presidency of the apostles. No other organization as yet existed; the growth of the community having been too vast and rapid for the introduction of system, and the miraculous endowments of the apostles supplying for a time the place of ordered rule. For a while the great area of Solomon's Porch, in the Temple, seems to have been the place of common assembly; while more private gatherings were daily convened in the homes of the brethren for worship, teaching, and the common meals in which they "remembered Christ" and sealed their mutual love.¹ To a great extent the ordinary pursuits of life seem to have been laid aside: the new world of faith and love and holy fellowship into which they had entered claimed every thought and energy of their being. It was no time to buy or to sell or to get gain. "They that believed were together, and had all things common."

Already, however, we observe at least one illustration of the way in which the various offices of the Church were successively instituted to meet its growing needs. It is remarkable that the first of these offices was the diaconate. For a time, at least, the presence of the apostles in Jerusalem rendered the appointment of permanent "teachers" or "overseers" unnecessary: but at a very early period it was seen

¹ The phrase *κατ' οἶκον*, Acts ii. 46, v. 42, is not only in antithesis to the words "in the temple," but suggests that there was as yet no fixed or uniform place of meeting (R. V. "at

home"); any and every dwelling of a disciple becoming by turns a place of worship and communion. (*Handbook Gr. Test. Gram.*, § 300, B 4.)

to be desirable that for the "service of tables," the distribution of the common fund, a class of helpers should be provided. The seven men so chosen have generally, and with reason, been regarded as the first deacons; and as the complaint of partial or insufficient service had arisen on the Hellenistic or foreign side of the Church, the brethren chosen appear from their names to have chiefly¹ belonged to that division. The subsequent history shows us two of the seven actively engaged in preaching the Gospel, one being expressly called an "evangelist."²

Meanwhile the Church in Jerusalem was but too faithful a prototype of the Christian communities that were to succeed it, in the trials which it was called to undergo both from within and from without. The attempted fraud of Ananias and Sapphira, with its terrible punishment, presaged the evils that were destined to arise from selfishness and hypocrisy: while the Sadducean persecution of the apostles revealed the spirit of unbelief in open collision with the faith. Thrice were they apprehended by the authorities, every time through Sadducee influence: on the last occasion they were released through the interference of Gamaliel, a distinguished Pharisee.³ The ministry of Stephen, however, seems to have excited the Pharisees also to deadly opposition; the spirit of religious intolerance combined with that of sceptical unbelief to crush if possible the Christian Church. It is at the death of Stephen, with the vision of Christ the Redeemer "*standing* on the right hand of God," in the attitude of intercession and defence, on behalf of His imperilled Church, that the first stage of the history ends.

¹ It has been argued from the Greek names of the seven that they were all "Hellenists" or "Grecians;" and hence that the appointment was of Hellenistic deacons only, to supplement a body already existing on the Jewish side of the Church. But first, the Hellenistic names do not *prove* that none were native Jews. "Philip," for instance, was the name of a man of Bethsaida, John i. 44; and Pales-

tinian Hebrews frequently had Greek surnames: and secondly, even if all were Hellenists, the choice could be explained without introducing a supposition entirely unsupported by the history and contradicted by ver. 2.

² Acts vi. 8, 10, viii. 5, 12, xxi. 8.

³ It is remarkable that in our Lord's ministry the chief opposition came from the *Pharisees*, in the early days of the apostles, from the *Sadducees*.

§ 3. TRANSITION.

The persecution that followed Stephen's death gave to Judæa, *Refugees from persecution become Missionaries.* Samaria, and the surrounding regions their earliest missionaries. The Church in Jerusalem was scattered, the apostles, however, remaining, with apparently some considerable remnant, at their post. For a while the glad tidings were proclaimed only to the Jews, Christ's world-wide commission being not yet fully understood, or obedience to His commands being rendered difficult by Jewish habits and scruples.¹

Samaria was the first district² beyond the strictly Jewish pale *Preaching in Samaria.* into which the Gospel was carried; the evangelist being Philip the deacon. A great multitude of the Samaritans having received the word, two of the apostles, Peter and John, were sent from Jerusalem to consolidate the work. This appears to have been the first time that any of the apostles had left the mother-city since the Pentecost; and John, it is probable, had never seen Samaria from the day on which he had wished to invoke fire from heaven upon the Samaritan villagers who had refused their hospitality to Christ and His disciples.³ The difference between the two visits expressively indicates the change which had passed over the apostles through the power of the Holy Ghost.

It was in Samaria that the apostles encountered Simon the *Simon Magus.* Magician, whose ignorant and wicked offer to purchase with money the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost has given the word *Simony* to the ecclesiastical vocabulary. More will be said of Simon's real and traditionary history, and of his opposition to the Christian faith, in a subsequent chapter.⁴

¹ It is observable that the objection to Peter's proceedings in his visit to Cornelius afterwards was not that he had *preached* to Gentiles, but that he had *eaten* with the uncircumcised, Acts xi. 3.

² In Acts viii. 5 we should possibly

read "a city of Samaria." The place intended may have been Shechem or Sychar, with regard to which the same phrase is employed, John iv. 5; or else some unnamed locality.

³ Luke ix. 52—56.

⁴ See p. 45, *seq.*

To this period of transition belongs the conversion, also through *The Ethiopian Eunuch.* Philip's instrumentality, of the Ethiopian eunuch, a proselyte to the Jewish faith. Thus were the walls of partition one after another thrown down: "the Samaritans were already in full possession of the Gospel; it was next to be shown that none of those outward incapacities which excluded from the congregation of the Lord under the Old Covenant, formed any bar to Christian baptism and the inheritance among believers: and thus the way was gradually paved for the great and, as yet, incomprehensible truth of God; Gal. iii. 28" (Alford).

§ 4. FIRST EVANGELISATION OF GENTILES.

There were two distinct lines of instrumentality by which the extension of the Church to the Gentiles was accomplished; the former mainly connected with the name of Peter, the latter with that of Paul.

In the conversion of the centurion Cornelius and his family, *Cornelius and his family.* Peter for the second time discharged his commission to "open the door of faith." Hitherto Cornelius had been a proselyte of the gate, an uncircumcised worshipper of Jehovah. The scruples which the apostle may have felt against preaching the Gospel in circumstances so novel, were overcome by a vision from heaven: and if any reluctance or misgiving still remained, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Cæsarean household "while he was yet speaking," removed all hesitation, and led to the joyful conviction, not only of Peter but of the Church in Jerusalem that heard his tale, that "God had granted to Gentiles also repentance unto life."

Yet more significant was the latter case. Cornelius, although *The Greeks of Antioch.* uncircumcised, was yet a worshipper of Jehovah. The introduction of the Gospel amongst the unbelieving heathen was a task reserved not for apostles, but for some unknown refugees from the Church in Jerusalem, and was performed in a very unforeseen, unpremeditated way. Certain of these brethren, Hellenists from Cyprus and Northern Africa, made their way to

Antioch, "the metropolis of the East," "the third city in the world."¹ Here they would find a city wholly given to idolatry; members of the Synagogue comparatively few; heathen superstitions dominant everywhere in the houses and streets, the palaces and temples; while, as has been suggested, the terrors of a recent earthquake² may have prepared the inhabitants for the warning to flee from the wrath to come. What may have been the immediate occasion we cannot tell; but it would appear that at Antioch the messengers of the Gospel first broke through every national and theological barrier, proclaiming to heathen Gentiles³ the name of Jesus. No vision from heaven had directed them, no direct command had been laid upon them: they obeyed the voice within, and fearlessly trusted to the impulses of the love that fired their souls.

The Church in Jerusalem was naturally much interested in these events, and, whether from doubt respecting them or from a simple desire for information, sent Joses, "the Son of Consolation," or "of Exhortation," on a commission of inquiry to Antioch. He came, saw that many of the Gentiles had already believed, recognised at once "the hand of the Lord," and joyfully attached himself as a teacher to the infant Church. But Barnabas himself may have felt hardly competent to meet the requirements of so novel a position, and was happily led to think of one, eminently qualified to instruct and guide the Antiochene converts, whose own marvellous conversion some six or seven years before had marked him out for some great work, and who was now at his father's house, patiently awaiting the summons to action. Barnabas accordingly

¹ See the brilliant description of Antioch in Renan, *Les Apôtres*, ch. xii.

² March 23, A.D. 37.

³ This fact is obscured in the common text of the N. T., the reading (Acts xi. 20) being Ἑλληνιστάς, "Grecians," *i. e.* foreign Jews. So A. V., and even Westcott and Hort. But the reading Ἕλληνας, adopted by

the Revisers, commends itself to most critics. There would have been nothing wonderful in preaching to "Grecians," *i. e.* Hellenists, of which class the Church had been from the first largely composed. It may be added that these events at Antioch were evidently quite independent of those at Cæsarea in regard to Cornelius, and may have been prior in time.

proceeded to Tarsus in quest of SAUL; the future apostle joyfully accepted his calling; and for twelve months the two friends, with not a few less illustrious associates, dwelt with the Church in Antioch as pastors and teachers. The community of disciples, in the accession of Gentile converts, soon ceased to be known as a mere sect of the Jews, and, according to the fashion of the Greeks, received from them the name of the Founder, whose name was ever on their tongues. "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch."¹

§ 5. THE MISSIONARY CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED.

The two events which more than any others contributed to the diffusion of the Gospel among the nations, were, first, a specific Divine call addressed to the Church at Antioch; and secondly, the raising of a question in the same Church respecting Gentile discipleship, with its discussion and decision by the Mother-Church in Jerusalem.

It is worthy of note that the summons which launched the *Commission of Paul* great Apostle of the Gentiles on his missionary career was addressed not to him individually, but to the Church to which he ministered. The call was not to Barnabas and Saul, "Go forth;" but to the Christians of Antioch, "Separate them for My work." The sacrifice must have been great; but greater was the honour: "They fasted and prayed, and laid their

¹ It has often been pointed out that this name could not have been conferred by the Jews, whose obstinate assertion was that Jesus was *not* the Christ,—the Messiah or Anointed one,—and who would never therefore bestow that appellation on His disciples. There is again no reason to believe that the name was assumed by the disciples themselves. The verb *χρηματίζω* does not, as sometimes alleged (see Doddridge *in loc.*), imply action under the Divine guidance, but in the active voice is simply ("to transact business as—to be known

as") "to be called." Comp. Rom. vii. 3. Besides, we never once find the name in the N. T. employed by believers one of another (for Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 16, are not cases in point). It seems certain, therefore, that the appellation was originally given by the Gentiles of Antioch, by way of simple distinction, or perhaps in scorn. Tacitus, about A. D. 100, writes that in Rome the commonalty (*vulgus*) called them Christians.—*Annals*, xv. 44. But in the second century the name became universal both within and without the Church.

hands on them, and sent them away:" and these two pastors of the Church in Antioch became by the act of their brethren, rather than by their own, evangelists of the nations.

The book that we entitle the "Acts of the Apostles" henceforth becomes, if we may borrow an appellation from a heathen author, the *Memorabilia* of the Apostle Paul. Three great missionary journeys were undertaken by him in succession. The first, in which he was accompanied by Barnabas, was confined to Asia Minor, and occupied the greater part of two years, the report of the mission being given in to the Church at Antioch. The second, with Silas and Timotheus, was signalized by the introduction of the Gospel into Europe, in answer to the cry, heard in a vision, from a "man of Macedonia;" Philippi, in that province, being the city first visited. After a memorable visit to Athens and a protracted stay in Corinth, the apostle returned, by way of Ephesus, first to Jerusalem, to celebrate the Pentecost, and thence again to Antioch. This second journey occupied about three years. The third missionary tour, in which Paul left Antioch for the last time, was chiefly distinguished by a three years' stay in Ephesus, at the close of which the apostle passed over into Macedonia, traversing south-eastern Europe to the confines of Illyricum; and returning, by way of Corinth, where he remained three months, to Miletus, Tyre, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem. At this point his missionary activities were terminated by his arrest, his two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea, and his transfer to Rome. The question whether his Roman imprisonment then ensuing was final, or whether he was released and permitted to resume his labours for a season, belongs to a subsequent section.¹

¹ See p. 17. The following chronological table gives the chief landmarks in the apostle's history. The earlier dates are doubtful. See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, arts. *Acts* and *Chronology*.

	A. D.
Saul's Conversion.....	35 or 36
At Damascus	36—38
To Jerusalem, first visit	38

	A. D.
Silent years in Tarsus and "Arabia"	38—42
Brought to Antioch.....	43
Visit to Jerusalem (famine)..	46
First Missionary Journey.....	47
"Council of Jerusalem"	49
Second Missionary Journey..	49
At Corinth.....	50—52
Third Missionary Journey...	52

It was after the first of these three missionary journeys, and *Discussion of the Gentile question in Jerusalem.* during the apostle's second and apparently most protracted residence in Antioch, that the question arose, the settlement of which was to mark so important an era in the history of the Church. As the world had been prepared by Judaism for Christianity, it seemed to be very generally taken for granted by Jewish disciples that individual believers must be led through the same course, and must conform to the Law as a preliminary to the Gospel. The admission of Gentile converts without circumcision was accordingly regarded as a scandal: and the Christians of Antioch were shaken by the preemtoriness of the claim. Very wisely, the question was referred to the Church in Jerusalem, where the apostles still remained; Paul and Barnabas, with others, being deputed to ask advice. The meeting that ensued is sometimes called the First General Council: it was in reality an assembly of the Church—the whole Church—of Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas opened the discussion by a recital of their labours; they were opposed by brethren who, though converted to the faith of Christ, had retained their Pharisaism; and the question seemed in doubt until the emphatic support of Peter emboldened Paul and Barnabas to renew their testimony. The facts which they related now produced their full impression: and James, the brother of the Lord, the president of the meeting, and chief pastor of the Church,¹ did but

	A. D.
At Ephesus.....	53—55
Arrested at Jerusalem.....	56
At Cæsarea.....	57, 58
Arrival in Rome.....	59
Close of "Acts".....	61
Final Missionary Journey....	62—65
Again arrested: martyred in Rome.....	(before 68)

¹ The question has frequently been raised whether James, "the brother of the Lord," was "the son of Alphæus" ("Cleophas," John xix. 25, by a slightly different transcription of the Hebrew name), or a distinct per-

son. On the whole question, Bishop Lightfoot's exhaustive essay, appended to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, may advantageously be studied. The weight of testimony seems decidedly in favour of their being distinct. The son of Alphæus (and Mary, Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiv. 10) could not be ranked among the "brethren" of Jesus without an unusual and unnecessary extension of the meaning of "brother." Moreover, Christ had brethren, strictly speaking, Matt. xiii. 55; whether children of Joseph and Mary, or of Joseph by a former mar-

express the general feeling of the assembly in declaring Gentiles henceforth discharged from ceremonial obligations. The speech of James was in truth a turning-point in the history of the Church. Had different counsels prevailed, the Church would have been but a subdivision of the Synagogue, the world-wide character of Christianity would have been lost, and the doctrine of salvation by faith alone overclouded by legalism. Well, therefore, did the Church at Jerusalem preface their counsels to the brethren at Antioch by the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." They had no other authority. They were but one Church giving advice to another: but they could give it with assurance, conscious that the Holy Spirit had dictated the decision. Doctrinally, the way was now clear for the proclamation of the Gospel to the nations; the Judaizing tendency, even though an apostle might for the time be carried away by it, was ever after regarded as heretical; and the words of the brother of the Lord remained as a charter of the liberty with which Christ had made the nations free.

§ 6. SCRIPTURE NOTICES OF THE REMAINING APOSTLES.

During the first residence of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch momentous events were happening in Jerusalem. Herod Agrippa, now King of Palestine, had begun, for some unexplained reason, to persecute the Church. James the son of Zebedee suffered martyrdom; the earliest of the apostolic band to be called to his rest, and the only one of whose death the New Testament contains the record. The imprisonment of Peter followed, with his deliverance by an angel,

riage, need not here be discussed. During His earthly life they did not believe on Him, John vii. 5. May not the Resurrection have been the means of their conversion? See 1 Cor. xv. 7. Certain it is that afterwards they are found among the disciples, Acts i. 14. The probability seems to be that James, on account partly of his relationship, chiefly of his spiritual gifts, speedily rose to influence and authority

in the Church, of which he now appears as chief pastor; the apostles themselves being rather connected with the Christian community generally, than with any particular society. The objection that James himself seems called an apostle in Gal. i. 19 will have little force with those who consider the vagueness of the particle *συνε*, as in Luke iv. 26, 27. See R. V. marg., and Amer.

and his temporary departure from the city.¹ After the tyrant's awful death at Cæsarea the persecution appears to have ceased, and Peter returned. We find him next at the meeting of the Church on the question of Gentile conformity to the Law, as before stated: and from Galatians ii. 11 it would seem that he either accompanied Paul and Barnabas back to Antioch or went thither soon afterwards. His name then vanishes from the history, although in his First Epistle he appears at Babylon,² possibly having made the East his circuit, as Paul the West.

No other apostle save John is mentioned by name after the Pentecost. For a time the Twelve remained in Jerusalem, extending their labours gradually, first to Palestine, then probably to more distant fields. Tradition assigns India to Bartholomew, Parthia to Thomas Didymus, Edessa to Judas or Thaddeus, the brother of James the Less, and Scythia to Andrew. John, the "beloved disciple," was the latest survivor of the Twelve, as his brother had been the earliest martyr: and there is no reason to doubt the concurrent testimony which assigns Ephesus as the place of his ministrations and decease.³

Of the companions of the apostles, little is known subsequent to the history in the "Acts," save that both Barnabas and Mark were evidently reconciled to Paul before his death, and united with him in affectionate co-operation.⁴ Mark became companion and "interpreter" of Peter also, and is repre-

¹ Acts xii. 17. "To another place" cannot here mean "to Rome," as sometimes alleged. Peter reappears in Jerusalem, and afterwards at Antioch.

² 1 Pet. v. 13. It is assumed above that *Babylon* is literal. Recent critics, however, mostly adopt the ancient view, that the name stands for *Rome*. Yet such an interpretation, appropriate to the Apocalypse, appears out of place in the calm prose of this apostolic letter. The tradition that Peter continued Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years is manifestly errone-

ous: it is, for instance, impossible to suppose that he was there on the arrival of Paul, and during the occurrences related Acts xxviii. 17—31: and very difficult to believe that he could have been chief pastor of the Church when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans or his later epistles.

³ For an admirable *résumé* of the traditions concerning this apostle see the biography by Professor Plumptre, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

⁴ See 1 Cor. ix. 6; Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

sented by a credible tradition to have been the founder of the Church in Alexandria.

§ 7. LATER MISSIONS AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

The history of the Acts of the Apostles ends, A.D. 61, with the *Close of Paul's residence of Paul in libera custodia*¹ in Rome. Here *career.* he remained for "two whole years," while the proceedings against him were delayed; partly, it may be, that the necessary witnesses against him might be "summoned from Judæa, from Syria, from Pisidia, from Macedonia; as in all cities from Damascus to Corinth, in all countries from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, the testimony must be sought."² Meantime the imprisoned apostle had large scope for evangelic labour among those who daily resorted to him: his labours became a power in the city; there were "saints in Cæsar's household;" while the brief Epistles which he wrote from this place of his captivity have a voice for all time. At length his case was heard before the imperial tribunal; he was acquitted and set free, welcoming his liberation with grateful joy, as an opportunity for more extended missionary toils.³ He appears accordingly to have proceeded to Asia Minor; perhaps to have fulfilled his long-cherished intention of visiting Spain; returning by Ephesus, whence he visited Macedonia and Crete: passing thence to Ephesus again, to Corinth, and finally to Rome,⁴ where he was apprehended a second time, although on a totally different charge from that which had led to

¹ He was permitted to dwell in his own hired house, but was chained day and night, by one arm, to a soldier of the Imperial Guard. See Acts xxviii. 16, 20, 30.

² Conybeare and Howson, ch. xxv. See further in the same chapter on Roman judicial delays.

³ See 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17: and for a different view of the passage, Conybeare and Howson, *in loc.*

⁴ The hypothesis of the apostle's liberation and subsequent travels has been strongly maintained from the

earliest times, and as strongly opposed. The chief argument in its favour is derived from the impossibility of accounting on any other reasonable supposition for the very precise statements in 1 Tim. i. 3; Titus i. 5, iii. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 13. It is noteworthy that the tendency among many of the ablest opponents of this hypothesis is now to deny the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles (see Dr. Davidson's later *Introduction to N. T.*, and Renan's *St. Paul*); and this certainly seems the easier alternative.

his earlier Roman imprisonment. For three or four years before his arrival the great persecution of the Church by Nero had begun :¹ on the absurd charge against the Christians of setting fire to the city. A man of mark such as the apostle was not likely to escape: in some way or other, now quite unknown to us, he became involved in the general destruction, and, as uniform tradition asserts, was beheaded without the walls, on the Ostian Road, A. D. 68, a short time before the tyrant's death. It has also been generally believed that the Apostle Peter, who had meanwhile reached Rome, suffered martyrdom about the same time; being crucified with his head downwards, as one unworthy in his own esteem to partake the sufferings of his Lord.²

This persecution deserves further notice, as being the earliest great outburst of *heathen* enmity to the Church. *Persecutions, heathen and Jewish.* Hitherto the Jews had been the chief persecutors; the Gentile authorities having acted under their instigation, but often most unwillingly, and sometimes, like Gallio, refusing to listen to the charges brought. In Jerusalem, James the brother of the Lord had already suffered,³ through the usurpation of magisterial functions by the High Priest in the absence of the Roman Procurator. Had the power of the Jews equalled their hostility to the Gospel, the martyrology of the first century would have been far larger. But now in heathendom itself an enmity was awakened, which in succeeding centuries would bear terrible fruit. The Neronian persecution indeed was not lasting, possibly not

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44.

² As to the fact that Peter visited Rome towards the close of his life, and there suffered martyrdom, there seems little room for reasonable doubt. See (in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*) the testimonies of Papias (ii. 15), of Origen (iii. 1), of Dionysius of Corinth (ii. 25). Compare Irenæus (*Heresies*, iii. 1, 3). Counter-testimony there is none. A beautiful legend represents Peter as fleeing from Rome, his heart having for the moment failed him, and meet-

ing Christ in the early morning on the Appian Way. "Lord, whither goest Thou?" exclaimed the apostle. "I come," was the reply, "again to be crucified." The disciple felt the rebuke, and penitently returned to bear the cross. A little wayside church, "Domine quo vadis?" commemorates the story.

³ See Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9, 1, and the circumstantial account of Hegesippus, quoted in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "James."

even general,¹ and left no permanent trace in any imperial laws. The successors of Nero, in their wars with the Jews, protected the Christians, who in Pella, beyond the Jordan, found a secure retreat from the storm that broke over Jerusalem; and it was not until the reign of the suspicious and tyrannical Domitian, near the end of the century, that Christianity was again made the object of direct attack. The charge now brought against the Christians was that of atheism; an inference from their refusal to pay honour to the gods of Rome. Under this accusation Flavius Clemens, the emperor's uncle, is said to have suffered martyrdom, while Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, was banished on a similar charge. Eusebius further relates that Domitian, apprehensive of the appearance of a "Son of David" as a rival claimant of the throne, caused rigorous inquiries to be made in Palestine, which led to the apprehension of the grandsons of Jude, the Lord's brother (Mark vi. 3). The simplicity, however, of their garb and demeanour, and the marks of labour on their horny hands, convinced the tyrant that he had nothing to fear from them, and he accordingly dismissed them with contempt.

To the same so-called Second Persecution of the Church, in the opinion of many, belongs the banishment of John the Apostle to Patmos, where he beheld the visions of the Apocalypse.² The legends of his trials and

Banishment of John. The Apocalypse.
¹ The extent of this persecution is quite undetermined. Mosheim and others hold that it affected the whole empire. See Milman, *History of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 464, note g. There is an alleged inscription on a monument found in Portugal, which if genuine would confirm this opinion; but it wants confirmation. The words are these: TO NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS FOR CLEARING THE PROVINCE OF ROBBERS AND OF THOSE WHO IMPOSED A NEW SUPERSTITION ON MANKIND.

² The ascription of the Apocalypse to the age of Domitian rests chiefly on the testimony of Irenæus, who is

followed by many ancient authorities, but whose words are susceptible of another interpretation. The Syriac version of the Apocalypse refers the banishment of John to the days of Nero; and this date is thought by many to be more probable, chiefly on internal grounds. See especially ch. xvii. 10. It is hardly conceivable, again, that the style and diction belong to a later period than those of the Gospel, supposing both books to have been the work of one author. In defence, however, of the later date, see Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticae*, Prelim. Essay, ch. ii.; also *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Revelation;" with

escapes, as for example that he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, and came out unhurt, deserve but little attention; and many of the most competent modern critics ascribe the banishment and the prophetic vision to a considerably earlier date.

The collision between the schools of Gentile philosophy and the religion of Christ belongs to a later period. The conflict was foreshadowed when certain philosophers of the Stoics and of the Epicureans encountered Paul at Athens. But as yet the mark was not conspicuous enough for their open hostility. Either they knew nothing of Christianity, or they regarded it as a mere variety of Judaism quite beyond their pale of thought, or they contemptuously passed it by. Gallio very probably dismissed the matter from his thoughts when he had driven the Jews from his court: and Seneca, the illustrious Stoic, Gallio's brother, though contemporary with the Apostle Paul, and in one sense a partner of his fate, makes no allusion to Christianity.¹ Pliny the elder (died A.D. 79) gives no sign of acquaintance with the religion of Christ; while other great writers of the same age, as Epictetus, the Stoic (died about A.D. 119), Plutarch, the biographer and moralist (died A.D. 120), pursued their inquiries and speculations with no apparent consciousness of the new power that had come into the world. The testimony of Pliny the younger belongs to the next century. Among the poets, Juvenal and Martial (each born about A.D. 42) allude to Christianity, if at all, in side-words of scorn: and the greatest of Roman historians, Tacitus, who was yet in his early youth when Paul and Peter laid down their lives for Christ, speaks of the faith for which they died as a hateful and misanthropic

Alford's *Prolegomena in Gr. Test.* On the other side, Moses Stuart, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Introd. § 16; Lücke, *Einleitung*, §§ 56, 57; Ewald, *Commentary*, § 7; and Dean Stanley, *Essays on the Apostolical Age*, p. 251, note, may be consulted. Lightfoot also favours this view; see *Philippians*, p. 198.

¹ A correspondence purporting to have passed between Seneca and St.

Paul had considerable currency in and after the third century, and is generally reprinted in editions of the philosopher's works. It is, however, manifestly a forgery. See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 263, seq. for a most interesting and instructive series of parallels between the Christian writings and those of Seneca: with convincing reasons for their mutual independence.

superstition.¹ The legendary history of Apollonius the Pythagorean (of Tyana in Cappadocia) also belongs to this period. According to Neander, he was a man of great gifts and exalted character; he is said to have been trained, like the Apostle Paul, in the famous schools of Tarsus, after which he devoted himself to the restoration of Paganism to its primitive and simple ideal, it need not be said without success. It was not, however, until the third century that he was portrayed (by his biographer Philostratus) as a prophet and miracle-worker.²

On the whole, the later part of the first century instructively shows that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation. At its close, however, Christian Churches were already planted in the chief cities of Syria and of Asia Minor; possibly also in Mesopotamia; in Greece, Macedonia, and Dalmatia; in Rome, and possibly in Northern Africa and Western Europe. The remnant of the Church of Jerusalem, returning from Pella when the shock of the great catastrophe had spent itself, lingered amid the ruins of the Holy City (now called *Ælia Capitolina*), under, it is said, the presidency of Symeon; the Gentile mother-church in Antioch flourished under the care of

¹ *Annals*, xv. 44. See this and other passages in Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. v. *seq.*

² The following *résumé* of the classical writers who flourished in the first century may be useful. It is given in a note to Dr. Irons' *Bampton Lectures*, 1870, p. 505. "In that first century, it would seem that Providence had gathered together all that human genius could display. Following on such writers as Cicero, the almost encyclopedist (who died B.C. 43), Sallust (B.C. 34), Lucretius (B.C. 51), Virgil (B.C. 19), Horace (B.C. 8), we have a series of instructors whose names all fall within the century from the Birth of Christ to the death of St. John: Livy, the historian (A.D. 17); Strabo, the geographer (A.D. 24); the elder Pliny, the naturalist (A.D. 79);

the younger Pliny, the statesman (A.D. 61—110); Suetonius, the biographer of emperors (A.D. 70—118); Tacitus, the annalist (A.D. 60—120); Plutarch, the philosopher (A.D. 30—90); Dion Chrysostom, the orator (A.D. 50—117); Epictetus, the sage (A. D. 40—119); Josephus, the courtly Jew (A.D. 37—100); Philo (A.D. 45), Seneca (A.D. 67), Lucan (A.D. 65), Juvenal (A.D. 97), Persius (A.D. 62), Statius (A.D. 96), Quintilian (A.D. 40—118); and many of other rank, such as Rufus of Ephesus, and Celsus (physicians), and the author of the Fourth Book of Maccabees. Even the best among these, such as Plutarch, and others after him, like Arrian, the disciple of Epictetus, held office as Pagan priests."

Ignatius ; Polycarp had commenced his lengthened and illustrious ministry in Smyrna ; and in Rome the chief pastor was Clement, often thought, but on insufficient grounds, to have been the " fellow-labourer " of the Apostle Paul, mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians.¹ To Clement's own writings, authentic and supposititious, reference will be made in a subsequent chapter.

The thirty years which followed the close of the New Testament Canon and the destruction of Jerusalem, are in truth the most obscure in the history of the Church. *Obscurity of the History,* A. D. 70—100. When we emerge in the second century we are, to a great extent, in a changed world. Apostolic authority lives no longer in the Christian community ; apostolic miracles have passed ; the Church has fairly begun her pilgrimage through " the waste of Time." As Dr. Arnold has finely said : " We stop at the last Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy with something of the same interest with which one pauses at the last hamlet of the cultivated valley, when there is nothing but moor beyond. It is the end, or all but the end, of our real knowledge of primitive Christianity ; there we take our last distinct look around ; further the mist hangs thick, and few and distorted are the objects which we can discern in the midst of it."² We cannot doubt that there was a Divine purpose in thus marking off the age of inspiration and of miracles, by so broad and definite a boundary, from succeeding times. In those early generations we hear, in direct utterance, the Voice of God : in after days the Spirit indwelling in the Churches does not cease to speak, but human imperfection, ignorance, passion so often mingle with the tones, that it is hard to distinguish between the Divine Oracle and the fallible interpretation. Happily, the Scriptures are separated, as much in their chronology as in their contents, from all later writings ;³ and the New Testament remains, solitary and supreme, the only certain Rule of Faith.

¹ Phil. iv. 3. For a criticism of the reasons alléged for the identity of the two Clements, see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 166, *seq.* Clement was a common name.

² Arnold's *Rugby Sermons*, vol. vi. p. 336.

³ See Professor Tayler Lewis, *The Divine Human in the Scriptures*, throughout.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

§ I. SPECIAL AND EXTRAORDINARY PROVISIONS.

THE organization of the apostolic Churches was gradually developed. At the beginning there was a twofold special provision, Divinely ordained to meet the requirements of the infant community, and to secure its right administration, its orderly progress, its effective work, prior to the introduction of a settled system. First, the Church had the presence and authority of the apostles: and secondly, there was a diffusion of miraculous spiritual power which more than supplied the lack of outward form.

The calling of *the apostles* was special, exclusive. They had "seen the Lord," they were "witnesses of His resurrection," they had received their commission directly from Himself, they possessed miraculous endowments, and authority from which there was no appeal.¹ Hence, as it has been well remarked, "of the various names which in the apostolical age or subsequently were taken to denote various orders or functions in the Christian society, there is not one, Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, Pastor, Prophet, which may not be found in all stages of their lives applied to one or other of the apostles; not of course in their stricter or more technical meaning, but still sufficiently showing how far above all the outward institutions which have gathered at its feet the true idea of the apostolical character rises in its greatness,—embracing all, circumscribed by

¹ See John xx. 22; Acts i. 23—26 (but see note 4, p. 6); 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8; Gal. i. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 12.

none of them,—transmitted to later times, so far as it can be transmitted at all, not by any circumstance, real or supposed, of apostolical usages or forms, but by the perpetuation and imitation of apostolical goodness and apostolical wisdom.”¹

With the apostles their immediate assistants must be classed, as exercising a directly delegated authority. Here the chief names are those of Timothy and Titus, the former of whom was appointed to exercise apostolical functions in Ephesus, the latter in Crete, during the absence of Paul, no permanent residence or settled episcopate being in either case intended.² Barnabas, Luke, Silas, Trophimus, with others, may perhaps be added to this list of so-called “evangelists;” although the term is not the best that could be chosen, seeing it is also applied in the New Testament to preachers of the Gospel generally; as in Acts xxi. 8; and, in popular use, to the four authors of our Lord’s biography. Barnabas, it may be noted, with some others are in a looser sense occasionally termed “apostles.”³

The *miraculous gifts* of the early Church were also plainly provisional. Wherever they existed, they were the warrant for their own exercise.⁴ They proved the presence of God in His Churches, they gave strength and guidance to His people, and made Christianity a power in the world. Yet in so far as they were miraculous they were temporary. For miracle belongs to an era of creation alone. It is the voice of God proclaiming, “Behold, I make all things new:” after which a settled order supervenes. The Church, as the newly-appointed ambassador from heaven, once for all exhibits its credentials, authenticates its mission; then

¹ Dean Stanley, *Essays on the Apostolical Age*, p. 52. The references are Acts i. 20 (bishop); 1 Pet. v. 1; 2 John 1; 3 John 1 (presbyter); Acts i. 25; 1 Cor. xii. 25 (deacon); John xxi. 16 (pastor); Acts xiii. 1 (prophet).

² See 1 Tim. i. 3, iv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10; Titus iii. 12.

³ Acts xiv. 14; 2 Cor. viii. 23.

But in the latter case observe the phrase is “apostles of the Churches” (so Phil. ii. 25), different from “apostles of Christ.”

⁴ See 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11: “As every man hath received a gift (ἐλάβεν χάρισμα), even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.”

performs its work in orderly course. The evidence that miraculous powers were withdrawn (gradually, as it should seem) by the close of the apostolic age is as convincing as the proof that, during this age, they continued in the Church.

The several "gifts" (or *charismata*, as they are often called, by adoption of the Greek term) are enumerated by the Apostle Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, xii. 8—10: as "the word of Wisdom, the word of Knowledge, Faith, the gifts of Healing, the working of Miracles, Prophecy, Discerning of spirits, divers kinds of Tongues, and the Interpretation of Tongues," to which, from the 28th verse, may be added "Helps and Governments." These endowments, it is plain, belonged to no special order in the Church, but were found among its members generally, as the Spirit willed, ver. 11. The precise character of some of the gifts may be open to question; it may not be easy to distinguish them always from the more ordinary and permanent qualifications of the Christian teacher; but the degree in which they were possessed was supernatural; many of them undoubtedly—as wisdom, knowledge, faith, ministry—coincided to some extent with the exercise of man's natural faculty, but the faculty was exalted, strengthened, directly and manifestly guided by the Holy Spirit.

§ 2. GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SETTLED SYSTEM.

Meanwhile the organization of the Church was already taking shape according to the requirements of the several communities. The necessity which led to the appointment of deacons has been already noted: and a little later we have the first mention of elders, also in the Church of Jerusalem.¹ The names of these offices expressively indicate their original character. In every society it is natural that age and experience should have authority, that youth and energy should serve.² This division between the presidential

¹ Acts xi. 30, xv. 2, 22, 23, xvi. 4, xxi. 18.

² Some expositors have perceived an early form of the diaconate in "the

young men" who bore Ananias and Sapphira to their grave, Acts v. 6, 10. Accordingly the direction, 1 Pet. v. 5, "Ye younger, submit yourselves unto

and executive functions already existed in the Synagogues of Palestine and other countries. Many have argued hence, that the Church was framed upon the model of the Synagogue.¹ It should rather be said that similar needs, arising naturally and of course in both, were supplied in a similar way.

Unquestionably, so far as the type of ecclesiastical order is to be sought in Jewish institutions, it is to the Synagogue rather than to the Temple to which we must look. The Christian Church is without an earthly priesthood; or, to state the same truth in another form, all Christians alike are Priests to God. For the priestly *privilege*, that of special access to the Divine presence, and the priestly *function*, the offering of sacrifice, belong with equal right to all the faithful. There is but one High Priest, "who is passed into the heavens;" but one sacrifice of expiation, by which "He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified:" but the eucharistic offering, the sacrifice of praise, of service, of self, may be presented, without human intervention, by every believer. The ancient ideal is fulfilled, held in abeyance as it was during the long ages of the preparatory typical dispensation, and God's true Israel is a "kingdom of priests" unto Him.²

In the various enumerations, accordingly, of gifts and offices, whether miraculous or ordinary, temporary or permanent, ordained by Christ for His service in the Churches, we never read of priests.³

the elders," would refer to *official* subordination.

¹ See Vitringa *de Synagoga Veterum*, lib. 3, Bernard's *Synagogue and the Church*. It is observable that while the presiding officers of the Synagogue and those of the Church were alike called *πρεσβύτεροι*, the Greek word for the subordinate is different, being *διάκονος* in the one, *ὑπηρέτης* (Heb. *chazan*) in the other, Luke iv. 20. Moreover, there was but one *chazan* in the Synagogue, as against the plurality of deacons in the

Church.

² See Exodus xix. 6, and (for the prophetic view) Isa. lxi. 6. The statements of this paragraph may be further supported by 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10; also Heb. x. 19—22, xiii. 15, 16. See also Rom. xii. 1, and James i. 27, where "religion" (*θρησκεία*) means ritual, sacrificial service.

³ It is important to observe that the *English* word "priest" is really a contraction of *presbyter*, "elder." It is, however, employed in the English

The ministerial relation is altogether brotherly : there is one only Mediator between God and man ; and the sole priesthood left on earth when the Great High Priest ascended into the heavens, is the common heritage of all the children of God.

The earliest notice of the institution of the *eldership* in Gentile Churches is in the narrative of the journey of Paul and Barnabas through Asia Minor, where they “elected” elders in every Church ;¹ and the only other mention in the Acts of the Apostles is in the account of Paul's last voyage to Jerusalem, in which he sent for “the elders of the Church” at Ephesus to meet him at the port of Miletus, xx. 17. In his address to them on that occasion he terms them *bishops*,² which title is afterwards more generally used in relation to the Gentile Churches.³ Thus the Epistle to the Philippians is addressed to the Church “with the bishops and deacons;” and in the First Epistle to Timothy the offices for which the apostle gives specific directions are those of the bishop and deacon. On the whole, it is now very generally agreed that in the New Testament the words bishop and elder are synonymous ; the former being by preference employed where Greek influence was prevalent, the latter in Jewish or Eastern Churches, and in the writings of the “apostles of the circumcision,”⁴ James, Peter, and John. Every local Christian community appears to have had a plurality of elders, the collective body being denominated the presbytery.⁵ There is nothing to

Scriptures, and in common speech, for *ιερευς*, “a sacrificing priest.” Hence, when used, as *e. g.* in the offices of the English Church, in its true etymological sense as elder, unthinking readers are apt to confound this meaning with the other, supposing that some sacrificial function is implied. The French language, it may be remarked, avoids the ambiguity by the employment of two distinct words, “sacrificateur” and “prêtre.”

¹ Acts xiv. 23. The word is *χαιροποιήσαντες*.

² Ver. 28. *ἐπισκόπους*.

³ The word is of classical origin. In Homer, the *ἐπίσκοπος* is a watcher, guardian. See other references in Liddell and Scott. The Athenians used to send public officers called *ἐπίσκοποι* to the subject states.

⁴ See Lightfoot on *Philippians*, pp. 93—96 ; also, Stanley's *Essays on the Apostolic Age*, p. 66, and the following references : James v. 14 ; 1 Pet. v. 1 ; 2 John 1 ; 3 John 1 ; Rev. iv. 4, 10, v. 6, 8, 11, 14, vii. 11, 13, xi. 16, xiv. 3, xix. 4.

⁵ *πρεσβυτήριον*. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

indicate the distribution of functions among the several members of the presbytery, save one passage, which singles out for special honour those elders who, in addition to the right discharge of their common office as rulers of the Church, prove themselves competent for the work of instruction.¹ There can, however, be no doubt that the presidency of the Church, its whole spiritual care, and the evangelization of the world outside, were entrusted to their joint care.

The influences which before the end of the second century had evolved out of this early arrangement a diocesan episcopacy, it will be the work of a subsequent chapter to set forth. It may suffice now to remark that these tendencies must have begun very early to operate; chiefly in two ways—first, the necessity of order in the presbyterial council itself, leading to the appointment of some one elder to primacy over the rest:—and secondly, the superior importance of certain Churches, whether from numbers, gifts, or position, insensibly giving to their bishops a certain ascendancy over those of less distinguished communities. Smaller Churches also would seek the guidance and help of the larger; would become grouped around them as a centre, and so fall into a subordinate position. The Churches, for instance, of Jerusalem and Antioch, Ephesus and Alexandria, Thessalonica, Corinth, Rome, with many others, would take a leading place in their respective districts. The natural and voluntary arrangement would become consolidated into a formal system,² and the foundations of a hierarchy be laid.³

¹ 1 Tim. v. 17. Some interpret this passage as showing that *some* elders (and not all) were charged with the work of ruling, others with that of teaching.

² "The Episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral by elevation: and the title which originally was common to all came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 194.

³ The "angels" of the "seven Churches in Asia" are sometimes thought to have been Church officers; but the title is never so employed in the historical or epistolary books, and the character and style of the Apocalypse lead us rather to regard the appellation as symbolic. Every Church is personified in its representative angel; the "spirit" or "genius" of the several communities being thus expressively indicated. So in the Apocalypse we have the angels of the

The work of the *Deacons*, as might have been anticipated from *Deacons*: the character of the office, is left by Scripture largely indeterminate. "To serve,"—to act as the *hand* of the Church,—to engage in all works of charity and usefulness, seems to have been the charge laid upon them. If the immediate purpose of the institution was the "service of tables," it is no less true that the work of two, at least, out of the seven, was spiritual and evangelistic. And it has often been observed that the qualifications for the diaconate, as laid down in the First Epistle to Timothy, are nearly identical with those for the episcopate: "aptness to teach" only excepted. It would appear also from the same passage that a result of faithful service in the lower office might be the transition to the higher. The deacon might become a bishop: or, to revert to the earlier designations, the "younger" might be promoted into the rank of the "elder" brethren in the House of God.¹

The deacons might be of either sex: the word being applied *Deaconesses*. to Phœbe, "deacon of the Church which is at Cenchreæ."² To the class of deaconesses (for our language employs the distinction, unnoted in the Greek) may have belonged Tryphæna and Tryphosa, "who laboured in the Lord;" the beloved Persis, "who laboured much;" also Euodia and Syntyche, "who laboured with Paul in the Gospel" at Philippi.³

winds, vii. 1; an angel of the waters, xvi. 5; an angel with the everlasting gospel, xiv. 6, with very many similar representations. That the seven angels cannot properly be regarded as individuals seems clear from the personal address, when evidently the Church at large is meant, ii. 4, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20, iii. 1, 9, 10, 15—18. See also Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 197, 198.

¹ Such seems the meaning of 1 Tim. iii. 13.

² Rom. xvi. 1.

³ Rom. xvi. 12; Phil. iv. 3. It is scarcely necessary to say that this latter verse should be rendered "I entreat thee also . . . help them, (viz. Euodia and Syntyche,) inasmuch as they (αἰτινες) laboured with me."

CHAPTER III.

ORDINANCES AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

§ I. SYMBOLIC SIGNS : BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE rites or "positive institutions" of Christianity are simple and symbolic, expressive signs of Divine realities ; the recognition, not the impartation of a heavenly gift. To the primitive Church the magical doctrine of sacramental efficacy was unknown. Spiritual cleansing was independent of the baptismal ablution ; while the reception by faith of the flesh and blood of the Son of God had been declared the condition of spiritual life before the appointment of the Eucharistic emblems. Apart from the grace of which they were the emblems, the ordinances effected nothing ; with that, they represented much.

The Ordinances symbols only. BAPTISM was the sign of discipleship. Whether originally adopted from the Jews, or first practised by John, does not appear from the sacred records, and the evidence from other sources is conflicting.¹ Christ, however, gave to the rite a new meaning and a world-wide obligation when He said to His followers, "Go and disciple all nations : baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." This baptism not only superseded but nullified the baptism of John,² which, like his ministry, was preparatory and

¹ See the arguments on both sides in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Baptism" (appendix).

² Acts xix. 1—5. A strange attempt has been made to evade the evident meaning of this passage by making ver. 5 part of the apostle's own words, as a description of those

who had received John's baptism. "When they heard (John preaching) they were baptized (by John) in the name (virtually and really, though they might not know it) of the Lord Jesus." Such a reading is contrary both to the grammar and to the sense of the passage.

transient. Henceforth the ordinance was administered in the Triune Name, or, as more briefly expressed, in the name of the Lord Jesus. The use of water was a sign of cleansing—the old uncleanness of Heathenism, Judaism, sin, being put away, and the purified soul presented to God. The Apostle Paul carries the emblem still further, and discerns in the type not only a purification but a resurrection.¹

The question whether infants are fitting subjects of baptism *Its subjects.* has been much discussed. On the one hand, it is argued that in the “nations” which were to be discipled and baptized, infants were necessarily included; that as Christ Himself declared little children to be in the kingdom of heaven, so they are entitled to receive the sign of the kingdom; that since the covenant of the Gospel has opened to Gentiles the privilege formerly restricted to the Jews, the sign of the covenant should be similarly applied; that the baptism of a household on the faith of its head is mentioned as a familiar, ordinary occurrence; and that, as a matter of fact, infant baptism dates from the apostolic age. It is urged, on the other hand, that the nature of discipleship limits the application of the ordinance; that the kingdom of Christ differs from the kingdom of the Old Covenant by being based upon the personal faith of its subjects; that the true correlative of natural birth in the former is new birth in the latter; that household baptism in the recorded cases does not necessarily imply, but sometimes actually excludes the baptism of infants; and that a confession of faith was made an essential preliminary to baptism from the earliest days of Christianity. The careful student will form his own opinion as to the comparative validity of these reasonings.²

¹ Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; compare Titus iii. 5, where “washing” is literally “laver.”

² The instances of baptism recorded in the New Testament are the following: 1. The three thousand who “received the word” on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 41. 2. The Sama-

ritans who believed Philip’s preaching, and “were baptized, both men and women,” viii. 12. 3. Simon Magus, who “himself believed also,” ver. 13. 4. The Ethiopian treasurer, vers. 36, 38 (37 is held by the best critics to be an interpolation). 5. Saul of Tarsus, ix. 18. 6. Cornelius, with “his kins-

With regard to the mode in which the ordinance was administered, the brief references of Scripture are in marked contrast with the punctilious detail of later ages. Our only guide must be the meaning of the words which describe the rite, and the circumstances, so far as we can trace them, attendant on its ministrations.¹

The LORD'S SUPPER appears at first to have been celebrated daily, in the homes of the disciples, at the close of meals of brotherly love. When the course of religious service became more settled, and set times and places were appointed for the observance, the meal, or "feast of charity," as it was now called, still preceded. Strictly speaking, the common meal was the act of *fellowship*: the idea being that all distinctions of rank, wealth, or culture should for a time be lost in the sense of equal brotherhood in God's family. The simple rite which

men and near friends," x. 24, 44—48. 7. Lydia and her household, xvi. 15. 8. The jailer at Philippi, "and all his," ver. 33. 9. Many of the Corinthians, who "hearing, believed, and were baptized." Of these may have been—10, 11, 12—Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas, 1 Cor. i. 14, 16. 13. The disciples of John (converts of Apollos, probably) at Ephesus, Acts xix. 1—5.

¹ Dr. Philip Schaff, in his learned *History of the Christian Church* (Edinb. 1869), writes, "The usual form of the act was immersion, as is plain from the original meaning of the Greek βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμός; from the analogy of John's baptism in the Jordan; from the apostles' comparison of the sacred rite with the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, with the escape of the ark from the flood, with a cleansing and refreshing bath, and with burial and resurrection; finally, from the custom of the ancient Church, which prevails in the East to this day. But sprinkling also, or copious pouring, was practised at an early day with

sick and dying persons, and probably with children and others, where total or partial immersion was impracticable. Some writers suppose that this was the case even in the first baptism of the three thousand on the day of Pentecost; since Jerusalem, especially in summer, was very poorly supplied with water and private baths. Later Hellenistic usage allows to the relevant expressions sometimes the wider sense of washing and cleansing in general. (See Luke xi. 38; Mark vii. 4, 8; Heb. ix. 10; Matt. iii. 11; 2 Kings v. 10, 14, LXX.) Unquestionably immersion expresses the idea of baptism more completely than sprinkling; but it is a pedantic Jewish literalism to limit the operation of the Holy Ghost by the quantity or the quality of the water. Water is absolutely necessary to baptism, as an appropriate symbol of the purifying and regenerating energy of the Holy Ghost; but whether the water be in large quantity or small, cold or warm, fresh or salt, from river, cistern, or spring, is relatively immaterial," pp. 123, 124.

followed—the participation of the broken bread and of the cup of blessing—was, on the other hand, a direct commemoration of Christ, the only Sacrifice and the true Bread of Life. The Supper appears generally to have been observed in the evening of the first day of the week : and the common meal preceding it was gradually discontinued, probably on account of the abuses which grew up in connexion with it, and which the Apostle Paul so indignantly describes in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. There is no trace in primitive times of the belief that the Lord's Supper was in any sense a sacrifice, or an oblation : it was an act of remembrance, an emblem and means of spiritual food and refreshment ; a great "Eucharist" or thanksgiving for the gift of redemption.¹ Later, the term mystery was applied to it, indicating the tendency to superstitious views of its nature ; while with more appropriateness the Christians of the West applied to it, as also to Baptism, the word descriptive of the Roman military oath, the "Sacrament" in which soldiers pledged themselves to be faithful to their standard, and if need were to give their lives in its defence.

2. The meetings of the Churches for worship and instruction

Early modes of assembling. appear at first to have followed no fixed law. The sense of the holiness of the entire life as redeemed by Christ, and of every place as part of the universal Temple of God, prevailed for the time above all regard to sacred seasons or

¹ The passages of Scripture bearing upon the institution and meaning of the Lord's Supper are—1. The record of its appointment by Matthew (xxvi. 26—30), Mark (xiv. 22—26), Luke (xxii. 19, 20), and by the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23—26). 2. The reference to the home-meals of the primitive Church in Jerusalem, followed no doubt by the Eucharistic celebration, Acts ii. 42, 46. 3. The history of the service at Troas "on the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread," xx. 7 ; which, it would seem to be implied, they had not done previously

through the week of the apostle's visit. 4. Possibly the direction to the Corinthian Church to lay aside alms for the poor saints in Jerusalem "upon the first day of the week ;" from which probably the universal custom of almsgiving at the Eucharist takes its rise. 5. The Lord's table is referred to, in general terms, 1 Cor. x. 21, and the abuses connected with the "feasts of charity" are described, xi. 17—21. 6. The Apostle Jude, ver. 12, alone of the sacred writers speaks of these feasts by the name afterwards employed, ἀγάπαι, ἀγάπαι.

places. Worship was daily, unceasing. Every place and opportunity for united prayer were gladly employed. In Jerusalem the disciples observed the customary hours of Temple worship while assembling for their own devotions, now in full number in Solomon's Porch, and again in smaller companies in the houses of the faithful. This latter habit would naturally lead to the formation of little groups drawn together to particular houses by the convenience of neighbourhood, or by acquaintanceship and sympathy—churches within the Church, more than once recognized in the apostolic writings.¹

That the Christian assemblies were *statedly* held may be *Assemblies* inferred from several references in the apostolic *statedly held.* writings. In the Epistle of James the place of meeting is termed a "synagogue."² To the Corinthians the Apostle Paul repeatedly employs the phrases "in the church," "in the churches," and "in church;"³ implying a regular recognized habit of assembling. The Hebrews again are specially enjoined not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, with the intimation that some had already fallen into such neglect.⁴

The assemblies would chiefly consist of professed believers: but inquirers after the truth, and even unbelievers, were not excluded;⁵ the order and solemnity of Christian worship being often a means of leading them to faith in Christ.

The special day of worship would naturally in Jewish communities continue to be the Sabbath. It appears *The day of* indeed that the obligation of keeping the Seventh *worship:* *"the Lord's* Day was urged by Judaizers to the last upon Gentile *Day."* Christians.⁶ At a very early period, however, the hallowed associa-

¹ Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Col. iv. 15; Philemon 2.

² James ii. 2. Within the circle of Jewish influence the word long kept its ground as denoting the meetings of Christians. See Ignatius, *ad Trall.*, c. 5; also Suicer's *Thesaurus*, *sub voc.* συναγωγή.

³ See 1 Cor. xiv. 19, 28, 35 for the phrase ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, without the

article: and comp. vers. 33, 34; also xi. 18; 3 John 6.

⁴ Heb. x. 25.

⁵ See 1 Cor. xiv. 23—25. There seems an intimation of a mixed assembly in Acts xix. 9, on which see below.

⁶ See Col. ii. 16, where "Sabbath days" may most naturally be interpreted of the weekly festival.

tions of the First day—the day of the Resurrection and the Pentecost—enstamped it with a higher sacredness; and the Festival of the Creation was gradually merged in the Festival of the Risen Christ. Both indeed were probably observed for a while; but it would be clearly found impossible for Christian slaves, for example, to celebrate two days of rest and worship in the same week; and the superior claim of “the Lord’s Day,” recognized by Gentile Churches from the first, was at length universally acknowledged.¹

Forms of service were varied, according to the gifts of those who took part in it. The “speaking with tongues,” the “word of prophecy,” were spontaneous, unpremeditated utterances, dictated at the time by the Holy Spirit. Yet even with these a becoming order was enjoined, and “the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets.” The more regular order of worship first of all comprised *prayers*² in the various forms of supplication, intercession, and thanksgiving: it

¹ See Acts xx. 7. “The first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread,” is spoken of as though the custom were familiar. It should be noted that Paul and his companions seem to have waited at Troas a whole week for their opportunity. The question whether the evening was that of the Seventh day, when, according to Jewish reckoning, the First day would begin after sunset, or that of the First, at the close of its services, must be pronounced an open one. We adopt the latter view, chiefly because the Lord’s Supper seems to have been the final and crowning observance of the day of worship. Again, in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, the collection for the impoverished Jewish Christians is fixed for “the first day” of every week, suggesting that the day was already set apart for sacred uses. In Rev. i. 10 John writes, “I was in the Spirit on the Lord’s day,” ἐν τῷ Κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, a phrase which is proved by its later usage in patristic

writings to denote the first day of the week. These passages, all connected with the Gentile division of the Church, constitute the whole of the Scripture testimony to the change of the day of weekly worship. The testimonies of the Fathers belong to a later era, excepting perhaps the words of Ignatius, disciple of John (to the Magnesians, *c. g.*). “Let us no longer Sabbatize, but live according to the Lord’s life.” So the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas contains the words, “We celebrate the eighth day with joy, on which also Jesus arose from the dead,” c. 15. For many centuries the Lord’s Day and the Sabbath were carefully distinguished. See Dr. Hessey, *Bampton Lectures*, “Sunday;” and *Dictionary of the Bible*, artt. “Lord’s Day” and “Sabbath”; also same articles in *Hastings’ Dictionary*.

² See Acts ii. 42, where we should read “the prayers,” as though, even at that early period, there were a kind of settled order.

being especially enjoined upon the Gentile Churches to include in their petitions the kings and other constituted authorities of the country.¹ Whether at this early period any regular form of liturgy had been prepared for use in the congregation, we have no evidence to enable us to decide. In the worship of *praise*, the "Psalms" of the Old Testament, the "Hymns" probably of the New, with "spiritual songs" of human composition, were in constant use, and were valued not only as an expression of devout sentiment, but as a vehicle of instruction.²

The Scriptures of the Old Testament were carefully read;³ probably in the old sectional divisions of *Paraschioth* *Reading,* in the Law, *Haphtoroth* in the Prophets: while the *teaching, ex-* histories of Christ and the words of the apostles were *hortation.* introduced at a very early period. The reading was followed by words of instruction,—variously described as "exhortation" and "doctrine,"—in the form of addresses from the elders present and from others. Exhortation was addressed more directly to the emotions, and Christians generally were encouraged to take part in it, "exhorting one another." Teaching, on the other hand, appealed to the understanding, demanded well-furnished minds, well-trained powers; and those not duly qualified are warned not to assume the task. "Brethren, be not many teachers."⁴ A love-feast and

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 1. On the distinction between the several words in this verse, see Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, part 2, § i. *Handbook Gr. Test. Gram.* p. 380 (R. T. S.).

² Col. iii. 16 (where, however, the punctuation may be questioned); Eph. v. 19. The "Hymns" probably included the *Magnificat*, Luke i. 46—55; the Song of Zacharias, 68—79; the *Nunc Dimittis*, ii. 29—32, with perhaps such metrical compositions as those partly preserved in Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

³ See 1 Tim. iv. 13. "Give attendance (diligent heed) to the reading," *τῆ ἀναγνώσει*, the article marking a special exercise. For evidence as to the early acceptance and use of

N. T. Scriptures, see 1 Tim. v. 18. "*The Scripture* saith the labourer is worthy of his reward;" a quotation, not from the O. T., but from the words of Christ, recorded Luke x. 7. Compare also, 2 Pet. iii. 16, "His (Paul's) Epistles, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also *the other Scriptures*, to their own destruction." These references, occurring, be it observed, in the later writings of the New Testament, seem to show that some of the earlier were already received as authoritative.

⁴ Comp. Heb. x. 25 with Jas. iii. 1, where the word is *διδάσκαλοι*. Some, however, render this *censors*, contrary to usage. See Schleusner, *in voc.*

the Lord's Supper seem to have invariably closed the day's services.

The preaching of the Gospel, properly so called, was distinct *The preaching of the Gospel.* from the teaching and exhortation in Christian assemblies. It was essentially missionary work, to be carried on in all ways, whether by the bold, impassioned appeal, or by the conversational "Socratic" method, or in defence before judicial courts: and in all available places, as the Jewish Synagogue or the Athenian Areopagus, the private dwelling, the public market-place, or the philosopher's school. The Christian evangelist restricted himself to no Stoa, to no Academus: he addressed not the few, but the many: his errand was in all the haunts of men, and whether to the individual or to the multitude, he was ever ready to proclaim the word of everlasting life.¹

¹ See Acts x. 34-43, xiii. 16-41, xvii. 17, 22-31, xix. 9 (where "disputing," *διαλεγόμενος*, seems to bear the meaning above given), xxiv. 25, xxvi. 1-29, and many other passages. It may be noted that the word "preach" in our English N. T. represents no fewer than five distinct Greek

words, *κηρύσσω*, "to proclaim as a herald;" *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, "to declare glad tidings;" *καταγγέλλω*, simply "to announce" (so *διαγγέλλω*); *λαλέω*, "to talk" (in Mark ii. 2; Acts viii. 25, xi. 19, xiii. 42, xiv. 25, xvi. 6, only); *διαλίγομαι*, noticed above (in Acts xx. 7, 9 only). Comp. R. V.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RULE OF FAITH: EARLY HERESIES.

§ I. THE NEW TESTAMENT: ITS FORM AND SPIRIT.

THE two essential and unfailing "notes" of the Church as God's kingdom upon earth are Holiness and Truth. Hence the revelation comprises the exhibition of a Divine Life upon earth, and the full setting forth of the way by which conformity to that Life may be attained. This is the key to the New Testament, and to the creeds of the early Church. GOD INCARNATE was the foundation of all: and this verity is again and again declared to be the sum of Christian doctrine. The avowal of Peter on behalf of all the disciples, in "the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi," was the first Apostles' Creed:¹ "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God;" repeated by Thomas after the Resurrection in a yet sublimer form, when he answered and said unto Jesus, "My Lord and my God!"

This is scarcely the place for discussions as to the origin and growth of the *New Testament Canon*. It may suffice to say that the earliest form of apostolic teaching was historical. From the fact of the Resurrection, the first preachers of the truth proceeded to testify to the Divine Life of the Son of God upon earth, and to declare remission of sins in His name alone. The type of discourse was that of Peter's address in the house of Cornelius, Acts x. 36—43. Such brief narrative was the *Protevangelion*, as sometimes termed, the outline which the companions and eye-witnesses of Christ's ministry filled up in the

¹ For an account of the origin and general acceptance of the form now known as the Apostles' Creed, see Part II. ch. vii. § i. 3.

various but harmonious and living biographies which were termed the Gospels. Mark, "the companion and interpreter of Peter," gives the history compendiously, directly, with vivid touches of detail; Matthew exhibits pre-eminently the fulfilment of ancient prediction and the glory of the King of Israel; Luke, writing chiefly for Gentiles, and as the associate of Paul, gives especial prominence to those incidents and discourses which show the depth and universality of the Redeemer's love; while John, the latest of the Four, takes as his special theme the Word made flesh, and reveals "the only-begotten of the Father."¹ The Acts and the Apocalypse follow;—the history of early struggle and the prophecy of final triumph: the former declaring Christ's Life on earth to have been but a beginning of His work, the latter showing to us that work consummated and crowned; the Acts beginning with the earthly Jerusalem, the Revelation ending with the New Jerusalem, "coming down from heaven, having the glory of God." The Epistles which lie between, called forth in most part by special or incidental circumstances, are essentially a Divinely prompted elucidation of the Divine history:—doctrine evolved from the exhibition of the one perfect life, and applied to the renewal and regulation of all life, that every one who nameth the name of Christ may depart from iniquity. The doctrine throughout is one: the forms of its manifestation are varied. Faith, hope, and love evermore "abide." Paul is pre-eminently the apostle of Faith, with his deep insight into the truths of God; Peter, with his sanguine soul, may stand as the embodiment of Hope; while John above all reveals the heart of Love. Paul again is the great Gentile missionary, charged with the exposition of a universal salvation; Peter, to whom may be added James, was an apostle of the circumcision, whose special function was to show that in the Gospel

¹ At a very early age the Four Living Creatures of the Apocalypse (ch. iv.), analogous to the cherubic forms of Ezekiel (ch. i.), were taken as symbols of the evangelists: Mark was denoted by the Man, on account of his graphic *human* detail; Matthew

by the Lion, the kingly symbol; Luke by the Ox, symbol of Sacrifice; and John by the Eagle, outsoaring human thought. Some, however, see in Mark the Ox, in Luke the Man. The application is ingenious, but certainly not the primary sense of the passage.

God's highest, greatest Law was to be found ; while John, living in his later days among speculators and mystics, was concerned above all to show that the true knowledge, the only light, the all-assimilating life abode only in incarnate Love.¹ These varieties, however, were not, as sometimes alleged, distinct schools of doctrine. There is no Gospel specially Petrine, specially Pauline, specially Johanne. The three present but diverse aspects of the self-same truth, and are all one in Christ Jesus.

The final recognition and collection into one volume of the New Testament writings was the work of a subsequent age. For the present, the oral teaching of the apostles and their immediate associates was the chief source of instruction to the Churches. The written records, separately existing, individually prized, were yet principally for future generations. There is sufficient evidence, however (for which the reader is referred to specially critical works), that all the books of the New Testament existed in their present form before A.D. 70, with the exception of the Gospel and Epistles of John, which must be dated subsequently to the destruction of Jerusalem ; probably also the "Second Epistle of Peter," and possibly the Apocalypse.

¹ See the very interesting series of parallels drawn between the three apostles in Stanley's *Sermons on the Apostolic Age*, Sermon i. For another view, based upon the special relation of the several apostles to the Old Covenant, see *De Præsentibus* (Miss Har-

wood's ed.), p. 206 : "James regards the New Covenant as the expansion of the Law ; Peter sees in it, primarily, the fulfilment of prophecy ; Paul is much less concerned with showing the relations of the two covenants than with bringing out their differences."

§ 2. BEGINNINGS OF POST-CANONICAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE:
THE "TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."

An account of the so-called APOSTOLICAL FATHERS will be given hereafter.¹ But there is one work of unique interest which, more than any other, may claim to reflect the style and method of Christian teaching in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles. This is the *Didaché*, as it is generally termed;—"The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," or, more fully, "The Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles." To this treatise there are evident allusions in patristic literature;² its leading phrase, "The Two Ways," became a common-place of Christian teaching. Yet the work had remained unknown for centuries, until discovered in a MS. volume, including some other remains of early Christian literature, by Philotheos Bryennios, in the library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate at Constantinople. It was published in 1883, when its great value was immediately recognised.³ Bishop Lightfoot assigned to it a very early date, for reasons like the following: "1. The itinerant prophetic order has not yet displaced the permanent localised ministry, but exists side by side with it as in the lifetime of St. Paul (Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28). 2. Episcopacy has apparently not yet become universal; the word 'bishop' is still used as synonymous with 'presbyter.' 3. From the expression, 'after ye have been filled,' it appears that the *agapé* still remains part of the Lord's Supper. 4. The archaic simplicity of its practical suggestions is only consistent with the early infancy of a church. These indications point to the first or the beginning of the second century as the

¹ See Part II., ch. v., pp. 114—123.

² Athanasius, *Ep. Fest.* 39, "The so-called Doctrine of the Apostles;" Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.* iii. 25, "The so-called Doctrines of the Apostles;" Rufinus, "The Two Ways." The phrase, *διδάχῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, is evidently taken from Acts ii. 42.

³ Dr. Adolf Harnack, *Die Lehre*

der zwölf Apostel, Leipzig, 1884; Philip Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual*, Edinburgh, 1885; and elaborate editions by Canon Spence 1885, and H. de Romestin, M.A. 1884. A handy translation of it is contained in *The Epistles of Clement and Polycarp* (Christian Classics Series), R. T. S. Bp. Lightfoot gives text and translation in his *Apostolic Fathers*, 1891.

date of the work in its present form." Several editions have been published, both in Greek, German and English, with illustrative annotations. The *Didaché* consists of two parts; the former, "The Way of Life and the Way of Death," contains an enumeration of moral duties and warnings against different forms of sin, which are partly reproduced in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (see below, p. 115), and in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, p. 118. The second part, which is of chief historical interest, treats of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the honour to be paid to teachers, apostles and prophets, with directions for worship on the Lord's Day, and for the appointment of bishops and deacons; the whole being closed by solemn warnings of the Last Judgment. The absence of any recognition of Church authority, or of the baptismal and eucharistic theories of later times, is very observable. The reference to "sacrifice," in a quotation from Malachi ii. 14, is plainly to a *thank-offering* by the whole congregation.¹ Biblical critics will note with interest that the *Didaché* contains the Doxology and the Lord's Prayer, in the abbreviated form, "For Thine is the power and the glory for ever," omitting "Amen."

§ 3. DOCTRINAL CORRUPTIONS.

The errors and corruptions of the primitive Church are in *Testimony of heresies to the character of the doctrine.* constructive in a twofold way. They not only show the constant need of the indwelling Spirit in the Church to restrain the wayward tendencies of the understanding; but they illustrate by contrast the nature of the truths themselves of which they are the distortion. But for the doctrine of God's free grace, there could have been no Antinomianism; but for the doctrine of Christ's Deity, there could have been no Docetism. This important point will be repeatedly illustrated as the heresies of successive ages come under review.

Three general divisions will include all the chief schisms and

¹ See below, p. 161.

heresies of the apostolic age. These were, first, the false doctrines, *Threesfold division of heretical belief.* encouraging immorality, into which the truth of a free salvation was perverted. Secondly, the attempts to engraft the forms of Judaism upon the Christian Church; and thirdly, the beginnings of a mystical religious philosophy, arising from the infusion of heathen or naturalistic elements.

1. The Apostle Paul repeatedly deals with the question, Shall we sin, because not under law, but under grace? He meets it as a possible *objection* to the Christian doctrine; but he more than implies that the immoral tenet was actually held. There were those who maintained that men might do evil in order that good might come. Hymenæus and Philetus taught that "the resurrection was past already," and therefore that the children of God, having risen above the obligations of their earthly life, might disregard those obligations and live without restraint. Such teachings, in the words of St. Jude, had "turned the grace of our God into lasciviousness," and, in the language of the Second Epistle of Peter, promised liberty while betokening the slavery of corruption. The tendency to these doctrines, James, the brother of the Lord, had rebuked: "Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works;" and it is highly probable that "the doctrine of Balaam" and "the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes" ¹ denounced in the Apocalyptic epistle to Pergamos were of the same cast. In the words of the succeeding epistle, they were "deep" doctrines indeed, but "depths of Satan!"

2. We have already shown (ch. i. § 5) how the decisions of

¹ See Rev. ii. 6, 14. It is stated by Irenæus and Tertullian that the Nicolaitanes were followers of Nicolaus, proselyte of Antioch mentioned in Acts vi. 5. The opinion, however, seems to rest on no sufficient grounds, and is generally rejected by critics. Another possible view is that which identifies the sect with the Balaamites, the name Balaam being allusively or mystically used (as Jezebel in ver.

20) to denote complicity in the practices by which he led Israel astray, Num. xxv. The word Balaam may mean a devourer or destroyer of the people (בַּלְעָם), and so might appropriately be represented in Greek by a name derived from νικάω, to conquer, and λαός, people. There is no need therefore to suppose a false teacher named Nicolaus. See *Speaker's Commentary* in loc.

the Church in Jerusalem on the question of Gentile discipleship had authorized a complete emancipation from the yoke of the ceremonial law. Nevertheless, the Judaizing tendency remained, and displayed itself in several ways.

Its first insidious approaches were in the form of ritual requirements; especially that of circumcision,—a demand which, earnestly as the Apostle Paul withstood it, had considerable effect. The case of Titus was here the turning-point; the Galatians are impressively warned that if circumcised Christ would profit them nothing; and at a later period the apostle declares to the Philippians that the true circumcision is spiritual only, the outward rite being nothing but a “concision”—a mutilation.¹ With this great ritual demand others were associated; the observance of “days, and months, and times, and years;” abstinence from meats and drinks; forms of asceticism, with the motto, “Touch not, taste not, handle not.” The enforcement of such claims is repudiated; compliance with them is rebuked, as below the standard of a lofty spirituality; and yet, compared with circumcision, they are regarded as things indifferent. “He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.” “The kingdom of God is not meat and drink.” But wherever these Jewish requirements tended to the denial or the obscuring of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they were ever met by the most uncompromising opposition.

After the destruction of Jerusalem there seems to have sprung up in Pella a sect which carried the Judaizing tendency still further than in the days of Paul, and strove actually to combine the Mosaic institutions with a narrow and mutilated Gospel. This form of doctrine was termed *Ebionism*, not from the founder of the sect, one Ebion, as Tertullian supposes, but from the Hebrew word signifying *poor*.² The Ebionites rejected the writings of Paul, and of

¹ See Gal. v. 1–6; Phil. ii. 2, 3; Col. ii. 8–23; Rom. xiv.; 1 Cor. viii. (These two latter chapters refer immediately to the question concerning meats offered to idols.)

² עֲבִיּוֹן. The term may have been

the Gospel histories received only Matthew, from which, however, they expunged the history of the miraculous conception. In their view Christ was neither Divine nor pre-existent, being the Son of David, but not the Son of God. Circumcision was essential to salvation, and the great work of Christ was to confirm the law. It was, however, not until the fourth century that the Ebionites became prominent and powerful. So early as the second, an offshoot of the sect, under the name of Nazarenes, held a milder form of the same views, insisting on the absolute necessity of circumcision, but being, according to Neander, of a genuine evangelical disposition, opposing the ceremonial strictness of the Pharisees, refraining from the enforcement of the ceremonial law upon the heathen, and highly esteeming the Apostle Paul as a Christian teacher, although denying the inspired authority of any part of the New Testament save the Hebrew version of Matthew's Gospel.

3. Some special forms of false doctrine arising from the admixture of Gentile speculations with Christian elements may with considerable certainty be traced up to Simon Magus.¹ From the mass of legends which have become connected with this man's name, thus much at least is tolerably clear, that his system was a form of pantheistic dualism: the universe being represented as the evolution of two germs, the *mind* formative, the *idea* receptive. The former reveals itself as heaven, the latter as earth: man combines both. To deliver the mind from its enthrallment is salvation: this Simon declared to be his own work; meanwhile representing this enthrallment as personified in a courtesan of Tyre, Helena by name, whom he made companion of his wanderings. "He set himself forth as the great Deliverer, the true Christ. He said that he had appeared as the Son in Judæa, as the Father in Samaria, and as the Holy Ghost among the nations; but that under these or other names

applied to these persons as the adherents of a poor and crucified Messiah, or (according to Epiphanius) because they were themselves chiefly of the

poorer class. See Irenæus, xxx. 2.

¹ See the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, p. 163. (Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. i. p. 43.)

he always fulfilled the same mission, which was to set free the *idea* from the fetters of the body. With this design he took a form like the inferior powers, and submitted to seeming suffering. The parable of the lost sheep represented, according to Simon, his redeeming work. Did he not, like the Good Shepherd, seek out the unfortunate Helena, the object of his compassion, who had strayed into the lower world like the sheep into the desert? He wrought her salvation by revealing himself to her, and he was to restore her to that higher region from which she had fallen. This unfortunate Helena, the personification of the *idea* held captive in the chains of nature, is found in every man, since man is a perfect microcosm, and contains in himself all the elements of the world. The work of enfranchisement is therefore to be carried on in every individual. Thus Simon promised salvation to all who should believe in him and call upon his name." ¹

The influence of Simon, so far as he personally was concerned, seems to have passed away with himself.² The *Early Dualistic speculations* tendency to speculate in the same direction, however, remained, and in combination with the remaining Judaism of the Church gave rise to many strange and complicated forms of error. In a subsequent age, as we shall see, these were classed under the general head of Gnosticism, with regard to which it is often difficult to say whether it is more prevailing a Jewish or a Gentile perversion. At the basis of these speculations lay still the principle of Dualism, but in another form than that maintained by Simon. Matter was essentially evil: the principle of imperfection. Hence this lower world was not the creation of the Supreme God, but of an inferior power, the *Demiurgus*: and the main result of this philosophy, as regards religion, was the denial of the Incarnation.

¹ De Pressensé, *Early Years of the Christian Church (Les Trois Premières Siècles de l'Eglise)*, translated by Miss Harwood, Book 2, ch. iv. § 2, p. 284.

² According to Justin Martyr, a statue was erected to Simon in Rome, with the inscription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO. This, however, was a mis-

take. In 1574 a statue was dug out of the island of the Tiber, inscribed SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO. Semo Sangu was an old Sabine deity, and to him the statue was dedicated by one Sextus Pompeius. Justin probably saw the inscription, and by a hasty inference was led into error.

With this form of unbelief the name of Menander, said to have been a disciple of Simon Magus, and especially that of Cerinthus, the heresiarch Cerinthus, are peculiarly connected. Cerinthus is said to have been an Alexandrian Jew, who taught in Asia Minor, the scene of the later labours of the Apostle John. There is a tradition, quoted by Irenæus from Polycarp, that the apostle, finding himself on one occasion in the public bath at the same time as Cerinthus, hurried from the place, lest the very presence of the blasphemer should cause the roof to fall. Whether this be true or not, there can be no doubt of the direct antagonism between the teachings of the two. Cerinthus held, according to Irenæus, "that Jesus was not born of a Virgin, but was the son of Joseph and Mary, born altogether as other men are: but excelling all men in virtue, knowledge, and wisdom. At His baptism the Christ came down upon Him from Him who is over all, in the shape of a dove, and then He declared to the world the unknown Father, and wrought miracles. At the end the Christ left Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose again, but the Christ being spiritual was impassible."¹ To these and kindred errors the Apostle John repeatedly refers; as when he makes it the test of truth and falsehood that the true believers acknowledged Christ to have come in the flesh, adding in his epistle to the "elect lady,"² that the denial of this doctrine is the mark of a "deceiver and antichrist." Without following the writers who maintain that John's Gospel was expressly written with a controversial aim against these early Gnostics, it is impossible not to perceive a reference to their doctrines in such explicit declarations as that "the Word was made flesh," that He combined in Himself the Light, the Life, the Truth, and that "all things were made by Him." To assert the manhood of Jesus no less than His

¹ Irenæus on *Heresies*, i. 26.

² See 1 John iv. 2, 3; 2 John 7. (The phrase rendered "the Elect Lady" has been read "the lady Electa," or "the Elect Kyria," each word being taken in turn as a proper

name.) Compare 1 Tim. iii. 16, where "manifested in the flesh" seems to be directed against the same forms of error. Timothy, it should be noted, was at Ephesus, where the heresy arose.

Divinity, and His Divinity no less than His manhood, was throughout the aim of the beloved disciple ; and the doctrine that the Divine effluence was a thing apart from Him, descending upon Him in His baptism, but departing before His death, receives a distinct denial in the words, "This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ ; not by water only, but by water and blood." "Thus, at the close of the apostolic age, John, like Paul, with a firm hand uplifts the cross, as a beacon of light to shine through all the darkness of coming storms. The folly of the cross is to be for ever the wisdom of the Church ; and against the rock on which it stands all the surges of heresy will break in vain." ¹

¹ De Pressensé.

PART II.

THE AGE OF CONFLICT.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.

•• For the names of the Roman Emperors see Ch. III., headings of sections, and for the list of the "Ten Persecutions" compare p. 64. Many additional dates will be found in the CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	A.D.
Martyrdom of Ignatius	A.D. 107 or 116
Letters of Pliny and Trajan	about 111
Hadrian at Athens. First "Apologies"	,, 132
Insurrection of Bar-cochab	132
Jerusalem rebuilt, as Ælia Capitolina ... ..	... 135
Gnosticism at its height ... ..	... 150
Origin of Churches in Gaul ... ..	... 155
The Montanist doctrines diffused ... ..	... 155
Martyrdom of Justin at Rome	about 165
Martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna ... ..	... 167
Celsus writes against Christianity ... ..	... 170
Catechetical School of Alexandria founded by Pantænus ... ..	... 180
Irenæus writes "against all heresies" ... ..	... 180
Clement head of the Alexandrian School ... ..	... 188
Tertullian publishes his Apology ... ..	... 204
Rise of Patripassianism	about 200
Council at Carthage respecting heretical baptism ... ..	... 215
Origen head of the Alexandrian School ... ..	... 220
Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage ... ..	... 248
Rise of Monachism ... ..	... 250
Schism of Novatian at Rome ... ..	... 251
Sabellius teaches in Egypt ... ..	... 258
Christianity for the first time a <i>religio licita</i> ... ..	... 259
Porphyry teaches at Rome ... ..	... 262
Paul of Samosata teaches his doctrines ... ..	... 265
Birth of Constantine the Great ... ..	... 274
Manes (Manichæus) put to death ... ..	... 277
Alban, proto-martyr of Britain	286 or 303
The Meletian Schism in Egypt ... ..	... 306
Constantine's Vision of the Cross ... ..	... 312
Rise of Donatism ... ..	... 313

INTRODUCTION.

REFERENCE has already been made to the deep obscurity which closes the history of the apostolic age.¹ The zone of darkness which thus isolates the period of miracle and apostolic inspiration, seems a boundary fixed by Providence to mark the incomparable greatness of that era. When we can once more clearly read the annals of the Church, we find it engaged in a struggle with the world, which, with many a vicissitude, continued for two hundred years. During these centuries the kingdom of God was confronted by a dominant heathenism. The whole force of the Roman Empire was arrayed against Christianity, so as to test in every way its imperishable life. It was a natural consequence, that the spirit of the Church should be practical rather than doctrinal. The discipline through which it passed was calculated above all to develop the heroic character. Believers in Christ were thrown back upon the simplicity of their trust. The very errors and schisms of the time sprang from the misdirection or the miscalculations of zeal. Not yet had come the age of careful analysis or subtle distinctions. Theology had scarcely begun to be formulated. Christians might not be able to define their creed, but they could die for their faith.

It will be convenient, in treating of this period, first to consider the external relations of the Church, its missions, and the enlarging boundaries of its conquests, its conflict with Jew and Gentile, and the successive persecutions which it endured; and then to set forth its interior life, its literature, and its doctrine.

¹ See First Part, ch. i. §§ 6, 7.

CHAPTER I.

MISSIONS AND EXTENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ I. CIRCUMSTANCES CONTRIBUTING TO THE DIFFUSION OF THE GOSPEL.

THE whole period was marked by the gradual and silent diffusion of the Gospel in the different parts of the Roman Empire. Rarely indeed have the churches in any nations preserved authentic memorials of their origin. The kingdom of God has come without observation.¹ It is certain that the unrecorded labours of apostles and of evangelists wholly dedicated to the work must have largely contributed to the spread of Christian truth; but other agencies, less conspicuous, were almost as effective. Great military roads traversed the empire from Syria to Spain, as truly available for the soldiers of the cross as for the Roman armies. In times of peace these roads were astir with ceaseless traffic; and wherever Christian traders went, they made it part of their business to utter the glad tidings. In many of the Roman legions there were pious soldiers, who found opportunities, in march or encampment, to scatter the seeds of truth. Slaves carried the message of salvation to their masters, women to their husbands. Against the background of heathen immorality, the character and example of Christians became brightly conspicuous; the patient heroism of multitudes under cruel persecution attested a more than earthly stay; and, in the oft-quoted phrase of Tertullian, "the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church." Refugees from persecution became evangelists in distant places, after the precedent set by the "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" at Antioch; new churches start to

¹ For reference to early traditions respecting apostolic labours, see *First Part*, ch. i. § 6.

light from time to time, without giving any trace of their origin; and by the close of the third century there was no considerable part of the Roman Empire in which a Christian community did not exist.

§ 2. DETAILS OF PROGRESS: CHURCHES IN ASIA.

Details must necessarily be scanty. In ASIA the churches *Palestine.* of *Palestine*, rent and scattered in the disruption of the Jewish nation, found a refuge, as has been already stated, in Pella beyond the Jordan; returning afterwards in scattered companies to the ruined city of Jerusalem, selecting as their chief pastor one Symeon, said to be a relative of our Lord.¹ The Jews themselves were excluded by Hadrian from Jerusalem, rebuilt by that monarch, and named *Ælia Capitolina*; and from the year 135 a succession of Gentile bishops presided over the church in the Holy City. In *Cæsarea* there long existed a Christian church, renowned at the beginning of the fourth century as the residence of Eusebius, the "father of ecclesiastical history."

The apostolic churches in *Syria* and *Asia Minor* continued to exist: Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis being long *Syria and Asia Minor.* conspicuous; while the churches of Galatia, though prone to perversion, as of old, still in the last great persecution had their martyrs for the faith. By the middle of the second century the Gospel had penetrated to Edessa, in *Mesopotamia*; while incidental notices appear about the same time of Christian *Other districts.* communities in *Persia*, *Media*, *Bactria*, and *Parthia*. Not long after this, churches are found in *Armenia* and *Arabia*. Farther to the east the progress of the Gospel cannot be decisively traced, although there is a tradition that the north-western provinces of *India* had also received the message of salvation.

§ 3. CHURCHES IN EUROPE.

The churches of EUROPE naturally had *Rome* as their centre, although as yet no supremacy over the rest was either *Rome and Italy.* claimed or accorded. Throughout *Italy* Christian communities were numerous; and they are found also in the

¹ Son of Clopas, Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 32. On his crucifixion, see p. 57.

Roman colonies on the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. Of the apostolic churches in *Greece* little is known. One pleasant glimpse of the Christians in Philippi is given in connexion with the history of Ignatius, who passed through that city on his way to martyrdom, and was kindly escorted on his way by members of the Philippian church, a service acknowledged by a letter from the martyr's friend, Polycarp of Smyrna.¹ The church in Thessalonica lived on through every struggle, until in later days it became "the bulwark of Oriental Christendom." Athens and Corinth too maintained an honourable place among Christian communities; Dionysius the Areopagite being first bishop of Athens, afterwards martyr; and Dionysius of Corinth, in the latter part of the second century, having addressed letters to several churches.²

But the main stream of Christian influence passed westward, and no churches in these early times were more active *Gaul, Spain, and Britain.* and important than those of *Gaul* and *Spain*. Their origin, like that of others, is obscure. The latter country may have been visited by the Apostle Paul after his first Roman imprisonment, but this is uncertain. Some minor peculiarities of practice and doctrine in the churches of Western Europe lead to the inference that the Gospel was introduced thither from Asia Minor; and there is evidence that evangelists from the East had penetrated to *Britain* by the middle of the second century; as not long after Tertullian writes of "haunts of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ."

§ 4. CHURCHES IN AFRICA.

The churches in AFRICA seem to have had a twofold origin. On the one hand, the Christian faith spread from *Alexandria*, where it had been planted in apostolic times, throughout *Egypt*, westwards to *Cyrene* and southwards to *Ethiopia*. The churches of *Proconsular Africa*, of which the centre was *Carthage*, no doubt

¹ See Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians in *Apostolic Fathers*, A. N. Lib., 69; also Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 906.

² To be distinguished from Dionysius of Alexandria, a writer of the third century.

had their origin from Rome. These churches bore a gallant part in the long contest with heathenism, and were prominent also in the theological struggles of succeeding ages.

§ 5. NUMERICAL ESTIMATES.

What proportion of the community had at any given period embraced the Christian faith it is difficult to estimate ; and obviously the number would greatly vary in different localities. Judging from the testimony of perhaps too partial apologists, the proportion would appear very considerable, at least in the great centres of population. Thus Justin writes, in the middle of the second cen-

Justin. tury : "There is not one single race of men, whether barbarians or Greeks, or whatever they may be called, nomads or vagrants, or herdsmen living in tents, among whom prayers and giving of thanks are not offered through the name of the crucified Jesus."¹

Irenæus. Irenæus, not long afterwards, says : "The churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the

Tertullian. world."² At the end of the century Tertullian writes : "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you,—cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very camp, tribes, companies, senate, forum,—we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods." "Were the Christians to retire from the heathen community," Tertullian adds, "you (the heathen) would be horror-struck at the solitude in which you would find yourselves, at such an all-prevailing silence, and that stupor as of a dead world. You would have to seek subjects to govern. You would have more enemies than citizens remaining!"³ Addressing

¹ *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. cxvii. (Ante-Nicene Lib., p. 247).

² *Against Heresies*, Book I. c. x. § 2 (Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. i. p. 43).

³ *Tert. Apol.*, c. xxxvii. (Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. i. p. 116). See also *Letter to the Jews*, c. vii. (vol. iii. p.

218). After applying Acts ii. 9, 10 to the spread of Christianity, Tertullian speaks of "the varied races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons, inaccess-

the pagan governor of Carthage, Tertullian says again, that if Christianity were to be suppressed the city would have to be decimated: "What will be the anguish of the city, as each one there recognizes his relations and companions, as he sees there, it may be, men of your own order, and noble ladies, and all the leading persons of the city, and either kinsmen or friends of those of your own circle? Spare thyself, if not us poor Christians! Spare Carthage, if not thyself!"¹

But these statements may be rhetorical exaggerations. Vague *Illustrative* numerical estimates are to be distrusted even in sober *facts.* histories, much more in fervid appeals; and there are few statistics of any kind to aid the calculation. In the year 200 a synod was held at Carthage consisting of seventy bishops, but the churches over which they respectively presided were probably small. In 251, according to Eusebius, it was stated by Cornelius, the bishop of the church in Rome, that there were in that church forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors; and more than one thousand five hundred widows, afflicted, and needy. From these *data* it may be judged that the membership of the Church must at that time have been numbered by thousands, with of course a yet larger nominal Christian community around. Gibbon and Milman estimate the population of Rome at the beginning of the third century as one million two hundred thousand, and the calculation of the former that a twentieth were nominal Christians may be adopted as a minimum.

ible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ; and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of provinces and islands many to us unknown. In all which places the name of the Christ who is already come

reigns, as of Him before whom the gates of all cities have been opened, and to whom none are closed, before whom iron bars have been crumbled, and brazen valves opened."

¹ *To Scapula*, § 5 (vol. i. p. 52).

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ENEMIES : THE JEWS.

§ 1. THE JEWS AS INSTIGATORS OF PERSECUTION.

THE hostility of the Jews to the religion of Christ, although not weakened by time, had after the primitive age but little direct influence on the Church, as the political existence of their nation passed away at the destruction of Jerusalem. Still Jewish zealots are found actively instigating popular attacks in heathen cities upon the Christians, and appear in suspicious connexion with the chief imperial enemies of the faith. The martyrdom of Symeon, bishop of the church in Pella, and afterwards in Jerusalem, after the return of the Christians to the Holy City, was undoubtedly due to Jewish instigation. As before stated, Symeon was a descendant of the House of David; and this circumstance was so artfully employed to excite the jealous fears of the Roman authorities, that the aged pastor was tortured and crucified, it is said, at the age of a hundred and twenty.¹

§ 2. REVOLT OF BAR-COCHAB.

One attempt out of many made by the fallen people to regain through insurrection the lost honours of their race connects itself with the history of the Church. On the accession of Hadrian (Ælius Hadrianus) to the empire, A.D. 117, he issued an edict forbidding the religious practices of the Jewish people—circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the public reading of the Law. It was further announced that a Roman colony was to

¹ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 32.

be placed, and heathen worship established, in Jerusalem itself. This last blow inspired the Jews for a time with the courage of despair. Taught to believe that the darkest hour would herald their deliverance by that Messiah whom they had not ceased to expect, they lent a credulous ear to an adventurer who suddenly appeared in the character of the predicted king. Their chief Rabbi, Akiba, acknowledged the pretensions and became the standard-bearer of the daring impostor. "Behold," said the hoary enthusiast to a great assembly of the people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob: the days of redemption are at hand." In allusion to Balaam's prophecy thus quoted, the "false Christ" assumed the title of Bar-cochab, Son of a Star; changed by his deluded countrymen, after his defeat and death, into Bar-cosiba, Son of a Lie. Many thousands flocked around his standard, not only from Palestine, but from Cyrene, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The insurgents held the ruined fortress of Jerusalem for three years, and when dislodged found for awhile a stronghold in Bither—probably the ancient Beth-horon. Throughout the struggle, the Christians, who steadfastly refused to take part in it, were subjected to the greatest cruelties by the followers of Bar-cochab. More than half a million of Jews are said to have perished before the rebellion was finally crushed, upon which the Emperor immediately carried out his design of rebuilding Jerusalem, calling the city *Jerusalem re-named.* *Ælia*, after his own name, and dedicating it to Jupiter of the Capitol by the adjunct *Capitolina*. In acknowledgment of the neutrality of Christians during the struggle, they were permitted free access to the city; the Jews being rigorously excluded, even from the neighbouring heights, to which they were admitted only once a year to bewail the fallen fortunes of their Zion. The Ebionites and Nazarenes of Pella¹ were largely reinforced, it is said, by numbers of the church from Jerusalem, unable to brook the profanation of the Holy City, and resenting especially the appointment of a Gentile bishop.

¹ See Part I. p. 44.

§ 3. JEWISH CALUMNIES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

But if the sword of Judaism was perforce sheathed, its tongues and pens were active. The apologetic writings of the period, which will be hereafter described, show that the Jews were busy throughout this whole era in circulating calumnies against the Christians. "You," says Justin, addressing the Jews, "have sent chosen and ordained men throughout all the world to proclaim that a godless and lawless heresy has sprung from one Jesus, a Galilean deceiver, whom we crucified; but His disciples stole Him by night from the tomb, where He was laid when unfastened from the cross, and now deceive men by asserting that He has risen from the dead and ascended to heaven. Moreover, you accuse Him of having taught those godless, lawless, and unholy doctrines which you mention to the condemnation of those who confess Him to be the Christ, and a Teacher from, and Son of, God. Besides this, even when your city is captured, and your land ravaged, you do not repent, but dare to utter imprecations on Him and all who believe in Him. Yet we do not hate you, or those who, by your means, have conceived such prejudices against us; but we pray that even now all of you may repent and obtain mercy from God, the compassionate and long-suffering Father of all."¹

¹ *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. cviii. (Ante-Nicene Lib., p. 235).

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ENEMIES : THE GENTILES.

§ I. MOTIVES AND CAUSES OF PERSECUTION.

CHRISTIANITY was an *exclusive* religion. Its first principle was that there was one only Name "in which men must be *Exclusiveness* saved." This fact set it at once in strong contrast *of Christianity.* with the easy tolerance of the Roman policy. Under the empire, as Gibbon has remarked, all religions were held by the people as equally true, by the philosophers as equally false, and by the magistrates as equally useful. The people would therefore hate and oppose a religion which set out by declaring the falsehood of all other beliefs; the philosophers would be impatient of the declaration that here was absolute and certain truth; and the magistrates would resist the attempt to subvert the many religions which held their subjects in order. The Jews had persecuted from fanaticism; the Gentiles persecuted from indifferentism; and it is difficult to say which extreme is the more essentially hostile to the Christian faith.

2. Christianity was a *holy* religion. One of its earliest lessons *Holiness* was to renounce, what other religions had fostered, *of Christianity.* "ungodliness and worldly lusts." This placed it in immediate antagonism to those who had hitherto found in their very worship a licence for their sins. The era was one of corruption and unblushing vice;¹ the Gospel was unflinching in its disclosures, stern in its reproofs, terrible in its denunciation of the wrath of God. It was impossible, therefore, but that it should be resisted

¹ See Tholuck, *Nature and Moral Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Influence of Heathenism* (trans. Clark, *Christ* (trans. Longman, 1862), vol. ii. 1840); Döllinger, *The Gentile and the* bk. 9.

with the whole force of man's depraved will ; and the simple secret of many a persecution is to be found in the old truth, that "the carnal mind is enmity against God."

3. Christianity was an *aggressive* religion. It was the policy *Aggressiveness of Rome to allow all subjugated nations to remain of Christianity.* in the peaceful practice of their own faith. In the very metropolis, the Dacian or the German, the Gaul or the Briton, was at liberty to honour his own ancestral deities. Within a certain limit even Roman citizenship was compatible with the adoption of various forms of worship. The list of *religiones licite*, "licensed religions," grew larger year by year. Even the Jewish faith was included, *JEHOVAH* being regarded as no more than the tutelary god of Israel. But none of these religions interfered with any other : the Jews themselves cared but little to make proselytes. The Christian held his faith in an altogether different spirit. He must preach to all : the strength of his Church lay in the converts which it made. Society seemed thus threatened by a new danger, and the fiercest persecutions of early time were directed not so much against the Christian faith as against evangelistic zeal.

4. The Christian Church was a *society*. Unlike other religions, *The Church a Society.* it sought no material centre nor outward embodiment. It could exist even without a special place of worship : the "church" could be "in a house." Christianity had neither temple, altar, nor image. The fellowship of its disciples was altogether a mystery in its intimacy and affectionateness. Its speech was strange, suggesting to jealous tyranny the passwords of a secret society. The meetings of Christians, in their simplicity, were utterly perplexing to spies and informers. Some deep designs were suspected hostile to the State ; and the laws against clandestine associations were made in all their rigour to apply to the Church of Christ.

5. The Church again was an *unworldly* community. *The Church unworldly.* Christians were different in the habit of their lives, and especially in the character of their recreations, from

the rest of the world. For the taint of heathenism rested upon both the business and the pleasures of ordinary life, infecting all social intercourse and natural relationships. It was the necessity and often the trial of the Christian that he must resolutely stand aloof, throwing himself out of the current of the national life, and submitting to be regarded as a misanthrope, that he might retain his integrity as a citizen of heaven. But in taking such a position he could not but be scorned and hated ; while the effort to resist the world's evil would often produce a stern, unattractive type of character. The historian Tacitus may have judged only from the outside, but undoubtedly he recorded the impression of many observers, when describing the Christians of Rome as deserving punishment, not so much for any specific crime as for their enmity to mankind.

6. To this general repugnance the suspicion of *disloyalty* was *Suspensions of* added. To deny the gods of Rome, seriously and *Disloyalty.* conscientiously, was often to rebel against imperial authority and military law. For while there was no compulsion to believe or to profess belief, it was often required as an act of homage to the ruling authorities to join in the invocation of some deity, to join in public sacrifices, or to cast frankincense upon the altar of a god. Men of diverse faiths, or of none, would take part in these ceremonies as a matter of course ; not so the Christians. *Their* God would tolerate no false worship : for them to conform to popular superstitions would be apostasy. Thus were the claims of conscience asserted in a manner quite new to the Roman world. A few "stubborn Jews," it is true, had always been found to maintain a similar attitude ; but this had been tolerated as a national peculiarity ; the case was different, now that men of all races, including Romans themselves, displayed this unconquerable will. That will must be bent or broken ; and thus the whole might of Rome was matched against the resolution born of faith in Christ.

7. It should be added that many an attack upon the Christians was occasioned not by the action of rulers or deliberate *Popular* *outbreaks.* judicial proceedings, but by *irregular popular out-*

breaks. Sometimes, as in the apostolic age, "the multitude rose up" against the adherents of the faith; at other times, men like the artificer Demetrius at Ephesus, or the masters of the Pythian slave-girl at Philippi, sought their private revenge by persecuting the faith. Heathen priests whose pretensions were exposed, magicians whose craft was in danger, Cynic philosophers whose hypocrisy was unmasked, all became enemies of the Church. Any cry would serve their purpose: "There is no rain; ascribe it to the Christians!" "If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'Away with the Christians to the lion!'"¹ The wildest tales were believed. That assemblies of the Church were scenes of lust and riot, even of infanticide and cannibalism, were accusations against which the earliest Christian apologists had to defend themselves. Slander gave bitterness to persecution, and the life and growth of the Church through this long conflict show the strength that sustained it to have been Divine.

§ 2. SUCCESSIVE PERSECUTIONS.

1. It is written in the Book of Revelation, in the Epistle to the church at Smyrna, "Ye shall have tribulation *Tradition of Ten Persecutions.* *ten days.*"² Early Christian expositors believed these words to foreshadow the number of persecutions ordained for the churches to suffer. This interpretation was strengthened by the analogy of the ten Egyptian plagues, and by the supposed meaning of the "ten horns," which are "ten kings," and "make war with the Lamb."³ Accordingly the tradition of the Ten Persecutions has become current in the Church. It need not be said that the exposition is fanciful and untenable, while it will further appear that the number is either too great or too small. If only general persecutions be intended, there were not so many as ten; if local and provincial outbreaks

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. xl.

² Rev. ii. 10.

³ Rev. xvii. 3, 12, 14.

against the faith, there were considerably more. Ecclesiastical writers, again, do not agree as to the enumeration.

2. The following Table gives the most general view :

The Ten Persecutions.

1. Under Nero. A.D. 64-68. Martyrdom of Peter and Paul.
2. Under Domitian, 95, 96. John banished.
3. Under Trajan, 104-117. Martyrdom of Ignatius.
4. Under Marcus Aurelius, 161-180. Justin martyred.
5. Under Septimius Severus, 200-211. African martyrs.
6. Under Maximinus, 235-237.
7. Under Decius, 250-253.
8. Under Valerian, 257-260. Martyrdom of Cyprian.
9. Under Aurelian, 274, 275.
10. Under Diocletian, 303-313.

A rapid view of the successive changes in the long conflict may perhaps be most conveniently given under four divisions, comprising: first, the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian; secondly, those of the Antonines, including their unworthy successor Commodus; thirdly, from Pertinax to the decree of toleration by Gallienus; and lastly, from Gallienus to Constantine.

§ 3. TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

Trajan, Emp. A.D. 98-117.

Hadrian, Emp. A.D. 117-138.

It will repeatedly be noted in the following brief review that those emperors who rank in history as among the best were in many cases the most rigorous persecutors of the Church. The reason is no doubt to be found partly in the false standards of excellence by which historians have judged; but partly also in the fact that Christianity was unknown to these rulers save as threatening a violation of that order in the State which was the Roman's noblest ideal. Thus Trajan became a persecutor, not so much in spite of those qualities which made him a great ruler, as by

*Persecutions
by "good"
emperors.*

Trajan, Emp.
A.D. 98-117.

very reason of those endowments. The fourth general reason above given seems above all to have actuated him. Early in his reign he had issued repeated edicts against secret societies, and these laws were so framed as to include the Christian community in their operation. The celebrated correspondence between the Emperor and Pliny the younger, though familiar to many readers, must be inserted here, both as throwing light upon the Roman policy, and as affording an instructive picture of the early churches. Pliny was proprætor of Bithynia in the year 110 A.D., and from that province he addressed the following letter to his imperial master :

PLINY TO TRAJAN.

“It is with me, sir, an established custom to refer to you all matters on which I am in doubt. Who, indeed, is better able either to direct my scruples or to instruct my ignorance ?

“I have never been present at trials of Christians, and consequently do not know for what reasons, or how far, punishment is usually inflicted or inquiry made in their case. Nor have my hesitations been slight : as to whether any distinction of age should be made, or persons however tender in years should be viewed as differing in no respect from the full-grown ; whether pardon should be accorded to repentance, or he who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by having ceased to be one ; whether the very profession itself, if unattended by crime, or else the crimes necessarily attaching to the profession, should be made the subject of punishment.

“Meanwhile, in the case of those who have been brought before me in the character of Christians, my course has been as follows : I put it to themselves whether they were or were not Christians. To such as professed that they were, I put the inquiry a second and a third time, threatening them with the supreme penalty. Those who persisted I ordered to execution. For, indeed, I could not doubt, whatever might be the nature of that which they professed, that their pertinacity, at any rate, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to be punished. There were others afflicted with like madness, with

regard to whom, as they were Roman citizens, I made a memorandum that they were to be sent for judgment to Rome. Soon, the very handling of this matter causing, as often happens, the area of the charge to spread, many fresh examples occurred. An anonymous paper was put forth, containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they either were or had been Christians, upon their calling on the gods after me, and upon their offering wine and incense before your statue, which for this purpose I had ordered to be introduced in company with the images of the gods, moreover, upon their reviling Christ—none of which things it is said can such as are really and truly Christians be compelled to do—these I deemed it proper to dismiss. Others named by the informer admitted that they were Christians, and then shortly afterwards denied it, adding that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many years, more than one of them as much as twenty years, before. All these, too, not only honoured your image and the effigies of the gods, but also reviled Christ. They affirmed, however, that this had been the sum, whether of their crime or their delusion : they had been in the habit of meeting together on a stated day before sunrise, and of offering in turns a form of invocation to Christ, as to a god ; also of binding themselves by an oath, not for any guilty purpose, but not to commit thefts, or robberies, or adulteries, not to break their word, not to repudiate deposits when called upon : these ceremonies having been gone through, they had been in the habit of separating, and again meeting together for the purpose of taking food—food, that is, of an ordinary and innocent kind. They had, however, ceased from doing even this after my edict, in which, following your orders, I had forbidden the existence of Fraternities. This made me think it all the more necessary to inquire, even by torture, of two maid-servants, who were styled deaconesses, what the truth was. I could discover nothing else than a vicious and extravagant superstition : consequently, having adjourned the inquiry, I have had recourse to your counsels. Indeed, the matter seemed to me a

proper one for consultation, chiefly on account of the number of persons imperilled. For many of all ages and all ranks, aye, and of both sexes, are being called, and will be called, into danger. Nor are cities only permeated by the contagion of this superstition, but villages and country parts as well; yet it seems possible to stop it and cure it. It is in truth sufficiently evident that the temples, which were almost entirely deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the customary religious rites which had long been interrupted are being resumed, and that there is a sale for the food of sacrificial beasts, for which hitherto very few buyers indeed could be found. From all this it is easy to form an opinion as to the great number of persons who may be reclaimed, if only room be granted for penitence."

The reply of the Emperor was as follows:—

TRAJAN TO PLINY.

"You have followed the right mode of procedure, my dear Secundus, in investigating the cases of those who had been brought before you as Christians. For, indeed, it is not possible to establish any universal rule, possessing as it were a fixed form. These people should not be searched for; if they are informed against and convicted they should be punished; yet, so that he who shall deny being a Christian, and shall make this plain in action, that is, by worshipping our gods, even though suspected on account of his past conduct, shall obtain pardon by his penitence. Anonymous informations, however, ought not to be allowed a standing in any kind of charge; a course which would not only form the worst of precedents, but which is not in accordance with the spirit of our time."¹

From these letters it will be observed that the rule against *Inference*. the Christians was inexorable, while it was to be cautiously administered. The cruelty of the persecutor, also,

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, Book x. 97, 98. edition of Mr. J. Delaware Lewis. The translations are from the scholarly (London: Trübner.)

unconsciously appears in Pliny's reference to the examination of the deaconesses by torture. It is plain that while Christianity was hated as a system, it was found blameless as a doctrine; greatly perplexing its adversaries, but not staying their hand.

About the same time also it was that Ignatius, the venerable *Martyrdom of Ignatius* bishop of Antioch, was led to martyrdom. A tradition, unverified, but widely received in the early churches, represents him to have been the "little child" whom Jesus "took in His arms" when teaching to His disciples the lesson of humility; whence his surname, *Theophorus*, interpreted "borne by God."¹ He had, according to Chrysostom, "conversed familiarly with the apostles, and was perfectly acquainted with their doctrine;" and the record of his martyrdom states that, like Polycarp, he was a hearer of St. John. At what time Ignatius was ordained to the bishopric of the church in Antioch does not appear. At the close of the first century he had already been a faithful pastor in that city for many years, but the only record of his life is that incidentally given in the story of his martyrdom. It was in the ninth (or nineteenth) year of Trajan that the Emperor, in his expedition against Armenia and the Parthians, passed through Antioch. Ignatius seems to have voluntarily surrendered himself to Trajan, who after a brief and contemptuous examination ordered him to be sent to Rome, there to be exposed to beasts in the amphitheatre.² On his way to the city Ignatius visited Polycarp at Smyrna, and being detained there for a while, is said to have written four of his epistles; in a subsequent stay at Troas writing three more, of all which a notice will be given in a subsequent section. Having at length arrived in Rome, he received the crown of martyrdom, December 20, A.D. 107 or 116.

¹ It seems preferable to translate the epithet *Θεόφορος* as *bearing God*, i. e. in the heart (so "Christopher"), and to suppose that the tradition arose from a misunderstanding of the word. In the trial before the Emperor, Ignatius himself explains the title "as one that

has Christ in his heart." Chrysostom incidentally states that Ignatius never saw Jesus Christ.

² *Martyrium Ignatii*, "the Martyrdom of Ignatius," published with the *Apostolical Fathers* (Ante-Nicene Lib., pp. 289, seq.).

No further martyr annals of Trajan's reign remain. His kinsman and successor Hadrian was even less disposed to put forth the rigour of the laws against the Christians; writing to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia Minor, that any who should accuse them falsely should be punished, while at the same time he orders that "obstinacy" on their part, *i. e.* a firm adherence to their profession, should be punished.¹ That Hadrian knew little of Christianity is evident from a remark of his in a letter to his brother-in-law Servianus, that "the worshippers of *Serapis* are Christians, and these are devoted to Serapis, who call themselves Christ's bishops." In this reign the long succession of "Apologies," or defences of the faith, which formed the chief Christian literature of the age of conflict, begun, on which further details will be given in the next chapter. A writer of the fourth century states that Hadrian once formed the purpose of building a temple to Christ in Rome, but was dissuaded by the priests; the rumour, however, lacks confirmation.² We have already noticed that on the rebuilding of Jerusalem (*Ælia Capitolina*) after the revolt of Bar-cochab, Christians were permitted to settle there, as though to signify the imperial approval of their conduct during the insurrection.

¹ "Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by the illustrious Serenius Gravianus, whom you have succeeded. I desire not the matter to be passed over without being examined into, so that these men may neither be harassed nor opportunity of malicious proceedings be offered to informers. If, therefore, the people of the province can clearly and legally bring their charges against the Christians, so as to answer before the tribunal, let them take this course only, and not proceed

by importunate demands, and mere outcries. For it is better, if any bring an accusation, that you should examine it. If any one, therefore, shall bring an accusation, and prove anything to have been done contrary to the laws, determine then according to the nature of the crime; but if the charge be only calumny, take care to punish the author of it as it deserves."—Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 9.

² Aelius Lampridius, or Spartianus, in *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*.

§ 4. THE ANTONINES AND COMMODUS.

Antoninus Pius, Emp. A. D. 138. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emp. A. D. 161.
Commodus, Emp. A. D. 180—192.

For the most part the reign of Antoninus Pius was one of peace and toleration. The Christian Church, though hated by the populace, was protected by the Emperor, and the only recorded martyrdom under his rule, in the very year of his accession, is that of Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, concerning whom no other particulars survive.¹

The First Apology of Justin Martyr was laid before Antoninus about the tenth year of his reign, "in behalf of those of all nations who are now unjustly hated and wantonly abused; I myself," he adds, "being one of them." The Church was harassed, especially in the distant provinces of the empire, by those who persisted in attributing all calamities, such as earthquake, inundation, pestilence, to the Christians. Eusebius gives what purports to be an imperial rescript to the Asiatic representatives of the Roman power, enjoining toleration, and renewing the decree of Hadrian that no one was to be punished for being a Christian, but only if he threatened the Roman government. The gravest doubts, however, have been raised respecting the authenticity of this document.

But the comparative quiet of this reign was succeeded by the most prolonged and stormy conflict which the Church had yet experienced. Marcus Aurelius, the philosophic moralist, the patron of the Stoics, the man of otherwise unstained life, was distinguished above all the Roman emperors for his calm and settled hatred to Christianity. Various explanations for the phenomenon have been offered, as that he was perverted by evil counsellors from his better judgment, or that he was altogether mistaken as to the nature of the Christian faith, or that some personal offence made him a persecutor; but,

¹ But some (Bp. Lightfoot) place the martyrdom of Polycarp in this reign.

as above intimated, the simplest explanation is the best. Marcus Aurelius only saw more deeply into the reality of things than his predecessors; his philosophy taught him that a kingdom whose basis was human self-sufficiency and pride could not co-exist with the kingdom of Christ; and as a moralist he revolted from the doctrine which assured him that his morals were useless either to regenerate, to strengthen, or to console.

The many Christian apologies written during his reign show that the Church was conscious of the presence of a new and more formidable foe. The Second Apology of Justin was speedily followed by the martyrdom of its author, in Rome. He was commanded to sacrifice to the gods, and on his refusal was scourged and beheaded, A.D. 167.¹

Another illustrious martyr of this age was Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; once, according to tradition, a disciple of the Apostle John, and perhaps the "Angel of the church in Smyrna" to whom the words had been addressed by Christ Himself, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life." The time had come at last for the fulfilment of the promise. Persecution had already broken out in Smyrna: Germanicus, an elder of the church, had been thrown to the beasts; other Christians had been put to death. "The aged bishop, at the counsel of his friends, withdrew from the city, but was apprehended and led before the consul Stratius Quadratus. On entering the amphitheatre where the proconsul sat, a voice, which the excited feelings of the old man and his companions led them to regard as from heaven, exclaimed, 'Be strong, O Polycarp! and quit you like a man.' The proconsul was, like others, moved by his appearance, and exhorted him to consider his advanced age and comply with the requirements of the government: 'Swear by the fortune of Cæsar, recant, and cry, "Away with the godless (τοὺς ἀθείους)."' Looking first round upon the

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¹ Some uncertainty attaches to the fate of Justin. He is even said to have died by hemlock, like Socrates; but

this report is too evidently intended to create a parallel between Justin's death and that of the Athenian sage.

heathen multitude and then up to heaven, the old man sighed and said, 'Away with the godless.' The proconsul again urged him, 'Swear by Cæsar's fortune, and I will release thee. Revile Christ.' 'Eighty and six years have I served Him,' was the reply, 'and He never did me wrong: how then can I revile my King and my Saviour?' Threats of being thrown to wild beasts and of being committed to the flames failed to move him; and his bold avowal that he was a Christian provoked the wrath of the assembled multitude. 'This man,' they shouted, 'is the teacher of impiety, the father of the Christians, the man that does away with our gods (*ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης*); who teaches many not to sacrifice to nor to worship the gods.' They demanded that he should be thrown to wild beasts; and when the Asiarch, Philip of Tralles, who presided over the games, which were going on, evaded the demand, on the plea that the combats with wild beasts were ended, they demanded that he should be burnt alive. The demand was complied with, and the populace in their rage soon collected from the baths and workshops logs and faggots for the pile. The old man ungirded himself, laid aside his garments, and took his place in the midst of the fuel; and when they would have secured him with nails to the stake, said, 'Let me remain as I am; for He that has enabled me to brave the fire, will so strengthen me that without your fastening me with nails I shall, unmoved, endure its fierceness.' After he had offered a short but beautiful prayer the fire was kindled; but a high wind drove the flames on one side, so that he was roasted rather than burned, and the executioner was ordered to despatch him with a sword. On his striking him with it so great a quantity of blood flowed from the wound as to quench the flames, which were, however, resuscitated in order to consume his lifeless body. His ashes were collected by the pious care of the Christians of his flock, and deposited in a suitable place of interment."¹

A remarkable victory gained by the Emperor over the Quadi

¹ J. C. Means, in Smith's *Dict. Biog.*, art. "Polycarp."

and Marcomanni (in what is now Bohemia)¹ has been often cited as *The Thun-* a providential interposition in answer to the prayers of *dering Legion*. Christians in the army. The Roman force had been cut off by the barbarian troops from their supply of water, and were in consequence reduced to great straits, a long-continued drought having prevailed; when at the crisis of need suddenly a violent tempest arose, rain fell in torrents, while the lightnings confounded and discomfited the enemy. Thus far the facts are attested by heathen and Christian historians alike. The seasonable interposition, however, was interpreted variously, according to the bias of observers. Christian apologists ascribed it to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in a certain legion—the Melitine, which, according to Apollinaris, quoted by Eusebius,² was from that circumstance called the Thundering Legion—*legio fulminatrix*. Tertullian further declares that letters of Marcus Aurelius bear testimony that the drought was removed by the rains obtained through the prayers of the Christians who chanced to be fighting under him; attributing to this circumstance the increased lenity of the Emperor towards the Christians.³ The occurrence has accordingly been placed by many writers, as by Dr. J. H. Newman, in the forefront of ecclesiastical miracles. The connexion, however, of the incident with the prayers of the Christians is at least doubtful. There was already in the time of Trajan a *legio fulminata* in the Roman army; it is uncertain whether there was any large body of professed Christians in the Melitine legion; and there is evidence that the heathen attributed the sudden rain-flood to their own deities.⁴ A medal was struck in honour of the event, bearing the image of Mercury; and on the column of the Antonines in Rome the figure of Jupiter Pluvius appears, casting his rain and thunderbolts from the sky.⁵

It is more than doubtful whether, from the above or any other

¹ A. D. 174.

² *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 5.

³ Tert., *Ap.*, 5. Ante-Nicene Lib., p. 64.

⁴ Merivale, *Hist. Roman Empire*,

ch. lxviii.

⁵ Dion Cassius ascribes the event to the incantations of an Egyptian magician named Arnuphis.

cause, the Emperor was in fact led to relax his hostility against the Church; for not long after there broke out in Gaul a persecution, as it would appear from popular malice rather than official action, which for cruelty, and for the number, as well as heroism, of its victims, has scarcely a parallel in the records of martyrdom. The narrative of this fiery trial, as written by some of the sufferers, is preserved by Eusebius, and bears the most unquestionable marks of authenticity.¹ "It is," says Lardner, "the finest thing in Christian antiquity." Lyons and Vienne (Lugdunum and Vienna), on the Rhone, were the chief scenes of the long struggle. The names of many of the martyrs are recorded. Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, past his ninetyeth year, died in prison from the effects of the brutal treatment he had received in being haled before the tribunal. Sanctus, native of Pergamos, "a pillar and foundation of the church" in that city; Attalus, a noble Roman; Maturus, "a recent convert, but a noble champion of the faith;" Vettius Epagathus, "young in years, but abounding in the fulness of the love of God and man;" and almost before all, Blandina, a servant-girl, were among the heroic souls who amid the most horrible tortures held firmly by the testimony of the Gospel. Others, indeed, drew back in fear: but in some instances even these recovered their courage and died confessing Christ. It is interesting to notice that the "lapsed" were tenderly and forgivingly treated by their brethren. Not yet had the stern controversies of a later time arisen respecting the possibility of restoring those who in the hour of peril had fallen away. At length the wave of persecution spent itself, and the church in Lyons, under its new pastor, the illustrious Irenæus, was at peace.

Meanwhile the literary assault upon the Christian faith increased in fierceness and ribaldry. It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius that Lucian wrote with impartial scorn against the ancient philosophies, the heathen religion, and the Christian faith; while Apuleius, with a more daring ribaldry,

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, Book v. 1—3.

caricatured the Christian mysteries. Crescens the Cynic was active in his opposition to the Gospel teaching, and appears, in particular, as the relentless enemy of Justin; while Celsus the neo-Platonist, or Epicurean, had already published those elaborate attacks upon the faith which survive for us only in the refutations of Origen. The intellect as well as the power of Rome was arrayed against the kingdom of Christ; and, in spite of all, the Church had never been so firmly established, nor had ever spoken in so fearless and triumphant a tone, as during the latter days of Marcus Aurelius.

His worthless son and successor, Commodus, has no place among the persecutors of the faith. Probably he

Commodus,
Emp. A.D.
180—192.

cared too little either for philosophy or for religion to take any part in the conflict of opinion which still

raged around. His was the toleration of indifference. Yet, as he was bound by the laws of the empire, one martyrdom is recorded in his contemptible reign. It was that of Apollonius, a

The Senator
Apollonius.

Roman senator, denounced before the tribunal, it is said, by one of his own slaves. The altered spirit

of the time is marked by the fact that the informer was immediately put to death, while Apollonius, steadfastly refusing to forswear his faith, was beheaded.¹ The instance, however, seems a solitary one, although the persecuting laws were unrepealed. A reason sometimes given for the cessation of active measures against the Christians, is that Marcian, the favourite concubine of Commodus, was a convert to the faith. Hippolytus, from whom the information is derived, mentions also her interposition on behalf of some Christians who had been exiled to Sardinia.² It is a

The Christian
Apologists.

symptom of the time that, as will be afterwards shown, Christian writers began to assume the offensive: the

apologists henceforth not only defending their own faith, but attacking the errors of heathenism.

¹ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, v. 21. It is Jerome who states that the informer was a slave; and Neander supposes that he thus came under the general law against

slaves who betrayed their masters.

² See Hippolytus, *Heresies*, Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. i. p. 340; also Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 127.

§ 5. FROM COMMODUS TO GALLIENUS.

Pertinax and Julian,	Emps. A.D. 193	Gordian,	Emp. A.D. 238
Septimius Severus,	Emp. „ 193	Philip the Arabian,	„ „ 244
Caracalla,	„ „ 211	Decius,	„ „ 249
Macrinus,	„ „ 217	Gallus,	„ „ 251
Elagabalus,	„ „ 218	Æmilianus,	„ „ 253
Alexander Severus,	„ „ 222	Valerian,	„ „ 253
Maximin the Thracian	„ „ 235	Gallienus,	„ 260—268

The civil and military conflicts following the assassination of Commodus, and ending in the accession of Septimius Severus, left the churches throughout the empire A.D. 193—211. very much at the mercy of the local governors. It is probably of this period that Clement of Alexandria writes: "We have exhibited before our eyes every day martyrs burnt, impaled, beheaded."¹ Severus appears to have been disposed at first to show favour to the Christians, being influenced by gratitude to Proculus, a Christian slave, who had cured him of some disease by anointing with oil, so applying the command in the Epistle of James. The imperial good-will, however, was soon withdrawn, and in the second year of Severus a new edict forbade the subjects of Rome to embrace either Judaism or Christianity. What proselytizing efforts on behalf of the former faith caused it to be thus included must remain unknown; it is abundantly clear that the converts to the latter were becoming more and more numerous. The first recorded victim of the new law was Leonides, an Alexandrian Christian, father of Origen. It is recorded that the son, then a youth of seventeen, on the apprehension of his father, expressed a determination himself to confront the magistrates the next morning and avow his faith; and that the mother, unable to dissuade him, could only gain her point by concealing the young Origen's garments until after the cause had

¹ *Stromata* ("Patchwork," or Miscellanies), Book II. c. xx. *Works*, vol. ii. p. 70. This book appears to have been written soon after the death of Commodus.

been heard. Leonides was condemned to the scaffold; and his son, unable to share his fate, wrote to him on behalf of the whole household,—a wife about to be left a widow with seven children, fatherless and poor, the martyr's property being confiscated by the State,—“Look to it that thou dost not change thy mind on our account.” More truly heroic words in their very simplicity have scarcely ever been written. Clement, the bishop of the church in Alexandria, would have remained to face the peril, but at the earnest entreaties of his friends withdrew for a time to Palestine.

In Carthage the persecution raged with peculiar fierceness, and *Martyrs of Carthage.* many names were added to the martyr-roll: Revocatus, Saturnius, Secundulus—all young men; with Perpetua, a youthful matron of gentle birth, and Felicitas, a female slave. It is affecting still to read how the former, who was but twenty-two years old, with an infant at her breast, calmly withstood the tears and entreaties of her aged father. Said the governor to Perpetua, “Have pity on thy father's grey hairs, have pity on thy helpless child, offer sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor.” She answered, “That I cannot do.” “Art thou a Christian?” “Yes,” she replied, “I am a Christian.”¹ Equally touching is the story of Felicitas. After her trial she was seized with the pangs of maternity. The jailer said to her, “If thy present sufferings are so great, what wilt thou do when thou art thrown to the wild beasts? This thou didst not consider when thou refusedst to sacrifice.” She answered, “I now suffer *myself* all that I suffer; but then there will be *Another* who will suffer for me, because I suffer for Him.” So the lady and the slave went together to the amphitheatre, and, before the stroke which ended their sufferings, exchanged the last kiss of Christian love.

Caracalla, the son of Severus, more than emulated the vices of Commodus, the son of Aurelius. The earlier *Caracalla,* tyrant was the more contemptible, the later the *Emp. A. D.* more malignant, but both alike forbore to vex the Church. An edict of Caracalla on his accession, permitting the

¹ Neander, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 169 (Clark's ed.).

return of all who had been exiled, for whatever crime, was of service to the Christians. Among these, Clement now returned to Alexandria; and very generally the churches had peace. And when, after the Emperor's assassination, and that of his successor

Elagabalus, Macrinus, the purple was assumed by Elagabalus, the
Emp. A.D. "long-haired priest of Baal," toleration seemed secure.
218—222.

The new Emperor, in love with Oriental forms of worship, attempted to naturalize them throughout the empire; and the indulgence shown to Christianity was but a veil for the introduction of the worship of the sun. But again the Prætorian swords rid the Roman people of their wanton oppressor; and in Alexander Severus a new order of things began.

Alexander was but seventeen when raised to the throne; in his thirtieth year he was slain; but in his brief life he gave proof of qualities which might have made him great among the beneficent rulers of mankind. His mother, Julia Mamæa, had carefully superintended his early training, which was rather eclectic than Pagan, Christian influences being admitted, though without recognition of their supreme claim. The great Origen was for a time a friend and counsellor of Mamæa, although Ulpian the jurist, a determined foe to Christianity, was also admitted to her confidence. Without being in any sense a convert, the Emperor appears to have sincerely honoured the name and the religion of Christ. When appointing to offices of State, he remarked that it was well to follow the example of Christians in admitting to the Church, by publishing the names of candidates beforehand and inquiring into their character. In a dispute between some tavern-keepers and the Christians in Rome as to the occupancy of some public property, the Emperor decided for the latter. "It was better that God should be worshipped there in any manner than that the tavern-keepers should be permitted to have the ground." In the *lararium*, or private chapel, where the Emperor offered his devotions, he had the bust of Jesus Christ placed with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana, as benefactors of mankind. On the walls and public monuments

of the city he caused the Gospel precept to be engraved: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them likewise." And yet Severus did not, perhaps could not, repeal the law which debarred Christianity from a place among the "licensed religions of the State." In fact, as Neander observes, it was in this tolerant reign that "Domitius Ulpian collected together in the seventh of his ten books 'On the Duties of a Proconsul' the rescripts of the emperors against the Christians."

Maximin, the brawny Thracian, the murderer and successor of Alexander Severus, was intent on reversing his policy in every way, and directed his animosity against all who had been on terms of friendship

*Maximin,
Emp. A.D.
235—238.*

with the late Emperor. Many sought safety in flight; among these Origen, who retired into Cappadocia. Proscription, exile, and more cruel measures still were about to follow, when again the course of events changed, in the murder of the rude Thracian after only three years' rule, and the accession of Gordian, who stayed the hand of persecution; and on the death of this emperor by

violence, Philip the Arabian, said by Eusebius to have been the first Christian emperor of Rome, succeeded to the purple. "As a Christian," writes the historian, "Philip wished on the day of the last vigil of the

Passover to share with the multitude in the prayers of the Church, but was not permitted by the presiding bishop to enter before he had confessed his sins and placed himself among the order of penitents. The Emperor is said to have obeyed cheerfully, and exhibited a genuine and religious disposition in regard to the fear of God." The anecdote wants confirmation, and the only thing certain is that the reign of Philip was a time of rest to the Church, a preparation for the fiery trial that followed when Philip was slain by his own soldiers, and Decius called to choose between death and the throne.

Decius came expressly as a reformer. The State was utterly corrupt. Both public honour and private morality were at their lowest ebb. How was the evil to be

*Decius, Emp.
A.D. 249—251.*

stayed, and the empire saved? The answer that approved itself to Decius was, "By regaining the favour of the national gods." That this end might be secured, Christianity must be extirpated. So at least the devotees of Paganism interpreted the monarch's will, *First general persecution.* and the first really *general* persecution immediately began. Hitherto the attacks upon the Church had been limited to cities or to provinces; this extended throughout the empire. Formerly the main endeavour had been to restrain proselytizing zeal, or to compel an outward conformity to the usages of the empire; now the avowed object was the uprooting of the Christian faith. In every town throughout the empire a day was appointed on which sat a Court of Inquiry, composed of a magistrate and five of the chief citizens, before which all persons suspected of Christianity were to be summoned, to be commanded to renounce their religion and to offer sacrifices. Imprisonment and death followed refusal. Among the bishops of the churches martyred in this persecution were Fabian of Rome, Alexander of *Martyrs.* Jerusalem, Babylas of Antioch, the two latter dying in prison: Origen, who was now at Cæsarea, was subjected to cruel tortures. The African churches suffered severely; Dionysius of Alexandria and Cyprian of Carthage seeking safety in flight. Many retired to the deserts of Egypt; and the solitudes which had been sought as an asylum from persecution became prized for their own sake; so that from this Decian persecution sprung the beginnings of *monasticism*, as will be hereafter shown.

This persecution was, in a greater degree than any preceding, a *Tests of fidelity.* test of the faith and constancy of professed believers in Christ. The number of nominal or of unstable Christians had greatly increased during the years of comparative tranquillity. A searching test was now applied, and many fell away. So great was the number of those who forswore their faith that they *Degrees of apostasy.* were divided into distinct classes. The *Sacrificati* were those who sacrificed at the heathen altars rather than endure martyrdom for their religion; the *Thurificati* were those

who had compromised the matter by casting incense on the sacrificial flame—a very few grains would suffice; while another class, whose consciences would not permit even this degree of compliance, but who were bent upon escaping the consequences of their firmness, would purchase certificates (*libella*) from the heathen magistrates, to the effect that they had conformed to the requirement. These persons—doubly cowards—were known as *Libellatici*. The general name of *Lapsi* (lapsed, or fallen) included all three of the above classes; and the question whether any of them could hope for forgiveness, and be reinstated, even on repentance, in the communion of the Church, was one of the keenest controversies of a later time.

Under the brief inglorious reign of Gallus the persecution continued, and the list of martyrs included Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, and friend of Cyprian. Lucius, the successor of Cornelius, almost immediately fell.

Valerian,
Emp. A.D.
253—260.

On the accession of Valerian, toleration again prevailed. "His palace," says Eusebius, "was filled with pious persons, and was indeed a church (*ἐκκλησία*) of the Lord." But in the fifth year of his reign, one Macrianus, described by Eusebius as "master and chief ruler of the Egyptian magi," persuaded the Emperor to issue another persecuting edict. "This,"

Renewed
persecutions.

"has been well said, "was the first enactment which defined the profession of Christianity as a statutable offence by positive penalties. Till the date of its issue, the persecutions, however horrible, had been desultory and ill defined. Even the tremendous effort of Decius had been but an assault—a spasmodic effort to kill the Church at one blow. . . . Valerian's decree, therefore, is (what even Neander fails to notice) the great epoch in the history of Roman persecutions. By Valerian's statute the penalties of Christianity were codified in an elaborate and invariable table."¹

¹ *The Persecution of Diocletian*; by Arthur James Mason, M.A., Cambridge, 1876. Cyprian (*Letter 81*, vol. i. p. 350 *A. N. L.*) gives the rescript

thus: "That bishops, and presbyters, and deacons should immediately be punished; but that senators, and men of importance, and Roman knights

Stephen, bishop of Rome, early fell a victim, and Cyprian was banished from Carthage to the maritime city of Curubis. In the next year a still more rigorous edict followed. Again the bishop of the Roman church (Sixtus II.) was called to suffer—being the fourth in succession who had gained the martyr's crown. With him it is said that his deacon, Laurentius, was put to death by burning over a slow fire, a legend that rests on slender authority, though perpetuated by numberless representations in Rome and throughout Italy of "St. Lawrence" bearing the gridiron, the instrument of his torture. Several martyrs are recorded by Eusebius as having *Cyprian.* suffered at Cæsarea : but the most illustrious victim was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who had been recalled by the proconsul from the place of his banishment some months before. Having heard that officers had been sent to summon him before the court, then sitting at Utica, the aged bishop withdrew into concealment for a time, and addressed a farewell letter to the church, in which he declares that he had retired only "for the reason that it is fit for a bishop, in the city in which he presides over the Church of the Lord, there to confess the Lord, and that the whole people should be glorified by the confession of their prelate in their presence." Accordingly, when the proconsul returned to the city, Cyprian presented himself before the tribunal. Brief were the proceedings. Cyprian was asked his name—no more. Sentence was pronounced upon him as "an enemy to the Roman gods and the sacred laws." Cyprian replied, "God be thanked!" These were his last words. The place of execution was an open plain surrounded by trees. The mourning members of the Church thronged the space, many climbing the trees—"like Zacchæus," writes Pontius, the deacon, who tells the story—to take a last look

should lose their dignity, and moreover be deprived of their property; and if, when their means were taken away, they should persist in being Christians, then they should also lose their heads; but that matrons should be deprived of their property and sent into banish-

ment. Moreover, people of Cæsar's household, whoever of them had either confessed before, or should now confess, should have their property confiscated, and should be sent in chains by assignment to Cæsar's estates."

at their beloved master. When the centurion's sword had fallen, the remains of Cyprian were removed by his disciples, and laid in the grave with mingled lamentation and triumph. "Between joy at his passion, and grief at remaining behind," writes Pontius, "my mind is divided, and twofold affections are burdening a heart too narrow to contain them. Shall I grieve that I was not his associate? Yet must I triumph in his victory. Shall I triumph in his victory? Yet I grieve that I am not his companion."

Valerian soon afterwards falling a prisoner into the hands of his Persian enemies, his son Gallienus succeeded him, and, as usual, reversed his father's policy with regard to the Christians; publishing an edict by which he not only secured to the followers of Christ the free exercise of their religion,¹ but ordered the property of the churches confiscated in his father's reign to be restored. "He thus," says Neander, "recognized the *Christian Church as a legally existing corporation*; for no other, according to the Roman laws, could hold common property." The change was greater than the indolent Gallienus had probably intended. For the first time Christianity had become a *religio licita* in the Roman Empire; and for forty years the Church enjoyed comparative security and peace.

Gallienus,
Emp. A. D.
260—268.

Christianity
legalized.

¹ Cyprian, *Letter 82*, p. 331. This decree failed at once to arrest the persecution in the provinces on which the usurper Macrianus (one of the misnamed "thirty tyrants," see Gibbon, ch. x. 137) had seized. Eusebius (vii. 20) narrates the martyrdom of one Marinus, at Cæsarea, in the days "when peace was everywhere restored to the churches." Marinus was a soldier, about to be promoted to the office of centurion. When about to be invested, a comrade challenged him as being a Christian, and therefore ineligible. The judge gave Marinus

three hours for reflection. Theotecnus, the bishop, hearing what had happened, drew the soldier aside into the church, pointed on the one hand to the sword that Marinus bore, on the other to the Book of the Holy Gospels. "Choose between these two, my son," said the bishop. The soldier without hesitation extended his hand and took the book. "Hold fast, then, hold fast to God," said Theotecnus; "He will strengthen thee: go in peace." Marinus thereupon returned to the tribunal, made brave confession, and was beheaded.

§ 6. FROM THE DEATH OF GALLIENUS TO THE ACCESSION OF
CONSTANTINE.

Claudius II.,	Emp. A. D. 268	Galerius & Severus, Emps. A. D. 306
Aurelian,	„ „ 270	Constantine, Maximian (306-310),
Tacitus, Florian,	„ „ 275	& Maxentius (306-312), in the
Probus,	„ „ 276	West; Galerius (306-311), Max-
Carus,	„ „ 282	imin II. (<i>Daza</i>) (307-313), &
Diocletian & Maximian, Emps. A. D. 284		Liocinius (307-324), in the East.
Constantius & Galerius, „ „ 305		Constantine, Sole Emp. „ 324

The so-called Ninth Persecution of the Church, by Aurelian, was rather a threatening than an actual outbreak; a decree against the Christians having been prepared but not signed at the Emperor's death.¹ One incident related of the earlier part of Aurelian's history deserves notice, as perhaps the first recorded direct interposition of the State in ecclesiastical disputes. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, having been deposed by an assembly of his fellow-bishops, refused to give up possession of the church buildings; and an appeal was made to the Emperor, who was then in the city after the conquest of Zenobia. Aurelian's immediate decision was "that the building should be given up to those whom the Christian bishops of *Italy* and *Rome* should appoint," thus leaving the question to the Church authorities, but transferring the decision to another locality, that the judgment might be without prejudice. The deposition of Paul was confirmed; but it need not be added that in the whole transaction there is no trace or hint of the supremacy of the Roman See.

The growth of Manichæism, the great event of the years now succeeding, belongs rather to the internal history of the Church than to this record of its struggles with the world; and the death of Manes, inflicted for blasphemy by the Persian monarch, scarcely belongs to the annals of Christian martyrdom. The persecution of the Manichæans by Rome was at

¹ Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, vii. 30.

a later period of the history. The reigns of Tacitus, Florian, Probus, and Carus, full of turmoil and strife in the State, brought only peace and progress to the Church. Christianity was openly professed in all ranks: Christians were excused from assisting at heathen sacrifices, were promoted to military commands, and even made governors of provinces. Spacious edifices for Christian worship (says Eusebius) were reared "in every city." But the time of trial was at hand.

The influences which led Diocletian to become a persecutor cannot now be accurately determined. Personally, he seems to have been too sagacious a man to have perpetrated such a blunder, too just a ruler to have committed such a crime, and too strongly established in his empire to have needed such a policy. The chief responsibility attaches to his colleagues in the empire, especially to Galerius, his son-in-law, the "Cæsar" of the East, who not only at the outset prevailed over his scruples against bloodshed, but carried on Diocletian's persecution for six years after that Emperor's abdication.

Diocletian,
Emp. A.D.
284—305.

Persecution
prompted by
Galerius.

It was not until the nineteenth year of Diocletian, when the Emperor had become enfeebled by age, and was much under the power of unscrupulous advisers, that the formal and determined attack upon the Church was made. Up to that time the profession of Christianity had been not only tolerated, but even honoured. No longer was it a bar to high office in the State; it had penetrated even to the imperial household. Many of the most considerable officers of the palace were avowedly Christians. Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, and their daughter Valeria, the unhappy wife of Galerius, if not actually members of the Church, were favourably disposed to the faith. The bishops were everywhere held in honour, and the chief perils of the Church, as appears from the impassioned complaints of its worthiest members, were those which beset an era of prosperity. Spiritual pride too often led to unholy rivalries, the moral tone of the churches was lowered, and zeal grew cold.

If in any direction there was forewarning of the coming storm, it was in the army, distributed through the Empire. Here, in some conspicuous instances, and no doubt in others of which the record has perished, Christian soldiers were called to suffer under the sternness of martial law, combined with pagan cruelty.¹ Their position, in truth, was singularly difficult. Often the disciple of Christ, summoned in his turn to military service, had a conscientious scruple against bearing arms at all, while it was plainly impossible for any to join consistently in those heathen observances practised in every legion. Thus we read of one Maximilian, a young conscript of Numidia, who, when brought up for enrolment, refused to serve, "because," said he, "I am a Christian." In vain it was pleaded, by Dion the proconsul, that a man might be a good soldier and a true Christian at once. The youth was firm in his refusal: "I cannot wear the emblem of your service, for I already bear the emblem of Christ my God." At length the proconsul, unable to shake his purpose, ordered Maximilian to be beheaded. The story of Marcellus the centurion, also well authenticated, belongs to the same district. At a public festival, when meats offered to idols were placed before the guests, this officer arose, flung upon the table his official staff,

¹ It probably was under martial law, rather than as the result of any special persecuting edict, that Alban, the first British martyr, suffered at Verulam, now called after his name, St. Albans. The fact of his martyrdom is generally admitted, but the record is full of obscurity. One account places it in A.D. 286, several years before the great outbreak; another associates it with the general persecution. It is tolerably certain that Constantius, the "Cæsar" of the West, withheld his hand from the evil work as far as possible; but the nature of Alban's offence against Roman military law may have rendered his doom inevitable. Stripping the narrative of legendary additions, it would appear that Alban, a young heathen soldier at

Verulam, had shielded a Christian pastor flying from his enemies; that, under the influence of the good man, he was led to receive the truth, and, changing clothes with the pastor, favoured his escape; that the youth, dragged before the military tribunal in the clerical robe, avowed himself a Christian, and was thereupon scourged and beheaded on the wooded slope where now the venerable cathedral stands. The record of this martyrdom stands alone in the British annals of the time (the two contemporary sufferers named, Julius and Aaron, appearing to be the creation of later legend); and it seems that during these terrible years Gaul and Britain, under Constantius, were singularly exempt from persecution.

his belt and his weapons, openly renouncing not only the idols themselves, but the service of the prince who worshipped them. Brought before the tribunal, he was condemned and beheaded. Cassian, the military secretary to the Court,—who, himself a Christian, denounced the sentence when ordered to record it,—shared the fate of Marcellus.

These were military executions; and all discoverable cases of death inflicted for the profession of the Christian faith during the first eighteen years of Diocletian were in the army. Nor were these numerous or general, for the tradition of the "Theban Legion" rests upon no certain basis. This legion, it is said, stationed (in A.D. 298) in the Rhone Valley, at the foot of the Alps, was ordered by the Emperor Maximian, with Mauritius, their commander, to sacrifice to the gods of Rome, and on their refusal were all mercilessly put to death. The story is now discredited as apocryphal, although the town and abbey of St. Maurice, at the scene of the alleged martyrdom, with the prevalence of the name throughout Switzerland and France, attest the popular belief.

Attempts were made from time to time to move the Emperor *Outbreak at* to a persecuting policy. But the first avowed and *Nicomedia.* deliberate assault upon the Church was made at Nicomedia, capital of Bithynia, where Diocletian held his court in the year 303 A.D. Long conferences had taken place between Diocletian and Galerius on the policy to be adopted towards Christians. The aged and statesmanlike Emperor hesitated; his younger colleague advocated stern repression. Hierocles, proconsul and philosopher, with much learned subtlety enforced the argument of Galerius. A council of civilians and military men was eventually summoned to consider the question. Diocletian yielded, only stipulating that there should be no bloodshed.

The day chosen for the first onslaught was the festival of the god Terminus (Feb. 23), as if to express abhorrence of the worship which, as it was conceived, had strayed beyond the landmarks of Roman toleration. Early in the morning a band of men,

headed by the prefect of the city, forced their way into the chief place of worship in Nicomedia. Their amazement at discovering no image of the Deity within is vividly portrayed by the contemporary annalist. But the books of the Holy Scriptures were found, and committed to the flames; the utensils and furniture of the church were abandoned to pillage; all was rapine, confusion, tumult. That church, situated on rising ground, was within view of the palace; and Diocletian and Galerius stood, as if on a watch-tower, disputing long whether it ought to be set on fire. The judgment of Diocletian prevailed, who dreaded lest, so great a fire being once kindled, some part of the city might be burned; for there were many large buildings around the church. Then the Prætorian Guards came in battle array, with axes and other iron instruments, and having been let loose everywhere, they in a few hours levelled that very lofty edifice with the ground. On the next day appeared the first of those four decrees which enable us *Diocletian's First Edict.* accurately to trace the course of this great persecution. It enjoined the destruction of all places of Christian worship and the burning of Christian books. It also deprived the professors of Christianity "of all honours and dignities, ordaining also that without any distinction of rank or degree they should be liable to the torture, and every suit at law should be decided against them; while on the other hand they were debarred from being plaintiffs in questions of wrong, adultery, or theft; and finally, that they should neither be capable of freedom nor have right to suffrage."

When this decree was set up in the public square of Nicomedia it was torn down by some over-zealous person, who cried, "These are the Emperor's victories over Goths and Sarmatians!" He was immediately seized, tortured, and burned alive; and from that hour persecution grew more relentless. Suddenly a fire broke out in the palace of Nicomedia, and was laid to the charge of the Christians, although it was more than suspected that Galerius, like a second Nero, was the incendiary.¹ But the pretext sufficed. The

See the discussion of this point in p. 118. Constantine, who was living with Diocletian at the time, attributes *Mason, Persecution under Diocletian,*

cry of "A conspiracy!" was raised, and the whole of Diocletian's vast household were subjected to examination by torture to detect the offenders, or to extort confession from the innocent. The device failed, and a second opportune conflagration broke out, though with little mischief. Galerius departed, protesting that he could not stay to be burned, leaving his father-in-law in a pitiable state of uncertainty and apprehension. The Christian domestics of the palace were now subjected to more cruel tortures, and some were put to death; while Prisca and Valeria were compelled, though reluctantly, to sacrifice to the gods.

Some political troubles in Syria, Armenia, and Cappadocia contributed to deepen the Emperor's anxieties; and fearing a general

Second Christian rebellion as the consequence of his first edict, he
Edict. now issued a second, the main enactment of which was

that pastors and officers of the Churches everywhere should be thrust into prison and bonds. "Dungeons formerly destined for murderers and the vilest criminals were then filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists, so that there was no room left for those condemned for crime." The two edicts, issued only a few weeks apart, were promulgated almost simultaneously through the Empire. The method of their enforcement and the rigour of their execution seem to have greatly varied in different districts, according to the character of those in immediate command. In the East generally, under the direct influence of Diocletian, the persecution was comparatively mild; the ecclesiastical buildings, however, being rased, and the sacred books destroyed. In Syria, under the cruel Galerius, the decrees were enforced with remorseless severity, while in Italy and Consular Africa, where the Emperor Maximian held the chief power, the persecution was still more bitter and sanguinary. Diocletian had indeed prohibited blood-shedding as the penalty of the Christian profession, but had omitted to specify what punishment should follow actual resistance to the edict. The persecuting authorities

the fire to lightning. Eusebius says, "I know not how it happened."—*Ecc. Hist.*, viii. 6.

thus had free scope, and scourging, torture, death were mercilessly inflicted on those who persisted in meeting for worship, or refused to surrender their copies of the Scriptures. Only in the prefecture of Constantius Cæsar, comprising "the Gauls" (including Britain¹) and Spain, was there a forbearing of the persecutor's hand. It is true that out of deference to the Emperor he permitted the destruction of churches—"mere walls that could be built up again, but steadfastly refused to inflict torture or death; preserving entire that true temple of God, which is the human body." But this was the solitary exception.

The third edict of Diocletian dates from the *Vicennalia*, the *Third Edict*, twentieth anniversary of his reign, when the aged monarch met his colleague Maximian at Rome, not only *Dec. 21, A.D. 303.* to celebrate the anniversary, but to concert steps for their approaching abdication. This enactment, in fact, was of the nature of an amnesty, the opening of the prison doors, as on all such occasions of high festival: only the sting of the decree lay in its application. Those who had been imprisoned for their faith might be liberated with other captives, provided they would consent to offer sacrifice to the gods. Should they refuse the offer, the torture was to be applied. Many yielded: at Antioch there was but one, Romanus, who remained to die.² Elsewhere a greater number continued steadfast. It was plain that some more decisive test must be adopted—some more effectual means of breaking down this wonderful constancy of Christians. Could the prohibition of bloodshed, nominal as in many cases it had become, be any longer maintained? The aged Emperor gave way on this point also, and the result was the fourth edict, stern and terrible.

The immediate authorship of this edict has been made a question. After the *Vicennalia*, Diocletian appears to have *Fourth Edict*, sunk into a mental and bodily feebleness that entirely *April 30,* unfitted him for affairs of State. What more likely than *A.D. 304.* that the bloodthirsty Maximian should take advantage of his

¹ But see the account of Alban's martyrdom, p. 86, note.

² Euseb., *Eccles. Hist.*, viii. 2.

colleague's prostrate condition, and publish in the imperial name a mandate all his own? ¹ "It was ordered," says Eusebius, "that all persons of every people and city should sacrifice and make libations to the idols."

In every part of the empire proclamation was made through the cities that the inhabitants, old and young, should repair to the temples; lists were carefully made out, and the recusants subjected to imprisonment, torture, and in extreme cases to death. Copies of the sacred writings were more strictly than before sought and destroyed, the eager quest of the persecutors extending not only to the Scriptures, but to the service books of the Church, to all Christian treatises or tracts, and even, it is said, to such works of pagan literature as spoke respectfully of Christianity. Several works of the first three centuries have thus become irreparably lost; but Divine Providence still shielded the inspired writings. Copies were too numerous, and were stored with too sedulous a care, for all to be destroyed. The memories of the faithful were a record which no hostility could touch. "Where are your Scriptures?" it was asked of one. "In my heart," was the reply. In some cases a species of fraud was practised. Copies of heretical writings or of worthless books were surrendered: the searchers, even if able to read, knew no difference. The governors often favoured the deceit, willingly blind to the substitution, sometimes even suggesting it. The sentiment, however, of the churches was altogether against the evasion. The more steadfast in thousands bravely bore the test, and parted with the cherished volumes only as compelled by violence. On the whole, the churches met this persecution with a more determined front than in the days of Decius. The lapsed were fewer; we read no more of false certificates: the one name of disgrace which became in some quarters unhappily familiar was that of *Traditores*, the "traitors" who voluntarily surrendered the sacred books to their enemies. On these also the sternest anathemas of the Church rested in the succeeding years; and by

¹ See Mason, *Persecution under Diocletian*, ch. vi.

many the crime was held to be one which subjected the offenders to the life-long discipline of the Church.

In the year 305 the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, suddenly resigned the imperial dignity; being succeeded by the two Cæsars—Constantius in the West, Galerius in the East. The former, being now possessed of greater power, still more openly favoured the Christian cause, and the churches of Africa and Italy, with those of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, were for a time exempted from persecution. Constantius, however, died in 306; and in the weary strife for the imperial honours that followed, Christians were much at the mercy of provincial governors; and Spain, at least, had its roll of martyrs. In the East, however, the tyrant Galerius raged with unchecked fury against the followers of Christ; and the ensuing reign of terror, which continued for six years, was by far the severest of the fiery trials through which the early Church was called to pass. To be a Christian was to be proscribed; multitudes were sent to the copper mines of Palestine, many more suffered the horrors of mutilation: in the Nicene Council there were old men who had been blinded or crippled in those fearful days of suffering. The more conspicuous or the more resolute were put to death, often amid protracted torments; unspeakable barbarities were inflicted on maidens and children; the wild enthusiasm of many led them to rush upon martyrdom; virgins, whose honour was threatened, in many cases sought refuge in suicide. It was at length the boast of Galerius that the Christian Church was crushed throughout his dominions.¹ But the time had arrived for the oppressor to own himself over-
Abdication of Diocletian.
Raign of Terror under Galerius,
Death of Galerius.

¹ The Eighth Book of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, and its appendix, *The Book of Martyrs in Palestine*, may be consulted for thrilling details of this fearful time. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (vol. i. pp. 223—304, R. T. S. ed.) gives at length, though in an uncritical spirit and a somewhat con-

fused arrangement, the annals of "the Tenth Persecution." The legends which sprang up in connexion with this great conflict are many of them pathetic and beautiful. See Mrs. Jamieson's volumes, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Massinger's *Virgin Martyr*, etc.

the frightful disease which has ended the life of more than one tyrant in ancient and modern days : Herod the Great, Herod Agrippa, Philip II. of Spain. To apply the expressive language of Scripture, he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost. In his dying torments he published a decree of toleration, confessing himself baffled, and entreating the prayers of Christians on his behalf.¹

On the death of Constantius at York, his son Constantine had been saluted by the army as Emperor of the West. This appointment Galerius had resisted, creating Constantine Cæsar, but conferring the higher title upon Severus. In the strife thus caused, Maxentius, the son of Maximian, seized upon the government of Africa and Italy, the struggle between Severus and Maxentius ending in the defeat and suicide of the former. The appointment of Licinius to imperial power, and his coalition with Constantine against Maxentius, belong to secular history. Maximin held the Eastern Empire for two years after the death of Galerius, and, in disregard of that Emperor's dying injunction, continued to oppress the Church : during his brief tenure of power more than renewing the barbarities of the former persecutions. The strife, however, was brought to an end through the imperial genius of Constantine. The battle of the Milvian Bridge² ended in the defeat and death of Maxentius. Constantine and Licinius met at Milan, from which city a decree was issued, giving full toleration to the Christian faith, ordering that all places of worship taken from the Christians should be restored without delay or charge, that any loss they had suffered should be made good, and that Christian ministers should be released from all burdensome municipal offices. Maximin, who had been taking advantage of the absence of Constantine

¹ See the decree in Eusebius, *Ecccl. Hist.*, viii. 17. Its tone is bitter, showing the tyrant's disposition to the last. "Singular document," remarks M. de Broglie, "moitié insolent,

moitié suppliant, qui commence par insultant les chrétiens, et finit par leur demander prier leur Maître pour lui !"

² October 28, A.D. 312.

and Licinius to press forward his ambitious designs, was immediately afterwards utterly routed by Licinius at Heraclea; and the two emperors now held joint mastery over the Roman world—Licinius in the East, Constantine in the West.

The Milan decree,—the first of those edicts which ended in the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire,—closely following as it did the battle of the Milvian Bridge, inaugurated so sudden and startling a change of policy as to need an alleged miracle for its explanation. It is related by Eusebius, that as Constantine was on his way to attack Maxentius, he beheld about noon the vision of a cross suspended above the sun, with the legend surrounding it, 'EN TOYΤΩ, NIKΑ, "CONQUER IN THIS!" The whole army, it is added, saw the wonderful appearance, and a vision in the night following interpreted it to the Emperor. The Christ of God stood before him, with the same sign, commanding it to be emblazoned upon the standard and shields of Constantine's army. This was done on the very next day, and the victory over Maxentius followed. The reality of the vision has been much discussed by ecclesiastical historians. Some have accepted its objective reality, believing the crisis worthy of such interposition, and regarding the testimony to the occurrence as decisive; others have resolved the whole into a dream, the result of the Emperor's heated imagination; while others, again, regard the alleged vision as a "pious fraud," of which Constantine may be held quite capable. His politic, far-seeing mind must have already discerned that the true power lay with Christianity, that the old Roman faiths had decayed beyond hope of recovery, and that the future belonged to those who had learned to act and to endure in the strength of Divine certainties. The persecutions of the Church had proved that the Church could overcome the world.

Licinius now held the East, where, to the last a pagan, he carried out to some extent a persecuting policy. Many Christian bishops under various pretexts were put to death; but this was the last effort of the spent wave. The long trial was

over, and the churches were now to be tried by very different forms of evil. Constantine, resolved upon the sole and supreme power, irresistibly advanced; the bounds of the Eastern Empire were narrowed more and more; in A.D. 323 the final collision came. Licinius was defeated, and though, at the time, his life was spared, a pretext was soon found for putting him to death. For good or
Constantine for evil, Constantine now held undisputed sovereignty
sole emperor. over that mighty realm, which his word of command was soon to transform into a nominal CHRISTENDOM.

§ 7. SUMMARY.

1. The influence of the martyr-ages upon individual character and life will be noted in succeeding chapters. But in
Number of review of the whole period, reference may be made to
Martyrs. the question, frequently raised, as to the total number of victims. For a precise estimate there are no materials. Eusebius, the great authority for the facts of the era, is unfortunately vague in his numerical statements, and the *Acts of Martyrs*, full of exaggeration and strange legend, are the product of a later age. The last of the persecutions was undoubtedly the most sanguinary; and the estimate of Gibbon, which gives the total number of
Gibbon's martyrs at two thousand, seems as much under the
estimate. mark as those of many Church writers are above it. He reasons thus:¹ Eusebius, in his account of the martyrs of Palestine, enumerates ninety-two sufferers; but Palestine may be reckoned as one-sixteenth part of the Eastern Empire, and, in the number of sufferers, a fair average. This would give a total of somewhat under fifteen hundred for the East; while Italy, Africa, and perhaps Spain, where after a time the penal laws were considerably relaxed, might yield five hundred more. The number of Protestants who suffered under Charles V. in the single province of the Netherlands, Gibbon goes on to suggest, "far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries and of the

¹ *Dalme and Fall*, ch. xvi. *note* 182.

Roman Empire." It is obvious to reply, on the one hand, with *Milman's criticism.* Dean Milman, that even were this estimate trustworthy, "Gibbon quietly dismisses from the account all the horrible and excruciating tortures which fell short of death," not to mention the sufferings of exile, loss of property, reduction of thousands to a state of slavery; and, on the other, that the guilt of the persecution and the heroism of the sufferers are unaffected by the *Arnold's remark.* question of more or fewer. Dr. Arnold well writes, after visiting the church of S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, with its series of pictures illustrating these martyr-annals: "No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination: it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labour, such as Lingard and others have undertaken with respect to the St. Bartholomew massacre and the Irish massacre of 1642. Divide the sum total of reported martyrs by twenty,—by fifty, if you will,—but, after all, you have a number of persons of all ages and both sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience sake and for Christ's, and by their sufferings, manifestly with God's blessing, ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel."¹

2. The progress of the Christian faith, notwithstanding the *Progress of the Faith.* violence of its persecutions, must ever remain one of the greatest facts in the history of the world. Again, there is no need to appeal to statistics, even could we obtain them with any exactness: it is enough to know that when the ten years' persecution had spent its force, and the enemies of Christ supposed that they had extirpated His worship for ever, His way was already prepared throughout the Empire, and multitudes in real or nominal allegiance were ready to bow before the standard of the Cross.

Gibbon, in his celebrated Fifteenth Chapter, assigns five *Gibbon's Five Reasons.* reasons for the wonderful and irresistible triumph of Christianity. It is worth while to look at them for a moment. They are as follows:

¹ *Life and Letters*, vol. ii. p. 419.

" 1. The inflexible and, if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentile from embracing the law of Moses.

" 2. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth.

" 3. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive Church.

" 4. The pure and austere morals of the Christians.

" 5. The union and discipline of the Christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing State in the heart of the Roman Empire."

With regard to these assigned causes two questions may be asked: First, are they *facts*? Secondly, are they *adequate*? As to the former question there is little difficulty; for, first, the Christians *Exclusiveness of Christianity* were undoubtedly, in Gibbon's sense, exclusive. If it were intolerant to proclaim that "there is none other name" than that of Jesus "given under heaven among men whereby they must be saved," then is Christianity intolerant; and in proportion to this exclusiveness was the zeal with which that name was proclaimed. But Gibbon should have asked, whence arose this mighty conviction? and by what methods could it compel belief? An intense persuasion of the truth of Christianity on the part of its early propagators, and the power that was given them to convince others, by sufficient evidence and the appeal to their spiritual nature, is the satisfactory, the only solution of the twofold problem. Apostles and evangelists spoke what they believed: they spoke "with demonstration of the Spirit," and therefore "with power." The second reason of Gibbon may also *Doctrine of Immortality* be fully admitted. It was the "life and incorruption" which were "brought to light by the Gospel," and attested by the Resurrection of the Lord, that proved the most effectual means of subduing unbelief.

But at the third reason we must pause. "Signs and wonders,"

it is true, accompanied the introduction of Christianity into the *Miraculous* world. They were, as John Foster has somewhere said, *powers.* "the tolling of the great bell of the universe to call attention to the sermon that was to follow ;" but at the close of the apostolic age this august summons to attention ceased, and the Gospel was left to win its own way with the aid of such spiritual power as accompanied its proclamation. The claim of the ante-Nicene teachers to any form of miracle-working has been greatly exaggerated. "Their writings," it has been well said, "are far more free from miraculous and superstitious elements than the annals of the middle ages, and especially of monasticism."¹ Had the appeal been made to miracles in proof of doctrine, it would have failed in an age credulous of magical powers in every form. Whatever the alleged wonders wrought in defence of the faith, they could be more than matched in the nearest idol temple. The kind of miracles on which stress was generally laid, such as exorcism, even if admitted as facts, do not necessarily imply the supernatural²; and, finally, there is no proof that the triumphs of Christianity were appreciably hastened by any power which the Church possessed of awakening belief in her miraculous pretensions.

The fourth and fifth reasons may be admitted to the full. A *Christian* new type of character had appeared amongst men, *holiness.* modelled, with all its defects, on the type of perfect holiness as exhibited in the Incarnate One. Nor was the influence restricted to the individual. It became a new uniting power in a fast disintegrating social system; replacing universal selfishness by a law of love. So the Church became mighty. But the sceptical historian has forgotten to inquire into the force that lay behind this. What new spirit had thus moved upon the

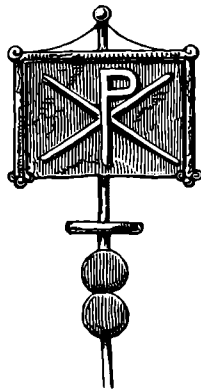
¹ "It is very strange," says Middleton, "that from the time of the apostles there is not a single instance of this miracle (the alleged raising from the dead) to be found in the three first centuries, except a single case, slightly intimated in Eusebius, from the works of Papias, which he seems to rank among the other fabu-

lous stories delivered by that weak man."

² There is an impassable barrier between the Gospel miracles and all later ecclesiastical wonders. See Milman's note on Gibbon, ch. xv. 82a, and Middleton's *Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Early Church.*

troubled waters of a disorganized world? What new power had remodelled human nature according to a pattern so sublime? What energy mightier than the all-embracing organization of the Roman Empire had harmonized the warring wills and restless passions of men in indissoluble bonds? The historian states effects and phenomena, but the power was Divine.

In a word, most of Gibbon's reasons may be admitted as describing the manifestation of a heavenly truth and supernatural influence that had appeared in the world; and the ultimate explanation of the triumphs which Christianity achieved is given in words of a more far-seeing observer even than the brilliant historian: "IF THIS COUNSEL OR THIS WORK BE OF MEN, IT WILL COME TO NOUGHT; BUT IF IT BE OF GOD, YE CANNOT OVERTHROW IT; LEST HAPLY YE BE FOUND EVEN TO FIGHT AGAINST GOD."



Standard of Constantine : the Labarum.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEFENCE OF THE FAITH: THE APOLOGISTS.

§ I. THE AGE OF APOLOGISTS. GENERAL REMARKS.

THE age of Martyrs was also that of Apologists. The attack was by force, the defence by reason. It is hardly easy to over-estimate the historical value of the successive defences of the faith which during the age of struggle formed the chief literature of the Church. Not only do these works present such arguments in support of Christianity as, with every deduction for the irrelevant, the trivial, or the inconclusive, must remain current through all time, but they include living pictures of Christian character and society which, as sketched in the presence of the enemy, must needs be faithful. From the apologists, moreover, we may learn more fully than from any other writers what the heathenism of that age really was, both in itself and in the view which it took of the new religion. The arguments and even the calumnies of the Church's enemies are stated with almost superfluous minuteness and candour. So secure are these Christian writers in their consciousness of integrity, that they resort to none of the sinister arts of controversialists; and there is hardly in the literature of the world a more plain, unvarnished representation than we here possess of the early Church, in its belief and its worship, its stern and simple morality, its zeal and resolution, its sufferings and endurance, with no doubt its too frequent credulity and fanaticism.

The Apologists may be divided into two classes: those whose *Two classes of Apologists.* appeals for toleration were addressed to the Roman rulers, and those whose more sustained arguments were in reply to the philosophic heathen assailants of the Church.

§ 2. FIRST CLASS. APPEAL TO EMPERORS AND ROMAN RULERS.

QUADRATUS, bishop of the Church in Athens, "a disciple of *Quadratus*. apostles," presented to the Emperor Hadrian, about A.D. 126, a discourse, says Eusebius, in defence of the faith, "because certain malicious persons attempted to harass our brethren." An extract from this work, which was greatly esteemed in its day, has been preserved, in which Quadratus speaks of some persons who had been miraculously healed by Christ as surviving to that age.

ARISTIDES also, "our philosopher," as Jerome calls him, addressed to Hadrian, or perhaps Antoninus Pius, and "left to posterity," says Eusebius, a defence of Christianity. This was for a long time supposed to be entirely lost. But three copies of the treatise, in whole or in part, have recently been discovered; the first being an Armenian translation of the opening chapters, preserved in the Lazarist monastery at Venice; the second, a Syriac translation of the whole, found by Mr. Rendel Harris in the convent of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai; and the third, the Greek original of a large portion of the work, inwrought into an early religious romance, *The Life of Barlaam and Jehoshaphat*, and identified with the Syriac copy by Mr. J. Armitage Robinson.¹ The *Apology* contains, first, a declaration of the nature of the true God; then a scathing exposure, by way of contrast, of heathen mythological systems; and lastly, a vivid and beautiful delineation of the Christian character, with an appeal to calumniators and persecutors, drawn from the coming judgment.

The great name of JUSTIN "the martyr" belongs to both classes of apologists: to the former on account of his appeals to the successive emperors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius; to the latter from his *Dialogue with Trypho*, and his addresses to *Justin Martyr*: the Greeks. The *Apology to Antoninus* is especially *First Apology*. valuable, from the account which it gives of the

¹ See Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. i., No. 1, 1891.

doctrines, ritual, and life of the early Churches. It vindicates the Christians from the charge of atheism and immorality, and in reference to several details of Christian belief, as objected against by the heathen, adduces parallels from their own mythology. A remarkable feature of this treatise is the stress which it lays upon the argument from fulfilled prophecy. In reply to this treatise of Justin, a rescript was issued by the Emperor to the Assembly of Asia, to the effect that "the Christians should not be molested unless they made attempts against the government."

The *Second Apology* is chiefly an appeal against the calumnies *Justin's Second* of the Cynic philosopher Crescens, and the consequent *Apology.* persecution to which Christians were exposed. In both apologies Justin shows how large a place was occupied in his thoughts by the "demons," as the deceivers of mankind. The second, as we have already seen, was fatal to Justin himself, Crescens in revenge pursuing the Christian philosopher to death.

ATHENAGORAS, an Athenian philosopher, said to have been *Athenagoras.* instructor of Clement of Alexandria, addressed his defence "to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus." In a style of great elegance, Athenagoras meets and refutes the current accusations against the Christians, and effectually retorts the charge of absurdity upon the traditions of heathenism.

Apologies were also presented to Marcus Aurelius by MELITO, *Melito and* bishop of Sardis, and APOLLINARIS, bishop of Hiera- *Apollinaris.* polis. The former work has recently been discovered in a Syriac translation. It throws interesting light on two points: one being the fact that the persecutions of that age originated rather from popular violence than from imperial policy; the other that Christians were now bold enough to assert that their religion had been a blessing to the Roman Empire, which was then at the very height of its glory. The work of Apollinaris is entirely lost; but it was in this or some other production of the same author that the Christian version of the "Thundering Legion" legend appears to have been preserved.

The great Latin *Apology* of TERTULLIAN stands pre-eminent in *Tertullian of Carthage.* rugged power among the productions of this voluminous author. It was written about A.D. 204, on the outbreak of the persecution that arose in the days of Septimius Severus, and was addressed to the governors of Proconsular Africa. "If," writes Tertullian, "seated for the administration of justice on your lofty tribunal, under the gaze of every eye, and occupying there all but the highest position in the state, you may not openly inquire into and sift before the world the real truth in regard to the charges made against the Christians,—if in this case alone you are afraid or ashamed to exercise your authority in making public inquiry with the carefulness which becomes justice,—if, finally, the extreme severities inflicted on some people in recent private judgments stand in the way of our being permitted to defend ourselves before you, you cannot surely forbid the Truth to reach your ears by the secret pathway of a noiseless book. She has no appeals to make to you in regard of her condition, for that does not excite her wonder. She knows that she is but a sojourner on the earth, and that amongst strangers she naturally finds foes; and more than that, that her origin, her dwelling-place, her hope, her recompense, her honours are above. One thing, meanwhile, she anxiously desires of earthly rulers—not to be condemned unknown." In the spirit of this fine appeal the whole argument is conducted with fiery earnestness. The Church is defended at large from the calumnies of its enemies; the severity shown towards Christians is passionately denounced; and at the same time Tertullian inveighs against the delusions and vices of heathenism with great power of argument, and also with an unmeasured scorn which must have tended rather to exasperate than to win his readers. The apology concludes with a nobly-drawn contrast between the vaunted heroisms of heathen philosophers and the endurance of Christian confessors. "For your native place, for the empire, for friendship, you may endure what you are forbidden to do for God! In honour of persons such as these, you cast statues, put inscriptions upon images, carve epitaphs upon tombs that their names

may never perish. In so far as you can, by monuments ye yourselves in some sort grant a resurrection to the dead; while he who hopes for the true resurrection from God, if he suffer for God, is mad!"¹ It is from this paragraph that the often-quoted saying is derived: "The blood of the Christians is the seed of the Church."²

§ 3. SECOND CLASS. GENERAL ARGUMENTATIVE TREATISES.

Of the defences of the truth addressed to readers generally, many have entirely perished; only the names of others survive; but some have reached us in their entirety, and show in a very instructive way what was the general course of argument urged in support of Christianity.

Two important treatises were addressed to the Jews—the former *Aristo* by one ARISTO, of Pella, entitled *The Dialogue of Pella. Papiscus and Jason*. We only know of its contents through Origen. "In it a Christian is described as disputing with a Jew from the Jewish Scriptures, showing that the prophecies about the Christ suit Jesus. The other replies to the argument vigorously, and in a way not unbecoming to the Jewish character which he assumes." Papiscus is a Jew; Jason a Jewish Christian, through whose arguments and appeals the former is converted. One of its applications of Scripture has been preserved. "In *the beginning*," that is, says Jason, in the Son, who is the true beginning (*ἀρχή*) of the creation of God, "God created the heavens and the earth."³ The dialogue is noteworthy, as having apparently been "among the first works that employed the Old Testament to convert the Jews to Christianity." As the heathen Celsus alludes to it, it must have been written before the middle of the second century; it was probably much earlier.

¹ Ch. 1.

² "Semen est sanguis Christianorum."

³ "The same interpretation of *ἀρχή* as applicable to Christ is made in Theophilus, and, as Jerome remarks, also

in Tertullian and Hilarius."—Donaldson, *Hist. Christ. Lit.*, ii. 61. It may have been derived from an interpretation (which modern criticism rejects) of the difficult passage, John viii. 25.

The second treatise is JUSTIN'S famous *Dialogue with Trypho Justin and the Jew*, a work of Platonic cast. It is here that *Trypho*. Justin gives the well-known narrative of his own conversion. As he walked by the sea-shore he met a venerable stranger, who entered into conversation with him on philosophy, and having brought Justin to the confession of the uncertainty which characterizes all human speculation, pointed him to Christ as the only true revealer of truth. 'When,' says Justin, "he had spoken these and many other things, he went away, bidding me attend to them, and I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul." Thus did Justin "become acquainted with the Christ of God." After the narrative a lengthened discussion ensues, in which Trypho defends the Jewish side with much ingenuity, while Justin quotes and applies the Jewish prophetic Scriptures, and especially the Psalms, showing them at all points to be applicable to the life and work of Christ. He speaks also of the Mosaic sacrifices, and traces in the Passover lamb as transfixed the emblem of Christ upon the cross. Justin further maintains that the patriarchs and righteous men under the law were saved by Christ, and shows the nullity of legal righteousness. Yet it is remarkable, he will not reject from the Christian fellowship those who, having believed in Christ, yet observe the law. The Deity of Christ, as well as His Messiahship, is decisively maintained. The words, "Let us make man," says Justin, were not addressed simply to Himself, still less to the elements out of which man was formed, but to a Being "numerically" distinct from Himself, to the Only-begotten, whom Solomon calls Wisdom, the Captain of the Lord's host who appeared to Joshua. Much is added respecting the Incarnation, the fulfilment of the types in Christ, the destiny of the Church and of mankind. Here Justin avows his belief in a millennium in which the literal Jerusalem will be restored, but adds that this opinion is not universal in the Church. With all its prolixity, its occasional fancifulness,

bordering on the grotesque, and its many questionable applications of Scripture, the treatise is yet of extraordinary historical value, as showing the methods by which, in early ages, the Christians sought to win the Jews to the faith, and exemplifying the principles of Old Testament interpretation current in the Church. The Dialogue is dedicated to one Marcus Pompeius, of whom nothing is known. It ends with a courteous acknowledgment from Trypho and his friends, and with Justin's prayer on their behalf that they may be led to accept Jesus as the Christ. Trypho was very probably a real personage; but, as in the parallel case of the Platonic dialogues, it is impossible to decide how far the conversation is founded upon fact.

Of argumentative treatises addressed to the Greeks, it is probable that the anonymous *Epistle to Diognetus*, represented as a Gentile inquirer after the truth, holds the first place in point of time, as well as in beauty of style, in general interest and value. Scarcely any relic of antiquity more excites or baffles curiosity. It is a literary waif, existing only in one manuscript, where it is ascribed, with evident incorrectness, to Justin himself, and quoted by no ancient author. Some have supposed it a comparatively modern imitation of the ancient style; and the question must probably remain unsolved.¹ One characteristic of the letter is its incisive denunciation of Gentile idolatry, as worship offered to stocks and stones. No reference is made to the explanations offered by the more philosophic heathen, save by denouncing them as vain and empty words. The morals and life of Christians are glowingly described. "They are to the world what the soul is to the body." The writer dwells at large on the revelation by God of Himself through the Word, and meets the objection, Why did not Christ

¹ Dorner attributes the letter, with some hesitation, to Quadratus.—*Person of Christ*, vol. i. p. 374. Bunsen, with still less reason, to Marcion.—*Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 187. It has also been ascribed, on mere grounds of conjecture, to

Clemens Romanus, and even to Apollon. It is translated in Clark's *Apostolical Fathers* (Ant. Nic. Lib.), pp. 303—316. See De Pressensé's glowing description of this epistle, *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 409.

become incarnate at an earlier period of the world's history? The object, he says, was to show that man could not save himself; so shutting him up to the acceptance of the one and only Redeemer. "God, having proved in the former times the inability of our nature to obtain life, and now being shown a Saviour who is able to save even what could not be saved, by both these facts He wished to lead us to trust in His kindness, to regard Him as Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Physician, Intelligence, Light, Honour, Glory, Strength, Life."¹

A disciple of Justin, TATIAN the Assyrian, a convert from *Tatian: his* heathenism, wrote many works, as a teacher in Rome, *Apology.* of which the only one which has come down to us is his *Apology to the Greeks*. The chief value of this work is in its elaborate criticism of heathen mythology, and in its demonstration that the teachings of Moses and the Old Testament comprise an older as well as a purer doctrine. All that was true, he maintains, in ancient philosophy, was derived from "barbarians" to whom God revealed Himself. On Greek philosophic systems and teachers unsparing ridicule is poured, while the exposure of heathen follies and vices is most contemptuous, as well as plain-spoken. Even where Justin accepts Grecian modes of thought, his disciple is fiercely intolerant. To the "laughing philosophers" of his time, Tatian almost with exultation threatens the torments of eternal fire. After his master's death Tatian gave himself up to Gnostic speculations.²

THEOPHILUS, sixth bishop, according to Eusebius, of the Church *Theophilus of* of Antioch, sets forth to his friend Autolycus the *Antioch.* falsehood of heathenism and the truth of Christianity. The *Apology* of Theophilus contains three books, and deals with both the mythology and the philosophy of the Greeks. On these, in a rough homespun style, he pours contempt, contrasting with them the teachings of Christianity. The better class of

¹ *Epist.*, ch. ix. (Clark, p. 313).

² Donaldson's *History of Christian Literature and Doctrine*, vol. ii. pp. 126-142. One of Tatian's opinions

was that marriage was sin. But the doctrine most peculiar to him, and most vehemently opposed, was the denial of Adam's salvation.

Greek philosophers, he says, were indebted to the prophets for their doctrines. He exposes at large the absurdities of the Greek cosmogony as given by Hesiod and others, and sets up a superior claim for the Mosaic history. He is great on chronology, establishing by elaborate calculations the antiquity of the Bible history. Of the work of Christ and the way of salvation he says nothing, but powerfully maintains the moral excellency of Christian teaching, in contrast with the grossness of heathen fable.

The philosopher HERMIAS probably belongs to the age succeeding that of Justin and Tatian. His work, only a fragment of which survives, is entitled, *A Satirizing of the Heathen Philosophers*. It seems to be a keenly-sustained attack on metaphysical or psychological speculation. What positive truth it inculcated, or how far it may be regarded as a defence of Christianity, is not clear.

A greater work than any of the preceding was called forth by the most sustained and elaborate literary assault upon the Christian faith which had as yet appeared.

It is to be regretted that we do not now possess in its entirety the treatise of *Celsus* the Epicurean, or neo-Platonist philosopher,¹ entitled, *The True Word*. It belongs to the time of Hadrian, or the Antonines, and had been long current in cultivated and philosophic circles when ORIGEN undertook his famous reply. The nature of the attack on Christianity can only be judged by that of the defence; and Origen has given enough to enable modern students to construct with reasonable probability at least the outline of the argument to which he replies.² In great measure the attack

¹ This point is doubted. According to Origen there were two Epicurean philosophers of this name, one in Nero's time, the other in that of Hadrian. To the latter Origen ascribed the treatise which he undertook to answer. From internal evidence, however, Celsus appears to have been rather a follower of Plato than of Epicurus, and to have belonged to a later time.

² See Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries* (Eng. Trans., p.

141), and a remarkable article in *Fraser's Magazine*, February, 1878, by Mr. J. A. Froude. Both these summaries perhaps modernize the thought of Celsus somewhat overmuch; while they are quite sufficiently sympathetic with the philosopher's unbelief, and fail in doing justice to Origen's reply. Dr. Keim, in an essay on Celsus (*Wahres Wort*, Zürich, 1873), has carefully gathered all the citations made by Origen from the heathen philosopher.

spends itself upon details. First a Jew is introduced, who takes exception to the narrative of the birth and miracles of Jesus, and especially to His Resurrection; then from the Gentile side the philosopher pours contempt on Jew and Christian alike, taking up point after point in the scheme of revelation,—as the record of creation, the history of the Jews; the Incarnation, the life and work of Jesus, His teachings, death, and resurrection; the character of His followers, whom Celsus arraigns as sorcerers; with the special doctrines of Christianity; and urging against them almost every conceivable objection. There is hardly anything in the library of modern unbelief that is not more or less anticipated by the brilliant neo-Platonist; the chief weapons of Voltaire, Strauss, Renan, are all in the armoury of Celsus, although many of his reasonings, as those which rest upon the heathen conception of demons, have become obsolete with the passing away of ancient modes of thought. His inconsistencies, however, are numerous and glaring. In one place he reproaches the Christians as slaves of a blind belief; in another with their numerous sects and ever-varying opinions. Sometimes he speaks of them as slaves to their senses; on another occasion as persons who reject all external worship whatever. A main ground of cavil is the appeal of the Gospel to the sinful and the lost. “In *our* Mysteries,” Celsus says, “those are invited to come nigh who are of clean hands and pure speech; ‘who are unstained by crime, ye who have a good conscience towards God, ye who have done justly and lived uprightly.’ The Christians say, ‘Come to us, ye who are sinners, ye who are fools or children, ye who are miserable, and ye shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ Christ, they say, was sent to save sinners; was He not sent to help those who have kept themselves from sin? They pretend that God will save the unjust man if he repents and humbles himself. The just man, who has held steady from the cradle in the ways of virtue, He will not look upon. Surely those who are doing the best for themselves are those who best deserve help from above.”¹ Here speaks the heathen sage,

¹ J. A. Froude, *Fraser*, p. 154.

unable even to comprehend a Gospel at once of righteousness and of deliverance ; and there was no stumbling-block to the genius of the ancient world greater than that article of the Christian creed which has happily become to us a common-place—"I believe in the forgiveness of sins." In a like spirit Celsus comments on the place which Christianity assigns to man in creation. It is, he says, the claim of an arrogant egotism. "The universe was no more made for man than for the lion, the eagle, or the dolphin." What can our sins be to the Eternal? "He cannot be angry with the world, or threaten to destroy it, on man's account, any more than on account of apes and flies." And that He Himself should come to earth to save such a race is an absurdity. The whole ends with an impassioned appeal to Christians to serve the Emperor, as a power in whose presence all religious distinctions are as nothing. "Your notion that all the world can be brought to one mind in religion, Asiatic, European, African, Greek, and Barbarian, is the wildest of dreams. It cannot be. The very thought reveals your ignorance. Your duty is to stand by your sovereign, in the field, in the council-chamber, wherever he requires your service. Do justly in your place as citizens, and make yourselves worthy members of the commonwealth."

It was in the latter part of Origen's life¹ that he undertook the task of replying to Celsus ; and his work, consisting of eight books, follows the heathen assailant into every detail, meeting him at all points with rare subtlety and acuteness, as well as with immense stores of knowledge, both biblical and literary, by virtue of which he is able effectually to retort upon the heathen philosopher every charge brought against the system of the gospel. The mass of details, indeed, is often tedious ; many questions which Origen eagerly discusses have lost their interest and meaning now ; there are, as might be expected, some applications of Scripture which will hardly bear the test of a sound criticism ;²

¹ "In the reign of Philip the Arabian," *Eusebius*, i. 2. A. D. 244—279.

² For instance, in reply to the ob-

jection taken by Celsus against the slaughter of the Canaanites, and the imprecatory language of the Psalms,

but, with every drawback, the treatise must always hold its place as the great apologetic work of Christian antiquity. "Jesus," he finely says, "continues silent before His accusers, and makes no audible answer, but places His defence in the lives of His genuine disciples, which are a pre-eminent testimony, and one that rises superior to all false witness, and refutes and overthrows all unfounded accusations and charges." Very strikingly too does Origen appeal to the consciousness of the Christian believer. "Forbid it, indeed," he says, "that any one should be found, who, after having been a partaker in such a love of God as was displayed in Christ Jesus, could be shaken in his purpose by the arguments of Celsus, or of any such as he. For Paul, when enumerating the innumerable causes which generally separate men from the love of Christ, and from the love of God in Christ Jesus, did not set down *argument* among the grounds of separation!"¹

The chief Latin Apology of the third century was the *Octavius Minucius Felix*. of MINUCIUS FELIX, a distinguished Roman lawyer, who flourished about A.D. 230. The form is that of a dialogue. Three friends, Octavius Januarius, a Christian, Cæcilius Metalis, a Pagan, and Minucius himself, are rambling along the shores near Ostia during the autumn holidays. Cæcilius passing a statue of the god Serapis offers it homage. Octavius notes the action and reproves it. Cæcilius enters upon a long defence, and attacks the principles of his friend, assailing not only the Christian religion in particular, but the very idea of revelation. Octavius makes a spirited reply on all points, exposing the folly of heathen fables, and defending the belief and conduct of the Christians. The end is that Cæcilius owns himself vanquished, and becomes a convert to the faith.

Origen boldly spiritualizes both. For instance, in Ps. cxxxvii., "The little ones," he says, "of Babylon (which signifies confusion) are those troublesome sinful thoughts which arise in the soul; and he who subdues them by striking, as it were, their heads against the firm and solid strength of reason

and truth is the man who 'dasheth the little ones against the stones;' and he is, therefore, truly blessed." (Book VII. ch. 22.)

¹ *Works of Origen* (A. N. Lib.), vol. i. pp. 394, 395. The reply to Celsus occupies part of the first vol. and the whole of the second.

To this class of apologists belongs METHODIUS, Bishop of Tyre, at the close of the third century, by virtue of his work against *Methodius and Porphyry*, now lost; also ARNOBIUS, teacher of *Arnobius*. rhetoric in Africa, who wrote his treatise against the Pagans in seven books to attest his sincerity while still a catechumen (about A.D. 303). The method of the work, which we still possess, is in a great part similar to that of preceding apologists. The charges brought against the Christians are first refuted; the absurdities and immoralities of polytheism are then set forth in long detail, and the work closes with a view of the superiority of the Christian faith, especially in regard to the threefold allegation that it was a religion without temples, images, or sacrifices. On this last point, as on others, Arnobius seems to miss opportunities of setting forth the essential nature of Christianity; but it must be remembered on the one hand that his purpose was simply refutation, and on the other, that he was but a recent convert from heathenism. Of his after life, or later writings, nothing is known.

LACTANTIUS, pupil of Arnobius and teacher of Latin rhetoric and *Lactantius*. eloquence at Nicomedia, must be classed as an apologist in regard of his *Divine Institutions*, still extant, which, though mainly didactic, contains a direct attack on paganism, and a defence of Christianity from heathen calumny. The work, which is one of great rhetorical excellence, gaining for the author the appellation of the "Christian Cicero," appears from its references to persecutions as raging at the time, to have been written in the reign of Diocletian; but in after years Lactantius, being called in his old age to superintend the education of Crispus, son of Constantine, added the dedications of the several books to the Emperor. A remarkable treatise on the *Deaths of Persecutors* institutes an argument for Christianity from the Divine judgments inflicted on its foes from Tiberius onwards.¹

¹ Translations of the works of Arnobius and Lactantius are given in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

§ I. CHARACTERISTICS.

IT has been seen already that during the two centuries under review it was rather the defence than the exposition of the Gospel that engaged the authorship of the Church. This at least we may conclude both from the probabilities of the case, and from the literature that has come down from this period to modern times. Perhaps the apologetic had a better chance of survival than the expository or the practical. Much would, unquestionably, be written for the illustration and enforcement of Christian doctrine. But the remains preserved to us are few; and the list of extant ante-Nicene authors, other than Apologists, is soon given. Nor, in truth, with the exception of a very few works, are these writings very valuable. No doubt they possess an historical interest, and afford important testimony to the New Testament Canon: there is, too, much impressiveness in their simple deep-toned devotion, as of brave, believing men conscious of deadly peril. But with few exceptions their peculiarities of style and want of coherence repel the reader; while for purposes of direct instruction they are rendered useless by strange interpretations of Scripture, and almost incredible puerilities. More than ever, as we read, or try to read, these books, we feel by force of contrast the unapproachable greatness of the New Testament Scriptures.

Some writers already noticed under the head of Apologists will here again come under brief review. For the general theological teaching of the whole, Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines* will be

found a valuable guide.¹ The following general classification will be useful:—

1. Writers of the sub-apostolic period, comprising the so-called *Classification of writers.* APOSTOLICAL FATHERS,² and one or two other names that mark the transition to a later age. Under this head it will be convenient to notice the spurious as well as the genuine productions that bear these writers' names.

2. The WESTERN ANTI-HERETICAL WRITERS, especially Irenæus and his pupil Hippolytus.

3. The ALEXANDRIAN School: Clement, Origen, Dionysius, and Gregory Thaumaturgus. Here the methods of philosophy were first systematically employed for the elucidation of the Faith.

4. The NORTH AFRICAN Latin Writers: Tertullian and Cyprian; already in part considered in the character of Apologists.

§ 2. THE "APOSTOLICAL FATHERS" AND THEIR IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

A certain number of writings are attributed by ancient and uncritical tradition to companions or pupils of the Apostles: as to BARNABAS, the early associate of Paul; to CLEMENT also, his fellow-labourer, and a disciple of St. Peter; to POLYCARP and PAPIAS, disciples of St. John. The *Epistles* of IGNATIUS and the *Shepherd* of HERMAS are also assigned by ancient testimony to the age immediately succeeding the apostolic era.

1. The *Epistle* of BARNABAS is undoubtedly very ancient, and *Epistle of Barnabas.* is attributed by Clement of Alexandria and Origen to St. Paul's great associate; but its genuineness has been much contested, chiefly on internal grounds. In recent times, the discovery of this work in its complete Greek form at the end of the Sinaitic MS., has re-awakened an interest in it which its intrinsic value scarcely merits: and some scholars have anew contended for it as a veritable production of St. Paul's early companion and friend.³ This view, however, seems contradicted

¹ See the translation of the later and enlarged edition, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

² See p. 41.

³ See Dr. Milligan's art., "Barnabas," in Smith's *Dict. Christian Biog.*;

by the tone of the writer in reference to Judaism. Barnabas was a Levite, and appears to have had decidedly Jewish leanings.¹ The author of this epistle, on the contrary, denounces Judaism altogether; his references to the temple rites show that he knew but little of their nature and meaning; his applications of Old Testament Scripture are mystical and absurd.² In fact, there are several indications in the epistle, not decisive, but unquestionably strong, that it was written by a Gentile.³ In aim it corresponds to some extent with the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the intellectual and spiritual difference between the two is immeasurable. As "Barnabas" refers to the temple being in ruins, and gives no hint of any plan of restoration like that initiated by Hadrian, this epistle must be placed somewhere between 70 and 120 A.D. Almost every intermediate date has been proposed by one or other of the many writers on the epistle, from Ewald, in his *History of Israel*, and Weiszäcker,⁴ who place it in the time of Vespasian (70-79 A.D.), to J. G. Müller,⁵ Keim, and others, who assign it to A.D. 119. The absence of all reference to the doctrinal speculations and heresies of the second century is an argument which, though negative in form, seems to possess much weight, for placing it not much if at all later than A.D. 100.⁶

also a monograph by Mr. S. Sharpe, *The Epistle of Barnabas from the Sinaitic MS., with a translation*, 1880.

¹ Galatians ii. 13.

² Take the following, among the types of the Cross which this epistle discovers in the ancient Scriptures: "Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household (see Gen. xiv. 14). What then was the knowledge (γνώσις) given to him in this? Learn the eighteen first, and then the three hundred. The ten and the eight are thus denoted, ten by I and eight by H. You have the initials of the name of JESUS. And because the Cross was to express the grace of our redemption by the letter

T, he says also, 'three hundred.' He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the Cross by one" (ch. ix. *A.N.L.* p. 117). It is impossible to believe that this, which is but a specimen of the expositions, came from an associate of Paul.

³ See Mr. Cunningham's scholarly *Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas*, with text, notes, and translation, 1877.

⁴ *Zur Kritik des Barnabas Briefes aus dem Cod. Sin.* Tübingen, 1863.

⁵ *Erklärung des Barnabas Briefes*, intended as an appendix to De Wette's *Exegetical Handbook to N.T.* Leipzig, 1869.

⁶ This is the view of Hilgenfeld (*Apostolischen Väter*).

2. A far more valuable relic of this early age is the *First Epistle of Clement*; or, in other words, the Letter of Clement of the Roman to the Corinthian Church. This is appended to the Alexandrian ms. of the New Testament, a portion near the end being lost; but the gap has recently been supplied from a Greek ms. discovered at Constantinople; a Syriac translation having soon afterwards been found in the sale of a library at Paris.¹

The Epistle consists chiefly of exhortations to brotherly love and humility; and we may infer from the emphasis laid upon these Christian virtues that the Corinthian Church still evinced its ancient tendency to vain-glorying and schism. The tone of the letter is fatherly and kind, and its injunctions are free from arrogance. It abounds with quotations from the Old Testament, sometimes curiously applied, as when the scarlet line of Rahab is made a type of Christ's atonement. As in apostolic times, there seem to have been difficulties in the Corinthian Church in regard to the doctrine of Resurrection, and Clement sets himself to meet these, like Paul (1 Cor. xv.), by a reference to the facts and processes of Nature. Not only, however, does he urge the change of day and night and the growth of seeds, but the transformation of the phoenix, regarded by himself, and evidently by his readers also, as literally true. On the whole, this Epistle, with all its earnestness and right feeling, may usefully illustrate, by very force of contrast, the characteristics of Divine inspiration.

In the newly-recovered portion of this letter there is a prayer which opens with a noble invocation:—

“Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on Thy name; which is the primal source of all creation: and open the eyes of our hearts, that we may know Thee, who alone abidest Highest

¹ This version has been acquired by the University of Cambridge. The Epistle has been variously assigned to A.D. 67-8 and 96-7. Clement is said to have been Bishop of Rome from the twelfth year of Domitian, A.D. 93.

The later of the above dates seems on all accounts the more probable. On the supposition that he was the fellow-labourer of Paul (Phil. iv. 3), see p. 22.

in the highest, Holy in the holy ; who layest low the insolence of the proud, who scatterest the imaginings of nations ; who settest the lowly on high, and bringest the lofty low ; who makest rich and makest poor ; who killest and makest alive ; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh ; who lookest into the abysses, who scannest the works of man ; the Succour of them that are in peril, the Saviour of them that are in despair ; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit ; who multiplieth the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honour us.”¹

The so-called Second Epistle of Clement, of which until the *Second Epistle of Clement* discovery at Constantinople only eleven sections and part of a twelfth remained,² is now extended to twenty ; and in its complete form is evidently not a letter but a sermon, “the first example,” says Bishop Lightfoot, “of a Christian homily.” No conjecture as to its date is of any value ; it is first mentioned by Eusebius,³ at the beginning of the fourth century ; and the fact that it was appended to the Alexandrian MS. shows that it was accepted in the Church as of considerable antiquity. The style, however, is so different from that of the First Epistle as to show beyond question a different authorship.

The Clementine RECOGNITIONS and HOMILIES are two forms of *Clementine Recognitions*. a romance in autobiographical form, chiefly occupied by the alleged sayings and works of the Apostle Peter, to whom the *soi-disant* Clement is introduced by Barnabas, and who holds long disputations with Simon Magus. The title of the work is taken from the recognition of long-lost relatives in romantic circumstances ; first the brothers of Clement, then his mother,⁴ and last of all his father, an old man who had been disputing with St. Peter on Creation and Providence, and who had left his

¹ Lightfoot's translation, p. 376.

² *Ante-Nicene Lib.* pp. 55-63.

³ His words are (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 38): “We must know that there is also a Second Epistle of Clement. But

we do not regard it as being equally notable with the former, since we know of none of the ancients that have made use of it.”

⁴ See Book vii. ch. 13, 25.

home long before to search for his lost wife and children. The "recognitions" are thus complete, and all are happy.¹ But the chief interest of the book arises from the view that it gives of the questions, metaphysical and theological, which occupied Christian speculation towards the close of the second century. These are discussed in the *Homilies* very decidedly, and in the *Recognitions* more guardedly, from an Ebionite, or Jewish, anti-Pauline ground. Saul the persecutor is mentioned, not Paul the Apostle;² and in one of his discourses Simon Peter is made to say expressly that no one claiming to be a teacher is to be received without credentials from James of Jerusalem, and that the Apostolate is strictly limited to the Twelve.³ "Christ," he says, "is the 'acceptable year of God,' leaving us apostles as His twelve months!" And in the *Homilies* the author speaks still more explicitly, "Can any one be formed into a teacher by a vision? If so, then why did the Master abide and discourse a whole year⁴ with those who were awake?"

The APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, in Eight Books, supplemented by Eighty-five APOSTOLICAL CANONS, also bear the name of Clement, but erroneously. They are a collection of rules and exhortations, relative to morality, the Christian faith, and ecclesiastical order; being probably a compilation gradually formed, but much later than the apostolic or sub-apostolic age. Bunsen thinks that they represent "the life of the Church of the second and third centuries;"⁵ but admits many later interpolations. Others assign them to a subsequent date; but it is generally now agreed that in substance they belong to the ante-Nicene period; and that they throw much light on the

¹ Book ix. ch. 32, 37.

² The notion of Baur and others that St. Paul is covertly intended under the mask of Simon Magus, is an exaggeration; though undoubtedly the specially Pauline views of truth were included in the mass of opinion attributed to Simon. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36 (Clark's ed.).

³ See Book i. 70, 71; ii. 33; iv. 35.

⁴ It was the opinion of many early writers that our Lord's ministry lasted only for one year.

⁵ *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 405. See Introduction by Dr. James Donaldson in *A.N.L.*; also Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiquities*; arts. "Apostolical Canons," and "Apostolical Constitutions."

beliefs and usages of the Eastern Churches. Eusebius appears to refer to this collection, together with the *Epistle of Barnabas* (with which the Seventh Book of the Constitutions has much in common), as among the apocryphal or spurious Scriptures.¹

3. The journey of IGNATIUS from Antioch to Rome after his condemnation to the beasts of the amphitheatre, *Letters of Ignatius.* has already been described.² On his way, chained to his soldier sentinel, and accompanied by a fierce convoy of ten men, whom he himself describes as "leopards," he found opportunity to write certain *Letters*, full of earnest aspirations for the crown of martyrdom, as well as of exhortations to constancy and faithfulness to those whom he was about to leave. One of these letters was addressed to the Ephesians from Smyrna, they having sent a delegation to that port to greet him on his arrival there: at Troas he wrote to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, with whom he had enjoyed brotherly intercourse in passing through that city; while from Troas also he despatched a letter to the Roman Church, to announce beforehand his coming and to reiterate his hope of a speedy martyrdom. These are all of his epistles which can confidently be pronounced authentic. Four others are ascribed to him (three written at Smyrna to the Churches in Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia, and another at Troas to Smyrna),³ making seven in all; besides eight which by common consent are spurious.⁴

There has been much controversy as to the seven epistles. *Different Recensions.* They exist in two Greek forms, a longer and a shorter recension, of which it is not difficult to decide that the latter is the original, the other being a tasteless and diffuse paraphrase. But the three first-mentioned, recently discovered in a Syriac version, and edited by the late Dr. Cureton, in 1845, possess undoubtedly the highest claim to authenticity. Practically,

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 25.

² See page 41.

³ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 36.

⁴ These are to the Churches in Tarsus,

Antioch, and Philippi, to Hera a deacon at Antioch, to one Mary of Neapolis, to the Virgin Mary, and two to "John the holy Presbyter."

in our day, the Ignatian controversy has narrowed itself to this—whether the seven epistles in their shorter form, or only the three, are the veritable productions of the martyr-bishop.¹ All of them are similar in spirit and style; fiery in earnestness, rugged in phrase, unconnected in thought. That to the Romans is chiefly occupied in a rapturous descant on his approaching martyrdom; some of his friends, it would appear, being anxious to gain for him a reprieve. In his passionate protest against any such endeavour Ignatius kindles into true eloquence. “Pardon me, brethren! Do not hinder me from living, do not wish to keep me in a state of death; and while I desire to belong to God, do not ye give me over to the world. Suffer me to obtain pure light: when I have gone thither, I shall indeed be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God! If any one have Him within himself, let him consider what I desire, and have sympathy with me, knowing ‘I am straitened’!”² “I am the wheat of God,” the martyr writes in another place, “and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. . . . Entreat Christ for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles; I am but a condemned man; they were free, while I am, even until now, a slave. But when I suffer, I shall be the freedman of Jesus, and shall rise again, emancipated in Him.”³ Next to these aspirations after martyrdom, the epistles are chiefly noticeable for the earnestness with which they insist on the maintenance of ecclesiastical order. To obey the bishop and the presbytery is the one essential of harmonious Church life. The undoubtedly genuine epistles insist to some extent on this obligation; the others much more strongly, a fact that has been used as an argument for assigning them to a later date, when the prerogatives of the Episcopacy had

¹ See especially a paper by Bishop Lightfoot: *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875, “The Ignatian Epistles.” He inclines to accept the seven letters. Prof. Charteris, on the other hand,

throws doubt on the entire series: *Canonicity*, p. xxix.

² *To the Romans*, ch. vi.

³ *Ib.*, ch. iv.

become more decisively recognized.¹ But even in the strongest assertion of these claims attributed to the martyr there is no word of *sacerdotal* authority. The question is one of order, and not of supernatural prerogative. The *Letter to Polycarp* is an earnest and affectionate exhortation, as from a veteran in Christ's service to a younger brother.

4. The narrative of the *Martyrdom of Ignatius*, generally included *Martyrdom of Ignatius* with the Apostolical Epistles, purports to be an account of his last hours written by those brethren who had accompanied him to Rome,² and witnessed his sufferings. It is a plain unvarnished account; and though its genuineness cannot be positively asserted, the absence of legendary marvels is in its favour. It is from this document that we learn the true meaning of the surname *Theophoros*.³ "Trajan answered, 'And who is Theophoros?' Ignatius replied, 'He who has Christ within his breast.'"

5. The *Epistle of POLYCARP to the Philippians* is by general *Polycarp's Epistle* consent regarded as an authentic work of the great martyr. It is a simple-minded exhortation to Christian consistency, with warnings against prevailing forms of error. When and under what circumstances it was written we cannot decide, excepting that it was after the death of Ignatius, and was accompanied by a copy of his Epistles.

6. The *Evangelical Epistle of the Church in Smyrna concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp*, purporting to be *Polycarp* addressed in the first instance to the Church at Philomelium, is a narrative of high interest, as the first of the ancient martyrologies; and its correctness in the main is attested by Eusebius. Certain marvels in the record are undoubtedly the interpolation of a later age, or may be in part the result of mis-

¹ See in the "three Epistles;" that to the *Ephesians*, ch. iv.; to *Polycarp*, ch. vi.; in the rest of the seven, to the *Magnesians*, ch. vi.; to the *Philadelphians*, ch. vii.; to the *Trallians*,

ch. ii.; to the *Smyrnæans*, ch. viii. ix.

² Ignatius himself gives their names: Philo, Agathopus, Crocus. *Ep. Smyrn.*, ch. x.; *Philad.*, ch. xi.; *Rom.* x.

³ See p. 68.

conception on the part of copyists.¹ This letter assigns the date of Polycarp's martyrdom to the proconsulate of Statius Quadratus (A.D. 154, 155), a note of time which, if correct, would place the event in the comparatively untroubled times of Antoninus Pius, instead of during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 166 or 167), according to the general consent of antiquity.² Taking the earlier date, it may be remarked, Polycarp would have been thirty or thirty-five years of age³ at the death of St. John; on the ordinary supposition, between twenty and twenty-five; so that in either case he may well have been, as is generally believed, a disciple of that apostle.

7. PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis, is said by Irenæus to have been "a hearer of John, and an associate of Polycarp." Eusebius adds that he had also learned some things from the aged daughters of Philip the Apostle.⁴ It is thus tolerably certain that Papias, like Polycarp, was a link between the apostolic age and that of Irenæus. Of his work, however, *The Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord*, only a few fragments remain. Prof. Charteris says, "It would be a great event in Biblical criticism if the lost five books of Papias were found in some library, as it is not impossible they may yet be." So far as the extant fragments enable us to judge, there is no reason for disputing the character given to this writer by Eusebius, that he was "very weak in his mind," while at the same time "remarkably learned and versed in Scripture."⁵ His details concerning the Millennium, professedly

¹ Thus, ch. xvi., we read of "a dove" that came forth with the blood from Polycarp's side when pierced by the executioner's dagger. Probably the original reading was not *περιστερῆ*, dove, but *ἐπ' ἀριστερῆ*, on the left-hand side. Bp. Wordsworth, with less probability, suggests *περὶ στυράκα*, about the handle, i. e. of the dagger.

² See Lightfoot, *Contemporary Review*, May 1875. The arguments for the earlier date were first given by M. Waddington (*Mémoires de l'Académie*

des Inscriptions, 1867), and his conclusions have been accepted by most recent critics. Wieseler and Keim, however, defend the date of Eusebius, on strong if not absolutely convincing grounds. See Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 35, note.

³ "Eighty and six years have I served Christ." This may refer to his whole lifetime, or to the years in which "from a child" he had known the Lord.

⁴ *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 39.

⁵ *Ib.*, iii. 39; iii. 36.

from the Apostle John, and his occasional applications of Scripture, show that whatever his love, he was very deficient in judgment. None the less important is his testimony to the early existence and acceptance of the New Testament books, as will be hereafter shown.

8. The *Shepherd* of HERMAS is the last work, claiming to be of *Shepherd of* the sub-apostolic age, that it will be necessary to *Hermas.* notice. It has been called the *Pilgrim's Progress* of the early Church, and was often read in Christian assemblies. Irenæus speaks of it as "Scripture;" Clement of Alexandria and Origen as "Divinely inspired," while Eusebius places it among the disputed books, adding that by many it is judged necessary as an elementary introduction to the Christian faith.¹ It was long known only through a Latin version, but in our day the discovery of part of the Greek original, together with the Epistle of Barnabas, at the end of the Sinaitic ms. has given a new interest to critical questions relating to it. Anciently, it was ascribed to the "Hermas" mentioned by the Apostle Paul to the Romans (xvi. 14), but the tradition is evidently incorrect: and that the Epistle belongs, at the earliest, to the days of Trajan, is clear from its reference to judicial procedure against the Christians, and to their condemnation to the wild beasts. The Muratorian Canon² assigns it to a Hermas brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome, about A.D. 150; and there is no sufficient reason for rejecting this account of its authorship. The book contains a series of visions in which imaginary beings come and go, holding long dialogues with the narrator: and symbolic pictures appear,—mountains, rocks, and trees, and in particular a marvellous tower, emblem of the Church of Christ. These things all have their explanations, enunciated at great length, with moral discourses, mostly tedious: the chief speaker being the Shepherd (whence the title of the work), "a man of glorious aspect, dressed like a shepherd, with a white goat's skin, a wallet on his shoulders, and a staff in his hand." The

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 3.

² See ch. vi. § 3, 2.

tone of the work is almost entirely ethical and practical, warnings against sins of the flesh having a chief place in it. There is hardly any doctrinal teaching.

9. In this list of early writers must also be included HEGESIPPUS, "the father of ecclesiastical history," known to us, unfortunately by fragments only, and by the honour which Eusebius paid to his name and works. There are no ancient records of which the loss, probably, is more to be deplored than that of his *Plain Tradition of the Apostolic Preaching*, in five books, written about A.D. 177. By birth, Hegesippus is generally thought to have been a Jew; although of his early history we have not a trace: we find him in Rome in the days of the Bishop Anicetus (A.D. 157-168): on his way thither he had visited Corinth, recording that the Church there continued "sound in the faith." He appears to have travelled far, and to have conversed with many bishops; finding everywhere the doctrine to prevail "which is declared by the law and the prophets and the Lord." To Hegesippus also we are indebted for an account, preserved by Eusebius, of the martyrdom of James, "the Lord's brother," as well as of the citation before Domitian of the descendants of David's royal house.¹ Attempts have been made in modern days, but most unsuccessfully, to associate Hegesippus with the Judaizing opponents of St. Paul's doctrine: ² the evidence is clear that he held to the essentials of the Christian faith, as taught by the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

§ 3. IRENÆUS AND HIPPOLYTUS.

1. Little is known respecting the personal history of IRENÆUS.

Irenæus, d. abt. A.D. 200. That his early life was spent in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, in the first quarter of the second century, may

¹ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, ii. 23; iii. 20. See p. 19 of the present work.

² See especially Baur, *Ch. Hist.*, i. p. 88 (Eng. Trans.). Hegesippus opposes the Gnostic *perversion* of Paul's words, "Eye hath not seen,

nor ear heard," etc., 1 Cor. ii. 9; quoting our Lord's saying, "Blessed are your eyes," etc., Matt. xiii. 16; and is represented by Baur and his school as attacking the words themselves!

be inferred from his own statement that he was acquainted with Polycarp.¹ He afterwards proceeded to Lyons, where we find him first a presbyter, and afterwards the bishop of the Church, succeeding the martyr Pothinus at the time of the later persecutions under Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 177. Happily the episcopate of Irenæus was spent in more peaceful times, and he had leisure to compose his great work, *Against Heresies*, or, as Eusebius terms it, *A Refutation and Overthrow of False Doctrine*, dedicated to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome (A.D. 182-188). It is from this work chiefly that we gain information respecting those strange "Gnostic" perversions of the faith, of which some brief account will be given in a subsequent chapter. The first and second books especially are taken up with a statement and elaborate refutation of these scarcely intelligible absurdities; the remaining three books are of greater value to us, as containing detailed and positive statements of the faith and practice of the Churches in the second century. The work exists only in a Latin translation, with the exception of the greater part of the first book, and some fragments of the others, preserved to us in the quotations of Hippolytus and Epiphanius. The nature of the version adds not a little to the difficulty of understanding the book, as the translator was evidently deficient both in accurate scholarship and in acquaintance with the subjects of the treatise.

The later years of Irenæus were notable for the part which he took in the discussions respecting the observance of Easter. Of a letter which he addressed on this subject to Victor, successor to Eleutherius in the Roman see, only a fragment remains, in which occurs an interesting glimpse of early Church life. For, writes Irenæus, when Polycarp visited Rome in the days of Anicetus, a difference arose between the two as to the manner of observing the feast. Anicetus could not persuade

¹ "Polycarp was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also by apostles in Asia appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna; whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried on earth a very long time, and when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffered martyrdom."—Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, Bk. III. c. iii. § 4.

Polycarp, who pleaded the example of the Apostle John, nor could Polycarp persuade Anicetus, who said that he was bound to maintain the tradition of the presbyters. "Which things being so, they communed with each other; and in the church Anicetus yielded to Polycarp the office of presiding at the Eucharist, in order to show him respect; and they separated from each other in peace, all the Church being at peace; both those that observed, and those that did not observe, maintaining peace."¹ It would have been well had the pattern of Irenæus, the "Peaceful," been followed by controversialists not so great as he.

It is altogether uncertain whether Irenæus suffered martyrdom. This Jerome asserts, and a day (June 28) is dedicated to him in the calendar; but from the silence of contemporaries, it is more probable that he died a peaceful death, about the beginning of the third century.

2. HIPPOLYTUS, most probably bishop of Portus Romanus, at *Hippolytus, d.* the mouth of the Tiber, was, according to ancient *abt. A.D. 230.* testimony, a disciple of Irenæus, and friend of Origen.² He is said to have been martyred by drowning some time in the earlier half of the third century, but this is very uncertain. Some accounts make him an Arabian or Eastern bishop, who visited Rome only in his old age. His statue was dug up in an island in the Tiber in the year 1551, and is now in the Vatican Library; it represents him seated in a chair, inscribed on its back with a list of his writings. It is evident that he was in his time a man of mark; but little was known of his works until the discovery which in our own day has called fresh attention to his name. In 1842 the French scholar and statesman, M. Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction under King Louis Philippe, sent to the monasteries of Mount Athos in search of yet undiscovered treasures in Greek literature. Among the mss. discovered was one *On all Heresies*, a copy made about the fourteenth century, which, says Baron Bunsen,

¹ Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, v. 24.

² The authority for both these statements is Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, "the most learned man of his age."

owing to its comparatively modern date, its being anonymous, and the unattractive title, remained without examination for some years. When, however, it was at length carefully inspected, it was found to be an ancient work of great interest and value, and was in fact supposed to be a treatise by Origen, the *Philosophoumena*, of which the first part had long been printed among his works. Further research has decisively refuted this supposition, and Bunsen, with others, may now be held to have clearly proved that here we have the great work of Hippolytus, *Against all Heresies*.¹ It was printed by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, in 1851, and is translated in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*. The work contains ten books, the second, third, and part of the fourth of which are missing. Of these the first four are occupied with an account of the ancient heathen philosophies; the next five contain a detailed exposition of the forms of heresy existing within the Church, proving their origin from pagan mythology and philosophy; the tenth book gives a summary of the whole, with a brief exposition of the author's own belief. The work, being an original, is far more intelligible than that of Irenæus, on which indeed it sheds much light; and as an exposition of early forms of belief is invaluable.

§ 4. THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

1. Many circumstances combined to give to the city of Alexandria in the early Christian centuries the intellectual headship of the Grecian world. Philosophy, driven from Athens by political troubles and long subjugation, found here a more peaceful home, and was cultivated in Pagan, Jewish, and Christian schools of thought. From apostolic times the Church had existed in this city, having been planted there, according to unvarying ecclesiastical tradition, by the evangelist Mark. Its early history is obscure; but at the close of the second century we find PANTÆNUS, a distinguished teacher in that city, originally a Stoic philosopher. Of his life and labours we are only

*Origin of the
Alexandrian
Church.*

¹ See especially Bunsen's *Letters to Archdeacon Hare*, 1852, Letter i.

told that at one period he had been despatched as a missionary *Pantænus*, to India; that finally he returned, and "was placed *abt.* A.D. 180. at the head of the Alexandrian school, commenting on the treasures of Divine truth, both orally and in his writings."¹ Of these writings none are extant, and the once renowned philosopher is to us little more than a name.

2. As colleague and successor of Pantænus, we next meet with *Titus Flavius Clemens, d.* the renowned CLEMENT, to whom reference has *abt.* A.D. 220. already been made in our record of the persecutions under Severus.² About the year 202 Clement retired for a while from the city, and we find him successively in Jerusalem, and afterwards at Antioch. Returning in the end to Alexandria, he died there about A.D. 220. His three principal works appear to have been written during the early part of his labours, before his retirement. These are, first, the *Exhortation*, an impassioned endeavour to win the heathen to the belief in Christian truth, with a terrible exposure of pagan idolatry in its absurdity and grossness; secondly, the *Pædagogus*, or *Instructor*, a work on Christian morals in three books—the first of which, with power and occasional eloquence, accompanied by not a little mystical and strained application of Old Testament Scripture, sets forth Christ the Son of God, the Word, as the true Instructor of man; while the second and third give practical rules of conduct, descending into minute details, and affording some startling glimpses of both morals and manners in that era. The third treatise is entitled *Stromata*, "Miscellanies," and consists of a series of notes on philosophical matters, accumulated from all sources, with much quotation from Old Testament Scripture. The author seems to have had in view the composition of a gigantic treatise in which the true science or *Gnōsis* of Christianity should be presented in contrast with the systems of secular philosophy prevalent in that and former ages, the central idea being, that while the falsehoods in these systems were due to the perversion of the human understanding, the gleams of truth which still shone through them were emanations from the

¹ Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, v. 10.

² See p. 77.

one perfect light of the Divine revelation in Christ the Son. This work was so much admired by Clement's contemporaries that he was called, from its title, the "Stromatist." Many other works were written by Clement, but only scanty fragments of a few remain. Among these the principal was the *Hypotyposes*, a commentary on Scripture in eight books.

3. When Clement left Alexandria, his place was filled by a young layman of eighteen, already well known as a teacher of grammar and rhetoric, and as a man of ardent, even fanatic, faith. This was the renowned ORIGEN, the "Adamantine," of whose early life we have already had a glimpse, as he exhorted his father Leonides to go bravely to martyrdom. In the Catechetical School, to which Origen henceforth devoted all his energies, he attained the highest success, chiefly as an interpreter of Scripture, setting himself to acquire the Hebrew language, and compiling the *Hexapla*, a comparative view of the Greek versions of the Old Testament, fragments of which, remaining to our time, attest his gigantic industry.¹ On the outbreak of persecution under Caracalla, Origen visited Palestine; and on one occasion, at the request of the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea, expounded the Scriptures in a public assembly at which they were present. This usurpation, as it was deemed, of presbyteral functions aroused the indignation of his diocesan, Demetrius. "Such an act was never either heard or done before, that laymen should deliver discourses in the presence of the bishops!" He was at once summoned home to Alexandria, where he spent many studious years, "writing more books," it was said, "than any one else could read." On another journey to Palestine, Origen received ordination as a presbyter from his two friends the bishops, an act which, for reasons that have been variously reported, caused fresh indignation on the part of Demetrius. Origen was degraded from his office, and even excommunicated from the Church in Alexandria; retiring to

¹ The six columns of the *Hexapla* contained, (1) the Hebrew text; (2) the same in Greek characters; (3) the Greek version of Aquila; (4) that of Symmachus; (5) the Septuagint translation; (6) the version of Theodotion. Other versions of some of the Old Testament books are added in further columns.

Cæsarea, where he spent the remainder of his days, dying A.D. 254, in his seventieth year.

A classified list of his principal works is given in the Introduction to the translation of Origen in the *Ante-Nicene Library*.¹

An account of Origen's great apologetic work has already been given. His expositions and homilies are of less value to the modern reader, although they marked an immense advance in thought for the age in which they were written. It is scarcely too much to say that Origen was the founder of Biblical exegesis. For although he clung to allegorical methods of interpretation, and continually draws inferences of the most startling kind from the simplest passages, yet if in this he sins, it is only because he reduces to a system the wild, uncritical methods of interpretation which he found prevailing in the Church; while, in basing his expositions on an intelligible if not altogether tenable principle, he divests them of much of their absurdity. His groundwork is still the literal meaning, ascertained by critical and grammatical processes; and from this he advances to the allegorical and spiritual, so initiating the doctrine of the "threefold sense" in Scripture, which, with all the extravagances of its application, only formulates the deep truth that in Scripture, as in all the works of God, infinite meanings lie.

4. On the retirement of Origen from Alexandria, his place in the Catechetical School was taken by HERACLAS, of whom little is known, save that in a short time he was elevated to the episcopate in that city, being succeeded in the School by DIONYSIUS, then a presbyter, who in turn was appointed bishop on the death of Heraclas, some sixteen

Dionysius of Alexandria, d. A. D. 265.

¹ Briefly, these are—

1. Exegetical. *Scholia*, brief notes on Scripture; *Tomi*, detailed expositions; and about two hundred *Homilies*.
2. Critical. The *Hexapla*.
3. Apologetic. *Against Celsus*.
4. Dogmatic. The *Stromata*, akin to Clement's; and the *De Principiis*, a work on systematic theology

5. Practical. On *Prayer*, on *Martyrdom*, numerous *Letters*; *Philocalia*, a collection of excerpts from his writings, made by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus.

The *De Principiis* and treatise *Against Celsus* are the only works of Origen translated in the *Ante-Nicene Library*.

years afterwards. Dionysius was originally a pagan, and a student of philosophy, but at an early age was converted to the Christian faith through the influence of Origen. Both as teacher and as bishop, he seems to have been a man of immense activity and much breadth of thought ; so wise and liberal, in fact, as to have been sometimes charged with heterodox sympathies.¹ His candid, judicial spirit was of great service to the Churches in more than one great controversy of the times—notably in that with the Sabellians, and that concerning the re-baptism of reclaimed heretics.

The writings of Dionysius that have reached us are but few *Works of Dionysius.* these, his *Letters* on the questions of theology and discipline, debated in his time, are by far the most interesting. There is also a treatise *On the Promises*, directed against the idea of a carnal millennium, in which work Dionysius maintains that the Apocalypse was written by some other John than the Apostle ; with a book *Against the Epicureans*, and some fragments of *Commentaries* on *Ecclesiastes* and *St. Luke*, the latter including a discussion of the Agony in the Garden, which, with occasional mysticism, has some touching and beautiful thoughts.

5. Few men occupied a larger space in the minds of his contemporaries than GREGORY, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea *Gregory Thaumaturgus,* in Pontus, surnamed Thaumaturgus, the “Wonder-worker,” on account of his reputed miracles. He was born in that city of heathen parents in a good position, by whom he was destined for the law. To complete his education he visited Athens, Alexandria, and other renowned cities, meeting

¹ It is recorded that Dionysius would never pronounce against heretical or sceptical books until he had read them, and could say from his own knowledge what their doctrines really were. A presbyter having remonstrated with him on this course, as likely to be harmful to his soul, Dionysius was confirmed in his resolution by a vision, in which a voice came to him, saying, “Read all that thou takest in

hand, for thou art qualified to correct and prove all, and this very thing has been the cause of faith in Christ from the beginning.” The record is interesting, as it is in this connexion that Dionysius quotes and applies as Scripture the words, “Be ye skilful money-changers,” not now found in the canonical New Testament. The thought is evidently that of keeness in detecting spurious coin.

at Cæsarea in Palestine with Origen, to whom he became a devoted and enthusiastic pupil, and afterwards a convert. For five years he remained with his illustrious master, returning then to his native city. Origen soon afterwards wrote to him, solemnly urging him to devote his abilities and acquisitions to the elucidation and diffusion of Divine truth. At the same time Phædimus, bishop of Amasea, in Pontus, earnestly urged him to take the chief pastoral charge of the little Church in Neo-Cæsarea. For a long time Gregory hesitated; he even withdrew into concealment to escape the responsibility; but this step proved unavailing, for Phædimus, who knew the man with whom he had to deal, ordained him bishop in his absence. Gregory could no longer hesitate, and carried on his work with such zeal, that whereas, it was said, there were but seventeen Christians in his native city when he entered on his office, there were but seventeen pagans in it at the time of his death. His episcopate lasted about thirty years (A. D. 240-270), including the time of the Decian persecution, at one period of which great struggle Gregory fled into the wilderness, counselling his flock to follow his example.¹ The Church in Neo-Cæsarea suffered also much from the inroad of the northern barbarians.

The reported miracles of Gregory prove the impression which his character and career made upon the age in which he lived. They are in general but exaggerations of his intellectual power and moral influence;² while his recorded visions are the legendary form into which the fact of his high spirituality of character, not without mysticism, has been cast. His extant works show the same characteristics. Of these, the writings undoubtedly genuine are, *A Declaration of the Faith*, a brief exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity; a series of

¹ See the biography of Gregory Thaumaturgus, by Dr. H. R. Reynolds, in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

² Thus it is said that demons were subject to him, and could be exorcised by his word. "Once, spending a night in a heathen temple, he banished

its divinities by his simple presence; and by merely placing on the altar a piece of paper bearing the words, *Gregory to Satan: Enter!* he brought the presiding demons back to their shrine."

Canons respecting those who in the barbarian inroad had sacrificed to idols; a remarkable *Metaphrase* or free rendering of the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, and a fine *Panegyric on Origen*, in which Gregory gives a deeply interesting account of his own intercourse with the great Alexandrian divine.

§ 5. THE LATIN WRITERS OF NORTH AFRICA.

I. The two chief names of the African Church have been before us in preceding chapters, representing as they do the Church in its militant and suffering character, rather than as the instructor of mankind. TERTULLIAN, in particular, the great Carthaginian presbyter, maintained the faith with cogent reasoning and passionate earnestness, while he enforced upon himself and others the most rigorously ascetic views of religion. His writings, rugged and often almost hopelessly obscure, glow with fanatic heat; his intensity of conviction made him intolerant, and his inclination to Montanism was but the result of the stern and gloomy views which he held concerning the religious life. Besides the great apologetic work of which some account has already been given, he wrote at different periods of his life a great number of scattered treatises on Christian ethics and the controversies of the hour. His chief theological work was his treatise against Marcion.¹

2. CYPRIAN, like Tertullian, was educated to the profession of law and rhetoric; by parentage a heathen, he was converted to the Christian faith about the age of 45: he became bishop of Carthage A.D. 248, and suffered

¹ Tertullian's great work against Marcion was written, as he himself tells us, in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Severus (A.D. 207). Its object is to maintain the unity of God, the identity of the Jehovah of the Old Testament with the Father of the New, and the reality of the Incarnation. It is full of strong argument and impassioned declaration; and is especially valuable for its exposition of the har-

mony between the Old and New Testaments. When Tertullian wrote this treatise he was already a Montanist. While yet in communion with the Church, he had written a work almost equally remarkable, though much shorter, on the method to be adopted in dealing with heretics ("De Præscriptione Hæreticorum"), in which he strongly maintains the duty of appealing to the Churches founded by

martyrdom, as already related,¹ about ten years afterwards. His writings are chiefly practical, comprising, with several short treatises on matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline, a large number of letters written to the Church in Carthage during his concealment. No works have come down to us that enable us to form a more vivid picture of the Christian life, as it existed under the conditions of the age of conflict, when the power of Rome was most relentless, and the enthusiasm by which it was confronted most uncompromising. Discipline rather than doctrine forms the staple subject of Cyprian's teaching. On all questions of Church organization and communion his works are a mine of information. His ideal of character was lofty, but he enforced his views without the harshness of Tertullian; while, on the other hand, his conceptions of the episcopal function and authority are of the highest. The controversy which enlisted so much of Cyprian's thought and eloquence, respecting the re-admission of the lapsed to Church fellowship, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

apostles, as the depositaries of the truth, as Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Rome, but without any supreme authority in the last-mentioned; ch. xxxvi. (*A. N. L.*, vol. ii. p. 43). More than thirty brief treatises

by this Father have come down to our time. See the classified list in Smith's *Dict. Biog.*, vol. iii. p. 1007, or *A. N. L. Tert.*, vol. iii. p. 12.

¹ See p. 82. The standard *Life of Cyprian* is by the late Abp. Benson.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RULE OF FAITH : THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

§ I. GRADUAL FORMATION OF THE CANON.

IT has already been stated that the full recognition of the New Testament writings as one inspired volume was very gradually reached ; it is, in fact, impossible to assign the completion of the Scripture Canon to any definite time. The extent and degree of acceptance varied in the case of particular books. Some of the New Testament writings appear to have been known from the first in all the Churches ; others were current in a more restricted area. There were times and places in which genuine writings were regarded as apocryphal, or apocryphal as genuine. Dogmatic reasons often determined the partial acceptance or rejection of particular books. Meanwhile it is remarkable that, so far as we can judge, the general question of the Canon was never during these two centuries submitted to any synod of the Churches, or even discussed by Christian writers. There were "sacred writings" of the evangelists, of apostles, honoured, quoted with reverence,¹ read in the assemblies ; but, strictly speaking, there was no "New Testament," no completed and connected "Bible." The Old Testament remained intact, cherished equally by Gentile and Jewish Christians ; and all through these two hundred years the Churches, as if by some sure instinct quickened and informed by the Spirit of God, were singling out from the mass of writings

¹ The *Teaching of the Apostles* (see above, p. 41) has many quotations from the New Testament, especially from Matthew and Luke, with several evident allusions to the Epistles. See list in Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual*, pp. 94, 95. But it nowhere refers to the inspired writers by name, and of course makes no reference to the New Testament as a whole.

presented to them—with difficulty perhaps in the process, but with final and universal agreement—those which, with their antiquity and apostolicity, bore the indisputable marks of inspiration.

Sources of Evidence. Meanwhile a series of quotations and other references in the works of Christian writers throughout the whole era enable us with little difficulty to identify most of the writings which from the first were recognised by one and another as Divine. For the testimony to the several books the student must be referred to special works upon the subject.¹ It must be borne in mind that the word *Canonical*, as applied to the Scriptures, denotes “admitted by rule,” not “giving the rule” (Westcott), although this latter sense is sometimes found.

§ 2. THE SECOND CENTURY: REFERENCES AND CITATIONS.

The writers of the second century quote the Gospels and Epistles as readily and reverently as do Christian authors in the nineteenth. From the works of JUSTIN alone, as has been frequently said, it would be possible to reproduce nearly the whole of the first three Gospels; while his testimony to the Gospel by John, though called in question by some, appears very decided.²

TATIAN the Assyrian, a disciple of Justin, whose literary activity may be placed A.D. 155—170, was not only acquainted with our four Gospels, but arranged them in a Harmony, called *Diatessaron*.³ The doctrinal errors of Tatian, to be hereafter noticed, rather enhance than otherwise the value of his

¹ See especially Lardner's works (epitomised by Paley, *Evidences*, Part I. ch. ix.), also Kirchhofer's *Quellen-sammlung*, in an enlarged and improved form by Prof. Charteris of Edinburgh, under the title of *Canonicity* (1880); Westcott on the *N. T. Canon*, and the numerous *Introductions* to the New Testament.

² See Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 91-98, for a continuous and very remarkable com-

pendium of Justin's references to the life of Christ; also Bishop Lightfoot's *Examination of "Supernatural Religion"*; and *Biblical Essays*, p. 87; Meyer's *Commentary*, Introd. to John's Gospel, p. 9 (Eng. trans.); and Dr. Abbot of Harvard University, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences*, 1880.

³ Διὰ τεσσάρων, literally, *By Four*. See Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 29.

testimony to the universal acceptance of the fourfold evangelic record. The value placed upon the Diatessaron as a popular compendium of the gospel history, is shown by the fact that a commentary upon it was written by Ephraem the Syrian; first known to modern times through an Armenian translation.¹ The Harmony itself has been preserved in an Arabic version, first published with a Latin translation by Agostino Ciasca, of the Vatican Library, Rome.

The Book of Acts is quoted not only by Justin, but by the writer of the Epistle respecting the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons. The Epistles of Paul, excepting the First to the Thessalonians, are recognised at the same early date; while clear references are to be found to all the other New Testament Books, with the exception of 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude.

PAPIAS adds his testimony to the First Epistles of Peter and *Papias*. John, to the Apocalypse, and perhaps to the three Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and John.² The *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions*, which, although a romance, represented the state of opinion in the Churches of the latter half of the second century, contain explicit references to the Gospels, the Acts, and most of the Epistles.³

¹ "The Armenian text was published in the second volume of the collected *Works of St. Ephraem* in Armenian, printed at Venice in 1836 (4 vols. 8vo.); but Aucher's Latin translation of the *Commentary*, revised and edited by G. Moesinger, who compared it with another Armenian MS., first appeared at Venice in 1876, and the work has hitherto been almost unnoticed by scholars."—Abbot, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 55. See also the *Quarterly Review*, April 1881, p. 380: "Our readers can easily imagine what important use can be made, both in the study of the New Testament text, and of certain problems of primitive Church History, of a Harmony of the Gospels written as soon as the third quarter of the second century." The

discovery has been pronounced the most important of the kind that has been made in recent times. A serviceable English edition of Tatian's work has been published by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill, 1894.

² See p. 122. The testimony of Papias, as preserved by Eusebius, is somewhat doubtful in regard to our present Gospels. "Matthew wrote the oracles," he says, "in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able." "Mark, as the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, all that he (Peter) remembered that was said or done by Christ."

³ See details and quotations, Bishop Westcott's article "CANON," Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

§ 3. SECOND CENTURY: CATALOGUES.

But a more explicit testimony yet is in the *Catalogues* which have come down to us from this second century. Of these, three may be mentioned.

1. The earliest is that of the Gnostic MARCION, and is valuable *Marcion's* not so much for its testimony to the books he accepts *Catalogue.* as inspired—for it is only too clear that his peculiar beliefs had warped his judgment—as for the unequivocal proof it gives that certain books were already regarded in the Church as containing an authoritative rule of faith. That the witness is heretical only adds to the value of his attestation; for, as it has been well said, his unquestioning recognition of the Divine inspiration and collective unity of the canon could only have arisen from the belief and custom which he found existing throughout the Churches. Marcion, while arbitrarily rejecting much, accepts the two great divisions of New Testament Scripture—"the Gospel" and "the Apostolicon:" the former comprising most probably a mutilated copy of Luke's narrative; the latter, ten only of Paul's Epistles, excluding the pastoral Epistles and that to the Hebrews.

2. A yet more valuable catalogue is that contained in a fragment *Muratorian* of MS. of unknown authorship found in the Ambrosian *Canon.* Library of Milan at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and first published in 1740 by the Italian historian Muratori, from whom it is known as the "Muratorian fragment," or "canon." The writer is believed on good grounds to have lived A.D. 160-170.¹ The commencement is lost: the first words now extant refer to Mark's Gospel; that by Luke is mentioned as "the *third*." "John, a disciple," is declared to have been author of a fourth. Then follows the mention of the Acts, of thirteen Epistles by Paul, —nine to Churches, four to individual Christians, —the Epistle of Jude, and two Epistles of John; then the Apocalypse of John and Peter respectively, "which (latter) some

¹ See the original text in Kirchofer's *Quellensammlung* (Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 3). Professor Charteris,

however, for reasons which are confessedly not decisive, regards this famous fragment as "unsatisfactory."

of our body are unwilling to have read in the Church." Other books are mentioned as "forged," "which cannot be received into the Catholic Church; for gall ought not to be mixed with honey." The Epistle to the Hebrews, those of Peter and James, and one Epistle of John,¹ are omitted. But the fragment is incomplete at the end as at the beginning.

3. The third canon is that of the Syriac translation, called the *Syriac Canon*. Peshito, or "simple," "literal:" made at Edessa early in the second century. This "contains the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul (including the Epistle to the Hebrews), the Epistle of James, 1 Peter, 1 John. The translation of Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Apocalypse, which were given in the printed editions, were made at a later time." The old Latin Version, of unknown date, but habitually used by Tertullian, seems to have been almost precisely similar in its contents.

4. From these concurrent lines of testimony, therefore, we arrive *General Result.* at the important conclusions, that by the last quarter of the second century (or about A.D. 170) there was a written rule of faith, universally accepted in the Churches, as in every respect on an equality with the Old Testament Scriptures, that this consisted of four gospels and a series of apostolic writings, and that this virtual Bible of the early Churches comprised all the books which we now possess, with the doubtful exception of the Second Epistle of Peter, to which no reference can be traced in any of the authorities above cited.

§ 4. SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES: FOUR CHIEF AUTHORITIES.

In the latter part of the era the testimony gathers force. Four great writers successively bring their attestation from four distant quarters of the Church; and though their tones are different, their verdict is substantially the same.

1. First in time, IRENÆUS, on behalf of the Churches in Asia

¹ But it is possible that 2 and 3 John were reckoned as one epistle (*Westcott*).

Minor,¹ as well as of Italy and Gaul, declares explicitly the fourfold *Irenæus*, form of the Gospels—the fancifulness of the reasons he assigns for it² only adding value to his witness of the fact. He also repeatedly quotes as Scripture all parts of the now existing New Testament, save only the Epistle of James, Jude, 3 John, 2 Peter.

2. Next in order, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA bears witness to *Clement of Alexandria* the belief of the Churches in Egypt; dwelling on the harmony “of the law and the prophets with the gospel and apostles,” speaking also of the latter writings as “Scriptures,” and as a “Testament.” Clement quotes by turns from the whole of the New Testament, save Philemon, 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and James. “On the other hand, he quotes as inspired the Preaching (Apocalypse) of Peter and the Shepherd of Hermas; also the letters of Clement of Rome and Barnabas as apostolic.”

3. TERTULLIAN in Africa refers constantly to the New Testament³ *Tertullian* Scriptures as a whole, forming with the Old Testament “one Divine Instrument;” while his citations prove his acquaintance with every part of the New Testament, save James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John. The Shepherd of Hermas, which, as we have seen, Clement accepts as canonical, Tertullian declares to have been pronounced spurious by every council of the African Churches, a statement which shows that discriminating criticism was now exercised on books laying claim to inspiration. It is obvious to remark in the case of Tertullian, as of other Christian writers, that the absence of reference to any given book of the New Testament does not prove their non-acquaintance with it. The testimony is at best but negative; while, on the other hand, a single

¹ Irenæus, though bishop of Lyons, was originally from Asia Minor.

² His reasons are such as that there are four elements, four winds, and the like: it follows as by a law of nature that the number of the Gospels should be four! It is plain that he could not have reasoned thus, had not the *fact*

been already settled beyond question in the minds of his readers.

³ Tertullian appears to be the first writer who uses the phrase New Testament, “*Novum Testamentum*,” as the appellation of the book; yet he speaks of it as the customary designation (*Ag. Marcion*, iv. 1).

citation or reference suggests that the whole book to which it belongs was familiar and sacred.

4. But the illustrious ORIGEN completes and crowns the series *Origen.* of witnesses to the Scriptures of the New Covenant. "There are," he says, "four Gospels only undisputed in the whole Church of God throughout the world. The first is written according to Matthew, the same that was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in the Hebrew. The second is according to Mark, who composed it as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his General Epistle, saying, 'The elect Church in Babylon salutes you, as also Mark my son.' And the third according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles; and last of all the Gospel according to John." Again, "Peter, upon whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one Epistle undisputed. It may be also a second, but over this there is some doubt. What shall we say of him who reclined upon the breast of Jesus? I mean John, who has left one Gospel, in which he confesses that he could write so many that the whole world could not contain them. He also wrote the Apocalypse, commanded as he was to conceal, and not to write, the voices of the seven thunders. He has also left an Epistle consisting of very few lines: it may be, also, a second or third is from him; but not all agree that they are genuine, but both together do not contain a hundred lines." Origen refers to the Epistles of Paul, but in general terms; and adds, "The Epistle with the title 'To the Hebrews,' has not that peculiar style which belongs to the Apostle, who confesses that he is but common in speech, that is, in his phraseology. But that this Epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases, every one will confess who is able to discern the difference of style. Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic. Every one will confess the truth of this, who attentively reads the

Apostle's writings. . . . I would say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and phraseology belong to some one who has recorded what the Apostle said, and to one who noted down at his leisure what his master dictates. If then any Church considers this Epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended for this, for neither did those ancient men deliver it as such without cause. But who it was that really wrote the Epistle, God only knows. The account, however, that has been current before us is, according to some, that Clement who was Bishop of Rome wrote the Epistle; according to others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."¹

§ 5. THE PERSECUTION UNDER DIOCLETIAN.

The foregoing passages from Origen, preserved by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, are important not only as the testimony of a great and competent writer to the early Scripture Canon, but as suggesting the inference that, were the homilies and commentaries of the period more fully preserved, the mass of evidence would be largely increased. For the testimony, as we have it, all *points one way*. The Scriptures, as we have them, were the recognized Scriptures of the early Church. The very exceptions, whether by defect or excess, do but confirm the conclusion. It is true that the voice of the Churches in the aggregate had not yet been uttered. But this also virtually took place in the Great Persecution with which the fourth century commenced. The Church was then attacked along the whole line, and one great purpose was to destroy its literature. As we have already seen, the sacred books were eagerly sought, and whenever found were utterly destroyed. The attention of the faithful was thus everywhere awakened to their chief treasures. When the foe is in sight the most precious things are concealed, although possessions of inferior worth must be abandoned. There can be no doubt that a great number of valuable works perished in the fiery struggle.

¹ Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 25.

But every book of which earlier writers had spoken of as Divine was preserved intact; the distinction which all along had been latent in the consciousness of the Church between the inspired and all other writings became clear and definite; and we owe it to the heathen enemies of the Gospel that the Rule of Faith was henceforth accepted by the universal Church of Christ.

§ 6. THE OLD TESTAMENT: ORIGEN'S "HEXAPLA."

It should here be added that the Old Testament, according to the accepted Hebrew Canon, held its unquestioned place in the Church on the authority of our Lord and His apostles. It is true that they generally quoted from the recognised Alexandrian Greek Translation, the "Septuagint," but with constant reference to the Hebrew, as has repeatedly been shown by an enumeration of New Testament passages. Early Christian writers, in like manner, often correct the Greek by the Hebrew text. With a view to complete accuracy, Origen undertook his HEXAPLA, the most voluminous work of his life, occupying him for eight-and-twenty years. It contained, in six columns, (1) the original Hebrew text, (2) the Hebrew in Greek letters, (3) the version of Aquila, a Hellenistic Jew of the second century, (4) the translation by Symmachus, an Ebionite of the latter half of the century, (5) the SEPTUAGINT itself, edited from all available MS. authorities, and (6) a version by Theodotion, a learned contemporary of Aquila. One great purpose of the work was to demonstrate the general accuracy of the Jews' Septuagint, against those who disparaged it as the Christians' version of their Bible. Origen's MS. extended to fifty volumes, which were long preserved in the library of Cæsarea. In the tenth century the library was destroyed by the invading Arabs, but the Septuagint had happily been transcribed, and the Hexaplarian edition (as it is termed) of the Greek Scriptures, with various readings from the three above-mentioned translators, is one of the most important authorities for the text.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INTERIOR LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

§ I. CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND MORALS.

I. **T**HE form of Christian life developed in the age of conflict was naturally characterized by the predominance of the heroic virtues. Religion was a warfare; life was sternly practical. The days of calm reflection and theological analysis had not come to the Church. Doctrines were felt, not formulated. In vain do we search through the Ante-Nicene writers for accurate well-balanced statements of Christian truth. These were the growth of later controversies; at present the chief controversy of the Church was with the world, Jewish or heathen; and the ablest writers, as we have seen, were all Apologists. The Christian camp was in the presence of the enemy, and the confessor rather than the theologian was the man of the hour. Polycarp, it has been said, "could not argue, but he could burn."

2. Perhaps the best account of the Christian creed during this epoch is that given by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, at the beginning of his treatise *Against Heresies*. "The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples this faith: (she believes) in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advent, and the birth from a Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh, of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His (future)

manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father to gather all things in one, and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess to Him, and that He should execute just judgment towards all ; that He may send spiritual wickednesses and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly and unrighteous and wicked and profane among men, into everlasting fire ; but He may, in the exercise of His grace, confer immortality on the righteous and holy, and those who have kept His commandments, and have persevered in His love, some from the beginning (of their Christian course), and others from (the date of) their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory.”¹

3. It will be noted that many expressions in the foregoing paragraph correspond very nearly with parts of the *Beginnings of the "Apostles' Creed."* That formulary, however, had not yet assumed its permanent shape, in which it is first found substantially in a letter written by Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, in vindication of his orthodoxy, to Julius, bishop of Rome, A. D. 337. It belongs to the Western Churches, and was probably a compendium of the baptismal confessions which were variously in use,¹ but which were scarcely ever committed to writing. The basis of the confession was undoubtedly the formula, "I believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost ;" this being expanded from its primitive simplicity by different Churches and pastors as they might think fit.² One of these forms of profession, said to

¹ *Irenæus against Heresies*, Book i. ch. 10, *A. N. L.*, vol. i. p. 42. See also Dr. Schaff's *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, 1877, where the originals of this and other passages are given.

² See the full discussion of this point in the work of M. Nicolas, *Le Symbole des Apôtres*; Paris, 1867. Also

in Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*; Murray, 1875. Dr. Swainson thinks that Marcellus was the compiler of the creed; pp. 155, 158. It appears in forms somewhat nearer to its present shape, in the writings attributed to Augustine (born 354, died 430), also in Rufinus of Aquileia (*ab.* 390), and Venantius Fortunatus (*ab.* 570);

have been employed at the baptism of a convert named Venustianus, A.D. 303, is probably genuine, and marks the general outline of the baptismal Creed at the close of the period now under review.

“Dost thou believe in God the Almighty Father?

Venustianus answered, I believe.

And in Jesus Christ His Son?

He answered, I believe.

And in the Holy Ghost?

He answered, I believe.

And in Him who suffered and rose again?

He answered, I believe.

And in Him who ascended to heaven, and will come again to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire?

He answered, I believe.

And in His coming and kingdom,

In the forgiveness of sins,

And the resurrection of the flesh?

Venustianus answered, I believe in Christ, the Son of God, and may He give me light.”

but in its precise modern form it first occurs in a treatise by one Pirminius, a Benedictine, who died about A.D. 758. See Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 108. The *Apostolical Constitutions* give a somewhat more elaborate form: “I believe and am baptized into one unbegotten Being, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and unto the Lord Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, the first-born of the whole creation, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those in earth, visible and invisible, who in the last days descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the Holy Virgin Mary, and did converse holily according to the laws of His God and Father, and was crucified

under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead, after the passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and again is to come at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent to the Apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles to all that believe in the Holy Catholic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come. *Apost. Const.* vii. 41, *A. N. L.*, p. 201.

§ 2. CHRISTIAN MORALS.

1. The interior life of the Churches, so far as we can trace it, *Isolation from the World.* presents the great essentials of Christian faith and love, with rigorous separation from the world, and a sedulous care to maintain strict ecclesiastical discipline. The public amusements were forsworn ; intermarriages with unbelievers were disapproved if not wholly forbidden ; the arts and literature of the world were repudiated. As will be shown hereafter, the chief dissensions and schisms of the Church in this period were occasioned by the necessity of dealing with those whom persecution had led to renounce their faith. Uncompromising severity in this matter was perhaps necessarily the law of the militant Church ; while on the other hand the gentleness and charity of the Gospel found full expression in the treatment of poor and suffering fellow-believers. Such was the contrast between the selfishness of heathenism and the spirit of the new religion that the cry became proverbial, whether uttered in mere wonder, or in half-reluctant sympathy, " See how these Christians love one another." ¹

2. A vivid delineation of the Christian life in its main features as exemplified in the second century is given by Justin Martyr in his First Apology. " We follow," he says, " the only unbegotten God through His Son: we who formerly delighted in fornication, now embrace charity alone ; we who formerly used magical arts, dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God ; we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock, and communicate to every one in need ; we who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not sit by the same hearth or fire with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, to the end that they

Justin's description of the Christian Life.

¹ Tertullian, *Apology*, c. 39.

may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God, the ruler of all." ¹ The value of this sketch is that it is virtually a *challenge* to the Gentile world. Had its lines been exaggerated or false, the reply of the enemies of Christianity would have been easy. The long quotations from the Sermon on the Mount which Justin appends to his description appeal to the highest standard of all; and he would have scarcely ventured thus to write had he been conscious that the actual life of Christians would not abide this test.

3. Yet more interesting is the testimony of a foe, the witty and *Testimony of* impious Lucian. Speaking of his hero Peregrinus (no *Lucian.* doubt an adumbration of Ignatius), imprisoned for his faith, Lucian adds, "the attention of the Christians to him was zealous and unremitting. From early dawn you might see widows and orphans waiting at his prison-doors, and the men of rank among them even bribed the jailers to allow them to pass the night with him inside the walls. There they brought in to him their sumptuous meals, and read their sacred books together; and this good Peregrinus was termed by them a second Socrates. There came certain Christians, too, from some of the cities in Asia, deputed by their community to bring him aid, and to counsel and encourage him. For they are wonderfully ready whenever their public interest is concerned; in short they grudge nothing, and so much money came in to Peregrinus at that time, by reason of his imprisonment, that he made a considerable income by it. For these poor wretches persuade themselves that they shall be immortal, and live for ever-lasting; so that they despise death, and some of them offer themselves to it voluntarily. Again, their first Lawgiver taught them that they were all brothers, when once they had committed themselves so far as to renounce the gods of the Greeks, and to worship that crucified sophist, and live according to his laws. So they hold all things alike in contempt, and consider all property common, trusting each other in such matters without any valid security. If, therefore, any clever impostor came among them who knew

¹ Justin, *Apology*, i. 14, *A. N. L.*, p. 17.

how to manage matters, he very soon made himself a rich man by practising upon the credulity of these simple people.”¹

§ 3. ERRORS AND EXAGGERATIONS.

The very mistakes and fanaticism which characterized the period were but the perversions of the heroic spirit. Of the actual heresies which divided the Churches of the third century, notice will be taken in a subsequent chapter ; it may suffice at present to point out two tendencies, both occasioned by the Church's long and anxious warfare with the world, but both fraught with spiritual evil.

1. The first was the importance attached to the fact of suffering for the truth. It was perhaps needful to sustain the courage of those who might at any moment be called to bonds or death, by giving special honour to those whose faith had borne the trial : but this heroism soon became excessive. Distinctions between those who had suffered were introduced and carefully maintained. “Confessors,” or those who had maintained the truth before heathen persecutors, and had endured imprisonment or torture, were regarded as a spiritual aristocracy, their teachings and opinions being received with the greatest deference. To the martyrs the highest honour was paid, first to their memory, afterwards to themselves. Miracles were said to be wrought at the place of execution, and afterwards at their tombs ; their relics were carefully preserved, in the earlier part of the epoch with affectionate esteem, in the later with superstitious reverence. Hence arose the relic worship of a corrupt Church in after-times ; while we have the beginnings already seen of the invocation of saints. The effect upon the living was very marked. It was not enough that they were ready for martyrdom, they began to court it, to press forward to the martyr's crown. Even where lenient or pitying magistrates would have let them go, they insisted upon their right to suffer. “Unhappy

Undue value attached to suffering for the Truth.

¹ Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini*, 12, 13 ; the translation is by Rev W. Lucas Collins. See also Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Part II. vol. ii. p. 213.

men!" exclaimed an Asiatic proconsul, "if you are thus weary of your lives is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?" To restrain this unnatural eagerness is a frequent lesson with the wisest of their teachers. The noble readiness, as of Ignatius, to die was one thing; but to the gratuitous sacrifice of life, even for the noblest cause, "the sober decision of reason must annex the name and guilt of suicide."¹

2. An evil akin to the former was the exaggeration of the *Ascetic virtues exaggerated.* ascetic virtues. The world of heathenism was so utterly corrupt that a total renunciation of it appeared the duty of Christians; even lawful indulgences being surrendered or pronounced unworthy of the higher life of faith. Rigorous fastings were practised, worldly property was renounced, conjugal intercourse was forbidden. No communities of celibates, indeed, as yet existed; the whole monastic system was the growth of a later age; but all through the Churches there were those who strove to attain a superior sanctity by renunciation of ordinary duties and enjoyments. A direct result of persecution was to drive many as fugitives from their homes; some sought the *Beginning of Monasticism.* wilderness, and lived henceforth in seclusion. Hence may be traced the beginnings of the anchorite or eremite life, afterwards so marked a feature of Christian asceticism. The first hermits of whom we have any record were Egyptian Christians from Alexandria and neighbouring cities, who fled into the desert during the Decian persecution. But the clergy especially, as set apart to the service of God, were regarded as called to an ascetic life; not yet forbidden to marry, they were so early as the second century prohibited from a second marriage; while in the third, many held it to be their duty to separate from their wives after ordination, a canon to enforce this being unsuccessfully proposed at the Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305.

3. Meantime the excesses and corruptions which invariably *Reaction towards excess.* spring from an enforced asceticism became scandalously apparent; and Christian writers of the second

¹ Bp. Kaye, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 142.

and third centuries indignantly denounce the conduct of many who under cover of high spiritual pretensions indulged the grossest vices.¹

With every drawback, however, the character of the Christian Society as a community separated from the world was definite and recognized. This definiteness was further maintained by *organization, discipline, and ordinances of worship* peculiar to the Church.

§ 4. ORGANIZATION.

1. It has already been shown that the primitive Christian *Groupings of Societies* were scattered and independent, formed *Churches.* wherever the ministry of Apostles or Evangelists might be successful in winning souls to Christ. By a very natural tendency these societies would form themselves into groups around some numerous church or important city, the chief pastor in which would as naturally take a position of *Bishops and more or less recognized superiority.* Very soon the *Presbyters.* title of Bishop was restricted to the leading ministers; the presbyters, of whom there were often several in one church, taking a lower position, until the precedence conceded became an authority enforced.

2. "The diocese," says Milman, "grew up in two ways. (1.) In *Growth of the the larger cities the rapid increase of the Christians* *Diocese.* led necessarily to the formation of separate congregations, which to a certain extent required each its proper organization, yet invariably remained subordinate to the single bishop. In Rome, towards the beginning of the fourth century, there were about forty churches rendering allegiance to the prelate of the metropolis. (2.) Christianity was first established in the towns and cities, and from each centre diffused itself with more or less success into the adjacent country. In some of these country congregations bishops appear to have been established, yet their *Mor-*
episcopi, or rural bishops, maintained some subordination to the

¹ See Isaac Taylor, *Ancient Christianity*, vol. i. p. 71: Cyprian, *Letter to Pomponius.*

head of the mother Church ; or, where the converts were fewer, the rural Christians remained members of the mother Church in the city. In Africa, from the immense number of bishops, each community seems to have had its own superior ; but this was peculiar to this province. In general, the churches adjacent to the towns or cities either originally were, or became, the diocese of the city bishop : for as soon as Christianity became the religion of the State the powers of the rural bishops were restricted, and the office at length was either abolished or fell into disuse." ¹

3. It is an interesting and important question, whether the *Function of the Bishops.* functions and prerogatives of the clergy, as they were understood in the early Churches, were regarded as derived from the apostles by way of direct descent, or whether they arose from the Church itself, through the necessity of some organization to orderly and harmonious working. On the one hand, it is difficult to interpret the language which Ignatius uses regarding the episcopate in any other sense than that he held the order as Divine. Thus, in his letter to the Ephesians, according to the Greek recension, we have him saying : " We ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household, as we would do Him that sent him. It is manifest, therefore, that we should look upon the bishop as we would upon the Lord Himself." ² A similar view is found in the *Clementines* and in the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The bishop is represented as occupying the place of Christ, and the presbyters as representing the apostles. But this was not by any means the deliberate, formulated belief of the Churches ; and the words of the great martyr, if genuine, may best be taken as strongly asserting the necessity of order as essential to the well-being of the Christian community. Not yet was the distinction between bishop and presbyter defined, with the sharpness of an after-age. " Irenæus

¹ *History of Christianity*, Book iv. ch. i. (vol. iii. p. 362).

² *To the Ephesians*, ch. vi. We quote from the shorter Greek recension (see p. 119) ; the chapter, and

corresponding passages elsewhere, are totally absent from the Syriac version. See the Ep. *to the Magnesians*, ch. vi. vii., and *to the Trallians*, ch. ii.

calls Polycarp indifferently 'bishop' and 'presbyter'; and, what is even more significant, in a formal letter to the head of the Roman Church, in which, from the circumstances of the case, he would be least likely to omit any form of either right or courtesy, he speaks of his predecessors by name as 'presbyters.'¹ The bishop (*episcopus*) was still the presiding elder; when a smaller community was formed from a larger, a presbyter would be detached to superintend it: and the process by which this office passed into that of a bishop was almost imperceptible. The president of the Church was naturally also its chief teacher, the administrator in its ordinances, the almoner of its poor. It was not until the third and subsequent centuries that "the bishops claimed for themselves exceptional powers, and that the relation of primacy ultimately changed into a relation of supremacy." Jerome, in a subsequent age, expressly says, "that the Churches were originally governed by a plurality of presbyters, but that in course of time one was elected to preside over the rest as a remedy against division, lest different presbyters, having different views of doctrine, should, by each of them drawing a portion of the community to himself, cause divisions in it."²

4. Nor was there as yet a sharply-defined line between the clergy and the laity. On the one hand, bishops and presbyters, while exercising their ecclesiastical functions, were often engaged in secular callings. "There is no early trace of the later idea that buying and selling, handicraft and farming, were in themselves inconsistent with the office of a Christian minister. The bishops and presbyters of those early days kept banks, practised medicine, wrought as silversmiths, tended sheep, or sold their goods in open market. They were men of the world taking part in the ordinary business of life."³ On the other hand,

¹ See Bishop Lightfoot's important Dissertation on "the Christian ministry," appended to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, pp. 179-267; also *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (Bampton

Lectures for 1880), by the Rev. Edwin Hatch, M.A.

² Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 90, 98.

³ See refs. in Hatch, p. 148.

there was no rule against the admission of a 'layman' to preach; excepting when a presbyter or bishop was present,¹ they might even baptize or preside at the Eucharist in case of need. *The Apostolical Constitutions* enjoin: "Even if a teacher be a layman, still, if he be skilled in the Word and reverent in habit, let him teach; for the Scripture says, 'They shall be all taught of God.'" "The officers of the Church," says Mr. Hatch, "existed in the Christian societies as those who bore the same names existed in secular societies, for the general superintendence of the community, and the general control of its affairs, that all things might be done 'decently and in order.'" ² The Church was itself complete even though it might be without officers: "Wherever three are, a Church is, albeit they are laics." Nor was the Christian ministry regarded as a priest-
Sacerdotal hood. The word was indeed occasionally and hesitat-
claims. ingly applied,³ but until the days of Tertullian and Cyprian without any thought of an actual sacerdotal commission and power. This idea was first formulated by the latter: Cyprian "was," says Bishop Lightfoot, "the first to put forward without relief or disguise these sacerdotal assumptions; and so uncompromising was the tone in which he asserted them, that nothing was left to his successors but to enforce his principles and reiterate his language."⁴ "In earlier times," writes Mr. Hatch, eloquently and truly, "there was a grander faith. For the kingdom of God was a kingdom of priests. Not only the 'four-and-twenty elders' before the throne, but the innumerable souls of the sanctified upon whom 'the second death had no power,' were 'kings and priests unto God.' Only in that high sense was priesthood predicable of Christian men. For the shadow had passed; the Reality had come; the one High Priest of Christianity was Christ."⁵

¹ See the case of Origen.

² *Exhortation to Charity*, ch. vii., *A. N. L.* Tert. vol. iii. p. 11.

³ Thus Origen has *ιερεὺς*, Tertullian *sacerdos*, as an allowable appellation of the bishop, but not as a designation of the clergy.

⁴ *Philippians*, p. 257. Tertullian, however, had already freely used the words *sacerdos*, *sacerdotium*, of the Christian ministry; while still recognizing the universal priesthood of believers.

⁵ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 139.

5. The representative assemblies of the Churches, whether *Synods and Councils*, convened from a larger or a smaller area, were simply consultative. They were convened at first in an informal way, when any question of doctrine or discipline arose in which it was held desirable to have a collective opinion. But we have ample evidence, in the first place, that the resolutions of such assemblies were not binding upon other groups of Churches; and secondly, that even in the same group the decision was not necessarily binding. A dissentient minority had still their rights.¹ Yet the acts of such Councils, so far as they have been preserved to us, are of high importance, as showing the opinions and the tone of the early Church; the very enumeration of the topics discussed serving as valuable evidence respecting the questions which then were uppermost. No doubt many Synods were held of which no record remains. Those which are known have been exhaustively described by Dr. Hefele; ² his classification being as follows:

Enumeration of Synods. *First two centuries.* Synods relative to Montanism: Concerning the Feast of Easter: Doubtful Synods of the Second Century.

Third century. First half of the Century: Synods at Carthage, Alexandria, Rome, Asia Minor, Arabia: Synods at Carthage and Rome, on account of Novatianism and the *Lapsi* (A.D. 251): Relative to the Baptism of Heretics (A.D. 255, 256): Synod of Narbonne (A.D. 255-260), on the Character of the Bishop Paul: Synods at Arsinoë and Rome (A.D. 255, 260), on Millenarianism and Sabellianism: Three Synods at Antioch, on account of Paul of Samosata (A.D. 264-269), the first great anti-Trinitarian teacher, as will afterwards be shown.

¹ Cyprian (Epist. 51, § 21, p. 145, *A. N. L.*) expressly says, in reference to certain bishops who had disagreed with the rest on the indulgence to be granted to repentant adulterers, that their dissent should not cause them to be separated from the Church. "While the bond of concord remains, and the undivided sacrament of the Catholic Church endures, every bishop disposes

and directs his own acts, and will have to give an account of his purposes to the Lord."

² *Conciliengeschichte*. "A History of the Christian Councils, from the original Documents," vol. i., to the close of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. Translated by the Rev. W. R. Clark, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

First Twenty Years of the Fourth Century. Pretended Synod of Sinuessa, Italy (A.D. 303), on the alleged compliance of Marcellinus, the Roman Bishop, with idolatrous practices: Synod of Cirta in Numidia (A.D. 305), on the charge made against the bishops of surrendering the sacred books: Synod of Alexandria (A.D. 306), by which Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, was deposed for sacrificing to idols: Synod of Eliberis, or Elvira, in Spain (A.D. 305 or 306), the eighty-one canons of which are among our most valuable sources of testimony to the usages of the early Church, to the prevailing sins of the time, and to the great topics of ecclesiastical discussion: Synods respecting the Donatists (A.D. 312, 313), held in many places, finally in Rome: Synod of Arles, in Gaul (A.D. 314), which has left us twenty-two canons of great interest, as bearing on the relations between bishops, presbyters, and deacons, at the close of the period now under review: Synod of Ancyra (A.D. 314), after the death of the persecutor Maximin, when the Church "began to breathe freely;" and it became necessary to consider the measures to be taken with regard to those who had more or less conformed from fear to heathen usages during the dark days that had ceased. This Synod promulgated twenty-five canons: and lastly, the Synod of Neo-Cæsarea, in Cappadocia (about A.D. 320?), devoted its fifteen canons to questions respecting the officers of the Church, and the rule of marriage.

Reference to these several canons will be found in these pages under the subjects to which they relate. The heresies mentioned in this brief enumeration of contents, and the controversies to which they gave rise, will be noticed in the next chapter.

§ 5. THE ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH: BAPTISM.

I. Considerable obscurity hangs over the earlier references during this period to the place and work of BAPTISM. From *Christian Baptism.* the words employed in the designation of the ordinance, "regenerated" and "enlightened," as well as from the

great importance attached to its due administration, it would seem to have been regarded as of saving efficacy. It is certain that a reliance upon the sacraments as essential means of grace was one of the very earliest forms of departure from the simplicity of the primitive faith. It is hardly surprising, that the converts from heathenism found it difficult to appreciate the spirituality of a religion without priest or earthly sacrifice or mystery of initiation. Too eagerly, in the simple ordinances bequeathed by the Founder of Christianity, they discerned some analogy with the *Sacramental Mysteries.* rites and ceremonies of the worship that they had left. Add to this that the ordinances are symbolic, and that men have always been prone to idolize the emblems of truth as containing in themselves the reality. Then perhaps the secrecy and risk with which Christians were often compelled to conduct their worship made every act and expression of their faith more intensely precious. Associations of mystery and awe rapidly grew up around services which their Master had bid them practise at the peril of their lives. The "sacramenta,"¹ pledges of allegiance, became mystic initiations, direct channels of communication with heavenly powers; to be baptized was to be born again; to partake the Eucharist was to eat of heavenly food. Expressions of devotional ecstasy, uttered in the unreflecting fervour of early faith, were construed too literally; and the tenet of baptismal regeneration, like the dogma of transubstantiation afterwards, was but "rhetoric turned into logic."² The tendency to exaggerate the spiritual importance of baptism displayed itself in two opposite practical tendencies, observable so early in the second century as to make it exceedingly difficult to decide upon the usage of that era in regard to infant baptism. On the one hand, it was argued that the benefit was so vast that it might not be denied to babes,—in it was salvation; it could not be withheld without peril, therefore, for one

¹ The word *sacramentum* originally denoted in particular the Roman soldier's oath of fidelity. It is easy to see how, not inappropriately, it was applied to the Christian ordinances.

In these the believer assumed and recognized his place under the banner of Christ, the Captain of salvation.

² Selden, *Table-Talk*.

day of this mortal life. But, on the other hand, sins committed after baptism, having in them the nature of apostasy, were so doubly ruinous to the soul that it was well to delay until the habits of piety were settled, and there was the less danger of forfeiting the grace. Hence we find in some quarters a disposition to *hasten*, in others to *postpone*, the administration of the rite; an illustration of the former tendency being in the decision of Cyprian, that an infant might be baptized at the very hour of birth; and of the latter in the death-bed baptism of the Emperor Constantine.¹

2. The earliest passage cited from any Christian father in support

of infant baptism is that of Irenæus:—"For he came to save all through means of Himself,—all, I say, who through Him are born again to God—infants and children, and boys, and girls, and youths, and old men,—He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, thus sanctifying those who are of this age, being at the same time made to them an example of piety, righteousness, and submission; a youth for youths, becoming an example to youths, and thus sanctifying them for the Lord"²—where it is evident that the sense of the passage turns upon the writer's application of the phrase "born again;" the reference to baptism being maintained by some, denied by others.

3. The first discussion of the subject is by Tertullian, who argues against infant baptism on the ground that so precious a gift should not be conferred upon those not old enough to use it aright. "Let them come, then, while they are growing up; let them come while they are learning, while they are being taught whither to come; let them become Christians when they have become able to know Christ. Why does the innocent period of life hasten to the remission of sins? More caution will be exercised in worldly matters; so that one who is *not* trusted with earthly substance *is* trusted

¹ Pædobaptists accordingly, in the restriction of baptism to those of riper years discern the working of the latter tendency; their opponents trace the practice of infant baptism to the other.

The error, on whichever side it lies, originated in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

² *Against all Heresies*, Bk. II. c., xxii. § 4, *A. N. L.* p. 200.

with Divine ! Let them know how to ask for salvation, that you may seem (at least) to have given to him that asketh." ¹

On the same ground Tertullian argues against the baptism of the unmarried, which somewhat weakens the force of his preceding argument. As a testimony to the practice of the Church in Tertullian's time, it is argued by the upholders of infant baptism that his very opposition proves the practice to have been *general* ; while its opponents reply that the fact of his protesting against it disproves its *apostolicity*, as he would hardly have ventured to question an admitted primitive tradition. Certain it is that after the age of Tertullian the baptism of infants was general in the Western Church ; the usage of the East is more doubtful.

4. The importance attributed to the ordinance led to a similar divergence in the mode of its administration. *Modes of Baptism.* What ever may have been the apostolic form, it is certain that the practice of a trine immersion, into the name of each person of the Trinity separately, was prevalent in the second century.² The rite was then made as elaborate as possible. But, on the other hand, it was held necessary to baptize sick and dying persons, to assure to them the hope of salvation. Obviously in their case the water could only be applied by affusion, which was accordingly called clinical baptism (*baptismus clinicorum*).

5. Candidates for baptism who had passed the period of infancy *Catechumens.* were termed catechumens, and were subjected to long probation and training, and subsequently they were divided into three classes, viz., *audientes* (hearers), *genusflectentes* (kneeling), *competentes* (fully instructed). These last were candidates for baptism fully accepted. Says Justin, "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray, and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there

¹ *On Baptism*, c. 18, Vol. I. p. 253, p. 395 ; *Teaching of the Apostles*, ch. A. N. L. vii. 1. In the lack of water, pouring is permitted.

² See *Tertullian against Praxeas*, ch. xxvi., A. N. L. ; *Works*, Vol. II.

is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water.”¹

6. The baptismal ordinance was usually administered on some great festival of the Church, especially Whitsuntide. *Additions to the Baptismal rite.* The baptism was followed by anointing, the symbol of spiritual priesthood, and by the laying on of hands (confirmation), a ceremony performed in the East by the administrator, whether presbyter or deacon, but in the West reserved for the bishop only, as soon after baptism as possible. In the third century the formula of exorcism was added, as expressing a complete deliverance from Satan and his works.

§ 6. THE ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH: THE EUCHARIST.

1. The remarks above offered on the importance attributed to baptism will also apply to the LORD'S SUPPER. *Views respecting the Communion.* Taking the literal meaning of the passages in which this ordinance is spoken of by Christian writers, it seems difficult to resist the belief that so early as the middle of the second century it was regarded as a partaking of the very body and blood of Christ. Thus Ignatius calls the Lord's Supper a “medicine of immortality,” and avows that “the Eucharist is the flesh of the Saviour.” Justin says we are taught that it is flesh and blood. According to Irenæus it is not common bread, but a Eucharist consisting of two elements, the earthly and the heavenly; and, in consequence of partaking it, our bodies are already incorruptible, having the hope of resurrection. Tertullian and Cyprian employ similar language, while at the same time they represent in some passages the Lord's Supper rather as a symbol. Clement and Origen consider that it is the object of the Lord's Supper that the soul should be fed with the Divine Word. On the other hand, the heathen, misinterpreting the rhetorical language of Christian teachers, charge them with renewing in their feasts the cannibal orgies of

¹ *First Apology*, ch. lxi., *A. N. L.*, p. 59.

Thyestes.¹ The idea of priestly consecration of the elements, or of the renewal in any sense of the great sacrifice, is, however, quite alien to the thought of the period. Still less was there any attempt to exclude the laity from participation in the cup. The service was termed distinctively the Eucharist, the great thanksgiving of the Christian life.² At a period too early to trace, the Trisagion, or *Thrice Holy!* was an invariable accompaniment of the ordinance, while the *Amen* of the communicants was as constant. At first the ordinance followed and closed the "agapé," or love-feast, but when Trajan, at the close of the first century, issued his edict against secret societies, these meetings were discontinued for a time, and the Lord's Supper was attached to an ordinary Lord's day service, an arrangement which became permanent.

2. At the close of the sermon the ordinary congregation was dismissed, then, after another prayer, the catechumens; *Missa, and the Mass.* the communicants only remaining. The service was termed *missa*,³ from the act of "dismission;" hence our English "mass," a word which thus in its origin had no superstitious associations. A contribution was usually made for the expense of the bread and wine, any overplus being distributed among the poor. From the close connexion of the words signifying offering and *Eucharist and sacrifice*, this "offertory" was sometimes spoken of in *Sacrifice.* sacrificial terms, and the word *εὐχαριστία*, which may signify thank-offering as well as thanksgiving, was applied to this particular act. Hence by easy transition the application in later times of the word *θυσία*, sacrifice proper, to the ordinance. But the notion of a propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist was quite foreign to the religious thought of the second and former part of the third centuries,⁴ while it need not be added that no attempt

¹ This summary of opinion is chiefly from Kurtz, *Geschichte*, § 55, note 4.

² *Εὐχαριστία*, from the original record of the institution; *εὐχαριστήσας*, "having given thanks." The word is used as a designation of the Lord's Supper by Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* § 7; also by Justin, *Apol.* I. § 66 (p. 64),

Teaching of the Apostles, ix. 1; and the Latin form *Eucharistia* by Tertullian and Cyprian.

³ *Missa Catechumenorum*, "dismission of the catechumens;" *missa fidelium*, "dismission of the faithful."

⁴ See Justin Martyr, *Dial. Trypho*, xli. The Eucharistic "sacrifice" is

was made to analyse the mystery or sacrament by any theory of "transubstantiation."

§ 7. PUBLIC WORSHIP.

1. As the Churches increased in number and importance, it became requisite to provide special places for their assembling. The private houses, the places of general resort, or, in times of persecution, the desert caves or catacombs where the early Christians had held their services, proved now insufficient for their needs. Hence were raised such plain, simple structures as a poor and oppressed people could provide, though without any notion, as yet, of special sacredness. Thus Origen expressly writes, "We do refuse to build lifeless temples to the Giver of all life."¹ Arnobius in like manner challenges the Gentiles: "Do we honour Him with shrines, and by building temples?"² "What is the meaning," asked Lactantius,³ "of temples and altars?" Minucius Felix⁴ represents the opponents of Christians as asking, "Why have they no altars, no temples?" The true and only earthly temple, in the estimation of those early believers, was the heart dedicated to God and purified by the indwelling Spirit; so the place of worship was at first simply called *ecclesia*, the name of the assembly being transferred to the building.⁵ The name, again, *dominicum* (κυριακόν) "is at least as old as Cyprian; but he applies it not only to the church, but to the Lord's Supper, and perhaps the Lord's day. For the word *dominicum* signifies three things in ancient writers:—(1) the Lord's day; (2) the Lord's Supper; (3) the Lord's house."⁶ No description of these buildings has come down to us, nor are there any certain remains of churches erected during the first three centuries. The only notices of their existence are incidental, as in the adjudication by Alexander

typified, he says, by the Levitical offering of fine flour; and ch. cxvi.: "God receives sacrifices from no one except through His priests": therefore, Justin argues, we, as Christians, are "the true high-priestly race of God."

¹ *Against Celsus*, viii. 19.

² *Adversum Gentes*, vi. 3.

³ *Divine Institutes*, Bk. II. ch. ii.

⁴ *Octavius*, p. 29.

⁵ See Suicer, *Thesaurus*, sub voce.

⁶ Bingham, *Ecc. Antiq.*, Bk. VIII. ch. i.

Severus, of which mention was made in a former chapter,¹ and especially in the fact that the persecution under Diocletian begun by the destruction of the churches.² Bingham has collected several passages from the writers of the second and third centuries referring more or less explicitly to the places of Christian assembling.³ Thus Clement of Alexandria uses the name *ecclesia* for the place as well as the congregation. Tertullian speaks against Christians who follow the trade of idol-making, "bemoaning that any should come from among his idols into the church, that he should come into the house of God from the shop of His enemy, and lift up those hands to God the Father which were the mothers or makers of idols."⁴ Cyprian, as has been already noted, speaks of the place of worship as the *dominicum*,⁵ and Dionysius of Alexandria refers to the building as the "house of God." Gregory Thaumaturgus is also stated by his biographer, Gregory of Nyssa, to have built several churches in different parts of Pontus.

2. The general services of the congregation consisted chiefly of *Service of* prayers, singing of hymns, and reading the Scriptures, *Song.* with brief comments. It has been seen in the letter of Pliny to Trajan that it was the singing which made the deepest impression on heathen observers. The hymns were addressed "to Christ as to a God," and were largely extemporized, or composed in rude and homely strains, for each particular Church,

¹ See p. 78.

² Lactantius, *Deaths of Persecutors*, ch. xii.

³ The most striking of these passages, that from Ignatius (*Ad Magnes*, vii.), is a little doubtful in meaning. In the shorter recension it reads thus (*A. N. L.*): "Being come together into the same place, let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and joy undefiled. There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is more excellent. Do ye therefore run together, as into one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father, and is with and has gone to

One." This passage, as it thus stands, certainly does not bear out Bingham's assertion, after Mede, that Ignatius "calls *the place τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ*, 'the temple of God.'"

⁴ *De Idololatriâ*, c. vii.

⁵ A letter of Cyprian (*Epist. lv.*), referring to the intrusion of the "lapsed" into the assembly of believers, speaks indignantly of pagan altars and images replacing the altar of the Lord, and entering into the "sacrum venerandum consessum" of the clergy. This last phrase Bingham translates somewhat freely, "the sanctuary, where the venerable bench of our clergy sit."

without thought of further publication. The great Greek and Latin hymns belong for the most part to a later age ; but one has come down to us in the writings of Clement of Alexandria which, as the first extant Christian hymn, deserves to be quoted. It is throughout an address to Christ,¹ and was written for the young, being found at the close of Clement's *Pædagogus*, or "Instructor."

"Bridle of untamed colts, Wing of unwandering birds, sure Helm of babes, Shepherd of royal lambs, assemble Thy simple children to praise holily, to hymn guilelessly with innocent mouths, Christ the Guide of children. O King of saints, all-subduing Word of the most high Father, Ruler of wisdom, Support of sorrows, that rejoicest in the ages ; Jesus, Saviour of the human race, Shepherd, Husbandman, Helm, Bridle, Heavenly Wing of the all-holy flock ; Fisher of men who are saved, catching the chaste fishes with sweet life from the hateful wave of a sea of vices, guide (us). Shepherd of rational sheep, guide unharmed children, O Holy King, O footsteps of Christ, O heavenly Way, perennial Word, immeasurable Age, eternal Light, Fount of mercy, Performer of virtue ; noble (is the) life of those who hymn God, O Christ Jesus, heavenly Milk of the sweet breasts of the graces of the Bride, pressed out of Thy wisdom. Babes nourished with tender mouths, filled with the dewy spirit of rational nourishment, let us sing together simple praises, true hymns to Christ (our) King ; holy tribute for the teaching of life ; let us sing in simplicity the almighty Child. O choir of peace, the Christ-begotten, O chaste people, let us sing together the God of peace."²

¹ Στόμιον πόλων ἀδαῶν, πτερόν ὀρνίθων ἀπλανῶν, κ.τ. λ. The hymn is given in Coleman's *Christian Antiquities*, ch. x. p. 12. The translation is from *A. N. L.*, Clement, vol. i. p. 345.

² This earliest of Christian hymns has been thus imitated :—

"Shepherd of tender youth,
Guiding, in love and truth,
Through devious ways ;

Christ, our triumphant King,
We come Thy name to sing,
And here our children bring,
To shout Thy praise.

Thou art our holy Lord,
The all-subduing Word,
Healer of strife :
Thou didst Thyself abase,
That from sin's deep disgrace
Thou mightest save our race,
And give us life.

The psalms were also stately sung; often in response, after the manner of the Jews. We read in the *Apostolical Constitutions* of the morning and evening psalms, and of psalms appointed for the day. This reference, however, takes us no higher than the latter part of the third century, and we are left no inference as to earlier times. Eusebius in the succeeding age speaks of "psalms and hymns written *at the beginning* by the faithful." The music was simple, and sung in unison; the congregation during this part of worship always stood.

3. Prayers in the congregation were simple and brief, adhering *Common Prayer.* as much as possible to Scripture phrase. No liturgy was enjoined, or indeed was in general use; every Church or group of Churches had its own method of prayer—in many cases unwritten, partly perhaps the utterance of the minister himself, partly a form handed down by tradition and repeated "memoriter." The liturgies which have come down to us¹ under the names of James, Mark, and "the Holy Apostles" are undoubtedly the product of a later age; and perhaps the most faithful reproduction of the early prayers of the Church is that to be found in the eighth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. During the prayers the congregation generally stood; the penitents and catechumens knelt. The summons to prayer was given by a deacon:—*Let us pray! Lift up your hearts! (Sursum corda) Kneel!* And when the prayer was over, *Arise!* The people responded *Amen, Hallelujah, Hosanna, Kyrie eleison* (Lord, have

Thou art the great High Priest;
Thou hast prepared the feast
Of heavenly love;
And in our mortal pain
None calls on Thee in vain:
Help Thou dost not refrain,
Help from above.

Be ever near our side,
Our Shepherd and our Guide,
Our Staff and Song:
Jesus, Thou Christ of God,
By Thy perennial word,

Lead us where Thou hast trod,
Make our faith strong.

So now, and till we die,
Sound we Thy praises high,
And joyful sing.
Infants, and the glad throng
Who to thy Church belong,
Unite, and swell the song
To Christ our King."

¹ See translations in *Ante-Nicene Library*, Vol. xxiv.

mercy !). The use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship was forbidden to all but the faithful, and by them was to be uttered silently. The reason of this restriction was partly that only true believers could say, *Our Father*; but partly also the mystic notion that the petition for "daily bread" referred to the Eucharist, which none but the faithful had a right to ask. The Doxology to the Lord's Prayer appears to have been unknown until after the apostolic age.¹

4. The worship began and ended with prayer. In the course of the service, passages from the Old Testament, as *Reading of Scripture, and Preaching.* well as from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, were read, according to Justin and others, by a special officer of the Church, the "Reader." It does not appear that there was any general law as to the course of reading; the lectionary, like the liturgy, was regulated by the authorities of each particular Church. During the reading the people sat, excepting when the Gospels were recited, when they invariably stood. "After the reading," says Justin, "the president of the assembly makes application of the word, and exhorts us to an imitation of the virtues which it inculcates." Here then we have the *sermon*, but in its rudimental form; the custom of delivering carefully-prepared and rhetorical discourses having begun with Origen.

¹ It is accordingly absent from all critical editions of Matt. vi. 13. See New Test., Revised Version. It is,

however, found in the *Didaché*, with the omission of "the kingdom."

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTROVERSIES, HERESIES, AND SCHISMS.

§ 1. CAUSES OF HERESY : GENERAL VIEW.

IT has been already said that the age now under review was distinguished by but little fulness and accuracy of theological thought ; yet the spirit of speculation could not be altogether laid to rest, and in doctrinal disputes that arose, in some cases dividing the Church, we perceive the germs of the more serious and sustained discussions of later times. The Churches that were formed from Jewish communities retained a lingering attachment to the ancient ritual. Converted heathens strove if possible to reconcile the new belief with their old philosophies. In a multitude of wild theories, current through those two hundred years, we discern but the backward look of hesitating, half-enlightened souls. Dissensions also arose within the Churches, on matters of ecclesiastical order, Christian conduct, and Church discipline. Men strove to raise by sudden and unnatural methods the imperfect Church to an ideal purity ; their zeal passed into extravagance and provoked reaction. From all these causes arose controversies : some on points that will probably always divide religious thinkers ; others on matters peculiar to the time, to us of infinitesimal importance, or altogether absurd.

In estimating these varieties of opinion, we must remember *The Witnesses* that we have to rely mainly on the testimony of the *partial.* victorious side. The writings of "heretics" and

“schismatics”¹ have, for the most part, perished; and it is more than probable that, could they be heard, they might in some respects modify our unfavourable judgment. Marcion might question the accuracy of the version which Tertullian gives of his doctrines; and even Valentinus might repudiate the system which seems so absurd in the hands of Irenæus; while Novatian and Donatus would indignantly deny the aspersions cast by the orthodox upon their moral character. Making all allowances, however, it is possible to trace the main lines of the greater controversies which arose during the two centuries. In some cases the Church was actually divided, either by the excommunication of the heretical party, or by the secession of the schismatical teacher with his followers. In other cases there was internal dissension without formal division, and the dispute was settled either by the submission of the innovator or the intervention of a synod.

§ 2. OUTLINE OF THE LEADING HERESIES.

In attempting a brief view of the multifarious schisms of this age, the first place must be given to those which were occasioned by the remains of Judaism in the Churches; and the second to those in which it was vainly sought to harmonize the ideas of pagan philosophy with the Christian revelation. The terms Ebionism and Gnosticism may be taken as conveniently representing those two forms of error respectively, Manichæism being essentially kindred with the latter. Entering next within the limits of the Church itself, we may classify the chief controversies which dis-

¹ “Men do separate themselves either by *heresy*, *schism*, or *apostacy*. If they lose the bond of faith, which then they are justly supposed to do when they frowardly oppugn any principal point of Christian doctrine, this is to separate themselves by *heresy*. If they break the bond of unity, whereby the body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forsake all external

communi-ⁿ with saints in holy exercises, purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselves by *schism*. If they willingly cast off, and utterly forsake both profession of Christ and communion with Christians, taking their leave of all religion, this is to separate themselves by plain *apostacy*.”—Hooker, *Sermons on Jude*, 17-21, § xi.

turbed its peace under the heads of Discipline and Morality, of Ecclesiastical order and of Doctrinal speculation. We thus reach the following general classification :—

I. The Truth, as perverted by foreign admixtures.

II. Discussions, controversies, and schisms in the Church.

In the former division we place the errors that arose from reactionary tendencies : on the one side to Judaism, on the other to Heathenism. The survival of Jewish ideas is seen in the teachings of the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes*, also in those of the *Elkesaites*. The heathenism of the West gives rise, among other strange perversions, to the different schools of *Gnosticism* ; that of the East, to the *Manichæans*.

Within the Church itself, and as a perversion of Christian ideas, we observe, first, some notable efforts to promote *discipline and morality* by mistaken methods ; secondly, the principal schisms that arose respecting *ecclesiastical order* ; and thirdly, the disputes and divisions caused by *doctrinal speculations*, especially concerning the person of our Lord Jesus Christ ; this being in early times the chief subject of theological discussion.

§ 3. JEWISH REACTIONS.

The tenets classed under the general name of *Ebionism* represent the lingering influence of Jewish habits of thought *Remains of Ebionism.* in the Churches of the second and third centuries. It is impossible to distinguish with any minuteness between the doctrines known as “Ebionite” and those called “Nazarene.” The designations were probably used in various places without discrimination, to denote the views of those who still insisted on the observance of the Jewish law as essential to salvation. On the authority of later writers, we learn that the Ebionite congregations had their own Gospels, corrupted or forged ; the most notable being the “Gospel of the Hebrews,” generally reckoned among the New Testament Apocrypha, and professing to be the original Gospel by Matthew. But the chief literary result of

Ebionism appears in the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, described in a former chapter.¹ Their disparagement of the Apostle Paul is their chief theological characteristic; their value to us is mainly derived from the testimony which they give, by constant quotation, to our Canonical Gospels.²

2. Another strange sect, apparently an offshoot of some Ebionite community, with an admixture of heathen speculations, is found at the close of the second century in the deserts east of the Lower Jordan and the Dead Sea. They received the name of Elkesaitæ, it is said, from their founder Elxai,³ who lived at the beginning of the second century, a Jew by birth and training, a student of the Oriental philosophy, and a professed convert to Christianity. His book purported to have been delivered to him in Parthia by an angel; it was brought to Rome by one Alcibiades, early in the third century. That the Elkesaites are explicitly said to have rejected the Epistles of Paul proves that they received some part of the New Testament revelation. They practised circumcision, kept the Jewish Sabbath, and turned to Jerusalem in their prayers. They were addicted to purifications, but repudiated sacrifices. "Not fire," said they, "but water is for us." Christ was to them a human invisible King, but Elxai was a greater prophet, and the last: the likeness here, as Prof. Jeremie remarks, to the pretensions of Mohammed being very striking.

Together with the Clementine Ebionism, we may note in the Elkesaïte teachings the links of Gnosticism of the second and third centuries; in which the Jewish element, although not altogether lost, lends only a tinge of mysticism to the essentially pagan speculation.

¹ See p. 117.

² A useful table of these quotations is given by Sanday: *Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 163-167.

³ Some interpret the name as expressing the doctrine. Compare the

derivation of *Ebionite*, p. 44. הַיְלֵקִי in Hebrew means "hidden power." They appear to have been also called "Sampsæans," as if from *Shemesh*, "sun." Hippolytus gives several extracts from the Book of Elxai.

§ 4. GENTILE INFLUENCES : GNOSTICISM.

The mass of speculations and opinions generally classed as Gnostic included much that was essentially Judaic,¹ and it is quite possible that the earliest perversions of the truth in this direction came from those who had been educated in the ancient faith. But as Christianity became a living influence in the chief seats of Hellenic culture, the influences of heathen philosophy, and especially of the later Platonism, became increasingly manifest. The great effort was to advance from *faith* to *knowledge* (*γνῶσις*), and to present a philosophic system of the universe which should include the fundamental ideas of Christianity. Speculators who had been occupied in the vain attempt to explain the derivation of the finite from the infinite, to account for the origin of evil, and to work out a theory of redemption, caught eagerly at the new solution of these mysteries which the Gospel revelation seemed to give ; yet, unwilling to accept the truth in its simplicity, they cast it into the forms of their own thought, and produced system after system, in which the attempt to combine the teachings of Christ with those of Plato have produced the wildest aberrations. Yet we still labour under the disadvantage of having these opinions mainly at second-hand. Our authorities are those who detested the doctrines, and may not always have understood them. Under such circumstances, even quotation, accurate as far as it goes, may give a wrong impression. Enough, however, remains to assure us as to the broad outlines of Gnosticism ; for discussion as to the innumerable details, we must refer to works on the subject.²

After Menander and Cerinthus, to whom reference was made

¹ See p. 46.

² See the list in Stoughton, *Introduction to Historical Theology*, p. 59, where a brief critical sketch of Gnosticism will be found. In addition to the works there mentioned, Ueberweg's

History of Philosophy, vol. i. pp. 280-290, may be consulted ; and the late Dean Mansel's *Gnostics of the First and Second Centuries*, edited by Bishop Lightfoot, will be found very useful by the student.

in the earlier part of this volume,¹ the current of Gnostic speculation seemed to diverge. "Saturninus, a native of Antioch," writes Eusebius, "and Basilides of Alexandria, established schools of impious heresy in Syria and Egypt respectively."² We thus obtain two main divisions, to which a third, the Asiatic, was afterwards added. The classification is rough, but sufficiently indicates the chief lines of half-heathen thought, which for more than a hundred and fifty years constituted the "rationalism" of the Church.

1. The Syrian Gnosticism, according to Eusebius, was founded by SATURNINUS, who attempted to solve the mystery of the universe by supposing two original and underrived powers, of Good and Evil. The Unknown Father created all spiritual beings, at whose limit were placed the "world-rulers"—the seven spirits, imperfect in power and wisdom, who created the visible world, and fashioned man according to their dim recollection of the Divine image. Jehovah, the God of the Jews, according to Saturninus, was the chief of these seven spirits. To the human creation the Unknown Father imparted a spark of His own essence; but the powers of darkness, led by Satan, fashioned another man, ceaselessly endeavouring to enslave the higher. To effect redemption, therefore, Christ appeared in the likeness, not the reality, of human nature, to rescue from the evil power all who have in them the celestial spark. To accomplish this redemption, a strict asceticism must be maintained, for so only can the chains of matter be broken.

With Saturninus may also be classed TATIAN the Assyrian, whose *Diatessaron* has already been mentioned,³ and Bardesanes of Edessa. The former, after his connection with Justin Martyr, seems to have been led away by the speculations of Saturninus, distinguishing between the Creator of the world and the Unknown Father; the words *Let there be light* being a prayer from the former to the latter. Tatian also

¹ See p. 47.

² *Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 7.

³ See p. 136.

denied the salvation of Adam, a tenet of his which occasioned much controversy in the early Church. He was rigidly ascetic, commanding even the use of water instead of wine at the Eucharist, from which his followers were sometimes called *Hydroparastatae*.¹ A sect of *Encratites*,² "abstinents," claimed Tatian as their leader, although the word is used to denote ascetics in general rather than any particular community.³ Tatian's apologetic treatise, the only work of his that has come down to us, has already been noticed; of Bardesanes little is known. He appears to have followed the dualism of Saturninus, attributing the act of creation to beings below the Highest, and, in particular, denying the resurrection of the body; but to have asserted man's free will, to have protested against many of the perversions of Gnosticism, and to have taken a high place as a champion and teacher of the Christian faith.⁴ From comparing the statements respecting him, it would appear that in the end he renounced his special extravagances of belief, and that his place is rather among the theologians than the heretics of the early Church.

2. Following, again, the guidance of Eusebius, we connect with *Basilides* of the name of BASILIDES the second, or Egyptian school *Alexandria*, of Gnostic thought. Here the dualism of Syria *β. ab. A.D.* comes modified into a kind of pantheism. The Unknown Father of Saturninus becomes the Ineffable God; or, by a higher abstraction still, "absolute non-existence"—a plain anticipation of Hegel. Creation, then, is the passing from non-existence into existence. "God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light.' Whence came the light? From nothing. For He who spake was not, and that which came into being was not."⁵ Thence in a gradually descending series, from the highest spiritual existences to the lowest grades of matter, the world proceeds from the "Ineffable." For redemption, the highest and first-begotten

¹ From ὕδωρ, *water*, and παριστήμι, *daisan*, by Dr. Hort, in Smith's *Dict. Christian Biog.*

² Ἐγκρατεῖς, or ἰσχυραῖται.

³ See p. 107.

⁴ See the elaborate article "Bar-

⁵ Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heretics*, bk. vii. c. 10.

heavenly power (*νοῦς*—Understanding), descended upon the man Jesus at His baptism. Docetism, like Dualism, has no place in the system of Basilides. Faith is self-surrender, to the Redeemer, of souls in which a Divine life already exists, purifying them and preparing them to ascend on high.

Following Basilides, the next Gnostic of note was CARPOCRATES *Carpocrates* of Alexandria, whose system seems to have been more of Alexandria, frankly Platonic and less mystical than that of his *fl. ab. A.D.* predecessor. According to Carpocrates, souls were pre-existent, gazing in the former state on the realm of *Ideas*; purity of earthly life depending on the soul's ability to recall what it then beheld. Jesus was one of a company of pure souls, including Homer, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Paul. The world was created by inferior angels; and Jesus became the Redeemer by resisting the influence of the Deity revealed in the Old Testament, whose law was to be repudiated by all who could attain the life of perfect knowledge. Only the redeemed would pass at death into the spiritual realm; for others was ordained a series of *Epiphanes*. transmigrations. Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, seems to have carried his father's teachings to a communistic extreme;¹ but dying at the early age of seventeen, was deified by the inhabitants of Cephalonia, where he had lived, and where the ruins of the shrine erected to him are still visible.²

VALENTINUS, who taught first at Alexandria, afterwards at Rome, in a far more elaborate scheme, constructed, we *Valentinus,* may say, an ideal universe out of an allegory. For *fl. ab. A.D.* the non-existent Deity of his predecessor he substitutes the conception of Depth (*βυθός*), "a term," says Mansel, "which, while it is not much more definite than the non-existent Deity of Basilides, yet serves to exhibit the absolute First Principle in a positive rather than a negative aspect, as potentially containing all existence rather than as actually determined by none." With

¹ Clement, *Stromata*, iii. 22.

² See Dr. Hort's article "Basilides," in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*;

Mansel, *Gnosticism*, Lect. x.; and the brief sketch in Stoughton's *Historical Theology*.

Depth is associated *Silence*; and by successive emanations in pairs, or syzygies, each representing, like the first, a masculine and feminine element, *Reason* and *Truth*, from which sprung *Word* and *Life*, and from these *Man* and *Church*. Such is the "Ogdoad" of first principles, from which again sprung the *Æons* (*αἰῶνες*), all together constituting the *Pleroma* (*πλήρωμα*), or Fulness of the Divine Life. *Wisdom*, the last of the *Æons*, wandered from the *Pleroma* in her vain yearnings to comprehend the Unknown Father: she thus became *Achamoth*, or Wisdom clogged by debasing and enslaving elements. From this arose the cycle of creation, sin and suffering. The *Demiurgus*, or world-creator and ruler, issued from *Achamoth*, and imagined himself to be sole God—the *Jehovah* of the Hebrew Scriptures. Christ came from the *Pleroma*, first, to liberate *Wisdom* from the evil attributes that enthralled her; then, in the form of *Jesus*, to free man from thralldom to the *Demiurgus*. Through Him that redemption is obtained which in its fulness is a knowledge (*γνώσις*) of the *Pleroma* and freedom from the law. Those who have only attained the lower grade are "psychic" men—*soulish*, and bound to the performance of good works; those who have reached the higher life are "pneumatic," spiritual, and saved without works. In all this there is a distorted reflection of Pauline doctrines, as well as of Pythagorean and Platonic tenets. That in the hands of the disciples of *Valentinus* it became an excuse for the grossest immorality will easily be understood. His more immediate followers were *Heraclion*, and *Ptolemæus Secundus*, who, however, contributed nothing further to the elucidation of the system. By the end of the fourth century few or no vestiges of this Gnosticism remained. Its attempted eclecticism was extravagant; its transformation of allegory into doctrine offered no basis for the belief even of the credulous, and the licentiousness to which it led repelled those who might otherwise have been fascinated by its mystic dreams.

3. *MARCION* of Pontus taught chiefly in Rome. Like other *Marcion, fl.* Gnostics, he distinguished between the *Jehovah* of the *ab. A. D. 160.* Old Testament and the Supreme God; maintaining

that the former, the world-ruler (*κοσμοκράτωρ*), was not good, though just. Jesus, he taught, was sent by the supreme God in human form to Judæa to deliver men from the world-ruler. Hence the Jewish law is to be rejected as imperfect; and the Old Testament generally as below the true standard of the Divine. Of the Gospels Marcion accepted only that by St. Luke, in a mutilated form. The Apostle Paul was professedly his master; all other Christian teachers occupying a lower ground. A strict asceticism was inculcated by Marcion: marriage itself was to be repudiated as a weak concession to the world-ruler. The resurrection of the body was also emphatically denied. Tertullian, as before stated, refuted the errors of Marcion in five books, which rank among the most vigorous of that great Father's writings. Of Marcion's life but little is known. Irenæus and Jerome have preserved an anecdote of an encounter between him and Polycarp. On meeting the venerable Bishop of Smyrna, Marcion asked, "Dost thou not recognize me?" "Yes," replied Polycarp; "I recognize the firstborn of Satan."¹

4. The teachings of MANI, the Magian of Persia, were an endeavour to reconcile Christianity with Zoroastrianism. His system, like the Persian dualism generally, rested on the antithesis between light and darkness, taken as symbolizing two eternal and opposite principles. Unlike the Egyptian Gnostics, who made evil a derived power from the "Unknown Father" or "the Depth," conceived as in itself absolutely good, Manichæism taught that good and evil were coeval and antagonistic from the beginning. All human experience, all the world's history, might be resolved into the struggle between these original, eternal forces; human nature was a composite of both, and the aim must be, by asceticism and self-mortification, to overcome the power of darkness within us, and more and more yield to the influence and dominion of light. Mani himself is said, after forty years of teaching, to have fallen a victim to the hatred of the Magians; but his doctrine had power to fascinate such men as Augustine, as the next Book will show.

¹ Irenæus, *Ag. Heresies*, iii. 3. See the summary of Marcion's doctrines in Ueberweg, vol. i. p. 284.

§ 5. QUESTIONS OF DISCIPLINE AND MORALITY.

I. In every system, civil or ecclesiastical, there will be found *The reform- ing spirit.* the over-eager reformer, keenly alive to practical defects, and looking to constitutional change as the means of reaching the true ideal. The aim, in the first instance, is good and pure; but the methods are apt to be violent;—human nature reacts against the strain applied, and in answer to the protest, the enthusiast for purity and order becomes the intolerant fanatic. Such, in a few words, seems the history of the *Montanistic revival*, or the “Montanistic heresy,” as it is variously styled.

Montanus, Its founder, MONTANUS of Ardaba, a village of Mysia A. D. 171. near the border of Phrygia,—before his conversion, it is said, a priest of Cybele,—began to teach the necessity of a new inspiration to quicken the decaying life of the Church. He gained many disciples from among the impulsive Phrygians, among them two women of rank, Priscilla and Maximilla, with whom he began to speak in the Christian assemblies, declaring himself to be the instrument of the new revelation, the mouth-piece of the Paraclete, or, as his enemies declared him to maintain, the Paraclete himself.¹ His utterances appear to have been characterized by excited frenzy, and the contagion of enthusiasm spread until the Montanist or “Cataphrygian” doctrine, so called from the place of its origin, gained a firm footing in the Christian Church, its most illustrious convert being Tertullian. Several local synods condemned it, chiefly on the ground of the pretensions of its founder. In essential matters Montanism differed little or nothing from the *Montanist beliefs.* orthodox belief; the practical points on which it laid stress were such as the obligation of fasting and other mortifications of the flesh, the unpardonable character of heinous post-baptismal sins, and the impiety of flight from persecution. With these tenets were combined the doctrine of the community of goods, the nearness of the end of the world, and the approach

¹ For further details see Stoughton, *Historical Theology*, p. 46.

of an earthly millennium; Pepuza, a town in Western Phrygia, being the assigned site of the New Jerusalem. But all rested on the claim of Montanus to be the special revealer of the will of God. Tertullian applies to his mission the words, "The Holy Ghost was not yet given." "Righteousness," he says, "was first in a rudimentary state, having a natural fear of God; from that stage it advanced, through the Law and the Prophets, to infancy; from these stages it passed through the Gospel to the fervour of youth; now, through the Paraclete, it is settling into maturity. He will be, after Christ, the only one to be called and revered as master: for he speaks not for himself, but what is commanded by Christ" (John xvi. 13).¹

A long controversy ensued. Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, *Phases of the* was inclined to be friendly to the followers of Mon-
Controversy. tanus, until deterred by Praxeas the confessor, who himself became, as will be shown hereafter, a teacher of doctrinal heresies. Writers whose works have not come down to us attacked Montanism by argument and invective. One quoted by Eusebius gives it as a current report, that Montanus and his female disciple Maximilla destroyed themselves by hanging—"the fate of Judas." Another, Apollonius, stigmatizes Montanus as making his doctrines the cloak of a luxurious life. Both concur in the statement, that no Montanists actually became martyrs, much as they dwelt upon the merit of martyrdom. In later times, all kinds of crimes were laid to the charge of this sect, but probably without foundation.

Off-shoots of the Montanists were the Priscillianitæ, from *Montanistic* Priscilla, their teacher, who also claimed inspiration;
Sects. the Artotyritæ (from ἄpros, *bread*, and τυρός, *cheese*), because they used cheese as well as bread in the Eucharist; and certain Quietists, nicknamed Tascodrungitæ and Papalorhynchitæ.² But the spirit of Montanus survived the forms of its first

¹ *On the Veiling of Virgins*, ch. i.; nostril; *κῆπιλος*, *gag*; and *ρύγχος*, *muzzle*; the words were coined to ex-

² From *τασκός*, *stake*; *δρῦγγος*, *press* derisively the habit of meditating

embodiment, and the Novatianists of the third century and the Donatists of the fourth were his true successors.

2. The controversy respecting the admission of the *lapsed into Church communion* arose in connection with the *Discussions respecting the Lapsed.* persecution under Decius: and the division which resulted is commonly called the Novatian Schism, from the names of its two leaders—Novatus of Carthage and Novatian of Rome. These have sometimes been confounded with each other, but the two men were entirely distinct, and of very different calibre. Novatian, the Roman presbyter, had, it is said, been a Stoic philosopher; and from *Novatus and Novatian,* his high attainments and character was looked upon as a likely successor to Fabian, Bishop of Rome, martyred in the Decian persecution. He refused the proffered and perilous honour; and Cornelius was chosen. It is thought that Novatian was secretly disappointed at not having the dignity thrust upon him: in any case, he set himself at once in opposition to Cornelius, who held that those who had renounced their faith in time of trial might, on proof of penitence, be restored to the communion of the Church. This charitable policy Novatian sternly resisted as an unworthy laxity, and was sustained by some Italian presbyters, who now elected him Bishop of Rome. There were thus two rivals for the episcopal chair, and their respective claims were keenly contested. Novatian, on the one hand, was upheld as a champion of the purity of the Church. "The admission into fellowship," it was maintained, "of those who by gross sin had violated their baptismal vow was to cease to be a true Church." The communion of saints must be beyond suspicion pure. Hence the title *Cathari* (καθαροί, pure¹) assumed by the Novatian party. On the other hand, it was alleged that even mortal sins might be forgiven to the truly penitent, that the merit of Christ and the mercy of God were infinite, and that there was

with the finger in the mouth, or at the side of the nose. Some authorities

suppose two different sects to have been intended. ¹ The analogy with the word *Puritan* will strike every reader.

room for the returning apostate. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, terms Novatian "a deserter of the Church, a foe to mercy, a destroyer of repentance, a teacher of arrogance, a corrupter of truth, and a murderer of love."¹ It is characteristic of the growing ritualism of the times, that Novatian's right to the priesthood was denied because of a defect in his baptism. He had but received the "clinic baptism;"—aspersion in a dangerous illness, without subsequent confirmation by the hand of a bishop. Could such a man dictate laws to the Church, or occupy the episcopal chair?² In a word, *how could he possibly have received the Holy Ghost?*

The matter was complicated by the appearance in Rome of Novatus from Carthage. During Cyprian's absence from that city on account of persecution, Novatus, with some of his fellow-presbyters, had taken in hand the administration of affairs, and had appointed one Felicissimus, a man apparently obnoxious to Cyprian, to the diaconate.

The policy adopted with regard to the lapsed appeared to the *Measures of* absent bishop to be unduly lenient. He was at least *Cyprian.* for postponing the reception of those who had fallen away until more discussion could be taken on the question at a council regularly convened; but this Novatus and his party opposed, urging immediate reception of all the penitent lapsed who might present themselves. The confessors, to whom, as we have seen, an excessive deference was paid, were encouraged to give to such certificates of peace (*libelli pacis*), which the several Churches dared not refuse. Many were thus readmitted even without examination or proof of repentance: and Cyprian on his return had to set himself in decided opposition to those who in

¹ Epistle, lvi. (Oxf. lx.) 3.

² See letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, preserved in Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 43; also Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 325 (Clark). It was afterwards laid down in the twelfth canon of the Council at Neo-Cæsarea, A.D. 314, that a "person baptized in sickness shall not be ordained a presbyter, because

his faith was not voluntary, but as it were of constraint; except afterwards his faith and diligence recommend him, or else the scarcity of men make it necessary." The objection to Novatian's baptism, therefore, was not to the manner of the ritual; but to the fact of its administration on an emergency, when he was scarcely a free agent.

his absence had usurped his place. A council of the North African Church was immediately convened, and it was decided that the lapsed should be readmitted to communion only after due repentance, and penance according to the extent of the offence committed. Novatus retired to Rome and joined Novatian. The extremes curiously met; the advocate of laxity at Carthage united his forces with the advocate of rigid strictness in Rome. The one bond of fellowship was a common insubordination. A council was now convened in the imperial city, at which sixty bishops and as many presbyters assisted. The result was a decision in favour of Cornelius and against Novatian, whose episcopal election was declared to be void; the presbyters who had joined in his consecration to office being degraded. Novatian *The Cathari*, and Novatus now disappear from the history, but *or Puritans*. the *Cathari* occasionally reappear until the close of the century; others at a later period assume the same appellation.

§ 6. QUESTIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER.

1. The dispute respecting the proper day for observing the **EASTER** festival was one of the earliest that divided the Oriental from the Western Churches. Originally the practice seems to have been, in the East to commemorate the Lord's last Passover; in the West His Resurrection. It followed, that the former Churches observed the fourteenth day of Nisan, *i. e.* after the establishment of the Julian calendar, the eve of the full moon next after the vernal equinox; and, according to the example of the Jews, on whatever day of the week the full moon might fall. With the Western Churches, in order to give prominence to the fact of the Resurrection, Easter day was always the first day of the week—the Sunday next after the vernal full moon being observed. This divergence occasioned long and wearisome controversy, nor was the matter finally settled until the *Polycarp and Anicetus*. Nicene Council. In the year 158 A.D. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, being at Rome in conference with Anicetus,

the Roman Bishop, defended the Eastern or "Quarto-deciman" practice: pleading the example of the Apostle John. Anicetus, on the other hand, argued for the Western usage from the traditional practice of the Apostles Paul and Peter. The friendly disputants agreed to differ.¹ But the controversy was renewed with more acrimony at a later time. About the close of the second century, Victor, the Bishop of Rome, addressed a letter to the Eastern prelates, enjoining upon them the Western usage. On the receipt of this letter, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, convened a synod of Asiatic bishops, and with their concurrence replied to Victor that the Eastern Churches resolved to adhere to their original practice. The Roman Bishop hereupon delivered an edict of excommunication against the Churches of Asia. Irenæus of Lyons, however, who, though a disciple of Polycarp, had himself conformed to the Western observance, refused to concur in the decision of Victor, and drew up a remonstrance in the name of the Churches of Gaul, in which the Bishop of Rome was admonished to forbear from disturbing the practice which the Eastern Churches had received from their fathers. Several bishops in Syria and Palestine also wrote strongly to Victor, claiming to speak with authority, as conversant with the traditions of the Holy Land; and the question between the two divisions of the Church was allowed to slumber until the discussions at Nicæa in 325. The chief interest of the controversy now to us is, first, in its supposed bearing on the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel²; and secondly, in its illustration of the way in which the growing arrogance of Rome was as yet resisted by other parts of the Church.

2. The controversy as to the *validity of baptism* as administered by *reputed heretics* had its origin in Africa about the beginning of the third century. Up to that time it had never been the custom to re-baptize under any circumstances. Members of heretical communities who had received the ordinance

¹ See p. 125.

² See Sanday *On the Fourth Gospel*, p. 211, and *Speaker's Comm.* (N. T. vol. I.), pp. 164-169.

were admitted into the Churches on imposition of hands, with prayers. But in the Churches of Asia Minor and Alexandria there sprung up the custom of renewing the rite. Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, introduced a similar practice into the diocese, and his great successor, Cyprian, took the same course. Councils held in Carthage, A.D. 252 and 255, strongly maintained the necessity of re-baptism; the former assembly prefacing the letter in which the decision was announced with the words: "It has seemed good to us, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the admonition of the Lord in many clear visions." The decision of the councils was transmitted to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and by him repudiated with great bitterness. He even refused to receive the Carthaginian messengers with ordinary courtesy, forbidding the members of the Roman Church to show them hospitality; and in a stern rescript to Cyprian, declared that he would hold no

communion with those who maintained this "*Anabaptism*. baptist"¹ practice. Cyprian maintained his ground.

Firmilian, the Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, took the same side, not scrupling to speak of Stephen as a "schismatic, who had withdrawn from the unity of the Church in allowing heretical baptism." Without loss of time another council was summoned at

Carthage. Eighty-seven bishops attended. The words of Cyprian in opening the council shed instructive light on the historical question as to the supremacy of the Roman See. "It remains," he said, "that upon this same matter each of us should bring forward what we think, judging no man, nor rejecting any one from the right of communion if he should think differently from us. For *neither does any of us set himself up as a bishop of bishops*, nor by tyrannical terror does any compel his colleague to the necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the allowance of his liberty and power, has his own proper right of judgment, and can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another. But let us all wait for the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only one that

¹ This word now first appears in controversy.

has the power both of preferring us in the government of His Church, and of judging us in our conduct there." ¹ The eighty-seven were unanimous, the validity of baptism by heretics was absolutely disallowed; but it would seem that from this time the question was thrown into abeyance by more anxious interests; and a letter, part of which is preserved by Eusebius, *The question dropped.* from Dionysius of Alexandria to Stephen, speaks of peace as happily restored; Firmilian of Cappadocia being expressly mentioned as concurring with the rest. It is certain that the practice of re-baptism in any circumstances was gradually discontinued, or lingered only in heretical communities. It was expressly disallowed by a synod at Arles, A.D. 314.

§ 7. DOCTRINAL SPECULATIONS.

1. No characteristic of early theology is more marked than the Divine greatness ascribed by all the Churches to JESUS CHRIST.

Christ honoured as Divine. The acceptance of His supreme authority, the reverence and adoration paid to Him, were simple and unquestioning. Not yet had Christian thinkers begun to speculate as to the mode of His Divine Being, or the nature of the connection between His Deity and humanity. The age of definition and distinction was yet to come; at present, when these were attempted, the result was only failure; and it is mentioned with naïve surprise, that when Dionysius of Alexandria attempted to set Sabellius right, the good bishop fell unawares into greater heresy on the opposite side. It was enough in that age of conflict for the believers to cry, in the simplicity of faith, "My Lord and my *Early speculations.* God!" Still the spirit of speculation was never wholly absent; and it is interesting to mark the earliest attempts to reduce "the mystery of godliness" to the forms of human reason. The Gnostics, properly so-called, have been discussed in a previous section. Their Christology was but a part of their general system of the universe, and, as we have seen, was

¹ Works, *A. N. L.*, vol. ii. p. 197. seven bishops follow. A curious and The individual verdicts of the eighty- instructive record.

as much heathen as Christian ; but there were others, professing to rest on exclusively Christian grounds, who endeavoured in a crude, unsatisfactory way to explain the doctrine of the Father and the Son.

2. The first *psilanthropist*,¹ or teacher that Christ was a "mere *Beginnings of* man," appears to have been one THEODOTUS, a tanner, *Unitarian-* of Byzantium, who is said to have denied the faith in *ism. Theo-* persecution, and afterwards to have palliated his apos- *dotus, ab.* tasy by the assertion that he had not denied God, but *A.D. 193.* a man. About the year 193, Theodotus appears in Rome, where he was excommunicated by the zealous Victor, but gained adherents ; a bishop being appointed over the heretic congregation, one Natalius, a confessor, "at a salary of one hundred and fifty denarii a month."²

The Theodotian tenets seem to have been revived a few years later by Artemon, who differed from his predecessor, chiefly in denying the miraculous conception, which Theodotus had acknowledged. Artemon appears to have gained many adherents for a time³ ; and a work entitled *The Labyrinth*, from which Eusebius makes some extracts, was written against him ; but his doctrine was soon superseded by the bolder heresy of Noëtus, Praxeas, and Paul of Samosata.

3. We have already had a glimpse of PRAXEAS in Rome, *Praxeas, A.D.* where, being honoured as a confessor, he had success- *ab. 190.* fully resisted the influence of the Montanist party on the Bishop Eleutherus. After this, however, he fell into heresy, as the Montanist Tertullian eagerly shows. The effort of Praxeas seems to have been to define more explicitly the Word of God ;

¹ S. T. Coleridge ; from *ψιλος* *άνθρωπος*, "mere man."

² Eusebius, Bk. v. ch. 28. The historian gives a curious account of the conversion of Natalius at a later time, having been severely flogged by angels through the whole of one night, and in the morning repairing to the Bishop Zephyrinus, entreating re-admission to the Church ; "and although he im-

plored clemency with much earnestness, and pointed to the strokes of the angels' lashes he had received, he was at last scarcely admitted to communion."

³ It is remarkable that Crellius, one of the founders of modern Unitarianism, a thousand years afterwards chose to be called an "Artemonite" rather than a "Socinian."

taking the twofold Latin rendering of the Greek λόγος, *ratio* and *sermo*. The former, according to him, was the hidden thought, the latter the outward expression. No personal distinction existed; the Father was God *in Himself*, the Son, God *revealed*. To this the reply of Tertullian and others was, that in this case God the *Patripassian-* Father must have suffered in the person of Christ; and *ism.* hence the name of Patripassians or Theopaschites, applied to Praxeas and his followers. They appear, however, to have repudiated the name. "The Father," says Praxeas, "did not suffer *in* the Son, but *with* the Son" (*compassus est*). They themselves preferred the appellation of Monarchians, "assertors of one principle" in the Godhead, a title nearly akin to the modern Unitarian. In this controversy it was that the words *Trinitas* and *persona* are first introduced into theological language by Tertullian, in reference to the Divine subsistence.

4. Praxeas taught in Rome and Africa; a yet more noted *Nottus*, A.D. advocate of similar views soon afterwards appeared in *ab. 200.* Asia. This was NOËTUS, a native of Smyrna, or of Ephesus. In the main agreeing with Praxeas, he distinctly avowed the Patripassian doctrine; "said," according to Hippolytus, "that Christ was the Father Himself, and that the Father was begotten, and suffered, and died," . . . "arguing in this manner: the Scriptures declare one God, even the Father: this being manifest, and it being acknowledged that there is but one God, it follows of necessity that He suffered; for Christ was God, and He suffered for us, being the Father, that He might be able to save us." It is maintained by some that Noëtus was the precursor of Praxeas; chiefly because Hippolytus¹ avers that Zephyrinus and Callistus, bishops of Rome, were led into Patripassian error through the teaching of Cleomenes, a disciple of Epigonus, who himself had learned the doctrine from Noëtus. On the whole, however, the view of Neander seems correct, that the doctrine of Praxeas, as *à priori* we should suspect, was the earlier in date, and that the two Roman bishops were led into the heresy by the disciples of

¹ See Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 114.

Praxeas—"Noëtians," as Neander has it, "before Noëtus." The name of the illustrious Origen once appears in connection with this controversy. On visiting Arabia in the year 244, he finds that Beryllus, Bishop of Bostria, has embraced the Patripassian doctrine, and wins him back by his arguments to the orthodox Church.

5. The name, however, most closely connected with this form of heresy is that of SABELLIUS. He was a native of the Libyan Pentapolis (perhaps of Ptolemais), and is first heard of in Rome in the episcopate of Zephyrinus. Here, it is said, he was converted to Noëtianism by Callistus. Returning to Africa, he began to teach this doctrine; his first antagonist being Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, who in attempting to refute Sabellius employed expressions which savoured of Tritheism. Dionysius of Rome interfered, and the Alexandrian bishop wrote a work intended at once as a retractation on his own part, and as a refutation of Sabellius. The Sabellian doctrine is thus stated by Theodoret: "He taught the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to be of one substance (hypostasis) and one Person with three names; speaking of the same sometimes as Father, sometimes as Holy Ghost: saying that in the Old Testament He delivered the Law as Father, and in the New became incarnate as the Son, and descended on the apostles as the Holy Spirit."

Sabellius, according to Epiphanius, illustrated the distinction between Father, Son, and Spirit by the metaphor of the sun, "saying that God, like the sun, sent forth a beam which returned to Himself (in the Ascension),¹ after which He communicated Himself to individual souls through separate and distinct beams of the Divine life, by means of the Holy Ghost." The doctrine of *Platysmus* (*πλατυσμός*, dilatation) seems to have been originated by Sabellius, although its full discussion belongs to a later age. According to this

¹ "If we seek for a difference between the theory of Sabellius and those of his predecessors, we are perhaps to say that Noëtus supposed the whole Divinity of the Father to be in Jesus

Christ; whereas Sabellius supposed it to be only a part, which was put forth like an emanation, and was again absorbed in the Deity."—*Burton*.

the Monad “dilates” into a Triad for the purposes of redemption, and the Triad contracts again into a Monad when the work is done, “that God may be all in all.” A council held in Rome under Stephen, A.D. 258, unequivocally condemned the Sabellian tenets; but they lingered in the Church until for a time superseded by the more subtle and attractive errors of Arianism.

6. In this connection PAUL of Samosata ought not to be passed over. As Bishop of Antioch we have already seen *Paul of Samosata, A.D. 260.* him, at the time of the great struggle between Aurelian and Zenobia, and have noted in connection with his deposition the first instance of the interference of the Roman imperial power with ecclesiastical affairs.¹ The ground of Paul’s deposition was his adoption of Monarchian views, although with some modifications. According to Epiphanius, “he revived the heresy of Artemon; he taught God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit to be one God; that the Word (Logos) and Spirit of God are always in God, as reason in the heart of man; and that the Son of God has no distinct subsistence, but subsists in God Himself; that the Word came and dwelt in the man Jesus.” *Councils at Antioch, A.D. 265, 269.* One of the largest councils ever convened, attended by an immense number of bishops, sat at Antioch in discussion upon this matter. Paul denied his heterodoxy, and endeavoured by casuistry, and the use of ambiguous phrases, to conceal it; the Synod, on the contrary, endeavoured to unravel his arguments and detect his heresy, and at the same time to expose his blasphemy against Christ; but the aged Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, objected to come to a decision which might destroy the unity of the Church; and so, for the present, the matter rested. This was in A.D. 265; but as the heresy continued to gain ground, a second council was convened at Antioch in A.D. 269, at the instance of Malchion, a presbyter of the Church, who, by his dialectic powers, forced Paul to an avowal of his doctrines. The end was that the bishop was deposed, and one Domnus appointed in his stead. By the favour of Zenobia, Paul continued

¹ See p. 84.

to hold the church and palace until Aurelian's victory, when he was compelled to retire. His followers, variously called Paulianists or Samosatines, continued to exist as a heretical sect until they were absorbed in the Arians.

7. Another theological controversy which fiercely raged for *The Origenist Controversy.* several years so completely received its form from one man, and was withal so various in its topics, that it can only be called after his name—the Origenist controversy. The independent spirit of Origen, his versatility and amazing energy, were a disturbing element in the Church during his lifetime; and long after his death the controversy about his character and opinions was often renewed. In his lifetime he was excommunicated and driven from Alexandria, over the Catechetical School of which he had long presided; but this was rather for a breach of ecclesiastical discipline than for alleged heterodoxy. The charge of heresy, at least, was made secondary to that of having received uncanonical ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Jerusalem.¹ It appears, however, that no effect was given to this sentence out of Alexandria: Origen having been recognized as a Christian advocate and teacher in Greece, Arabia, and Palestine, from his deposition, A.D. 232, to his death in Tyre twenty years later.

His alleged heretical teachings related to the Divine Essence, the human soul, and the final destiny of man. On *Origen's* the first he was said to hold the doctrine of "Subordi-
alleged nation," the Son being but an emanation from the
Heresies. Father, and the Holy Spirit from both. On the ground of this belief he has been termed the father of Arianism; but the candid student of his own words will find thus far the anticipation of the Nicene decisions on the doctrine of Eternal Generation and the Procession of the Holy Ghost. These doctrines, in fact, Origen was the first to formulate. More questionable was his belief in the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, a necessary result of his anthropology. For on the second topic Origen undoubtedly held the pre-existence in the spiritual world of all human souls—a

¹ See p. 129.

reminiscence of the well-known Platonic doctrine,—but coupled with this the belief in a kind of transmigration, a succession of probations and falls having anticipated the earthly history of man. In the third place, Origen taught that the future life also would be a scene of probation, the punishment of the wicked not being necessarily final, and the redeeming work of Christ extending *His Uni-* even to the fallen angels. Origen is thus the father *versalism.* of Universalism. Some passages in his writings were also thought to prove that he held the doctrine of ultimate absorption—or, in other words, that individual existence would be eventually lost in God.

These several opinions, though controverted, were not formally condemned by the Church until a succeeding age;¹ in fact, as yet Origenism was rather a method of thought than a formulated series of doctrines.

¹ The first explicit condemnation was by Synods in Alexandria and Jerusalem, A. D. 399 and 400 (Hefele, vol. ii. p. 418); and the condemnation was renewed in an edict of the Emperor Justinian, as well as by a Council in Constantinople, A. D. 541.

PART III.

THE AGE OF DOCTRINAL
DEVELOPMENT.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.

* * For the names of the Roman Emperors see Ch. I., headings of Sections.

	A. D.
The Council of Nicæa. <i>First General Council</i>	325
Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria	326
Constantinople made the imperial city	330
Death of Arius	339
Death of Eusebius of Cæsarea	336
Birth of Augustine ; and of Pelagius ?	353
Julian endeavours to restore Paganism	361
Death of Athanasius	373
Rise of Apollinarianism	375
The Council of Constantinople. <i>Second General Council</i>	381
Priscillian put to death ; the first execution for heresy	385
Conversion of Augustine	387
Death of Gregory of Nazianzus	389
Augustine, Bishop of Hippo	395
Council of Carthage, Scripture Canon declared	397
Death of Ambrose of Milan	397
Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople	398
End of gladiatorial combats in Rome	404
Jerome completes the Vulgate translation of the Scriptures	405
Death of Chrysostom, in exile	407
Sack of Rome by Alaric	410
Roman legions withdrawn from Britain	411
Rise of Pelagianism	411
Murder of Hypatia at Alexandria	415
Publication of <i>De Civitate Dei</i>	426
Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople	428
Death of Augustine	430
The Council of Ephesus. <i>Third General Council</i>	435
Patrick in Ireland	436
Leo I., Bishop of Rome	440
Death of Cyril of Alexandria	444
Rise of Eutychianism	446
The "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus	449
Landing of Saxons in Britain	449
The Council of Chalcedon. <i>Fourth General Council</i>	451
Battle of Châlons, and the defeat of Attila	451
Death of Theodoret	456
End of the Western Empire	476
Clovis, heathen King of the Franks (baptized 496)	481
The <i>Henoticon</i> of the Emperor Zeno	482
Theodoric, Arian, King of Italy	493
Benedict establishes his monastic rule	529
Belisarius recovers Rome for the Emperor	536
The Second Council of Constantinople. <i>Fifth General Council</i>	553
Mission of Columba to the Picts and Scots	561
Mohammed born at Mecca	570
Gregory I., Bishop of Rome	590
Mission of Augustin to the Saxons in Britain	597
Death of Gregory I.	604
Supremacy of Rome conceded by the Emperor Phocas	606

INTRODUCTION.

I. **T**HE heroic age of the Church had passed away, and that of theological disputation followed. It was only externally that “the Church had rest.” Men who had died for their faith were succeeded by those who set themselves to analyze it; and the clash of opinions rivalled the older conflicts in acrimony if not in bloodshed. The whole period may be marked into sections, according to the predominant theological dispute. Doctrines were defined as they never could have been had not every tenet in turn been assailed, questioned, or exaggerated. The creeds formulated during this period have been a legacy to all Christendom: and although they bear the impress of the warfare in which every article was fashioned, they have ever since been accepted as substantially expressing the common faith. Meantime the imperial patronage and interference brought new evils and dangers in their train. It was harder to resist the temptations to worldliness and luxury, to hypocrisy and ambition, than it had been to confess Christ in the face of persecution. More than once,—and no wonder,—there was a bitter reaction in the direction of heathenism. But, amidst all, the truth held on its way; many great and noble men withstood the decline of faith. To this age the most illustrious writers of the Church belong; and amid the mass of professed Christians, the great essentials of faith and love may be discerned.

2. The period is marked, at the commencement, by the accession of an emperor to undisputed sway; at the end, by the power and pretension of a Roman bishop. From the “first of Christian Emperors” to “the

last of the Fathers," the way at every step is fraught with interest ; and this change in the chief personage of the scene is very significant. The narrative of the gradual downfall of Rome beneath the barbarian conquerors belongs to secular history ; but as imperialism declined, sacerdotalism put forth new claims. The monarchy, the senate, every ancient and venerable institution of Rome had disappeared ; the Church remained, the sole link with the past. Ecclesiastical power became the chief influence left among men ; and the result was the secularity and corruption of the Middle Ages.

3. First of all, therefore, in surveying this period the student *Order of the history.* of ecclesiastical history has to examine the new relations between the Church and the Empire—the victories and the diffusion of at least a nominal Christianity. It will be convenient, then, to obtain a general view of Church organization and life during these three centuries. The leading Church writers will be enumerated in a following chapter ; and the way will thus be clear to speak of the great theological conflicts by which above all things this age was characterised.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.

§ I. CONSTANTINE AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

Constantine, sole Emp.	A. D. 323	Constantius, Emp.	A. D. 350
Constantine II.,	„ „ 337	Julian, sole Emp.	361-363
Constans,	„ „ 340		

SCARCELY any great man of antiquity is harder to estimate than CONSTANTINE. His character and career are described *Character of Constantine.* for us both by heathen and by Christian annalists, who are led by their respective prejudices to views perhaps equally extreme. His adoption of the Christian cause may have been only far-seeing policy ; and yet there are indications in his words and acts that he had some true sense of Christian principle ; while his voluntarily remaining to the last in the humiliating position of a catechumen betokens rather a sensitiveness of conscience than a mere calculation of the advantages to be gained by a death-bed baptism. The murder of his son, and afterwards of his wife, in the fury of an Eastern despot, have left an ineffaceable stain upon his name ;¹ and it is told to the honour of the heathen priesthood that when he sought for expiation at their altars, he was sternly repulsed, as “for such crimes there could be no atonement.” That the ministers of Christianity were ready to condone his guilt may not have been altogether to their discredit ; as the imperial penitent, if sincere, could not have

¹ But some writers (as Niebuhr) believe that Crispus was really a traitor and would-be parricide ; being engaged in an unnatural conspiracy against his father when detected and executed.

been shut out from the assurance given to meaner transgressors, that all sin may be forgiven.

The history of this emperor's connection with the Nicene *Establishment* Council, and the succeeding controversies between *of Christianity.* the Arian and Athanasian parties, belong to a subsequent chapter. The attitude which he assumed towards Christianity was in part the natural consequence of the old traditions of the empire, according to which the supremacy of the ruler, in religious as in other matters, was held unquestioned. A title of the emperor from the days of Augustus had been *Pontifex Maximus*, nor was the appellation laid aside until forty years after the death of Constantine. He was therefore the acknowledged head of both the Pagan and the Christian systems, so long as the two co-existed; while the preference of Constantine for the latter amounted to its virtual establishment as the religion of the empire. Some of the immediate consequences of this great change were the following:—

1. *Reform of ancient customs.* One of the first acts of Constantine was to abolish the punishment of crucifixion; *Immediate Consequences.* the cross being henceforth held too sacred to be associated with the ignominy of a public execution. Steps were also taken for the suppression of gladiatorial conflicts, the first edict on the subject being addressed by Constantine to the prefects of Phœnicia, A.D. 325. "Bloody spectacles are not pleasing in a time of civil and domestic peace, wherefore we altogether prohibit gladiators." In Constantinople *Ancient customs abolished.* itself these brutal sports were never introduced; in Rome they lingered until suppressed by Honorius, A.D. 404, on occasion of the heroic interference of the monk Telemachus, who threw himself into the arena, separated the combatants, and was torn to pieces by the enraged multitude. The amphitheatre, however, still flourished, and fights with wild beasts were never wholly discontinued.¹

¹ Dr. Schaff (*Ch. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125) remarks that the bull fights of Spain and South America are a relic of these fierce Roman sports. In the

In regard again to the treatment of women, the legislation of Constantine showed the influence of Christian ideas. *Treatment of Women.* Severe laws were enacted against concubinage, adultery, and violence. The right of divorce was limited. The Old Testament prohibitions of marriage within certain degrees of affinity were adopted. The right of control over their own property was given to women, save in the case of landed estate; while, out of regard for their modesty, they were forbidden to appear in person before the courts. The worth of manhood began to be recognized.

Respect to Manhood. Criminals were to be no longer branded on the forehead, "that the human countenance, formed after the image of heavenly beauty, might not be defaced." Even the deeply-rooted institution of slavery felt the new influence; and though it was reserved for later emperors to carry on the ameliorating work, Constantine at least provided facilities for manumission.¹

2. *Authorization of Church Laws.* The decisions of the officials of the Churches on matters of dispute between Christians were invested by Constantine with legal authority. *Church decisions authorized by law.* "The judgment of the priests ought so to be accounted of as if the Lord Himself were present, and decided." Heretics, when deposed by the judgment of the Church courts, were strictly forbidden to exercise their ministry. The decrees of General Councils became laws of the empire. The church buildings, again, were held as an inviolable asylum.

Right of Sanctuary. Thither virgins fled from profligate pursuit, debtors from inexorable creditors, slaves from cruel masters, even the accused from their accusers, that the bishop by his mediation might procure justice, protection, or mercy. Closely connected with this privilege was the right of intercession. As in heathen days the vestal virgins had been allowed to interpose on behalf of criminals, so now to the ministers of Christianity was conceded the right of interference for the accused or oppressed.

Western Empire, Theodoric (King of Italy, 493-526) replaced the fights with wild beasts by military spectacles; whence the tournaments of the middle ages.

¹ The clergy were permitted by a law of Constantine, "to emancipate their slaves simply by their own word, without the witnesses and ceremonies required in other cases."

It is easy to see how the ecclesiastical prerogatives thus conceded would be often abused ; and in fact we have in this legislation the germs of the arrogance with which the clergy in after days intruded into the secular sphere.

3. *Direct legislation on behalf of Christianity.* At a very early period of his reign, Constantine enacted laws for the observance of Sunday—"the venerable day of the sun," as he terms it in a law of A.D. 321, perhaps with a twofold reference to Apollo the sun-god and to the risen Christ. On this day the sitting of the courts was forbidden, with all secular labour, except the tillage of farms and vineyards in the country. The manumission of slaves on the Sunday was permitted, as an act of benevolence appropriate to the day of redemption. On the Lord's day military exercise was forbidden, all soldiers, according to Eusebius, being enjoined to offer a prayer for the Emperor.¹ Friday was also to be honoured as the day of our Lord's crucifixion. Special immunities were granted to the clergy, as exemption from military duty and from costly public burdens.² The possessions of the Church were at first exempted from the land-tax, but this privilege was afterwards revoked. Buildings and estates confiscated in the Diocletian persecution were restored. The erection of oratories and places of worship where needed was enjoined ; large donations were made to different churches ; the due administration of ecclesiastical funds was regulated by enactment ; bequests for Christian uses were legalized ; and where confessors or martyrs had died intestate and without near kindred, their possessions were to lapse to the nearest church.³

¹ Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, Bk. IV. ch. xx. The prayer ran as follows : "We acknowledge Thee the only God ; we own Thee as our King, and implore Thy succour. By Thy favour have we gotten the victory ; through Thee are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for Thy past benefits, and trust Thee for future blessings. Together we pray to Thee, and beseech

Thee long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our Emperor Constantine and his pious son."

The prayer, it appears, was to be repeated by pagan as well as Christian soldiers "at a given signal" and "in the Latin tongue."

² Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, Bk. II. ch. xlv.

³ *Ibid.*, Bk. II. ch. xxxvi.

Through such measures a great store of wealth was rapidly accumulated by the Churches, in many cases with unfavourable influence on the purity and simplicity of the faith. A forgery of the eighth century purports to be a document from the hand of Constantine, granting to the bishops of Rome the patrimony of Peter and the sovereignty of Italy and the West; the removal of the seat of empire to Byzantium in the East having been, as it is alleged, in order to give effect to the grant. The controversy as to the genuineness of the "Decretals" and the fact of the "Donation" was once eagerly waged,¹ but they are now universally discredited.

4. *Direct enactments against idolatry.* The principle of Constantine was one of religious toleration; and it would perhaps have been impossible for him wholly to repress the ancient religion. Accordingly, the idol temples still remained open for worship; impure and bloody rites being forbidden.² Eusebius records the destruction of certain temples dedicated to Venus and to Æsculapius. From many others the images and statues were removed, some being transferred to the public squares and museums, others being broken up for the sake of the precious metal of which they were made. Little or no spirit of resistance seems to have been aroused among the heathen themselves; they were content to malign the Emperor without opposing his policy. In the decaying paganism of the Roman world the martyr spirit had no place.

Constantine died A.D. 337, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. It was at Nicomedia, in Bithynia, that he felt his end to be near. Sending for the bishops of the neighbourhood, Eusebius the Arian being chief, he asked for baptism at their hands; saying that he had hoped to be baptized in the Jordan, after the pattern of Christ; but God having determined otherwise, he was now ready to devote himself

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlix. note 68.

² *Life of Constantine*, Bk. III. chs. liv.-lviii.

to His service, whether for life or for death. Putting off the imperial purple, he received the symbolic rite, and remained clad in the white baptismal robe until his death, May 22, the feast of Pentecost. His remains were removed in a golden coffin with great pomp to Constantinople, and entombed in the Church of the Apostles, while "the Roman senate, after its ancient custom, proudly ignoring the great religious revolution of the age, enrolled him among the gods of the heathen Olympus."¹

The three sons and successors of Constantine commenced *Constantine's* their reign by assassinating all the near relatives of *Successors.* the Emperor.² Only two escaped, of whom one was Julian, destined in his short life to play an important part in the history of religious thought. Of the three emperors, CONSTANTINE was early slain (A.D. 340) in a struggle with his brother CONSTANS, who himself, ten years later, died by an assassin's hand, after an inglorious rule over the West. CONSTANTIUS now became sole emperor, and, recognizing without comprehending the revolution which had taken place in human thought, endeavoured to suppress paganism by force. Heathen temples were confiscated, and the booty given to the Church. Sacrifices to the gods, whether public or private, were prohibited on pain of death, although in vain. The profession of Christianity was now imperative on all who would rise in the State, and tended, therefore, to become more and more of an unreality. In all the doctrinal controversies of the Church the Emperor took an ignorant and arbitrary part, delighting, like his father, to be called "a bishop of bishops," and, like him, also deferring baptism till the approach of death. In vain did the more noble-minded Christians protest alike against the intolerance shown towards

¹ Schaff, ii. 37.

² In this truly Oriental massacre three brothers of Constantine were killed — Constantius, Dalmatius, and Harmibatianus; also seven of their

sons. The two youngest sons of Constantius were spared: Gallus, on account of his sickness; Julian, then but six years old, because of his tender years.

paganism,¹ and the interference with the Church. The more thoughtful of the heathen looked on with wonder or scorn, and, ignorant as they were of an unperverted Christianity, condemned the now dominant religion as hostile alike to culture and patriotism. It is only too probable that, but for the brief reaction which ensued, the Church would have sunk beneath its own corruptions.

JULIAN, surnamed the Apostate, because after a Christian training and profession he turned to pagan belief, had, as already stated, escaped, with his half-brother Gallus, the massacre which followed the death of their grandfather Constantine. Though but children at the time, they had received some lasting impression from the terror of the scene; and the religion in which, by command of their uncle Constantius, they were trained, could scarcely have been attractive to their young minds. They were retained in obscurity and comparative poverty; at an early age being sent to Macellum, among the mountains of Cappadocia, where they were carefully educated under ecclesiastical influence; Julian especially displaying an ardent love for literature, with a great taste for philosophical speculation. He had access to the library of George of Cappadocia,² where he eagerly read the old Greek authors, and unconsciously became imbued with the ideas of the old mythology. The martyr-annals of the Church at the same time filled his imagination, and he professed himself a Christian, attending the worship of the Church, and even discharging the office of reader. When Julian was nineteen the brothers were recalled to Constantinople. Gallus was soon after raised to the rank of Cæsar, but, proving himself a weak and cruel ruler, was slain A.D. 354. Julian meantime was sent to Nicomedia to continue his studies, there coming under the

¹ Other Christian teachers, however, justified this intolerance by the conduct of the Israelites towards the people of Canaan.

² Regarded by Gibbon and others as the St. George of the legends—the tutelary saint of England. But see ch. iv. § 4, p. 284.

influence of Platonizing teachers, especially one Maximus, from Ephesus, by whom he was instructed in the mystical explanations of polytheism that were current in the school of Asia. From this time Julian became an ardent votary of the old mythology, although for a time retaining from prudence the mark of the Christian profession.

*Julian
professes
paganism.*

Being after a while permitted by the jealous Emperor to retire to Athens, Julian gave himself with eagerness to the study of the ancient Greek literature and religion, being associated with young men who afterwards became great in the Christian Church, as Basil of Cæsarea and Gregory of Nazianzus. Here Julian was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Being recalled from Athens in his twenty-fifth year, he was nominated to the dignity of Cæsar, and sent to Gaul, where his popularity and success roused anew the jealousy of Constantius. But Julian was now strong enough to throw off the mask, and, as an avowed adherent of the ancient mythology, he advanced to meet the Emperor, passing through Athens upon his way, and there causing the closed temples of Pallas and other heathen deities to be reopened for worship. At this juncture Constantius unexpectedly died; and Julian, finding himself, to his own astonishment, undisputed master of the empire, attributed his elevation and safety to the favour of the gods. Hence his first acts as emperor were directed to the revival of paganism. Accepting, after the manner of his predecessors, the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, he proclaimed himself the guardian of the ancient religion.

*Julian's
Accession,
A.D. 361.*

No attempt was made to proscribe Christianity. The earlier edicts of his reign enjoin universal toleration. The accredited ministers of the Churches, and the heretics deposed and exiled in the previous reigns, were treated with impartial favour. Only the temples which had been forcibly taken from the heathen and devoted to Christian uses were now restored to their original holders, and rededicated to the gods of the empire. A close imitation of Christian methods and organization is observable in

Philosophic revival of Idolatry. the imperial procedure. Julian attempted, in fact, to establish a pagan church. Hence he founded schools and hospitals, instituted a college of priests, and prescribed a purified ritual, with prayer, response, and frequent song. The offices of brotherly love were enjoined upon the worshippers of the gods; the poor were to be supported, and alms and offerings brought to the temple altars. Sermons were to be preached explaining morally and philosophically the sacred myths and traditions. Rigid morality was enjoined on priests and people; transgressors, as in the Christian community, were to be subject to penitential discipline; the young were to be carefully trained in religious beliefs and ordinances. He was himself assiduous, and probably sincere, in attention to the formalities of worship. In the temple he laid aside his imperial state, and was ready for the humblest service, whether to bring the wood or to hold the victim for the sacrificial knife. By every means he strove to elevate the character of the priesthood, so that their calling might have true reverence among men.

It is with sadness that we contemplate all this misdirected labour. Polytheism was past revival. Its very foundations had become rotten, and no superstructure of beauty or nobleness could be reared upon them; the very attempt but increasing the hopeless ruin. The Emperor seems to have vented his disappointment on the Christians. The philosophic and tolerant policy which characterized the beginning of his reign was succeeded by measures of restriction, even of persecution. Baptism into Christ was now forbidden, as disturbing the allegiance due to the empire; preaching and proselytism were disallowed; Christians were prohibited from establishing schools of rhetoric or literature, and incapacitated from holding military or civil offices; the revenues of the Churches were in many cases confiscated, and the exemptions of the clergy from state and other burdens abolished, "in order," as the Emperor said, "that they might be better enabled to fulfil the precept of their religion, not

Julian's Disappointment.

Measures against Christianity.

to lay up treasures upon earth ;" while in the same sarcastic spirit he reminded others who came to him to complain of injustice, that they were bound by the rules of their faith to submit with patience to oppression. Some professors of the Christian faith *Violent deaths of Christians.* were put to death, but it would appear rather in fanatic outbursts of heathen rage than by any order of the Emperor. George of Cappadocia, now holding the episcopate of Alexandria, was murdered by the people in consequence of some contemptuous expression applied to a heathen temple.¹ One Basilius, a presbyter of Ancyra, had interrupted a heathen sacrifice, and fell a victim to the infuriated crowd. Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, formerly noted for the attempt to proselytize the heathen by compulsory measures, was now seized and tortured, although his life was spared. These and some similar cases can scarcely be enumerated as instances of martyrdom. The Emperor's chief weapons were those of scorn and contempt ; and amid the cares of his brief tenure of authority he found time to pour forth treatise after treatise against the hated "Galileans."

Scarcely had Julian occupied the throne a year when he *Persian Expedition.* organized a great expedition against the Persians. During his preparations he visited Pessinus in Phrygia, where at the temple of Cybele he delivered a discourse, still extant, on the "Mother of the Gods." Passing thence to Antioch for a prolonged stay, he expected to find in that city, where "the disciples were first called Christians," a signal reaction towards the old belief. Great was his disappointment to discover that, though rent by mutual dissensions and degenerate in life, they could make common cause against their enemy. It was here that he wrote the most bitter of his attacks on Christianity, the satire *Misopogon*, the "hater of beards"—a title sarcastically applied by the bearded Emperor to the smooth-shaven people of the luxurious city. In Antioch, however, he was destined to experience his sorest mortification. Vainly did he reinstate in olden

¹ He had called it a *tomb*, exclaiming, "How much longer shall it stand here?" See p. 285.

splendour the worship of Apollo in the grove of Daphne, exhuming the bones of the martyr Babylas, buried there on the dedication of the place to Christian worship. Before his very eyes there came "men and women, young children and grey-headed Christians, who bore away the coffin in solemn procession to another place, singing as they went the Psalms which refer to the destruction of idolatry." Nor was this mortification the worst. At the re-dedication of the shrine, Julian says, "I hastened to the sacred grove, in the hope that I should there be gratified with the greatest display of your riches and your love of show. I already pictured to myself the festive processions, and saw by anticipation the victims and the holy choirs, the rows of youths attuning their voices in honour of the god, and dressed in garments of dazzling whiteness. But when I entered the grove I saw no burning of incense, no wafer-cakes, no victims! I was at first amazed, though I endeavoured to believe they were only on the outer skirts of the grove, waiting, out of compliment to me as *Pontifex Maximus*, for a signal from me for their entrance. When, however, I inquired of the priest, 'What offering does the city intend to bring to-day in honour of the annual festival of the god?' he answered me, 'I bring from my own house a goose, as an offering to Apollo; but the city has prepared nothing for him!'"

A fire soon afterwards broke out which consumed the temple; and, as at Nicomedia, in the days of Diocletian, the casualty was attributed to the Christians. Hence new measures of severity were adopted, torture was vainly applied to discover the perpetrators, the churches of Antioch were closed, their treasures confiscated, and a presbyter named Theodoret was beheaded by order of the Emperor's lieutenant; Julian, however, openly disavowing and deploring the deed.

It was during the Emperor's abode at Antioch that his celebrated order was issued to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. His reason for the command can be only conjectured. It may have arisen from some

*Attempt to
rebuild the
Temple at
Jerusalem.*

access of the spirit of toleration, or more probably it was planned to mortify the Christians. According to the ecclesiastical historians of the period, Julian sent for some of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and inquired why they did not sacrifice as directed by Moses. They replied that sacrifice was forbidden elsewhere than in the now ruined temple at Jerusalem; whereupon he promised to rebuild it. Whatever the motive, the issue is hardly disputable, attested as it is by Pagans and Christians alike, and by contemporaries, as well as by later historians. Great balls of fire bursting from the interior of the temple-mountain scared the workmen from

their task, and the enterprise was hastily abandoned.

Alleged Miracle. The occurrence has been placed among ecclesiastical miracles,¹ and it is difficult to resist the belief that it was providentially ordered so as to frustrate the Emperor's bold attempt. Yet we know Providence often works by natural causes; and nothing would be more natural than that, when the vast subterranean recesses which had been covered for centuries were first laid open, successive explosions of fire-damp should envelop the spot in flames, and shake the ground as by an earthquake. These phenomena would be readily exaggerated by the fears or superstitions of beholders, and hence would arise the marvels of the story as it appears in the ancient chronicles.

But the brief, eventful career of Julian was near its close. "What is the carpenter's Son doing now?" was a question scornfully proposed about that time by the heathen rhetorician Libanius to one of the Christians of Antioch. "*He is making a coffin,*" was the retort—well remembered afterwards. The preparations of the Emperor being complete, he left Antioch, crossed the Euphrates with an army of sixty-five thousand men, and for some three months conducted a brilliant though arduous campaign. The difficulties of successfully occupying a vast hostile territory gradually discouraged his army and wasted its strength. He was

¹ See J. H. Newman, *Essay on Miracles*, § 7; and Warburton, *Discourse on the Attempt of the Emperor Julian to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem*. Works (1811), vol. viii. On the other side, see Lardner's judicious remarks, vol. vii. (1831) pp. 603-621.

Death of Julian, June 26, 363. betrayed by treachery into a position of inextricable embarrassment; and in an attack of the Persians upon the rear of his army, a javelin wounded him in the side. Retiring from the fight, conscious that his wound was mortal, he called his friends around him, discoursing to them, according to the pagan historian Ammonius, after the manner of the dying Socrates; and with his last breath holding discussions with attendant philosophers on the greatness of the soul. A Christian tradition represents him as exclaiming when he received the wound, "O Galilean, Thou hast conquered!"¹

It was in November, A.D. 361, that Julian became emperor; in June, A.D. 363, that he died, at the age of thirty-two. His reign, therefore, lasted for but one year and eight months; and its brief period was undoubtedly one of the most important in the history of Christianity. Paganism, with every possible advantage on its side, once more claimed the mastery; and, in sight of the whole world, it failed. It was not that its fables were too puerile to be believed, for the heathen myths were exalted into philosophic allegories; nor that its cruelties disgusted thoughtful minds, for Julian was no vulgar persecutor; nor that it was associated with depravity of morals, for the Emperor was temperate and austere; nor that the general purity of Christian professors effectually contrasted with the vices of heathenism, for the Church was declining and corrupt; but simply because Christianity was the truth, and God was on its side. It is vain to speculate what might have happened had the life of Julian been prolonged; in the order of Providence he lived long enough to give involuntary but decisive attestation to the living power of the Christian faith, and was then removed from the scene. Whether the dying Emperor confessed the fact or not, the Galilean had truly overcome.

Julian was the last of his race, and in the emergency JOVIAN, one of the generals, was elected his successor on the Persian battle-field. A peace was speedily concluded,

Jovian concludes peace with Persia.

¹ Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. III. ch. xxv.

and Jovian conducted the army safely back to Antioch, the Labarum of Constantine being once more uplifted as their banner.

§ 2. FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN TO THAT OF THEODOSIUS I.

Jovian, sole Emperor, by choice of the army, A. D. 363-4.

Valentinian, Emperor of the West ; **Valens**, of the East, A. D. 364.

Gratian succeeds Valentinian, A. D. 375, and Valens, A. D. 378.

Theodosius dispossesses Gratian in the East, A. D. 379.

Death of Gratian and usurpation of **Maximus** (W), A. D. 383.

Valentinian II. dispossesses Maximus, A. D. 388.

Valentinian slain, usurpation of **Eugenius**, A. D. 392.

Theodosius, sole Emperor, A. D. 394 ; dies 395.

1. **JOVIAN** at once declared himself a Christian, restoring to the Churches all the possessions and privileges which Julian had taken away ; but granting, at the same time, according to testimony of heathens themselves, a full and universal toleration. Dying suddenly before he had reigned a year, he was succeeded by **VALENTINIAN** in the West, and **VALENS** in the East—two soldier brothers, raised by the army to the throne, and also professors of the Christian faith.

Jovian's brief reign, A. D. 363-4
Valens and Valentinian, Emps. A. D. 364
Gratian, Emp. A. D. 367-383. Measures against idolatry.

GRATIAN, son and successor of Valentinian, adopted more rigorous measures against paganism, being influenced by Ambrose the Great, Bishop of Milan. This emperor was the first to renounce the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, the last link between the imperial house and the ancient faith of Rome. In the same spirit he ordered the altar of Victory, which had been placed by Julius Cæsar in the Roman senate-house, removed by Constantine, and replaced by Julian, to be finally taken away. In vain did the heathen prefect of the city, the eloquent Symmachus, utter his protest ; it was now the fixed imperial policy to sever every traditional tie between the government and idolatry.

When Gratian was succeeded by his brother, **VALENTINIAN II.**,

the question was renewed. Again, to the youthful Emperor, Symmachus uttered his artful plea. Had not Rome become great while senate and people worshipped before those ancient altars? The State was personified as a venerable matron, pleading to be at least permitted to continue in old age those usages which had ennobled her youth. To such pleading the influence of Ambrose was inflexibly opposed, and Valentinian at length declined even to see the deputations which sought to address him on the subject. At the age of twenty he fell by an assassin's hand; he was then, it is related by the ecclesiastical historians, eagerly expecting baptism from the hands of Ambrose, being still only a catechumen. Before the Bishop could arrive Valentinian was no more; Ambrose, in his funeral oration, declaring the salvation of "a prince who had not received the sacrament of salvation, but who had asked for and was willing to receive it."

But it was the accession of THEODOSIUS which effectually turned the tide in favour of Christianity. While nominally Emperor of the East, his marriage with the sister of the young Valentinian made him virtually master of the whole empire; and he resolved to extirpate heathen idolatry both in the East and in the West. The tolerant policy of his predecessors was formally abandoned; in the year 381 A.D. sacrifices, whether private or public, were forbidden; also divination by means of the entrails of animals. The temples in many places were destroyed by the mob, headed by the monks. These irregularities the Emperor would not or could not check. At length in Alexandria the stupendous temple of Serapis was destroyed by the mob; the heathen standing by in despair, declaring the anger of the gods, and predicting that the overflow of the Nile would fail, that the earth would perish, that the heavens would fall! "Better," cried the Christians sternly, "that the Nile should never overflow again than that the worship of idols should continue!" But the order of the seasons was undisturbed, and a decisive blow was struck at the idolatry of Egypt.

It is said that when, after the death of Valentinian, Theodosius had become sole emperor, he proposed to a meeting of the Roman senate, according to the ancient forms of the republic, the question whether Jupiter or Christ should receive the worship of the Romans, and that by a large majority of suffrages Jupiter was condemned. Gibbon adopts the story, although doubt has been cast upon it by later writers. It is certain that from the time of the accession of this Emperor to undivided sovereignty the profession of Christianity became so general, that Jerome could assert not long afterwards, that every heathen altar in Rome was forsaken and every temple desolate. Nor was this true of Rome only. Throughout the empire the temples were zealously destroyed, neither the architectural splendour of these edifices, nor their adaptability to other uses, being admitted as pleas for preserving those structures which a second Julian might perchance reconsecrate to the service of idolatry. Some few of these temples were indeed converted into Christian churches, but these were the exceptions; and it is well, perhaps, that the followers of Christ did not adopt as their places of assembly those places of which every association would be with the falsehoods and pollutions of idolatry.¹

¹ When the temples were so converted, the process was likened to "putting the new wine into old bottles," "whereby," says Thomas Fuller, "it came to pass that the wine was apt to smell of the cask," heathen usages and modes of thought too often surviving under the Christian name.

§ 3. FROM THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS TO THE FALL OF THE
WESTERN EMPIRE.

Honorius, Emperor of the West ; **Arcadius**, of the East, A. D. 395.

Imperial residence of the West removed to Ravenna, A. D. 405.

Theodosius II. succeeds Arcadius (E.), A. D. 408.

Valentinian III. succeeds Honorius (W.), A. D. 424.

Marcian succeeds Theodosius (E.), A. D. 450.

Maximus and **Avitus** usurp the Western Empire, A. D. 455.

Leo the Thracian succeeds Marcian (E.), A. D. 457.

Majorian, **Severus**, **Anthemius**, **Olytrius**, **Glycerius** (W.), A. D. 457-473.

Leo III., afterwards **Leno**, in the East, A. D. 474.

Julius Nepos ; **Romulus Augustulus** in the West, A. D. 474-5.

End of the Western Empire.

1. On the death of Theodosius, A. D. 395, his sons, **ARCADIUS**

Arcadius,
Emp. E.,
Honorius,
Emp. W., A. D.
395-408
(423).

and **HONORIUS**, assumed the empire, in the East and West respectively. Their policy was akin to that of their father, and was so effective, that by the close of the fourth century the worship of the gods was virtually extinct. A few philosophic writers retained

the old belief mystically explained ; some men of rank proudly held by their ancestral traditions ; and the inhabitants of the obscurer country districts were so slow to change that the word *villager* (paganus) became in time a synonym for an adherent of idolatry. But in the towns, and with the mass of the people, the

Utter ruin of change was complete. A hundred years had thus
Heathenism. brought the most wonderful transformation which, within a like period, has ever marked the progress of the world. The century began with Diocletian ; it ended with the sons of Theodosius. At its commencement the fortress of heathenism seemed impregnable ; the religion of a thousand years had guided not only the worship, but the whole social and political life of the now consolidated empire. It was the very emblem of all that was abiding and secure.¹ Only a conflict of ages, as it would seem,

¹ Thus Horace had written, in claiming immortality for his verse :
"Crescam laude recens dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita vlrine Pontifex."

"So long as the priest of Vesta shall ascend the Capitol with the silent virgin train" (a monthly ceremony)
"shall the freshness of my fame endure."

could cast the fabric down. But it had fallen, and comparatively without a struggle. For nothing is more wonderful than the patience of the pagan idolaters under successive edicts of repression. They might protest, but only within safe limits; the defence of their religion was for rhetoricians, not for confessors. The enactments of the Theodosian code may be justly described as persecuting; but where were the martyrs? In the Christian Church it had been regarded as a wonderful and horrible thing that any should forswear their faith from fear of torture or the stake; but the idolaters submitted in thousands to the prohibition of their favourite rites, and obeyed the requirement to worship at the hated altars of the new religion. It is a remark of Gibbon, that heathenism could not survive without the sustaining influence of *public worship*; the truth is rather that it silently vanished because it was without the support of a living *faith*.

Nothing is more remarkable during this period than the *Cessation of literary assaults on Christianity*. almost entire cessation of the literary attacks upon the Christian belief. Julian appears as the almost solitary assailant in this century. His work has perished; only fragments appear in the reply made to it by Cyril of Alexandria. Heathen philosophers were now content to advocate toleration and to sue for freedom. The chief among them, Libanius, friend and panegyrist of Julian, rejects the faith of the Gospel very decisively, yet without animosity; while, as the teacher of Basil and Chrysostom, he contributed greatly to influence the course of Christian thought. On the other hand, the race of Apologists had ceased. Their work was done; the defenders of the faith could now expend their energies within the citadel which their predecessors had so triumphantly defended. Too often indeed they turned their arms against one another; and, as will be shown in subsequent sections, the internal conflict was often hardly less severe and far more humiliating than that which they had maintained before with heathen foes.

The *Missions of the Church* during this century were not so much the result of any deliberate and settled plan, as a series

of isolated efforts made by Churches and individuals where Providence seemed to open the way. For the most part, the diffusion of the gospel was the natural and unnoticed result of the growing change of opinion. The Roman Empire was still conterminous with the civilized world, and the new influence spread like the leaven, rapidly and silently. The military and commercial relations of the empire with other countries also caused the spread of the Gospel in many directions, without leaving any trace on the page of history. A few scattered records only survive. Thus the Church in *Abyssinia* is said to have been founded by two brothers from Tyre, sole survivors of an exploring crew cruelly slaughtered by the natives. Being carried as slaves to the king, they obtained his favour, and were entrusted with the education of his son; one of them, Frumentius, becoming afterwards chief pastor of a Church gathered by their exertions. The Abyssinian Christian community long retained many Jewish peculiarities, perhaps from its Syrian origin. Very beautiful also is the story of Nunnia, the Armenian female slave, through whose meek teachings and prayers the kingdom of *Iberia* on the Black Sea (now Georgia) received the Gospel. In *Armenia*¹ itself the Christian faith made great progress through the labours of Gregory "the Illuminator," the son of a Parthian prince; the King Tiridates being converted, and the profession of Christianity becoming general. In *Persia* the profession of the Christian faith was viewed as traitorous complicity with Rome, and a great persecution broke out A.D. 343, under Sapor the Persian king, which is said to have lasted for thirty-five years; many thousands of Christians being put to death. But the most authentic details of the progress and triumph of the gospel in this age connect themselves with the European nations. In *Gaul* especially, Martin of Tours, at the head of his community of eighty monks, laboured among the people

¹ Armenia had received the Gospel at an earlier period. See p. 53, and Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, vi. 46.

with indefatigable missionary zeal, winning such successes that his contemporaries attributed to him supernatural powers; while his biography by his disciple Sulpicius Severus is full of marvel and miracle. The regions *north of the Danube* were first evangelized by Ulphilas, a native of those regions who had embraced Christianity, and had been driven from home by his heathen countrymen. For a time he found a refuge at Constantinople, where he was ordained as a missionary to the Goths. He not only preached the Gospel with great success, but translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, his being the first version ever made into a "barbarian tongue." It was the true prototype of strictly missionary translations; Ulphilas having to invent a written alphabet for his purpose, the language having been previously only a spoken one. It is curious that the missionary omitted from his work the Books of Samuel and Kings, fearing that the record of the wars of the Israelites would tend to inflame a people already sufficiently warlike. Ulphilas appears to have held Arian opinions, and to have been imperfectly instructed in theology; but his zeal and the greatness of his work are unquestionable. He died at Constantinople, A.D. 388.

The fifth and sixth centuries brought but little change in the relation of the imperial power to the Church. The utmost energies of the Roman people were tasked, and that unsuccessfully, to keep the northern invader from the gates of the city. At the beginning of the fifth century the wave was gathering; in the year 407 it broke over Gaul; two years later over Rome itself. In 409 ALARIC the Goth entered the city a conqueror; and though his death in Southern Italy little more than a year afterwards checked the progress of the invaders, the imperial crown of the West became but the shadow of sovereignty; while ecclesiastical influences, being based on voluntary submission, although enforced by supernatural sanctions, gathered force every day. Augustine now wrote his *Civitas Dei*, to contrast the undecaying strength of the "city which hath

foundations with the wild confusions and changeful fortunes of the earthly state. Subsequent events only gave new meaning to the lessons of the illustrious theologian. The one name that stands out with anything like greatness in this period of the Roman history is not that of any puppet emperor holding at the will of the barbarians his precarious throne, but that of LEO, the Bishop of the Church. His claims to spiritual supremacy are elsewhere noted; more worthy of a truly great man was the service which by courage and faith he twice rendered to Rome.

*Leo I. Bp.
of Rome,
A.D. 440.*

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In the year 452 the city was once more threatened by fire and sword. ATTILA the Hun, "the Scourge of God,"¹ though his attempt to crush the Western Empire at one blow had been frustrated by his defeat at Châlons in one of the "decisive battles of the world,"² was attacking the Roman power in detail, and was now advancing upon the city. It was not only a barbaric, but a heathen invasion that was threatened. Alaric had been at least a respecter of Christian worship, and the Goths were professed Arians; but Attila was a fierce idolater, and his success would forebode another catastrophe to the faith. Impelled by such considerations, Leo ventured in his pontifical robes, with only two companions, to the barbarian chieftain's tent; and by the majesty and fearlessness of his bearing, and the earnestness of his pleading, induced Attila to forego his purpose. Later legends associate the mission of Leo with an apparition of the Apostles Peter and Paul, who are depicted in a celebrated painting by Raphael now in the Vatican, as threatening Attila with drawn sword. The remembrance that Alaric had died almost suddenly soon after his occupation of the imperial city may have wrought upon the fears of the superstitious king. It is

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Hun, A.D.
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¹ The name, it is said, originated from a visit paid to Attila shortly before the battle of Châlons by a Christian hermit, who said to him, "Surely thou art the scourge of God for the chastisement of Christians." Attila

instantly assumed this title of terror, and it became his most widely known appellation.

² See Sir Edward Creasy, and Gibbon's elaborate description of this great battle.

remarkable, however, that Attila died with even greater suddenness in the year following the embassy of Leo.

A similar interposition of the courageous bishop is recorded in connection with the invasion of *GENSERIC the Vandal*, A.D. 455. Advancing to the gates of the city, the invader was met by Leo at the head of his clergy; and, in compliance with their solicitations, promised to spare the city from fire and sword. Rome was, however, plundered of enormous wealth by the Vandals; and among the spoils of former wars now in turn seized by the invaders, were the temple treasures of Jerusalem, brought to Rome by Titus four centuries previously. Genseric transferred his plunder to Carthage, now the metropolis of the Vandal kingdom.

Leo died A.D. 461. His immediate successors have left no mark in history, save by the arrogance of their claims to ecclesiastical supremacy. Occasional enactments show that even the feeble emperors who now held nominal sovereignty claimed authority in religious matters. Thus in A.D. 467, a joint edict of *LEO THE THRACIAN* in the East, and of

Private idolatrous rites forbidden. *ANTHEMIUS* in the West, forbids the performance of heathen rites in private; the house or estate where such rites were permitted to be confiscated, and the owner, if of rank, to be degraded, if not, to suffer corporeal punishment, and be sent to the mines or to exile. That such an enactment was necessary shows that heathen rites were still secretly practised, but, save in the form of popular festivals, or magical incantations, these gradually ceased; and so far as can be now ascertained, the last temple where worship was publicly paid to Apollo was that in Monte Casino, in Campania, destroyed by *Benedict*, A.D. 529.¹ The Vandals gradually laid aside their heathenism for a nominal Christianity of the Arian type; Genseric continued to hold the sovereignty at Carthage, and lived to see the final overthrow of the Western Empire by *ODOACER*, the Herulian chief, who deposed the last emperor of

Odoacer the Herulian.

¹ See Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 84 (Clark's ed.).

Rome, the youthful ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS—"the *little Augustus*," and himself assumed the title of King of Italy. From this time forth the rulers of the West are of no account in the history of the Church.

*Augustulus
deposed, A.D.
475.*

We return to the Eastern empire, where the influence of heathenism was destined to sustain a longer struggle, chiefly from the influence of its schools of philosophy.

*Theodosius II.,
Emp. E. A.D.
402-450.*

THEODOSIUS II., elevated to the throne of his father Arcadius while yet an infant, received from his elder sister Pulcheria a careful Christian training. With great amiability and gentleness of character, he seems to have combined a very sincere though narrow and superstitious piety: it was the aim of his life to eradicate idolatry and to suppress heresy. He took an eager part in religious disputes, but contented himself with confirming the decisions of the Churches and synods, without any authoritative interference of his own. During his long reign the Eastern empire in its peacefulness was a striking contrast to the troubled West.

*Outbreaks of
fanaticism.*

Only once did the Huns threaten Constantinople, A.D. 448, and the placid Emperor, instead of resisting their approach, was content, at a great price, to purchase their forbearance. But the known piety of Theodosius, with his very gentleness, encouraged the excesses of the fanatical. Bands of monks travelled through the kingdom bent upon the suppression of idolatry, often resorting to violence and bloodshed. In Alex-

*Murder of
Hypatia, A.D.
415.*

andria the murder of the female philosopher Hypatia, in the early part of his reign, disgraced the Christian name. This accomplished lady, who seems to have been distinguished by her virtues as well as by her beauty, was called to preside over the neo-Platonic school of Alexandria, where her defence of the old mythology in its mystical and philosophic interpretation threatened an anti-Christian reaction. She was falsely charged with undue intimacy with Orestes, the pagan prefect of the city; and in a riot which ensued, was dragged from her chariot by a monkish mob, headed by one Peter the Reader,

and hurried into one of the churches, where she was stripped and cruelly murdered. By some historians, Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, is accused of participation in the crime; but there appears no evidence for this, beyond the facts of Cyril's jealousy and hatred of Hypatia, and his subsequent condonation of the foul deed. Hers was the last appeal made on behalf of the ancient gods against the Christian faith. Other voices indeed were heard of those who bewailed the passing of the old order, but the world was untouched by the appeal. Heathen historians, as Eunapius, and especially Zosimus, attributed the downfall of the empire to the vengeance of the gods on account of the spread of Christianity: a theory which, if not sufficiently refuted by Augustine in his *City of God*, must have been completely set aside in the view of that generation by the fact, that the barbarian conquerors of Rome and its provinces successively adopted the now dominant faith. No doubt their Christianity was nominal; and yet in some rough way it denoted a growing conviction, a dawning aspiration. The throb of a new life was felt in the world; and although the affrighted empire and the half-despairing Church failed to discern the fact, these barbarians brought with them a freshness, an energy, and a freedom, which prepared the way for all that is strongest and noblest in modern civilization.

Theodosius died A.D. 450. His successor, MARCIAN, husband of Pulcheria, was the equal of his brother-in-law in orthodoxy, his superior in firmness and energy. His answer to Attila is famous. On their chieftain claiming from Marcian the continuance of the tribute which had been extorted from Theodosius, "Tell Attila," was the Emperor's reply, "that we have iron for him, but no gold." Attila prudently turned his arms against the disorganized West. By this time the "Theodosian Code," containing in an abbreviated form the constitutions, edicts, rescripts, mandates, and epistles of the Christian emperors, from Constantine downwards, had been completed; and its provisions not only show the imperial resolution to suppress idolatry,

but measure the degree in which the secular power claimed to regulate the affairs of the Church. This claim will be illustrated in subsequent sections.

To Marcian succeeded LEO THE THRACIAN, in the year 457.

Leo the Thracian, Emp. E. A.D. 457-474. Leo was crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople; the first instance of the investiture of a Christian sovereign by a priest; a practice which soon became universal throughout Christendom.¹ The joint edict of Leo and Anthemius, Emperor of the West, against heathen worship has been already noticed. Another enactment that bears their name prohibits the obtaining of bishoprics by purchase.

The troubled reign of ZENO "the Isaurian" followed, and *Zeno, Emp. E. A.D. 474-491: the Henoticon.* almost contemporaneously with the fall of the Western empire the Goths appeared at the gates of Constantinople. The blow was averted, but the empire was harassed by unceasing rebellion.² The character of Zeno was voluptuous and weak. The famous *Henoticon* is the only point in which his administration connects itself with the progress of human thought or the fortunes of the Church.³

§ 4. FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE CLOSE OF THE ERA.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

Basilicus,	Emp. A.D. 476	Justin II.,	Emp. A.D. 565
Zeno (restored),	„ „ 477	Tiberius,	„ „ 578
Anastasius,	„ „ 491	Maurice,	„ „ 582
Justin I.,	„ „ 518	Phocas,	„ „ 602
Justinian,	„ „ 527		

GREGORY "THE GREAT": BISHOP OF ROME, 590-604.

The fifth century closed hopefully. Odoacer in the West,

¹ See Gibbon, ch. xxxvi. p. 68.

² A grandson of Marcian, raising the standard of revolt, was foiled by being forcibly *ordained a presbyter*, after his capture by the imperial forces,

being then consigned in his involuntary clerical character to a monastery; a curious witness of the notions of the times.

³ See ch. iv. § 7. 5. p. 301.

after erecting his throne in Ravenna on the ruin of the Roman power, had himself yielded to THEODORIC the Ostrogoth, under whose strong and wise administration many of the olden glories of Italy revived.

*Theodoric,
King of
Italy, A.D.
475-526.*

Theodoric was an Arian, but maintained strict toleration, and though himself illiterate, attracted around him the most learned men of his time; among them Boëthius, author of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, and Cassiodorus, rhetorician, historian, and commentator, "the last two classical writers of antiquity."

In other parts of the West the foundation of future greatness was being laid. Hlodowig, Clovis, or Louis, leader of the Franks who had overrun Gaul, received baptism (A.D. 496) at the hands of Remigius, Bishop of Rheims; and the great succession of the "Christian Kings of France" began, although with accompaniments of cruelty and delusion. Yet more momentous in the history of mankind, though of darker omen at the time, was the possession of Britain

by the SAXONS. These sturdy heathen almost alone withstood the influence of the Gospel; they suppressed the form of Christianity which at their invasion was the religion of Britain, driving its professors into the remote fastnesses of Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland. The legends of King Arthur give the romantic side of the struggle, while to our later view the very triumph of the idolatrous invaders was the first step to all that has been deepest and most powerful in the Christianity of modern times. The Visigoths in Spain, the Burgundians in Southern Gaul, the Vandals in Africa, were still nominally Arian; and in the last-named region the contest

*The Saxons
in Britain.*

between the ruling power and the adherents of the orthodox faith recalls the annals of early martyrdom. The vast territories east of the Rhine and north of the Danube retained some traces of an earlier form of Christianity, but these had been almost destroyed by successive inroads of heathen tribes; and if in these regions Christian

*Western
Europe
overrun.*

The vast territories east of the Rhine and north of the Danube retained some traces of an earlier form of Christianity, but these had been almost destroyed by successive inroads of heathen tribes; and if in these regions Christian

teachers and Churches survived they have left no records to after times.

The Empire of the East still maintained its troubled existence.

Anastasius I., ANASTASIUS was now its ruler—a theological zealot, *Emp. E. A. D.* much condemned by the orthodox on account of his 491-578. patronage of the Eutychian belief.¹ But a greater than

he was needed to restore some semblance of order to the distracted Church and State. The earlier part of the sixth century is chiefly

famous for the name of JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the *Justinian I.,* East for nearly forty years. The remains of paganism *Emp. E. A. D.* 527-565. existing in the empire were eradicated more sternly

than ever; while at the same time the necessity for repeated enactments, almost in the same terms, proved the sway which traditional beliefs and customs still held over the popular mind. Now for the first time we hear of the burning of heathen books, the imprisonment and even torture of the professors of heathenism.

The last abode of philosophic teaching, the school of Athens, was suppressed by this despotic prince (A. D. 529), after an existence of nine hundred years. It is said that when the school was

The School of closed, its teachers were just seven in number, *Athens closed.* strangely renewing the memory of the “seven wise men of Greece.”

More explicitly than any of his predecessors, this monarch assumed the task of regulating forms of belief.

What had been before at most a ratification of the Church’s own acts, or in some cases a veto or a casting vote, was now an

authoritative expression of the imperial will. Justinian *Imperial con-* took upon himself likewise to define the duties of *trol in Church* presbyters and bishops, to regulate the training of the *matters.*

clergy, to lay down laws of ecclesiastical discipline, to condemn heretical errors, and to declare the principles of orthodoxy. He forbade the purchase of ecclesiastical dignities, but is said to have received money for his consent to the appointment of the Roman bishop, while by one of his edicts he lays the foundation of private ecclesiastical patronage. Now again the Jews appear as a

¹ See ch. iv. § 7, p. 296.

disturbing power in the State. Justinian enacts (A.D. 533) that no Jews should be allowed to give evidence before the courts against a Christian; prohibits the reading of the Hebrew Mishna, and latterly imposes severe penalties upon both Jews and Samaritans. The *Institutes of Justinian*, a complete digest of the Roman laws, attest to this day his genius as a legislator, and the exalted view which he took of his functions as supreme ruler in all matters temporal and spiritual.¹

Meanwhile, great changes in the condition of the empire were wrought by Justinian's arms. His general, the great *Successes of Justinian's arms.* Belisarius, overcame the Vandals of Africa, and regained their territory for the Empire of the East. Then advancing upon Italy, he carried the victorious eagles through the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, leading their monarch, the successor of the great Theodoric, in triumph through the streets of Constantinople (A.D. 536). Five years afterwards TOTILA, King of the Ostrogoths, recovered Italy while Justinian was engaged in conflict with Persia; but the power of the nation was broken, and in the year 553 the kingdom was finally destroyed by the eunuch Narses, successor to Belisarius. Amid these distractions and ruins, the Roman See was steadily aggrandized, and the temporal power, the great question of the Middle Ages, as of later times, had its foundations laid in the incessant strife through which no secular authority could long maintain its ground.²

Justinian died A.D. 565. Scarcely three years after his death Italy was once more wrested from the empire, by the irruption of a new and strange people from the valleys of the Elbe and the Oder. *Invasion of the Lombards.* These Langobardi, or *Lombards*, as they were called, from their long javelins or *bardi*, now swept down upon Italy, and soon wrested province after province from the empire. The end of the century finds them in possession of the whole northern part of the peninsula, their seat of government being fixed at Ticinum, or Pavia. The court of Constantinople was

¹ See Milman's *Latin Christianity*.

² See further, ch. ii. § 2, 2.

feebly represented by the Exarch of Ravenna, and maintained its titular sovereignty over Italy by the voice it claimed in the election of the Roman bishop. That bishop now was *Gregory the Great, Pope* GREGORY I., surnamed the Great; the emperor in A. D. 590-604. Constantinople was the wise and just MAURICE, who, after defeating the Persians, was assassinated by his unworthy army, led on by the brutal PHOCAS, by common consent the worst and vilest of the Eastern emperors.

But a cloud was now rising in the East, though as yet in size "as a man's hand," which was destined ere long to overcast the heavens, and in the storm and darkness which ensued, to change the fortunes of the world. The virtues or the crimes of Eastern emperors, even the theology and spiritual claims of Roman bishops, sink into insignificance in comparison *Birth of Mohammed,* with the fact that an Arabian youth had some time A. D. 570. before the close of the century married the rich widow of his former master, and was thus set free to ponder his mission, and to devise his plans. The name of the youth was MOHAMMED, that of his wife KADIJAH.

§ 5. MISSIONS OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

But little special detail can be given of the progress of the *Missionary Enterprise feeble.* Gospel during the three centuries now under review. In the Roman empire the Churches everywhere, so far as they were faithful to their calling, laboured for the evangelization of the heathen in their own vicinity, and many signal conversions are recorded; but there was little of the enterprise which seeks distant and untrodden fields of evangelic labour. On the other hand, the irruptions of the heathen or half-heathen Germanic tribes laid waste many a fair scene of fertility and promise. Often had the faithful in despondency to apply the language of the Psalm: "The boar out of the wood did waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." *British* Christianity almost disappeared in the invasion of the Saxons,

and the flourishing Churches of *Africa* were desolated by the Vandals. Still, as has been shown, the Christian influence reacted upon the enemies of Rome. The Gospel was not sent to them, but they came to the Gospel. Very striking was the contrast between the influence of Christianity and that of paganism over the barbarian mind. There is no instance of barbarians ever embracing the ancient religions of Greece and Rome. They either adhered to their own superstitions or adopted some form of Christianity.¹ The temples of the gods were ruthlessly attacked, the places of Christian worship were revered. Much superstition, no doubt, mingled with this reverence and alloyed their new belief. The statement so often made, that the Goths and Vandals, the Burgundians and Lombards, were "Arians," probably means no more than that the remains of heathenism in their creed and worship kept them far below the orthodox standard. Clovis of Gaul, on the contrary, professed the faith as defined by the standards of the Church; and to the Franks, accordingly, a spiritual precedence was conceded among the converted tribes.

There is a record in Bede of an early mission to *Ireland*. "In the eighth year of Theodosius the younger, A.D. 416, *Patrick in Ireland.* Palladius was dispatched by Coelestine the Roman pontiff to be the first bishop of the Scots (Scoti or Irish) who believed in Christ."² The country at large, however, remained sunk in heathen barbarism until the mission of Succat, better known by his Roman name of Patricius or PATRICK. The "Apostle of Ireland," as he is justly called, had in his thoughtless youth been carried from the home of his father, a Christian deacon, Calphurnius by name,³ by pirates from Ireland, and spent six years in that country as a slave. During this period his solitary reflections led to his conversion to Christ; and when he had escaped from bondage and regained his father's house, he was

¹ Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, I. ii. 38.

² Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, I. 13.

³ His place of residence is doubt-

ful. Patrick himself calls it *Bonavem Tabernia*; perhaps it was the modern Kilpatrick, on the Clyde.

filled with an unconquerable desire to return to the land where he had been a slave, and there to preach the Gospel. After a period of preparatory study spent in France, and followed by ordination as deacon, presbyter, and bishop in succession, he carried out his resolve in company with a few brave associates, and after many vicissitudes gained a hearing for their message. Their preaching, so far as its records survive, was evangelically simple : they itinerated through the land, proclaiming the Gospel everywhere ; they established schools, trained and sent out missionaries, and in the settlements which they founded (at Saul,¹ near Downpatrick, and afterwards at Armagh) exhibited the pattern of a well-ordered Christian community. At a good old age, in or about the year 493, Patrick died on the scene of his labours, leaving to after ages the bright example of a true missionary of the cross.²

From Ireland about the middle of the following century was originated the mission of COLUMBA to the western isles of *Scotland*; and soon from Iona the word of Columbanus in *Gaul*. life went forth to all parts of that country. A little later, COLUMBANUS, with a little company of brethren, set sail from Ireland to the shores of *France*, where he established in the mountains of the Vosges a centre of evangelic labour, venturing, with his companion Gallus, among the tribes of the still heathen Suevi in *Northern Switzerland*; and with another companion, Attalus, crossed the Alps, founding between Genoa and Milan the monastery of Bibbio, so famous in the annals of ancient learning.³

The mission of the monk AUGUSTIN to *Saxon Britain* belongs to the same generation. It was in or about the year 575 that Gregory saw the fair-haired boys from Deira⁴ exposed for sale in the market-place of Rome, and conceived the thought of raising the heathen "Angles" into fellowship with "angels." He himself set out upon the

¹ *Sabbal Patraic*: "the barn of Patrick."

² See *Todd's Life of St. Patrick*; also Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, vol. v.

³ It was in the library of this mon-

astery that the Muratorian Fragment was found (see Part II. ch. vi. § 3, 2). Here too was preserved Cicero's treatise, *De Republicâ*.

⁴ *I. e.* the country between the Tyne and Humber: Durham and Yorkshire.

mission, but was compelled to return; and it was not until more than twenty years afterwards, A.D. 596, when he had attained the episcopal chair, that he was able to carry out his purpose. Augustin, with a band of forty monks, set out upon the errand; on their way they heard such tales of Saxon fierceness and cruelty that they sought permission to return, but were bidden to proceed in a noble letter,¹ which Bede has preserved. The mission of Augustin was not without its accompaniments of parade and superstition: we miss in it the simplicity of Patrick and Columba. The conversion of the thousands who followed **ETHELBERT**, King of Kent,² in his profession of the Christian faith was, to a great extent, only nominal; while the long contests between the See of Canterbury and the representatives of ancient British Christianity revealed much that was opposed to the spirit of the Gospel; but with every drawback the event was one of the greatest in the history of mankind. At this distance of time it is difficult to say whether the faith which the Britons inherited from their forefathers, or that which the missionaries brought from Rome, was the nearer representative of New Testament Christianity. Both, it may be, were mingled with many corruptions. It is, however, but too plain that any attempt of the British remnant to evangelize their Saxon conquerors would have been hopeless. In the order of Divine Providence, the Christian faith was brought anew to the land from a foreign source; and with all its perversions, the religion thus introduced had in it an indestructible life. Beneath the vain parade and the superficial professions of the hour was hidden the secret of England's greatness.

British and Saxon Christianity.

¹ "For so much as better it were never to begin a good work, than after it is once begun to go from it again, you must needs, my dear sons, now fulfil the good work which by the help of God you have taken in hand. Let, therefore, neither the travail of the journey, neither the talk of evil-tongued men dismay you; but with all force and fervour make up that you have by

the motion of God begun, assuring yourselves that after your great labour eternal rewards shall follow," etc. (See Fuller's *Ch. Hist. of Great Britain*, Bk. II. c. 3.)

² Ethelbert was baptized June 2, A.D. 597. Bertha his queen, daughter of the King of Paris, was a Christian princess.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND LIFE.

§ I. THE CLERGY.

I. **T**HE framework of the Christian Society remained for the most part as in the preceding age: the chief modifications being caused, first, by the growing interference of the rulers of the State; and secondly, by the worldliness and formalism which crept over the Churches in their prosperity. The distinction between the clergy and laity became more marked. So many were the candidates for the priesthood, that legal limitations were imposed *Training of* on their admission. Schools for the training of the *the Clergy.* clergy, as well as for maintaining the study of theological science, were instituted in the chief centres: as at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch in the East; Rome, Trèves, and Carthage in the West. Many candidates for the ministry also received their scholastic training in the great heathen schools, among which those of Athens and Alexandria were the most renowned; until these were suppressed by imperial decree. But no special method of training was enjoined; many passed through the different degrees of ecclesiastical employment from boyhood under the guidance of the elder clergy. In North Africa the whole body of the clergy was formed by Augustine into a college for the training of ministers; and the arrangement was afterwards adopted in other places. Certain classes were excluded from the *Regulations* clerical office, as slaves, soldiers, and actors, also the *concerning* maimed, persons who had married a second time, *the Clerical* and those who had received only clinical baptism. *Order.* The age of admission was fixed at twenty-five for a deacon, thirty

for a presbyter. No candidate was admitted without examination as to attainments, moral character, and belief. This examination was conducted by the bishops and clergy, in the presence of the people, whose consent was necessary before ordination. As a security for orthodoxy, a law of Justinian required that every candidate should give to the examiners a statement of his religious belief, written with his own hand. As a general rule, no one could be admitted into the higher grades of the ministry without having passed through the lower; ordination, except in the case of missionaries, was to some special charge, not to office generally; the priest being required to remain in the same diocese, and the bishop forbidden to remove from one see to another, such trans-
Clerical lation being termed, spiritual adultery. The election
Election. both of presbyters and bishops was by the whole Church. The ceremony of ordination was very simple, consisting in the laying on of hands by the bishops and presbyters, with prayer and the participation of the Eucharist. During the first four centuries ordination might take place on any day; it was afterwards restricted to the Lord's Day. The *sacramental* notion of orders had not yet arisen in the Church, solemn as the designation to the ministry was felt to be;¹ nor were the tonsure, the anointing, and the investiture introduced until a later age. The clerical costume was but the ancient ordinary dress, retained after the fashions of the laity had changed; as yet the Church of

¹ Gregory of Nazianzus writes: "A minister's office places him in the same rank and order with angels themselves: he celebrates God with archangels, transmits the Church's sacrifice to the altar in heaven, and performs the priest's office with Christ Himself; he reforms the work of God's hands, and presents the image to his Maker; his workmanship is for the world above, and, therefore, he should be exalted to a Divine and heavenly nature whose business is to be as God Himself, and to make others gods also." *Orat. 1, de*

Fugâ. Gregory was a poet, and in his exalted and incautious language we see the germ of later errors. Chrysostom writes in a similar strain, but more soberly, "The priesthood, though it be exercised upon earth, is occupied wholly about heavenly things; it is the ministry of angels put by the Holy Ghost into the hands of mortal men, and therefore a priest ought to be pure and holy, a being placed in heaven itself, in the midst of those heavenly powers." *On the Priesthood, Book III., ch. iv.*

the New Testament had not adopted from the Old the sacerdotal or sacrificial garb.

2. The question as to the celibacy of the clergy began to be warmly discussed. The Spanish provincial Synod of *Celibacy of the Clergy*. Eliberis, A.D. 305, enjoined on bishops, priests, and deacons to separate from their wives. This canon was disallowed by the Council of Nicæa, 325, Paphnutius himself, an ascetic and a confessor, maintaining that honourable marriage was as truly chaste as the life of a celibate.¹ A second marriage was, however, disallowed; marriage after ordination was extremely rare. False notions of Christian purity led in many instances to the voluntary separation of husband and wife; but, on the other hand, the father of Gregory of Nazianzus, with Gregory of Nyssa, and others, give instances of happy conjugal and family life. Justinian was the first in the Eastern Empire to forbid married persons to be elected bishops.² In the West endeavours to enforce celibacy on all the clergy were made with indifferent success, until the days of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), in the eleventh century, by whom the law was made absolute. The East, on the contrary, while eventually (after the Synod of Trulla, A.D. 692) requiring celibacy in the bishop, not only permits, but encourages the marriage of the rest of the clergy.

§ 2. THE EPISCOPATE AND PATRIARCHATES—GROWING POWER OF ROME.

1. The episcopal sees continued to be of comparatively small *Dioceses and Patriarchates*. extent; the chorepiscopi, or “country bishops,”³ as a separate class, gradually disappearing. From the political or religious importance of the five cities,⁴ Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, the bishops of these cities

¹ Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 11.

² Provincial synods declared from about the end of the fourth century that none of the clergy but the sub-deacons should be allowed to have wives.

³ See Part II. ch. vii. § 3.

⁴ Of these the first three were acknowledged as paramount by the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; but Rome and Constantinople were adjudged the highest place by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

naturally took precedence of the rest, and this eventually led to an assertion of authority. The bishops of these places were termed *Patriarchs* (after A.D. 451), and were entitled to be represented at the imperial court by resident legates (apocrisarii).

2. Of the patriarchal sees, that of ROME was gradually led by *The growing power of Rome: its causes.* the course of events and by the ambition of its occupants to claim the supremacy. Several circumstances concurred to this end.

(1) Rome shared with Jerusalem and Antioch the honour of *An Apostolic Church.* being an apostolic patriarchate; and these two cities, from their want of political importance, could never be her rivals.

(2) Rome and Constantinople were the only imperial cities of *An Imperial City.* the five, and the antiquity and fame were with the former. Byzantium was but of yesterday, and the spiritual headship of Rome appeared only fittingly to crown the history of twelve hundred years.

(3) The very loss of temporal empire gave emphasis to the new *Loss of temporal power.* claim. The one rock which surmounted the billows of those stormy centuries was that of the Church. With a natural, though mistaken, application to the circumstances of the era, the words were ever quoted, *Tu es Petrus.* When the seat of government in Italy was removed to Ravenna, the spiritual power was the only form of real authority that remained to Rome.

(4) The power of the Roman bishops was greatly increased *Reputation for orthodoxy.* by their reputation for unswerving orthodoxy. The practical Roman understanding disdained the subtleties which perplexed the intellect of the East; and from clearness and steadfastness of conviction, rather than from depth or insight, gained moral power in a controversial age.

(5) The wealth and liberality of many Roman converts was a *Wealth and liberality.* point in favour of their Church. Those who could support missions, aid in the erection of ecclesiastical buildings, and dispense charity to the poor, naturally acquired

a commanding influence ; while a great commercial city had constant and direct connection with all the countries of the civilized world.

(6) From a very early time it had been customary in the West *Rome selected as arbiter.* to apply to Rome for guidance in difficult cases. The decretals issued in reply were often imperious in language ; but, as we have seen, they might be and were often resisted, as not being of absolute authority.¹

3. The first instance in which the East recognises Rome as the *Progress of the claim.* rightful arbitrator in disputes was at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343 or 4, according to which appeals from bishops against the judgment of provincial tribunals were to be laid before the Roman bishop Julius, not, however, for personal decision, but that he might have the power of appointing a new trial.² The provision, moreover, applies to Julius only, not to the Roman see as such. But the precedent was not forgotten. Valentinian I. enacted that every bishop should have a right of appeal to Rome, and that every metropolitan should appear when cited. The latter obligation was extended by Valentinian III. to all bishops by a rescript, A.D. 445, in which it is easy to discern the hand of Leo, then holding the Roman see. A few years later Leo, in his instructions to his legates at the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 449), bases his claims upon the words of Christ (Matt. xvi. 18³), a fact worth noting, as this is the first instance of the passage being so employed. Hitherto the great patristic expositors of Scripture, after Cyprian, had applied the promise of our Lord to the apostles collectively, rather than to Peter himself, and had explained "the Rock" as referring either to Peter's confession, or to the person of Christ.⁴

4. The claim of Leo was distinctly repudiated at Ephesus, and

¹ See p. 84.

² Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 112-128, *Eng. Trans.* He takes of course the Roman Catholic view ; but the facts he gives, with great fairness, set aside his conclusions.

³ "Thou art Peter, and upon this

Rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it."

⁴ Kurtz (§ 72) quotes Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome as concurring in Cyprian's interpretation.

afterwards at Chalcedon, A.D. 451. Nor was it implicitly accepted *Resistance to* even in the West. The metropolitans of Aquileia, *the claim.* Ravenna, and Milan steadily maintained the independence of their sees; and the bishops of Northern Africa repeatedly refused to submit to Rome. In the following century a controversy raged between Rome and Constantinople as to the precedence of their patriarchates. John, the bishop of the latter city in the days of Gregory, proudly entitles himself "universal bishop"; Gregory protested, and with perhaps a prouder humility denominated himself "servant of the servants of God." The usurper Phocas interposed, and declared Rome (A.D. 606) to be the head of all the Churches. From that time, by consent, the *The Title of* title of Patriarch was restricted to the Constantino- *Pope.* politan see; the Bishop of Rome assuming that of *Papa,* or Pope, which it bears to this day.¹

§ 3. SYNODS AND COUNCILS.

I. The real government of the Church as an organized body was in its provincial synods and general councils. The former were stately held under the presidency of the metropolitan of each district, and consisted, as in the earlier ages, of bishops, *Ordinary* presbyters, and deacons. On special questions, extra- *Synods.* ordinary synods were convened; and their decisions are among the most important sources of information as to the belief and practices of ancient times.² General or œcumenical *General* councils could only be convened by the Emperor, *Councils.* and were regarded as representing the whole Church.

¹ The word *papa* means *dear father*, akin to *Abba*, *πάππα*. It seems to have been first applied to the Bishop of Alexandria, but was given to many bishops besides. The first instance of its use as an official title in a public document is by Siricius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 384-398. Its general employment in application to the Roman see dates from Leo I., and its *exclusive*

employment from Gregory I.

² See especially the first three volumes of the *Conciliengeschichte* of the Roman Catholic Bishop Hefele, as translated into English by Clark and Oxenham. The collection of facts and documents is of the highest value; but his opinions are occasionally coloured by his creed.

Strictly speaking, the universal character which they assumed was not because representatives of all Churches were actually present, but because their canons when promulgated were received with general consent. Thus the great Council of Nicæa, the first and most important of the series, was really an assembly of the Eastern Churches only; the sole representatives from the West being the Spanish bishop Hosius and two presbyters sent from Rome.

2. The œcumenical councils held during this period were the following: \

I. *The Council of Nicæa*, in Bithynia, called by the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 325, attended by three hundred *Councils enumerated.* and eighteen bishops. The great question before this Council was that of the Deity and Sonship of Christ, in opposition to Arianism. Here also the time of keeping Easter was settled, and decisions were given on minor points of discipline and doctrine.¹

II. *The Council of Constantinople*, called by Theodosius I., A.D. 381, attended by a hundred and fifty bishops. Here the great question was the Deity and Personality of the Holy Spirit, and the Nicene Creed received its final or almost final form.²

III. *The Council of Ephesus*, convened by Theodosius II., A.D. 431, and attended by two hundred bishops. It was at this council that the question was discussed whether Mary was the mother of our Lord's human nature only, or also of His Divinity (*Theotokos*). The latter was affirmed, and the Nestorian doctrine condemned.

An attempt was made to hold a general council at Ephesus in the last year of Theodosius II., A.D. 449, to discuss the question of the two natures of our Lord. But the proceedings of the assembly were so violent, proceeding even to physical conflict, that it broke up in confusion, and has received the name of "The Robber Synod."

¹ The twenty canons of the Nicene Council are given in Hefele, vol. i. pp. 375-434.

² For the seven canons of this Council, see Hefele, vol. ii. pp. 353-369.

IV. *The Council of Chalcedon*, summoned by Marcian, A.D. 451, and attended by six hundred and thirty bishops. Here also the question of the two natures was discussed, and Eutychianism, the opposite error to Nestorianism, decisively condemned.

V. *The Second Council of Constantinople*, convened by Justinian, A.D. 553, attended by one hundred and sixty-five bishops, is sometimes regarded as œcumenical, but as its decision (on a disputed point connected with Nestorian teachings) was generally rejected in the West, it can hardly claim that honour.

§ 4. ASCETIC TENDENCIES—THE GROWTH OF MONASTICISM.

I. No error could be greater than that of estimating the religious life of an epoch by the organization of its Churches, or even by the earnestness of its doctrinal controversies. These indeed are the matters which most strongly arrest the observer, and to which history must give the foremost place. But the true Kingdom of God is within: and in the time of outward prosperity, as in that of persecution and martyrdom, there were multitudes able to withstand the adverse external influences, and to live devout and holy lives. True, these are not often the saints of the Church.¹ This honour was too often reserved for the ascetic and the fanatical; but the others constituted its true power; and the best testimony to the reality of the Christian life, amid all growing worldliness and corruption, was in the gradual uplifting of the community. Public life was purer, the tone of the family was immeasurably higher, cruel and degrading popular customs ceased. Church discipline, with all its perversions, kept alive the sense of sin and stimulated self-examination, while many individual biographies present bright examples of earnestness and purity.

2. On the other hand, the growth of MONASTICISM was one of

¹ The reader, curious to know to whom the saintly title was given, is referred to the index to this volume. In the narrative itself the "canonization" is ignored. See Introduction.

the most characteristic features of the age. The foundations of *Ascetic life*: the system had long ago been laid¹ in the persecution *its causes.* under Decius. It was natural that the refugees should band themselves together for aims which it was impossible to pursue in the midst of a hostile world. It is at first sight strange that when open hostility had ceased, and the empire had become nominally Christian, the disposition to seek seclusion should only have been intensified, and that the growth of Monachism, which had begun in the third century, should have been more than maintained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth. It may be that the worldliness of the Christian State was more acutely felt by earnest men than the opposition of heathendom; and more were fain to flee from the spectacle of inconsistency and hypocrisy than from the persecutor's sword. The mistake was in forgetting the word of the Master: "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world; but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil."

3. It was in the beginning of the fourth century that ANTHONY, *The monks of Egypt.* a man of good family and wealth (d. A.D. 356), went from Alexandria into the Thebaid, and organized the scattered companies of recluses into a community; dwelling in separate cells, but bound by the uniform vow of chastity, poverty, and manual labour for the common good. The settlement of Cœnobia, as it was called,² soon became famous, and not a few illustrious men found a temporary retreat with Anthony from the theological conflicts of the time. Other monastic establishments rapidly sprang up, the chief of which was that of PACHOMIUS at Tabennæ, an island in the Nile. On a visit to this settlement, Athanasius was greeted by a procession of three thousand monks, chanting hymns and litanies. Monastic bodies were also constituted on the Nitrian upland³ by Ammonius, and in the neighbouring wilderness of Sketis by Macarius. Rufinus of Aquileia states,

¹ See Part II. ch. iii. § 5

² From *κοινὸς βίος*, "a life in common." So *Cœnobites*. *Anchorets* (properly *Anachoretēs*) were so called from *ἀναχωρεῖω*, to retire.

³ It was a young Nitrian monk, Telemachus, who, by his heroic interposition, caused the abolition of gladiatorial games in Rome, A.D. 404.

perhaps rhetorically, that by the end of the century the monks of Egypt equalled in number the population of the towns.

4. The movement spread to Arabia, Palestine, Syria; afterwards to Armenia and Asia Minor; and later still to the West. The monasteries became not only places of retirement from the world and of humble industrial occupation, but of literary leisure and toil. It was in his retirement with Anthony that Athanasius wrote his celebrated treatises against the Arians; and Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem spent studious years in preparing the Latin "Vulgate" translation of the Scriptures. Many eminent men received their training for the ministry in monastic seclusion; and some were removed by affectionate compulsion from the cell to the episcopal throne. The greatest writers of the Church vie with one another in praises of the monastic life. It was the "life of angels"; in it was attained the "heavenly philosophy," its honours and rewards equalled "the crown of martyrdom, now out of reach."

5. This was the bright side. On the other hand, it was too surely learned that the world was not to be shut out from the monastic cell. It was soon found that many embraced the monastic vocation from idleness or cowardice, thinking to rid themselves of the obligations of life—to evade the payment of taxes, or to avoid serving in the army. So early as A.D. 365, the Emperor Valens enacted that such persons should be removed from the monasteries by force; and the officers sent to the Nitrian monastery to execute this command found it so strongly fortified as to repel their attack. Other mischievous tendencies soon developed themselves. Spiritual pride and self-righteousness were inseparable from the system. The life of seclusion and ascetic self-restraint in a burning climate led to morbid fancies and hallucinations. In vain did the victims of irregular desires plunge deeper and deeper into solitude; the phantoms of a disordered brain pursued them still. Spiritual conflicts took outward forms in the excited imagination. Around one or another cell there clustered tales of supernatural marvels,

of visions, and even of miracles. Derangement often followed, and the number of lunatic monks became a serious danger. The *Fanatical* monastic rule was varied by new and fanatical institutions of will worship. The *Acoimetæ* ("sleepless ones") of Constantinople were so called from their continuous celebration of worship, night and day; the *Euchitæ* ("praying ones") of Syria professed to live by prayer without work, and went about begging, celebrating also their worship in a wild, irregular way that gained for them the title of *Orcheutæ* (dancers); the *Stylitæ* ("pillar men") carried self-torture to the excess of taking up their abode on the summits of pillars in the open air, and there remaining through all changes of season and weather. Simon Stylites lived thus near Antioch at the beginning of the fifth century, on a pillar one hundred feet high, for thirty years, preaching to the crowds who flocked to see him. His example was followed, although with less pertinacity and conspicuousness; and the "stylite" saints were numerous, down to the eleventh century.

6. It is plain that a body of men so numerous as were the monks, enthusiastic and fanatical, and to a great extent unemployed, must have contained elements of serious danger to the *Outbreaks of State*. In Egypt especially, their occasional outbreaks *disorder.* often menaced the peace of Alexandria; and, as we have seen, it was a mob of monks that perpetrated the brutal murder of Hypatia. New rules were from time to time imposed upon the monastic community, to check disorder and promote the objects of the organization. The names in the East of Basil "the Great," and in the West of Martin of Tours, both of whom lived towards the close of the fourth century, are honourably connected with these endeavours after a better discipline. The Council of Chalcedon also (A.D. 451) enacted canons for monastic regulation.

7. But the great reformer of the system, in fact, its re-organizer *Benedict of Nursia.* in the West, was undoubtedly BENEDICT of Nursia in the Apennines (A.D. 480-542), whose "Rule" in seventy-three sections, as preserved by Gregory I., presents the ideal of a monastic life when at its best and in its completeness,

and has left little or nothing to be added by his successors. Monastic vows were now for the first time made, in fact as in theory, irrevocable ; while, on the other hand, a careful previous novitiate tested the candidate's vocation, and the unnatural severity of the Eastern asceticism was mitigated. Active employment was enjoined, as well as the exercise of devotion, with the three-fold vow—fixedness of abode, strictness of morals (including poverty and chastity), and obedience. According to the institution of Benedict, the chief employment of the monks was agriculture. From CASSIODORUS of Vivarium, in Lower Italy, they received *Cassiodorus*, the impetus to literary occupations, and from A. D. 538. Gregory himself to active efforts to Christianize and civilize the surrounding population. Hence, with all defects and abuses, the record of which belongs to a subsequent age, the Benedictines wrought for their own time a great work in reclaiming the soil, cultivating waste lands, and educating the young ; while preserving for all time, through many troublous eras, the great writings of antiquity.

8. Monastic institutions for *women* soon followed those of the *Monasteries* other sex. Anthony and Pachomius were attended in *for Women.* the wilderness by their respective sisters, who aspired to emulate their example ; and for the two ladies, now advanced in age, a monastery was established near the Nile, four hundred virgins soon joining themselves to the new society. Similar communities sprang up in different directions, originated by female devotees. Among these the most conspicuous was PAULA, friend and correspondent of Jerome, who established three nunneries near Bethlehem. Leo I. enacted that no nun should take the veil under sixty years of age ; but the limit was afterwards fixed at forty. In the West, SCHOLASTICA, the sister of Benedict, was the great promoter of female monasticism, adopting in the main her brother's rule. But throughout the early history of the Church the deaconesses and "religious women" for the most part remained in their own homes, exemplifying domestic piety while seeking to be useful in the larger sphere.

§ 5. THE BIBLE OF THE CHURCH.

1. By the beginning of the fourth century, the Canon of *Completion of Scripture*, Old Testament and New, existed in a *the Canon.* nearly complete form. About the greater number of the books included there was no dispute at all; and such questions as remained were on the eve of final settlement. From the storms of persecution, the BIBLE had emerged, the dearest possession of the Church. Yet no authoritative decision as to its contents had ever been given; no theory of inspiration had ever been formulated. The one simple, outstanding fact was the recognition by the Christian consciousness of certain books, apart from all others, as divine; and this "inspiration of selection" will be acknowledged by all who believe in the presence of the HOLY SPIRIT in the Church. The traditions of apostolicity, noted in a previous chapter, were thus abundantly confirmed.¹

2. It is important to note that this recognition was not *Testimony of* hastily or carelessly accorded. The very hesitation *Eusebius.* in the acceptance of certain New Testament writings strengthens our confidence in the ultimate decision. Here EUSEBIUS is our most important witness.² In a well-known passage of his *Ecclesiastical History*,³ certain books, he says, were universally received (*homologoumena*); others were still questioned (*antilegomena*), while several, accepted by certain of the churches, were spurious (*notha*). In all this there is no note of authority; the historian simply registers the general consensus of the Christian community. The accepted books comprised first the "holy

¹ See Part II. ch. vi.

² Some writers on the New Testament Canon quote the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions*, a composite work of unknown origin, although claiming to have come from the Apostles through Clement: see p. 117. The 85th Canon appended to this collection specifies the whole of the Old Testament, including *Judith*,

three books of the *Maccabees*, and the *Wisdom of Sirach*; with all the New Testament books, excepting the *Apocalypse*, adding *Two Epistles of Clement*, with the *Constitutions* themselves; the latter, however, "being not for general use, but only for the initiated." See Lardner, *Credibility*, ch. lxxxv.

³ Book III. ch. xxv.

quaternion" of the *Gospels*, then the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Epistles of Paul* (fourteen, including *Hebrews*, as elsewhere Eusebius intimates),¹ 1 *John*, 1 *Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*. With regard to this last, indeed, Eusebius goes on to intimate the existence of a doubt, in which he evidently did not share. The controverted books were 2 and 3 *John*, 2 *Peter*, *James*, and *Jude*. Among the uncanonical books, four may be especially specified, as admitted by some into the Canon because attributed to certain companions of the Apostle Paul mentioned in his Epistles; 1 and 2 *Clement* (see Phil. iv. 3), the "Shepherd" of *Hermas* (Rom. xvi. 14), and the Letter of *Barnabas*. Others are added to the list, which need not now be discussed, as their claim to canonical authority was universally disallowed.²

3. It is observable that in the great Council which more than any other determined the course of religious discussion during the succeeding age, the question of the Scripture Canon does not seem to have been even raised. The divinity and authority of the Sacred Books as a whole were taken for granted; while the copy of the Gospels, placed on an open stand in the midst of the assembled Fathers, was a symbol, both of the supremacy of CHRIST among them, and of the devout regard paid to the inspired records of His life.

4. The reception of the five "disputed" books into the Canon with the rest was practically settled in the preparation, under the guidance of Eusebius, of fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures, ordered by the Emperor CONSTANTINE³ "to be written on prepared skins, by the help of skilful artists accurately acquainted with their craft." For this object orders were issued

¹ The historian, feeling the difficulty of attributing the *Epistle to the Hebrews* directly to Paul, supposes that it may have been translated from the apostle's original (Hebrew or Aramaic) by Clement or Luke.

² A few of the more prominent of these may be mentioned: the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; the *Gospel*,

the *Preaching*, and the *Apocalypse* of Peter; the *Gospels of the Infancy*; the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*. See *The New Testament Apocrypha*, by B. H. Cowper; *Pseudepigrapha*, by W. J. Deane, and monographs on particular books.

³ See Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, iv. 36.

to the governors of the provinces "to furnish everything required for the work; and two public carriages were commissioned for the speedy conveyance of the finished volumes to the Emperor." This first formal publication of the Bible on so large and elaborate a scale¹ would naturally form a standard for ecclesiastical use. "The effects of this," writes Bishop Westcott, "were soon seen. The difference between the 'controverted' and 'acknowledged' Epistles was cleared away, except as a matter of history. On the Apocalypse alone some doubts still remained. Some received and some rejected it."²

5. The doubts that might still linger called forth the weighty *Witness of Athanasius*. testimony of ATHANASIUS. It was the custom of the bishops of Alexandria to address to their clergy, year by year, a pastoral letter, announcing the date of Easter, and giving pronouncement on theological and ecclesiastical questions that might have arisen. In one of these *Festal Letters*, as such communications were called, A.D. 365, Athanasius takes occasion to speak of the Divine Scriptures; and after enumerating the twenty-two Books of the Old Testament, "the number," he says, "as I have heard, of the Hebrew letters," he adds, "We must not shrink from mentioning the Books of the New Testament, which are these: Four Gospels, according to *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*. Then, after these, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the so-called Catholic Epistles of the Apostles, being seven, namely, one of *James*, two of *Peter*, then three of *John*, and, after these, one of *Jude*. In addition to these there are fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, written in order, thus (naming them, including *Hebrews*). And again the *Apocalypse* of John. These are the fountains of salvation, so that he who thirsts may satisfy himself

¹ The earliest MSS. extant (fourth and fifth centuries) contain all the New Testament books (the Vatican presumably, though the pages after Heb. ix. 14 have disappeared). To the Sinaitic MS. the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd* are appended; to

the Alexandrine MS. I and 2 *Clement*.

² It remains a little uncertain whether in Constantine's Bible the Apocalypse was contained or not. See Westcott, *Canon of New Testament*, Part III. ch. ii.

with the oracles in these. In these alone, the lesson of piety is proclaimed. Let no one add to these nor take anything from them."¹ In a further passage Athanasius writes: "There are also other books, outside these, not included in the Canon, which have been framed by the fathers to be read for the sake of those who are just approaching [the faith], and wishing to be instructed in the word of piety;—the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and the *Wisdom of Sirach* and *Esther* and *Judith* and *Tobit*; and the so-called *Instruction of the Apostles* (the 'Didaché') and the *Shepherd*." The reference to the "apocryphal" books of the Old Testament is striking, as is also the inclusion of *Esther* among them. *Baruch* and the *Letter of Jeremiah* are included by Athanasius with *Jeremiah* among the acknowledged books; but no mention is made of *Maccabees*.

6. Similar testimony to that of Eusebius and Athanasius comes to us from different parts of the ecclesiastical world. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (*d.* 386 A.D.) precisely follows the great Alexandrian father, excepting that in the Old Testament he includes *Esther*, and in the New omits the *Apocalypse*. In Asia Minor *Verses of Amphilocheius* AMPHILOCHIUS, Bishop of Iconium, composed in c. 380 A.D. iambic lines a kind of *memoria technica*, bringing in the names of all the New Testament books very ingeniously. Of the *Gospel by John* he writes: "It is fourth in time, but first in the loftiness of its teachings"; and of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, that "some affirm it to be spurious, not speaking well, for its grace is genuine." He speaks also doubtfully of the *Apocalypse*; and on the whole list he adds, "This will be the most truthful Canon of the Inspired Scriptures, by obeying which you will escape the snares of the world." A yet greater sacred poet, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, essayed a similar task, but hardly with like success, mixing up his

*Stanzas by
Gregory
Nazianzen,
c. 385 A.D.*

¹ Westcott, *On the Canon of New Testament*, Appendix xiv. p. 546, where the original Greek of Athanasius is given. This part of the *Festal*

Letter, with portions of others, exists also in a Syriac translation. See translation by Dr. Burgess, 1852.

hexameters and iambics in the most curious fashion. "*Matthew*," he says, "wrote the marvels of Christ for the Hebrews, *Mark* for Italy, *Luke* for Greece, and *John*, the great preacher, visitant of heaven,¹ for all men."

7. The testimony of the Greek Churches still further found expression in the Council or SYNOD OF LAODICEA, *Synod of Laodicea*, a small assembly representing several districts of A. D. 363. Asia Minor. Of this Synod the fifty-ninth Canon enacts that "no psalms composed by private individuals, nor uncanonical books, may be read in the church; but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament." The following Canon enumerates these books in the Old Testament, omitting the Apocrypha, but combining *Baruch* and the *Letter* with Jeremiah. In the New Testament are specified all the books as we have them, excepting the *Apocalypse*. Fourteen Epistles are attributed to the Apostle Paul, that to the *Hebrews* being included. This Laodicean list is notable, as the first that emanated from any council or synod of the Church; and few as were the members comprising the assembly, their decision may be taken as expressing the whole mind of the East.

8. In the West, including Italy and North Africa, a corresponding testimony was given in the SYNODS of HIPPO *Synods at Hippo*, and CARTHAGE (the third), in which AUGUSTINE was A. D. 393, and the ruling spirit. That of Carthage is the more *Carthage, 397*. famous, although its chief decisions seem to have originated at Hippo. The catalogue of the canonical Scriptures is very definite; and in the New Testament it comprises all the books, as we have them, including the *Apocalypse*. The reference to the Pauline Epistles is a little singular: "*thirteen* Epistles of the Apostle Paul, and one to the *Hebrews* by the same." The form of expression suggests some reason for separating this Epistle from the rest. The Old Testament, according to this Carthaginian list, includes the Apocryphal writings.

¹ *ὄβρανφοίτης*. In this word *Apocalypse*, not otherwise mentioned there appears an allusion to the *in Gregory's verses*.

9. Augustine himself gives distinct attestation to the same list. "In all these books," he writes, "those who fear God, and cherish humble piety, seek the will of God." RUFINUS, the learned Bishop of Aquileia, follows to the like effect, only drawing a clear distinction between "canonical" and "ecclesiastical" writings, the latter, in the Old Testament, including the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, and *Maccabees*; in the New, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Two Ways* (the "Didaché"). "These," he adds, "may be read in the churches, but not as authority for faith."

10. But among the witnesses in the Latin Church, by far the greatest is JEROME. In his translation of the Old "Vulgate." Testament Scriptures directly from the Hebrew, he indicates the threefold divisions, Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa; setting the Apocryphal Books decisively aside. The latter, indeed, appear in the Vulgate, but they were added to Jerome's work from the Old Latin. Of the New Testament Jerome writes, in words which may well conclude our brief survey of the Bible in the Church: "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are the very chariot of the Lord. . . . Paul the Apostle writes to seven churches; the eighth Epistle, that to the *Hebrews*, being placed by many outside the number. Timothy he instructs, and Titus, and pleads with Philemon for his fugitive slave. Of such a writer I think it better to be silent than to attempt any description. The *Acts of the Apostles* may seem to enunciate bare history, and to clothe the infancy of a new-born church; but if we understand the writer, Luke, the physician, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,' we shall esteem every word of his as medicine for a feeble soul. James, Peter, John, Jude, apostles, have composed seven Epistles, as mystic as they are concise, at once short and long; brief in words, prolonged in meaning. The *Apocalypse* of John has as many sacred mysteries (*sacramenta*) as words. I have said too little for the worth of the whole volume. All praise is below the subject; manifold meanings are hidden in every word."

CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEF CHRISTIAN WRITERS : THEIR LIVES
AND WORKS.

THE names of the great writers of the Church are for the most part interwoven with its history, and especially with the record of those great struggles for the establishment of fundamental Christian verities which constitute the chief feature of this eventful era. Constant reference to the more illustrious will therefore be made in following sections ; but a brief preliminary biographical sketch will be useful, not only for the sake of clearness, but as indicating our chief sources of contemporary information.

§ I. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

The Ecclesiastical Historians of the period are *Eusebius* of Cæsarea, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* of Constantinople, *Theodoret* of Cyrus, and *Evagrius* of Antioch.

I. EUSEBIUS, successor to Hegesippus, the "Father of Ecclesiastical History," was born in Palestine, probably in 260-339. Cæsarea, about A.D. 260. Here he formed an early friendship with Pamphilus, afterwards martyr, whose name he added to his own ("Eusebius Pamphili"). He himself was imprisoned for the faith in company with the Egyptian confessor Potammon. About A.D. 315 Eusebius was elected bishop of Cæsarea, and in that character was appointed to receive the Emperor Constantine with a speech of welcome at the Council of Nicæa. From that time his influence with Constantine was very

great ; but it appears to have been used with true disinterestedness, and with a moderation towards theological opponents which led him to be stigmatized in that day of extremes as an Arian at heart. The Patriarchate of Antioch was at one time offered to him, but refused ; and he remained in his See until his death, A. D. 339.

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, extending from the foundation of Christianity to the time of the Nicene Council, is invaluable for the series of early documents which it transcribes rather than for the completeness and skill of the narrative. Entering, to use his own words at the outset, on "a desert of untrodden road," he often pauses on spots of comparatively little interest to the modern student, and hurries past scenes and events where more extended detail would have been invaluable. But with every drawback it is and must remain our most trustworthy guide as to at least two centuries of Church history.

Very useful as a supplement to this great work is the *Life of Constantine*, which, however, is a panegyric rather than a biography ; and would expose Eusebius to the charge of sycophancy from any who failed to enter into the feelings of those to whom the imperial favour shown to Christianity was so sudden and amazing as to seem like a new heaven and a new earth. The contemporaries of the "first Christian Emperor" could not foresee the evils that would arise from his patronage of the Church ; they could only rejoice with the joy of a great deliverance, and show themselves proportionately grateful to the instrument of their freedom.

The chief theological works of Eusebius were his *Preparation for the Gospel*, being a collection of extracts from ancient authors, with the view of disposing the mind to receive the evidences of Christianity ; and the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, a sequel to the foregoing, in twenty books, of which only two remain, addressed chiefly to the Jews, and urging the argument from prophecy. In these two works Eusebius passes beyond the scope of the former Apologists, and constructs an argument of immense learning and logical force for both natural and revealed religion.

Of the numerous other works of Eusebius, many of which are

now lost, or exist but in detached portions, it is only needful to notice the *Chronicon*, a view of the comparative chronology of all nations, from Abraham down to his own times; compiled with the view of showing the antiquity of the Mosaic legislation and records. This interesting and suggestive work has come down to us in three forms: (1) in a Latin translation by Jerome, abbreviated and interpolated; (2) an Armenian version discovered in 1818, and since published with Greek and Latin translations; (3) an abridgment discovered by Cardinal Mai in the Vatican Library, and published by him with some minor works of Eusebius, 1825.

2. SOCRATES, surnamed Scholasticus, or the Advocate, having *Socrates, A.D.* practised as a rhetorician and pleader in Constanti-
ab. 445. nople at the beginning of the fifth century, devoted himself on retirement from practice to the continuation of the history of Eusebius to A.D. 439. His work is of the greatest value in reference to the history of opinion during this momentous time.

3. SOZOMEN, also a pleader in Constantinople, and contempo-
Sozomen, A.D. rary with Socrates Scholasticus, covers almost exactly
ab. 440. the same ground in his history. Comparison of the two narratives is often valuable, although in every quality of a historian Socrates is undoubtedly the superior. Sozomen is diffuse, often inaccurate, and much given to moralizing. His history ends abruptly with the miraculous discovery of the bodies of the prophet Zechariah and of Stephen the first martyr.

4. THEODORET, born in Antioch about A.D. 387, dedicated to
Theodoret, God by pious parents from infancy (whence his name),
A.D. 387- heir to a large inheritance, which he renounced for a
458. life of evangelic labour, was taken A.D. 423 from the monastery to which he had retired, and appointed bishop of Cyrus in Syria by the Euphrates, where, it is said, his diocese consisted of eight hundred villages full of heretics of all kinds; and where his work was so successful that at his death not one heretic remained! Theodoret was a man of great energy as well as devoutness. Through his exertions the city where he exercised his episcopate

was rebuilt, enlarged, and beautified ; and, as he says, "the hurry of a thousand occupations, in city and country, military and civil, secular and ecclesiastical," gave him no rest. His later years were spent in ceaseless disputations, on account of his alleged heresies ;¹ he was deposed, excommunicated, anathematised, but his orthodoxy was at last admitted, and he died in peace about A.D. 458. "Theodoret," writes J. H. Newman, "has a place of his own in the literature of the first centuries, and a place in which he has no rival." He was an able commentator on Scripture ; he wrote an eloquent confutation of Paganism, a biography of a number of anchorites, especially of Simon Stylites, two treatises concerning heresies, numerous letters, several books now lost, and the *Ecclesiastical History* on which his fame chiefly rests. Like the two last-mentioned it is a continuation of Eusebius, carrying the history down to A.D. 428. Theodoret supplies many omissions of Socrates and Sozomen, giving original documents of the highest value ; the chief defect of his history is an occasional want of chronological order.

5. EVAGRIUS Scholasticus probably practised as an advocate *Evagrius*, A.D. in Antioch ; attaining high dignity in the State. His *ab.* 536-600. *History*, which may rather be called a chronicle, is curtly written, and is full of marvels, recorded with credulous simplicity. It is, however, a useful companion to the Christian literature of the fifth and sixth centuries—covering as it does the period from A.D. 431 to A.D. 594. "I have also compiled another volume," he says, "containing memorials, epistles, decrees, orations, and disputations, and some other matters." It is much to be regretted that this work is no longer extant.

§ 2. THEOLOGIANS OF THE EAST.—ALEXANDRIA.

1. The first place must here be given, in importance as in time, to the renowned ATHANASIUS. His career is so intimately blended with the great theological discussions *Athanasius*, A.D. 296-373.

¹ See on the Nestorian Controversy, ch. iv. § 6. Cyril of Alexandria was the great opponent of Theodoret.

in which he took the foremost part that for the present the briefest view of his life and labours will suffice. Born at Alexandria about A.D. 296, whether of Christian or heathen lineage is unknown, we first see him in the household of the bishop Alexander, where he received a complete education both secular and sacred for the Christian ministry. As a deacon, he attended the Nicene Council, and assisted in drawing up its Creed. The next year, on the death of Alexander, he was chosen bishop by the concurrent suffrage of the clergy and the people. His conflict with the enemies of the orthodox faith, with the changes of imperial favour and popular feeling by which he was alternately deposed and reinstated,—now driven into exile among the monks of the Thebaid, now again welcomed back to Alexandria in triumph,—belong to the history of the great Arian controversy. Thrice was Athanasius expelled from his bishopric through the influence of his theological opponents; and when Julian set himself to restore the heathenism of the empire, Athanasius was naturally among the chief objects of attack. Theodoret indeed affirms that the Emperor ordered the great Christian teacher to be put to death, but Athanasius again escaped, re-appearing from some unknown hiding-place after Julian's death. By Valens he was expelled for a fifth time, but returned after a brief interval, and died in peace, A.D. 373, having shown to the last the same undaunted front, even when his motto might have been that which his panegyrists invented for him, "*Athanasius contra mundum.*" As a writer he was indefatigable, his chief productions being his *Oration against the Nations*, his *Apology*, addressed to the Emperor Constantius, *Orations* and *Letters against the Arians*, a *Treatise on the Incarnation of the Word*, and a *Life* of his early friend the recluse *Anthony*, which last, however, is suspected to be only partially his. It may suffice here to state that there is no authority for attributing to him the composition of the Athanasian Creed.¹

2. The next great name in the Alexandrian Church is that of CYRIL, Bishop of the See from A.D. 413-444. His career is

¹ See ch. iv. p. 306.

as closely bound up with the Nestorian controversy as that of Athanasius with the Arian, but the two men were widely different. Cyril was ambitious and restless, vindictive towards opponents, and unscrupulous in the methods of controversy. His zeal for the faith was undoubted, but even here there seems more of party spirit than of disinterested love to truth. The murder of Hypatia, which casts so indelible a blot on his episcopate, may have been without his knowledge or connivance, but we seek in vain in his speeches or writings for an indignant repudiation of the foul deed. His principal works comprise *Commentaries*, *Homilies*, *Dialogues*, and tractates on the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, with ten books *against Julian*; and are pervaded by an allegorizing mystical method which renders them of little value.

§ 3. THEOLOGIAN OF THE EAST (*continued*).—PALESTINE AND SYRIA.

I. Among the great writers of Palestine, CYRIL of Jerusalem (bishop 348–386) holds the earliest place. He must not be confounded with his namesake of Alexandria, whom he preceded by about sixty years. His life was uneventful, save for prolonged disputes with Acacius the bishop of Cæsarea, as to the claims of their respective sees; but after being thrice deposed, the position of Cyril was confirmed, and in the Second General Council (Constantinople, A.D. 381), he held a place of high honour.¹ Cyril is said to have predicted from the prophet Daniel the failure of Julian's attempt to rebuild Jerusalem (A.D. 363). The works of this good bishop were chiefly *Catechetical Discourses*, of which twenty-three survive. They are written in a clear unambitious style, and give a far better view of the general doctrines of Christianity as held by the Churches of Cyril's time than many works of larger pretensions. He wrote an *Epistle to Constantius*, describing the appearance of a luminous cross at Jerusalem.

¹ Sozomen says that Cyril was one of the presidents—*Eccl. Hist.*, book vii. ch. 7—but this is doubted.

2. Another name great in the annals of Syria is that of EPHREM, *Ephrem the Syrian*, A. D. ab. 308-373. or Ephraim, a native of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, but for many years deacon of the Church at Edessa; generally known as Ephrem Syrus. He was perhaps the most voluminous writer of the age; and that he might give undistracted attention to literary labours, he steadily refused promotion in the Church, being still a deacon at the time of his death, A. D. 373. His works were written in Syriac, in which language many are still extant, while others survive in Greek and Arabic versions. His *Commentary on the Old Testament* was his principal work; but besides this he wrote innumerable *Homilies* and *Sermons*, with, it is said, twelve thousand metrical compositions—some devotional, some controversial, many being hymns for use in Christian worship.¹ The name of Ephrem has been accidentally associated with the early MSS. of the New Testament (Codex Ephræmi or C), from the fact that over one of these manuscripts half-effaced, some works of Ephrem had been transcribed. The ancient writing, however, very happily could not be obliterated, and the palimpsest is now in the Imperial Library at Paris.²

3. EPIPHANIUS was of Jewish extraction, born in the district of Eleutheropolis in Palestine, near the ancient Gath, *Epiphanius*, A. D. ab. 310-403. about A. D. 310. In his early life he visited Egypt, where he fell under Gnostic influence, and returned to Palestine as a monk. In A. D. 367 he was sent to Cyprus as bishop of Constantia, the ancient Salamis. His chief work is an attack on *Heresies*, of which he enumerates no fewer than eighty. The treatise is useful as a record of facts and opinions, but is of little or no critical value; Epiphanius, though a man of great learning, being a narrow dogmatist. His animosity against the memory and writings of Origen is the most marked feature in his career. When an old man he travelled from his diocese to Jerusalem on a rumour that John, the bishop of that city, was tainted

¹ See Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. iii. p. 145, for ten of these compositions with German renderings.

² See facsimile in Scrivener's *Introduction to N. T. Criticism*, and in the various *Scripture Helps*.

with Origenism, and afterwards proceeded to Constantinople on a similar errand, suspecting Chrysostom himself to favour the obnoxious doctrines. In returning from his latter journey Epiphanius died on shipboard, A.D. 403.

4. A far more distinguished teacher was THEODORE, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia; known among the Syrian churches as "the Interpreter," from his voluminous exegetical writings, many of which in more or less fragmentary form have come down to our own times. His distinction is, to have broken free from the allegorical school, and to have employed historical, critical and philological methods in the elucidation of Scripture. "He treats the sacred Scriptures," exclaims one of his opponents, "precisely as ordinary human writings!" In his free handling of many passages there is often a startling anticipation of modern conclusions. His expositions are frequently crude and rationalistic: they drew down upon him the *Constantinople*, anathema of an œcumenical Council more than a 553- hundred years after his death; but he was assuredly a pioneer in the work of sober Biblical interpretation. Among his disciples was Theodoret, the historian, noted in a preceding section.

§ 4. THEOLOGIANS OF THE EAST (*continued*).—ASIA MINOR.

A trio of illustrious bishops and great writers made Cappadocia famous towards the end of the fourth century.

1. BASIL and GREGORY were born of Christian parents, Basil and Emmelia by name, in Cæsarea on the Halys, chief city of Cappadocia. Basil, the elder, was born *Basil "the Great,"* A.D. 329-379. A.D. 329; his brother, two years afterwards. Together they received a careful Christian training, the grandmother Macrina, like a second Lois, striving unceasingly to guide them in the ways of God. They were at the same time well instructed in all the learning of the schools, studying under the foremost teachers of their native city, and afterwards of Antioch, Constantinople, and

Athens. At Antioch Libanius was their teacher. At Athens one of their fellow-students was the youthful Julian, afterwards emperor. Here too, and perhaps earlier, they formed a close friendship with another Gregory, the son of a bishop of the same name, at Nazianzus, also in Cappadocia. The piety and mutual attachment of these three youths became, it is said, the talk of all Athens. In the year 355 Basil returned to his native place and began to practise as a pleader; but, urged by the entreaties of his sister, named after his grandmother Macrina, as well as by his own secret longings, he renounced his profession for an ascetic life, and established himself near Neocæsarea, with a company of monks. His friend Gregory frequently visited him, but was not by temperament fitted for the monastic life, and besides he was needed by his aged father at Nazianzus, where he was ordained a presbyter, A. D. 361.

2. Meanwhile Basil's own brother Gregory had evinced some distaste for a religious life, and had become a teacher of rhetoric. He had married a lady named Theodosia. In A. D. 365 Basil was called to Cæsarea by its bishop, one Eusebius,¹ as his assistant; and on the bishop's death, five years later, Basil became his successor. His earnest pleadings were now the means of leading his

Gregory of Nyssa, A. D. 335-395. brother Gregory to renounce the world; and after a time the latter, although a married man, was ordained bishop of Nyssa, a small town of Cappadocia (A. D. 372). Gregory the younger, of Nazianzus, had been also ordained a bishop, of a place named Sasima, erected into a see by Basil, but under circumstances which led to a two years' misunderstanding and much bitterness between the friends. Gregory never actually administered the see; but returned from Sasima to assist his father in the labours of the bishopric of Nazianzus, succeeding to the care of it, although sorely against his will, on the father's death, A. D. 374.

3. Gregory appears never to have regarded himself as more than a temporary holder of the bishop's office at Nazianzus, and

¹ Not to be confounded with his namesake of Cæsarea in Palestine, who had been dead twenty-five years.

more than once fled from the place, in the vain desire of compelling the bishops of Cappadocia to elect another to the post. Basil died A.D. 379. In A.D. 380, Gregory was summoned to Constantinople to take part in the defence of the orthodox faith. On one occasion, as Gregory was in the great church of that city with the Emperor Theodosius, the sun, which had hitherto been darkly clouded, suddenly broke forth in splendour at the commencement of the service. The faithful present accepted it as an omen, and cried out, "Let Gregory be our Bishop!" The Patriarchate was accordingly pressed upon him and held for about twelve months; during which he presided for a time over the great Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; Gregory of Nyssa being present, and taking an active part in the preparation of its creed. Opponents, however, charged Gregory of Nazianzus with being a pluralist, and he gladly returned to that city, signaling his return by his two greatest orations, his *Farwell* to the people of Constantinople, and his *Funeral Oration* on Basil. For a little longer he discharged the duties of the Episcopate, then finally retired, A.D. 388, to his paternal estate, where he devoted himself to meditation, prayer, and literary composition, chiefly poetic. He died about the year 390. Gregory of Nyssa lived six or seven years longer. The works of the three friends are chiefly homiletical and controversial, and though often turgid and extravagant, afford favourable specimens of the prevailing style of Greek rhetoric in their day. Basil especially distinguished himself by his encomiums on an ascetic life. The *Letters* between Basil and his friend Gregory are often vivacious and charming. Gregory of Nazianzus also composed many *Hymns*, devout in feeling and often felicitous in expression.¹

¹ See twelve of these in Daniel—*Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. iii. pp. 5-16. The author of *The Christian Life in Song*, chap. iv., gives some excellent translations from Ephrem and Gregory.

§ 5. THEOLOGIAN OF THE EAST (*continued*).—CONSTANTINOPLE:
CHRYSOSTOM.

1. A long succession of patriarchs presided in turn over the Church in this new city of the Emperors. More dependent than their brethren upon Court favour, they were often tempted to worldly compliance or unworthy concessions, shaping their professions according to the opinion favoured by the ruler of the day, or unblushingly seeking the temporal aggrandizement of the Church, the clergy, and themselves. Few great names appear upon the list; the greatest by common consent is that of John, surnamed for his eloquence CHRYSOSTOM.¹

He was born at Antioch about A.D. 346. His father Secundus, a general in the imperial army, and a man of wealth and station, died while John was yet an infant, leaving him to the care of a young widowed mother, Anthusa by name, under whose affectionate and pious training he grew in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord." Being destined for the legal profession, he was placed, after the usual course of early education, under the tuition of Libanius, the great rhetorician and eloquent defender of Paganism.² Here the young student soon displayed his great intellectual and oratorical gifts. "John would have been my successor," said Libanius on his death-bed, "if the Christians had not stolen him from us." The mind of the young advocate already recoiled from the chicanery of the profession as practised at Antioch; the profligacy of the city oppressed and disgusted him; returning to his home he found in the Bible, "the fountain for watering his soul." The influence of a Christian fellow-student, Basil by name (not to be confounded with the great Cappadocian bishop), was very valuable at this juncture: though Basil embraced

¹ Golden Mouth.

² It is said that Libanius asked his pupil as usual on entering about his family relations, and being told that John's mother had been left a widow at twenty, remaining single ever after,

devoting herself to the care of her son, the Pagan sophist exclaimed, "Heavens! what women these Christians have!" Βαββαι, ολαι παρα χριστιανοις γυναικες εισι!

a monastic life, while John still adhered to his chosen secular career. Meletius, bishop of Antioch, also showed to the son of Anthusa much kind attention; he was admitted as a catechumen,¹ and after three years' probation was received into the Church. The influence of Basil was now again exerted to win him to a monastic life; but the tears and entreaties of Anthusa prevailed. "In return for all my care," she cried, "I implore you this one favour only—not to make me a second time a widow, or to revive the grief which time has lulled. Wait for my death—perhaps I shall soon be gone; when you have committed my body to the ground, and mingled my bones with your father's, then you will be free to embark on any sea you please." What son could resist such entreaties? Chrysostom yielded, and contented himself with living an ascetic life at home.

2. In the year 370 Meletius was expelled by the Emperor Valens from the see of Antioch; and the names of John and Basil were mentioned for the vacant place, as well as for some other vacant bishoprics in Syria. The latter was seized upon greatly against his will; John concealed himself; and in vindication of his conduct composed his great work *On the Priesthood*, in which he so descants on the responsibility, difficulty, and peril of the pastoral life as to point the lesson, "Who is sufficient for these things?" About this time he seems to have lost his mother; at any rate, he entered a monastery near Antioch, where he remained six years. Here he wrote several practical and devotional treatises; also a defence of the monastic life, occasioned by the order of Valens that the monks should be required to render military service. In A.D. 381 Chrysostom was ordained a deacon, in which office he laboured actively for about five years. Being raised to the office of presbyter A.D. 386, and his eloquence being already well known, he was appointed preacher

*Presbyter at
Antioch.*

¹ Why Chrysostom, to whose Christian training and early seriousness of character the testimony is so unequivocal, should not have been enrolled among the catechumens at a much earlier period, must remain an un-

solved question. The likeliest explanation is to be found in the scrupulousness of his mother, and perhaps in the hollowness of much of the Christian profession which prevailed at Antioch.

in the great church of Antioch, and at once became famous, attracting great crowds to listen to his homilies, and becoming a power in the city. His discourses, especially during the sedition at Antioch, A.D. 387,¹ when the fate of the city seemed trembling in the balance under the displeasure of the Emperor Theodosius, were wonderful in their energy and effect.

3. In the year 397 Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, died, and although many candidates presented themselves for the vacant office, they were all rejected by the clergy and people in favour of the renowned preacher of Antioch. Eutropius, chief minister to the Emperor Arcadius, eagerly ratified if he did not suggest the election, and Chrysostom was brought, partly by stratagem, partly by force, to the city which was henceforth to be the scene of his greatest triumphs and his deepest disappointment and sorrow. He entered upon his course as a bold reformer, denouncing, with great plainness of speech, the luxuries and corruptions of the time,² and striving to enforce a godly discipline on the clergy and people. His own life was marked by simplicity and abstemiousness; the revenues of the see were spent, not in luxury, but in works of humanity and charity.

4. It was impossible but that the worldly-minded should be offended; monks and clergy, ministers and ladies of the court, became his enemies, and the Empress Eudoxia in particular vehemently opposed him. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who had been baffled in the

¹ See Gibbon, ch. xxvii. The homilies of the great preacher delivered through this period of suspense and terror are known as the *Homilies on the Statues*; the statues of the Emperor and his beloved queen Flaccilla, who had lately died, having been torn from their pedestals by the excited populace and dragged through the streets. The terrors of the time are employed by the orator as an emblem of the Day of Judgment itself; and he employs all his powers in summoning

—not in vain—the people to repentance. The Discourse (No. xxi.), in which Chrysostom describes the relenting of the Emperor and the pardon of the guilty Antiochenes, is a masterpiece of glowing and tender appeal.

² See *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1846—art. "Constantinople in the Fourth Century"—for a most vivid picture of these vices of an over-ripe civilization, chiefly compiled from the discourses of the great bishop.

attempt to procure the election of his nominee, Isidore, to the Constantinopolitan see, was made the instrument of Chrysostom's opponents. It was not difficult to fasten the charge of "Origenism" on so large-hearted a man. A Synod, hastily convened ("the Synod of the Oak"), condemned the bishop, and he retired from Constantinople, but was soon recalled by Eudoxia herself, whose superstitious fears had been alarmed by an earthquake which occurred immediately after his banishment. His fearless honesty, however, soon excited her anger anew; and he commenced a sermon thus: "Herodias again rages; again she trembles; again she requires the head of John." This was unpardonable; and Chrysostom was banished to Cucusus, a village in the Taurus, on the borders of Cilicia and Armenia.

5. This spot he reached after a long and desolate journey, worn with fever, and in constant danger from the *Death of Chrysostom.* attacks of robbers. Hence he wrote many letters to friends in Antioch and Constantinople, also to the bishops of Rome and the West, who had zealously espoused his cause; and spent much time in planning new missions to the Persians, Phœnicians, and Goths. His influence spread far and wide. "Every tongue," says Gibbon, "repeated the praises of his genius and virtue, and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus."¹ Again was the jealousy of his opponents excited; and in A.D. 407 an order came for his removal to the wild, desolate region of Pityrus in Pontus, at the very extremity of the empire. This journey he did not live to finish; he died from exhaustion at Comana, some leagues short of his destination, Sept. 14, A.D. 407. Thirty years afterwards his bones were brought to Constantinople and received with the highest honours; the emperor, Theodosius the younger, publicly imploring Divine forgiveness for the sin of his parents, Theodosius and Eudoxia. *Homilies, Commentaries, and Epistles*, form the bulk of his works; and as an homiletical expositor of Scripture he is without a rival among the early Greek Fathers of the Church.

¹ Ch. xxxii.

§ 6. THE WESTERN OR LATIN CHURCH.

1. The earliest name among the Latin Fathers of the fourth century is that of HILARY of Poitiers. Probably of

Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. ab. 295-368. heathen parentage, he was carefully instructed in philosophy and the arts; but after attaining manhood was convinced by studying the Scriptures of the truth of Christianity, and was baptized with his wife and daughter, determining henceforth to devote himself to the service of the Church. In A.D. 350 he was elected to the bishopric of his native city; and from that time appears as the champion of the orthodox faith against Arians in Gaul; being surnamed in ordination, the Hammer of the Arians ("Malleus Arianorum"). His chief work is variously entitled, *De Trinitate*, *De Fide*, and *Contra Arianos*, and is arranged in twelve books, after the example of the author's literary model Quintilian. He also wrote *Commentaries on the Psalms*, with the two remarkable tractates, *Ad Constantium*, a plea for toleration, and *Contra Constantium*, an invective against that emperor's Arian proclivities. It is very remarkable that one ground of attack upon Constantius is that emperor's imputed desire to limit the creed to the language of Scripture. "This was rejected as infringing on the authority of the bishops, and the forms of apostolic preaching."¹

2. AMBROSE, the great bishop of Milan, is renowned rather

Ambrose of Milan, A.D. 340-397. for his deeds than for his literary works; although, when his treatises are no longer read, his hymns, and those framed upon their model,² will still be sung throughout the churches of Christendom. The birthplace of Ambrose was probably Trèves (Augusta Trevirorum), the Roman capital of Gaul, of which province his father was prefect. The date, as near as can be ascertained, was A.D. 340. On the death of his father, Ambrose, still a child, was taken by his mother to

¹ See Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, Bk. III. ch. v. note.

² Daniel gives ninety-two hymns

as Ambrosian (*Theol. Hymnol.*, vol. i. pp. 12-115.) The Benedictine editors admit twelve as by Ambrose.

Rome, and carefully trained for the public service. Beginning as a pleader in the prætorian court, he was appointed at a comparatively early age governor of the district of which Milan was the centre. Here after five years, being called in as civil ruler to quell a tumult that had arisen between opposing parties in the church on the death of Auxentius the bishop, he made a conciliatory speech to the excited crowd, at the close of which a child called out, "Ambrose is Bishop" (*Ambrosius episcopus !*). The suggestion was hailed as oracular; and Ambrose, though still only a catechumen, was thrust into the episcopal chair. He was baptized, ordained a bishop, and began his theological education. He made considerable progress, but could scarcely attain to eminence: in beginning to preach he confessed that he was teaching what he had hardly learned; and it was in the administration of his office rather than in his exposition of truth that his power lay. The bishop was still the Roman governor. His measures were fearlessly taken, decided, stern, and practical. To Maximus the usurper he refused the Eucharist, though the city, church, and bishop, were alike for the time in the tyrant's power. Justina, the mother of the young Emperor Valentinian II., an Arian, begged for permission to have one church in Milan allotted to her co-religionists and herself. Ambrose peremptorily refused. A decree of exile was pronounced against him, but he declined to move from his place; and, lest he should be surprised and hurried away, surrounded himself with companies of his adherents, whose business it was to protect their bishop, relieving guard in the cathedral night and day. It was for this singular congregation, it is said, that Ambrose composed his hymns; and his faithful adherents, by their songs of praise, not only pleasantly and profitably passed the time, but cheered one another's spirit in prospect of attack or danger.

3. When Theodosius became master of Italy he still found in Milan a man whom no imperial power could bend. *Ambrose and Theodosius.* Some monks had destroyed a Jewish synagogue, and the emperor ordered that it should be rebuilt at their expense. Ambrose interfered, counting it a disgrace that Christian funds

should be employed for erecting an unChristian sanctuary. The emperor persisted, until the bishop preached against him, threatening excommunication, on which Theodosius gave way. On another occasion the emperor was actually excommunicated by Ambrose. A sedition in Thessalonica had been followed by a cruel massacre; and the emperor, who had ordered the deed, presenting himself on his return to Milan as usual for communion, was refused entrance to the church, Ambrose severely rebuking him. For eight months the imperial penitent was debarred access to the Table; he was then absolved by the bishop, but on presenting himself (as usual with the emperor) within the rails, among the clergy, to communicate, Ambrose sent to him a deacon, bidding him to stand without, adding, "The purple makes men emperors, but it does not make them priests!" Theodosius meekly submitted to this crowning humiliation, and all question as to the bishop's supremacy was at an end.

4. So wonderful was this assertion of power to the face of the imperial despot, that to the minds of many it could only be explained by miracle. Hence the biography of Ambrose is full of

Writings of Ambrose. marvels, which only prove to us the impression which his strong will and utter fearlessness made upon that generation. He died April 4, A.D. 397. As a writer Ambrose, as might be expected, is unsatisfactory. His expositions of Scripture are of the Origenist school, discerning allegory in history, and obscuring simple facts by mystical applications. Besides *Commentaries* and *Homilies*, he wrote an account of the creation (*Hexaëmeron*), and many brief theological treatises. His hymns have a terseness, unity, and perspicuity which distinguish them from all previous compositions of the kind, and present the type to which the hymnody of the churches has ever since mainly conformed.

5. Among the enthusiastic disciples of Ambrose, accustomed to join in those services of song with which in the times of peril the cathedral would resound, was a Christian widow named Monica, *Augustine,* often accompanied by her son AUGUSTINE (Aurelius A.D. 354-430. Augustinus), a teacher of rhetoric in the city, now

about thirty years of age. His boyhood had been passed under complex influences, his father Patricius having remained a heathen until near the close of life; while his mother, by her pious example and unceasing prayer, had sought to win him to the faith of Christ. While still very young, in a dangerous sickness, Augustine had resolved to devote himself to God; but he recovered and grew again indifferent. His father's late conversion had little or no effect upon him, and at the death of Patricius, Augustine, then residing in Carthage, and just seventeen years of age, fell into gross vices. He became at the same time a believer in the Manichæan doctrine, and his mother, but for her faith in the promise of God, would have sunk into despair. Feeling at length the baselessness of the Manichæan creed, restless and unhappy, he turned his steps to Rome, and afterwards to Milan, still accompanied by Monica, also by his young son Adeodatus, illegitimate, but fondly beloved. At Milan he began to frequent the preaching of Ambrose, but it was long before his spirit was at rest. He was attracted by the writings of the Platonic philosophers. They set his mind in quest of something more spiritual still. He turned with new zest to the Scriptures, and found in them at length a self-evidencing power—the attestation of their own divinity. The venerable Christian man, Simplicius the Presbyter, to whom Ambrose had turned in the perplexities of his new episcopate, was ready again to give his help, and on the 25th of April, A.D. 387, Augustine, with a friend who had shared his struggles, Alypius by name, and the youthful Adeodatus, was baptized by the bishop in the cathedral of Milan. The story that the *Te Deum* was composed upon the occasion, extemporaneously, by Ambrose and Augustine in alternate verses, is on the face of it a fable; the hymn itself was most probably a century later.¹ The rejoicing Monica did not long survive the happy day,

¹ The earliest instance of the use of this hymn that has been discovered is in the Rule of Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles from A.D. 502—542. Prof. Swainson says, "Although no Greek version

of this wondrous hymn has as yet been met with, there can be no doubt that large portions of it were drawn from Greek or Oriental sources." Of its twenty-nine clauses, "the first ten

but died in the fifty-sixth year of her age, on the journey homeward with her son to Carthage. Her work was done. Not long before her death she said, "Son, for mine own part I have no further delight in anything in this life. What I do here any longer, and to what end I am here, I know not, now that my hopes in this world are accomplished. One thing there was, for which I desired to linger for awhile in this life, that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. My God hath done this for me more abundantly, that I should now see thee withal, despising earthly happiness, become His servant. What do I here?"

6. On reaching Africa, Augustine passed three years in seclusion and devotion, composing tracts *Against the Writings of Augustine. Manichæans, On the true religion*, and some others. In A.D. 391 he was ordained presbyter, and began to preach with much success. Four years later he became the associate, and afterwards the successor, of Valerius, Bishop of Hippo, devoting himself indefatigably to the duties of the See, yet finding leisure to write the most elaborate and valuable of his works. Amongst these the well-known *Confessions*; the *De Civitate Dei*, to which allusion has already been made,¹ suggested by the calamities of the Roman Empire; and lastly, the *Retractationes*, written A.D. 428, comprising a deliberate review of all his writings, confirming, amending, and "retracting," or rehandling, according to his later light, the several positions he had taken. His other writings belong largely to the Pelagian and Donatist controversies, and may therefore be fittingly noticed under those respective heads.

The last days of Augustine were shadowed by the approach of the great calamity which desolated the African churches; Genseric, King of the Vandals, after laying waste many fair portions of the country, having advanced to Hippo.

are closely connected with the Eucharistic Hymn of the Liturgy of Jerusalem." We find the germ of the next three in the *Morning Hymn* of the Alexandrian MS. Of the last nine clauses, those numbered 22, 23 are to be found in

Ps. xxvii. 9. The next three are in the morning hymn above referred to; 27 is identical with Ps. cxxii. 3; 29 is clearly derived from Ps. xxi. 6.

¹ See ch. i. § 3. 10.

The siege had already begun when Augustine died, Aug. 28, 430, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, leaving a name unparalleled among the great writers of the Latin Church for energy of intellect, philosophical acuteness, and versatility, as well as intensity of emotion. His unsparing severity towards theological opponents is undoubtedly a drawback on his merit as a writer; but he did not spare himself. Nothing can exceed the ingenuousness with which in the *Confessions* he dwells upon his early sins. It was a constant saying of his, that a Christian should never cease to repent until the day of his death; and in his last sickness he caused the Seven Penitential Psalms to be inscribed upon the walls of his chamber. The distinctively Augustinian tenets on free will, predestination, and Divine grace were among his later teachings.

7. Somewhat earlier than Augustine in point of date must be *Jerome*, A.D. 343-420. placed the indefatigable and learned JEROME, or, to give his full name, Eusebius Hieronymus, a native of Stridon, near Aquileia, on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia. He was of Christian parentage, born probably about A.D. 346, and educated in Rome under the celebrated grammarian and rhetorician, Ælius Donatus;¹ where also he publicly professed himself a Christian. After an interval spent in travel, Jerome resolved to follow the life of a recluse. He repaired for study to the desert of Syria, where, in addition to other lore, he became master of Hebrew, with its kindred dialects, a most uncommon accomplishment in those days, and only to be obtained by Jerome from a Jew who visited him clandestinely. Quitting this retreat A.D. 379, he repaired to Antioch, where he was ordained presbyter, much, it is said, against his own will. Visiting Constantinople soon afterwards, he became intimate with Gregory of Nazianzus, and prepared the Latin edition of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.²

¹ So celebrated was this teacher, that *Donat* became in the middle ages, and in the English of Chaucer, a synonym for any elementary treatise what-

ever. See Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, art. "Donatus."

² See above, § 1. 1.

Returning to Rome, Jerome now set himself in earnest to his great work of preparing a complete revised edition of the Latin Scriptures; preaching also, and giving audience to the numbers who resorted to him for spiritual counsel. Among these were many ladies high in station, before whom Jerome so unceasingly portrayed the charms of an unwedded and ascetic life, that jealousy, not unmixed with scandal, was aroused against him, and he retreated to Palestine, whither he was followed by Paula, a rich widow, and her daughter Eustochium, with a train of female adherents, for whom three convents were built near Bethlehem, Paula furnishing the means; while a monastery was added for Jerome himself in the same neighbourhood. Here he spent his latter days, amid his beloved studies, and died in a good old age, A.D. 420.

8. The works of Jerome, especially his *Letters*, treat on topics innumerable. Towards opponents he was bitter and coarse, and his *Commentaries on Scripture* are crude, often childish in their allegorizing. His great excellence is in his diction, which is correct, lucid, and vigorous, qualifying him in a marked degree for what was incomparably the greatest work of his life, the *Translation of the Old Testament into Latin* directly from the Hebrew, and the construction of the *Latin Version of the New* by the aid of the "Itala" and other translations. This edition of the Scriptures—altered, however, in some respects from Jerome's own work—is now universally known as the *Latin Vulgate*; and though the Roman Church is manifestly wrong in pronouncing it infallible, it is hardly possible to overrate its value as a guide to the understanding of the original Scriptures.

9. RUFINUS, the monk of Aquileia, is chiefly noted for his early friendship with Jerome, of whom he was the admirer and coadjutor until the renewed outbreak of the Origenistic controversy. Rufinus ardently espoused the cause of the mighty Alexandrian, and translated his works into Latin—the sole form in which many of them now survive.

§ 7. ROME.

1. The writings of LEO, Bishop of Rome, surnamed the Great, born about A.D. 390, elected Pope 440, died 461, are far less considerable than might be expected from the character of the man. The history of his persistent efforts to aggrandize the See of Rome belongs to another part of this narrative, while his career as a theologian is bound up with the Eutychian controversy. His *Discourses* and *Epistles* throw much light upon the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of the time.

2. Until Leo no man of the highest ability had held the See of Rome, and he had no successor of renown until GREGORY I., also called the Great. This "last of the Fathers," as he is sometimes called, otherwise "first of the Popes," was of patrician family, born in Rome about A.D. 540, and first entered civil life, even filling the office of city prefect. He afterwards retired to a monastery, but was called to active employment in the Church as secretary and nuncio to Pelagius II. On the death of Pelagius in 590, Gregory very unwillingly accepted the vacant chair, which he held with splendid ability. His works betoken the decline of learning in the high places of the Church; they are full of misapplied Scripture and allegorical interpretation, of which many signal specimens might be given from his well-known *Commentary on Job*. His *Epistles* are of greater historical value. But Gregory is best known to posterity from his energetic continuance of the work of Leo in the exaltation of the Romish See—a work perfected in a later age by another Gregory, the seventh pope of that name, the great and unscrupulous Hildebrand. The service of Gregory I. to the worship of the Church, however, should not be forgotten; for it is from him that we have received the Gregorian chant. The Hymnody of the Church had already been enriched, as already noted, by Ambrose of Milan, and by the Spaniard, Aurelius Prudentius, "the chief Christian poet of early times" (cir. A.D. 405).

CHAPTER IV.

THE THEOLOGICAL CONFLICT.

§ I. GENERAL VIEW.

1. **N**O sooner were the churches freed from persecution than they began with a more earnest assiduity than ever to examine the grounds of Christian belief; and the theological definitions which resulted from the conflicts of three centuries have been accepted by the main body of the Church through all subsequent generations. The strife of opinions was not without bitterness, envy, and uncharitableness. From the habit of misrepresenting opponents, in regard to their presumed motives and their actual teaching, it is often difficult to discern the true features of the case. In the broad and sharp division so constantly drawn by ecclesiastical writers between "catholics" and "heretics," all sense is lost of the finer shades and distinctions of belief; creed is confounded with character, and the propagator of a condemned doctrine is charged with every kind of immorality. It is only from the authentic records of a man's own teaching that we can learn what he really held, and from the impartial delineation of his life that we can know what he really was. But the writings of reputed heretics have for the most part been destroyed, and their biography is generally an indictment. The student must therefore tread his way with caution.

2. The topics on which the thoughts of the Church were most engaged throughout this era were, first, the *nature of* *Three main topics of debate.* *Christ in His relation to the Divine Essence* (the

Arian and connected controversies); secondly, *the relation between His Divine and human personality* (the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies); and thirdly, at a later time, the *nature of Man*; the sources of his depravity, and his ability or otherwise to do the will of God (the Pelagian controversy). These great discussions form important chapters in the history of human thought.

3. It will be observed that these questions refer only in the most indirect manner to that which is surely of most vital importance, the *reconciling work of Christ*. In the creeds of the period there is no doctrine, as yet, of the atonement. The death of Christ "for us men and our salvation" is regarded as a *fact*, either beyond explanation or needing none. The reason of this omission was probably twofold. In the first place, none had as yet arisen in the Church to call in question the reality of Christ's sacrifice for sin. Defence was therefore unnecessary, and the simple faith of Christians in their Saviour was subjected to no analysis. It must, however, be added, as a less satisfactory reason, that the ground and source of human redemption were less studied because of the undue stress laid upon the medium through which the blessing was sought. Salvation, believed to be *through* the sacraments, was too commonly thought to be *in* them; and when, in answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? the inquirer was referred to outward ordinances and an earthly priesthood, he was discouraged from seeking more.

§ 2. THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY: COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

1. Questions about the mode of the Divine existence were already familiar to cultivated thought, and the school of Plato moulded the speculations of the school of Christ. It has been shown¹ in a former part of this work how in an earlier period the Gnostic and Sabellian theories, with those of a simple Unitarianism, agitated the Church. Sabellius was of Libya, "whence," says one

¹ See Part II. ch. viii. § 2.

of his antagonists, "all monsters spring;" and in the earlier part of the fourth century there arose a controversy, chiefly through another native of Libya, which soon stirred Christendom to its very depth.

ARIUS had already been noted for taking an unpopular part in the Alexandrian church. The circumstances are obscure, but the following is probably a correct account of the matter. Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis in Upper Egypt, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, being fellow-prisoners for the faith during the Diocletian persecution, fell into a dispute concerning the treatment of the penitent lapsed; Meletius being for altogether forbidding restoration to the Church, while Peter advocated the milder course. Thus arose a schism between the two episcopal brethren, which continued when they were banished to the copper mines of Phæno, in Arabia Petræa. When released, Meletius disavowed communion with his laxer brethren, and established a separate community under the title of "the Church of the Martyrs." Arius, ordained by Peter, after his return, as deacon of the Alexandrian church, was suspected of Meletianism, and, though disavowing the charge, was expelled from fellowship for allowing the validity of Meletian baptism. After the death of Peter,—one of the last martyrs under Maximin, A.D. 311,—Arius was restored, being ordained presbyter during the brief episcopate of Achillas.

2. When Alexander succeeded, theological discussion almost immediately began between the Libyan presbyter and himself. The Catholic historians say that Arius had been a disappointed candidate for the episcopal throne; the Arian historian Philostorgius says that it had been offered to him and declined. The imputing of unworthy personal motives on either side seems equally gratuitous. At an assembly of the Alexandrian presbyters, Alexander, having heard reports concerning the views of Arius on the Trinity, delivered a discourse intended to correct these errors and to define the faith; maintaining that the Son "was of equal dignity with the Father, and possessed

the same essence." Arius charged the doctrine with tending to Sabellianism; maintaining that the Son, if begotten by God, must have had a beginning; that consequently there was a time when He was not; although, as the first of originated beings, He was far above all angels and men.¹ The majority of the clergy sided with the bishop, but many agreed with Arius, regarding his doctrine not as the promulgation of a new theory, but as the explanation of the faith which they had always held. A lengthened discussion followed, in which both Alexander and Arius, in letters preserved by Theodoret, set forth their belief, and attempted to win their brother bishops to their several views.

3. Arius at the same time endeavoured to enlist popular support to his opinions by the somewhat singular expedient of verse. Under the title of *Thalia*, he composed metrical effusions which were publicly sung in the streets of Alexandria.² The most eager excitement soon prevailed, and even the heathen took part in the theological fray. At length Alexander convened a synod of Egyptian bishops, A.D. 321, by whom Arius was deposed from office and expelled, with nine of his adherents, from the communion of the Church. This procedure but inflamed the strife. Arius retired into Palestine, and thence addressed letters to the most eminent theologians of the day, defending his opinions. With many he succeeded, especially with Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, a prelate hardly inferior in ability and influence to his namesake of Cæsarea, but courtly and time-serving. A letter of Arius to Eusebius, and one from Eusebius to Paulinus of Tyre, both preserved by Theodoret, contain a succinct and decided statement of the doctrine in the form which it held prior to the modifications that were the result of after controversies. It is observable that (whatever the logical consistency of his position) Arius maintained the true Deity of Christ. "We say and believe and have taught that the Son is not unbegotten, nor

¹ Theodoret, *Ecl. Hist.*

Writings, edited by Professor Bright (Oxford, 1881), p. 259.

² Some of the lines are preserved by Athanasius. See his *Historical*

in any way unbegotten, even in part; and that He does not derive His subsistence from any matter, but that by His own will and counsel He has existed before time and before ages, as Perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable; and that He existed not before He was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, for He was not unbegotten. We are persecuted because we say that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without beginning."¹ In this last sentence the stress of the controversy, as it then existed, evidently lay.

4. So violent was the conflict, that it attracted the attention of Constantine, who had newly become master of the East after the defeat and death of Licinius, and was now at Nicomedia. With much frankness and good feeling, although evidently not well understanding the points at issue, the Emperor sought to mediate between the two parties, and wrote a letter to Alexander and Arius jointly,² recommending moderation and mutual conciliation by arguments which would hardly satisfy either party in the strife. "I understand," he says, "that you, Alexander, demanded of the presbyters what opinion they severally maintained respecting a certain passage of Scripture,³ or rather, I should say that you asked them something connected with an unprofitable question; and then that you, Arius, inconsiderately gave utterance to objections which ought never to have been conceived at all, or, if conceived, should have been buried in profound silence."

The Emperor adds, that either to propose or to answer such questions in a general assembly was a mistake; that speculation on these points should be confined to the region of men's thoughts, and not be trusted to words—the imperfect signs of thought, and inadequate means of communication. Let then the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer have mutual

¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. I. chs. vi., vii. For a statement of the truths opposed by Athanasius to the teachings of Arius, see Stoughton, *Hist. Theol.*, p. 105.

² This most interesting and characteristic document is given by Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, Bk. II. chs. lxiv. -lxxii.

³ Literally, "of the Divine Law."

forgiveness. "You are, in truth, of 'one and the same judgment; you may therefore well join in that communion which is the symbol of united fellowship." The Emperor closes with pathetic entreaty: "Restore to me my quiet days and untroubled nights. For while the people of God, whose servant I am, are thus divided among themselves by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention, how is it possible that I should be able to maintain tranquillity?"

5. The bearer of this letter was Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, in Spain (Cordova), a veteran prelate and confessor, honoured by all. But even his conciliatory words, added to the imperial rescript, were without effect. Returning to Nicomedia to report his ill success, Hosius appears to have advised the Emperor to summon a conference of bishops from the whole Christian world to consider the points in dispute. Thus was held the first GENERAL COUNCIL. The place of meeting fixed upon was Nicæa, in Bithynia, an ancient and important city, well situated in a fertile plain on the shores of the Lake Ascania; healthful and open, suited, therefore, for the reception of a great concourse of people; easily accessible both by sea and land. Conveyance to the place of meeting was provided at the expense of the Emperor, who also maintained the members of the Council during their meetings at his own cost. Three hundred and eighteen¹ bishops obeyed the summons; Constantine himself repaired to Nicæa to meet them.

On the arrival of the Emperor, many petitions were addressed to him by different ecclesiastics on private and personal matters. The opportunity of appealing to the supreme authority was too favourable to be lost by any who had any grievances to detail, or complaints to lodge against their brethren. At his first meeting with the Fathers, accordingly, the Emperor appeared with

¹ The number of Abraham's "trained servants" (Gen. xiv. 14). Many ecclesiastical writers note the coincidence. It maybe that the number present at the Council has been a

little under-stated or over-stated, to make the parallel complete. Eusebius simply says "over 250;" others, "about 300."

a bundle of unopened papers in his hand. "These accusations," *Constantine's treatment of the Bishops' complaints.* he said, "will be tested at the great day of judgment; I will not presume to decide concerning them. Imitate the mercy and love of God; be of one mind; withdraw your charges, and give all attention to matters concerning the common faith." He then commanded the documents to be burned, and appointed a day for the opening of the Council.

6. Eusebius, who was present, gives a glowing account of the *Opening of the Council.* scene. "A single house of prayer sufficed to combine at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine and others from Egypt, Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop too was present at their conference, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to their number. Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were, notwithstanding, in attendance. Even from Spain itself one whose fame was widely spread (Hosius of Corduba) took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city (Rome) was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place. Constantine is the first prince of any age who bound together such a garland as this with the bond of peace, and presented it to Christ his Saviour as a thank-offering for the victories he had obtained over every foe." The assembly was in truth unique in the world's history. Two eras met upon the floor of that Council—the old world of paganism, and the new creation beginning to emerge out of chaos. Many were sitting there who had suffered for the faith, who had come from prison or the mines, with emaciated frame, maimed limbs, blinded eyeballs. Younger men, gazing on these hoary confessors with reverence, felt the mighty impulse to "leap into the younger day." It is pardonable if at that crisis the loftiest Apocalyptic prediction seemed

fulfilled; the New Jerusalem having come down from heaven, and the voice being heard, "Behold, I make all things new."

7. Constantine opened the proceedings in person: the debates occupied two months. Arius was there to defend his opinions—a man "of tall stature," as Epiphanius depicts him, "of downcast look; his dress simple, his address soft and smooth, calculated to persuade and attract." Among his opponents, Athanasius, then deacon of the church in Alexandria, soon took the first rank—"small in stature," as Gregory of Nazianzus describes him, "but his face radiant with intelligence as the face of an angel." Formally, these two were not members of the Council, as the presbyters and deacons were there only as attendants of bishops; but they seem to have been allowed full liberty of speech, although without the right of voting.

Hosius acted as moderator; the Emperor being present throughout, seated not on a throne, but on a low stool, as if to show that he disclaimed the office of a judge in these great matters. After long discussion on the principal point at issue, the conclusion was reached by a large majority. The principal passages of Scripture which speak of the Divinity of Christ were placed together, and the declaration made that these proved Him to be of the same substance (*homoousios*, ὁμοούσιος) with the Father; this word, therefore, became the symbol of the Nicene faith.¹

8. The Creed ultimately agreed upon reads as follows: "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible; and in the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only begotten of the Father, that is of the substance of the Father, God of (ἐκ) God, Light of Lights, very God of very God; begotten, not made, of one substance (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father, by whom all things were made in heaven and earth; who for us men and our salvation came

¹ The word had been used before the Nicene Council by Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and in the "Liturgy of James." See quotations in Suicer,

Thesaurus, vol. ii. p. 482. Tertullian employed the equivalent Latin phrase, *unius substantiæ*.

down from heaven, was incarnate, was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and He will come again to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. Those who say there was a time when He was not, and He was not before He was begotten, and He was made of nothing, or that the Son of God is created, that He is mutable or subject to change, the Catholic Church anathematizes."

All the bishops present consented to sign this creed excepting five, one of whom was the former correspondent of Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia.¹ After further representation, however, Eusebius with two of his companions consented to sign it, only two recusants, Theonas and Secundus, remaining. It is said, indeed, that the three who signed evaded the main point, being permitted to substitute *homoi-ousion* (ὁμοιούσιον, "of similar essence") for the *homo-ousion* of the creed. This substitution, whether made now or at a later time, proved of signal importance in the controversy.

Constantine, who, as we have seen, had in the first instance deprecated the discussion as turning upon an unimportant matter, and who afterwards had suspended his judgment until the Council should decide, now characteristically adopted its decision in a determined imperial way. The Creed he accepted as Divinely inspired, "for that," he says, "which has commended itself to the judgment of three hundred bishops cannot be other than the doctrine of God."² "Now," exclaims the Emperor, too confidently, as events soon proved, "the devil will no longer have any power against us, since all that he malignantly devised for our destruction has been entirely overthrown. The splendour of truth has dissipated at the command of God those dissensions, schisms, tumults, and deadly poisons of discord." The recusant bishops were banished, with Arius himself, to Illyria. The Arian books were to be burned, even the Arian name annihilated, the imperial will

¹ The other names were Theognis of Nicæa, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais.

² Socrates, Bk. I. ch. ix.

being that the doctrine should henceforth be termed *Porphyrian*, after the name of the great enemy of Christianity in a previous age. Subsequently, Eusebius of Nicomedia, with one of his companions, Theognis of Nicæa, incurred the penalty of deposition and banishment, because, although they had signed the creed, they would not recognize the deposition of Arius, nor refuse communion to his followers. When afterwards reinstated, it was declared by the Emperor that "their contumacy arose not from defect of faith, but from excess of charity."

§ 3. FURTHER ACTS OF THE NICENE COUNCIL.

1. Other matters that occupied the attention of the Fathers at Nicæa were the rule of Easter observance, and the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. On the former point it will suffice to say that the Western rule was substantially adopted, quarto-decimanism being made a heresy.¹ The decision was announced in a letter by Constantine. Easter day was always to be the Sunday after the fourteenth of Nisan, up to which Sunday the fast was to continue. There would thus be, the Emperor insists, the utmost possible divergence from the Jewish custom. Easter and the Passover could never coincide; rather, while the Jews were feasting the Christians would be keeping their fast. The calculations necessary for determining the festival were entrusted, as we learn from subsequent authorities, to the Church of Alexandria, in accordance with the scientific renown of that city.

2. The Twenty Canons of Nicæa have been preserved by the Church annalists, and need not here be reproduced in full.² They are interesting as throwing light upon

¹ See Part II. ch. viii. § 6.

² See *Magdeburg Centuries*, iv. pp. 659, 667, and Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, English edition, vol. i. pp. 375-434.

Canon I refers to the conditions on which mutilated persons were admissible among the clergy.

² Forbids novices and neophytes to be ordained.

³ Prohibits the clergy to have female associates (*συμψισκτοι*), excepting very near relatives.

⁴ Provides that three bishops at least shall ordain to the episcopal office; those of the district who are

the ecclesiastical condition of that era, and showing the topics connected with the churches and clergy which occupied the attention of Christendom within three hundred years of our Lord's ascension. If many points seem trivial, it may be pleaded that on graver matters the consent was universal, and legislation therefore unnecessary. Yet there were surely practical measures needful to be taken for the extension of Christ's kingdom, the discussion of which would have been worthier than disputes about precedence, ordination, and excommunication. The Church was already becoming more concerned for its framework than for its spirit, and gave more thought to the correctness of its creed than to the energy of its life.

3. When the Council had concluded its work, its members were invited by Constantine to a great festival, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his accession to the empire.¹ "Not one of the bishops," writes the courtly Eusebius, in a transport of admiration, "was wanting at the

absent signifying their assent in writing.

5 Forbids that those excommunicated by one bishop should be admitted by another; appeal to synods, however, being allowed.

6 Refers to jurisdiction of metropolitans, and is decisive against the acknowledgment at that time of the universal primacy of Rome.

7 Secures to the Bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) a certain precedence.

8 Is directed against Novatians or the Cathari.

9 Declares the ordination of disqualified persons to be invalid.

10, 11, 12, 13, 14 Contain rules for discipline in regard to the lapsed.

15, 16 Forbid the translation of bishops and the removal of priests and deacons. Any one who has left his church or diocese for another must return.

17 Forbids all ecclesiastics to lend money upon interest.

18 Prohibits deacons from ad-

ministering the Eucharist to priests, or receiving it before superior clergy.

19 Commands that the followers of Paul of Samosata must be rebaptized before reception into the Church.

20 Enjoins that prayer should be offered standing on the Lord's day, and on the days between Easter and Pentecost.

A canon was proposed to the effect that no bishops, priests, or deacons married at the time of their ordination should continue to live with their wives. But, as stated in an earlier chapter, the proposition was rejected chiefly through the vigorous protest of Paphnutius the confessor, who, as aged and a celibate, could not be suspected of any personal motives for his defence of Christian liberty in this matter. At the same time, it was understood (rather than enacted) that no ecclesiastic should marry after his ordination.

¹ Constantine was declared emperor during the summer of 306; his

imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description. Detachments of the body-guard and other troops surrounded the entrance of the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of these the men of God proceeded without fear, into the innermost of the imperial apartments, took their places at the Emperor's own table, while others reclined on couches arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and that the scene was less like reality than a dream."¹ At the conclusion of the festival the Emperor bestowed rich presents upon his guests, and courteously dismissed them to their homes, entreating an interest in their prayers.

§ 4. REACTIONARY PROCEEDINGS: NEW PHASES OF THE
CONTROVERSY.

1. The next two years were a time of anxious interest to the churches, and cast a melancholy shadow over the remainder of Constantine's life. In A.D. 326 he put to death his son Crispus, and afterwards his wife Fausta. The circumstances of this domestic tragedy are mysterious; still less do we know of the extent to which the sanguinary deed affected the Emperor's relation to the Church. In the year following we find the Arians again in favour. Constantine had returned to his former opinion, as expressed prior to the Nicene Council, that the divergence of Arius from orthodoxy was rather apparent than real, and that the opposition to him was due in part to jealousy. Constantia, widow of Licinius, the favourite sister of the Emperor, influenced, it is said, by an Arian presbyter, implored on her death-bed that Arius might be reinstated. The influence of Eusebius of Cæsarea was employed on the same side. The Emperor yielded, repealing the disabilities that had been

Constantine inclines to Arianism.

vicennalia must therefore have taken place during the summer or autumn of 325. The day of accession is reckoned,

hence he had reigned nineteen years.

¹ *Life of Constantine*, Bk. III. ch. xv., xvi.

imposed after the Nicene Council, and directing Eusebius to command the restoration of the heretical presbyter to his former charge in Alexandria.

2. But the demand was met by uncompromising resistance.

Athanasius banished. Athanasius, who had now succeeded the aged Alexander, fearlessly refused to obey the imperial mandate. The Arian advocates persisted in their claims, and at their investigation Athanasius was summoned before a synod convened at Tyre, at which charges, by turns revolting and absurd, were alleged against him. He had broken a vase used in the sacred mysteries, and had excommunicated a brother bishop on pretended suspicion of the deed; he had thrown down the episcopal chair; he had tortured persons falsely accused; he had seduced a certain woman, who was cited as a witness; he had committed sorcery by means of the dead hand of one Arsenius. It was in vain that the evidence utterly broke down. The woman mistook the person of Athanasius, and made a presbyter standing by him the hero of her well-concocted tale. Arsenius was produced in the synod with both hands sound and entire, Athanasius ironically asking the judge which of the two he had cut off by the alleged arts of sorcery. As soon as one accusation failed, another was brought forward. Old Paphnutius, who was present, rose from his place, and taking the arm of the bishop of Jerusalem, sitting by, said, "Let us go from this assembly of the wicked." Athanasius saw that his enemies were bent upon his ruin, and fled to Constantinople. In his absence the synod deposed him from his bishopric, and sent an encyclical letter to the bishops of the Church, enjoining them not to receive him into communion. Athanasius, thus ecclesiastically outlawed, appealed to the Emperor in vain. Eusebius of Nicomedia, now restored to that see, was at hand with his insinuations and calumnies against the champion of the faith. Athanasius was banished to Trèves, and a synod convened at Jerusalem to examine a new confession of faith submitted by Arius, pronounced it orthodox.

3. Armed with the authority of this synod, Arius returned to

Alexandria ; but the presbyters and churches of that city, faithful to their absent bishop, steadfastly refused to admit the great heresiarch to communion. Constantine, baffled in Egypt, yet bent on carrying his point, determined that the restoration of Arius to the Church should take place in Constantinople, and summoned him thither for that purpose. A day was appointed. Preparation was made to celebrate the occasion with solemnity and splendour, and orders were given to the bishop Alexander to conduct the service. It is said that the aged prelate passed the night prostrate before the altar in prayer, imploring that he might be permitted to die before the day, if indeed Arius was in the right ; but if otherwise, that Arius might be cut off rather than be suffered to triumph over the faithful. When the morning came, the exulting Arians thronged the streets. A long procession was escorting Arius, with Eusebius by his side, on the way to the great church of the city. Suddenly overcome by weakness, Arius turned aside for relief, and there sinking down he died. In the catastrophe the opponents of Arius discerned a miracle. His apologists have suggested poison ; but it may be sufficiently explained by the overwhelming excitement of the hour, acting on an aged and emaciated frame.¹

4. The death of Arius occurred A.D. 336. In the following year Constantine breathed his last, wearing the white baptismal dress, and leaving his career and character an enigma to historians. He was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The first, who ruled in Gaul and Spain, at once liberated Athanasius from his exile in Trèves ; Constans, the ruler of Italy and Africa, confirmed the action of his brother, and the illustrious bishop re-entered Alexandria, amid the acclamations of the people, after an absence of two years and four months.

¹ Socrates, *Ecc. Hist.*, Bk. I. ch. xxxviii. "His bowels gushed out." The place behind the shambles in the great square of Constantinople was

long shown ; people kept alive the memory of the event by silently pointing a finger in that direction whenever they passed that way.

But the young Constantius, ruler of the East, openly espousing the Arian cause, showed himself the determined enemy of Athanasius. Eusebius of Nicomedia, in contravention of a fundamental law of the episcopate, was translated to the See of Constantinople, and became the willing tool of the Eastern emperor.

5. A cathedral was to be dedicated at Antioch. Eusebius, *Synod at Antioch.* who, from his office as patriarch, was to preside on the occasion, took the opportunity of convening a synod, hence termed *the synod encœnæus*, "the dedicatory synod," attended by more than ninety Arian bishops.¹ A new declaration of faith was promulgated by this assembly, couched for the most part in the words of Scripture, denying nothing, but of course omitting the *homoousios*. The synod proceeded to reaffirm the *Athanasius again deposed.* deposition of Athanasius on the ground of the decision at Tyre, a canon being passed to the effect that no bishop, deprived by one synod, should resume his functions until restored by another. A presbyter of Cappadocia, Gregory by name, was nominated by the assembly bishop of Alexandria in the room of Athanasius, Philagius, prefect of Egypt, being commanded to support the nomination with all the civil and military power of the province. Athanasius declined the unequal contest, and fled to Rome, where Julius the bishop received him cordially, and espoused his cause. Four or five peaceful years were spent here beneath the rule of Constans, who held frequent conference with the great Alexandrian bishop, and was urged by him, not without success, to avoid the errors and heresies of his brother Constantius.

6. There had been, meantime, a significant correspondence between Antioch and Rome; Julius having invited the Eusebian *Synod at Rome.* bishops to attend a synod to be held in the latter city, and they having declined in an acrimonious epistle, insisting upon the authority of the synods that had condemned Athanasius, and complaining that the bishop of Rome preferred

¹ For the perplexed question as to the date of this synod, see Hefele, Bk. III. lvi.

those two deposed bishops to all of themselves. The synod was thereupon convened, attended by more than fifty Italian and other bishops, who affirmed the orthodoxy of Athanasius, as well as his innocence of the charge brought against him at Tyre. Antioch made no direct reply, but reaffirmed its former conclusions; and the division of opinion threatened a separation between the Eastern and Western churches. Both, however, agreed in condemning the doctrines of Photinus, bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia, who had revived the Unitarianism of Paul of Samosata. That the Word was God was held by Arians and Catholics alike; the great dispute was as to whether "there was a time when He was not," and whether He was consubstantial with the Father. The Western Church maintained the Nicene confession in its integrity; the Arian party at Antioch put forth confession after confession, still by the dexterous use of Scripture language evading the point at issue.

7. In the year 344, or, more probably, 343,¹ the imperial brothers *Council at* convened a Council which they hoped and strove to *Sardica.* make œcumenical, at Sardica in Illyria, to compose these widening differences; but the effort was abortive. The Eastern bishops adjourned to Philippopolis, and declared for the Antioch formula; those of the West remained at Sardica, under the presidency of the venerable Hosius of Cordova, and upheld the Nicene confession in its integrity.² The Emperor Constans strongly supported this decision, declared his intention of maintaining it by force of arms, and peremptorily required his brother Constantius to restore Athanasius to Alexandria. The Eastern Emperor consented, however unwillingly, and condescended to entreat in deferential terms the great bishop's return. It was not until the third missive of Constantius that Athanasius quitted Rome; he may have suspected, not unnaturally, this sudden change of tone. Then travelling to Antioch, he had an interview with Constantius. The Emperor suggested that Athanasius, on his return to Alexandria, might at least permit the use of one of the churches to the

¹ H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 124.

² See the discussion in Hefele, vol. ii.

Arian party. "Most readily," was the reply, "if the adherents of the Nicene Creed may have one at Antioch and in other cities under Arian influence." The Emperor's proposal on this was discreetly withdrawn.

8. The return of Athanasius after his second exile was greeted *Restoration of* with even greater demonstrations of joy than had *Athanasius.* attended his former restoration. All Alexandria welcomed the man of heroic and saintly character, once more among them to teach the pure doctrines for which he had so manfully contended, and by wise administration to maintain the peace of the Church. For a while these auguries seemed fulfilled. Even the murder of Constans, the imperial friend of Athanasius, was indirectly a safeguard to the Church; as in the civil war which ensued between Constantius and Magnentius, the usurper of the West, attention was withdrawn from the still obnoxious bishop. But on the usurper's defeat the intrigues against Athanasius recommenced. Councils were summoned at Arles and Milan, at the latter of which the Emperor argued for the Arian doctrine from his own success. His victory over Magnentius, he maintained, was a Divine attestation of his opinions. By such arguments, and others which an emperor knew well how to use, Constantius prevailed, though not without a manly protest from several members *Again* of the Council. For the first time a Western synod *deposed.* pronounced for Arianism, and the deposition of Athanasius was signed, A.D. 355. The decree was carried into effect with great violence on the night of February 8. He himself describes the scene. As he was celebrating vespers in the church of St. Thomas, a band of armed men burst into the building. Undisturbed for a time, he continued the service, the deacon read the psalm; the people with a loud voice responded, *For His mercy endureth for ever!* With shouts and outcries the soldiers were forcing their way through the congregation to the altar, when the bishop made his escape in the crowd, and soon afterwards left the city.

9. George of Cappadocia succeeded to his place—a worthless,

avaricious man, a time-server and parasite of the court, and withal an unscrupulous persecutor. Gibbon's identification of this George with "the patron saint of England" is still maintained by many historical students; the mighty Athanasius, concealed in the Egyptian desert, having become transformed into the "dragon" of the legend. But this is more than doubtful.¹ For six years, to A.D. 361, the exiled bishop remained in concealment among the monks of the Thebaid, addressing letters to the faithful few, and writing treatise after treatise against the Arian belief; for that heresy was now at its height. "The whole world mournfully wondered," says Jerome, "to find itself become Arian." The West had yielded. Liberius, bishop of Rome, had been deposed and banished; Felix, an Arian, succeeding him. Hilary of Poitiers was exiled. The venerable Hosius, now a hundred years old, was compelled to sign an Arian confession. Liberius, after two years of exile, was induced to follow his example, and returned to Rome as colleague with Felix. The Romans, however, tumultuously welcomed back their former bishop, many adherents of Felix were slain in a riot, and he himself retired, leaving Liberius in sole possession.

10. Efforts, meanwhile, were made to settle in some final way the Arian creed. The confessions prepared by Arius himself, with the successive documents put forth at Antioch, were judged insufficient; possibly their evasiveness was felt by their own adherents. Two councils held at Sirmium, A.D. 351 and 357, the Emperor Constantius being present in the city, put forth an undisguised profession of Arian doctrine, the *homoousion* and the *homoioousion* being alike rejected. This declaration was endorsed by a synod held in the following year at Antioch; but about the same time a council at

¹ There appears to have been a George of Cappadocia, a Christian martyr under Diocletian at Nicomedia A.D. 303. He is said to have appeared, with another martyr, Demetrius, to the Crusaders hard pressed

at Antioch, 1089, and to have turned the tide of battle. Hence his name was honoured among the Normans, and he was adopted as patron saint of England by Edward III., 1348, in place of Edward the Confessor.

Ancyra reaffirmed the *homoiousion*; and in the following year another synod at Sirmium adopted the same view. Henceforward, the stricter Arians are known by the formula *anomoion* (*ἀνόμοιος*, "unlike"), it being maintained by them that the Son of God is "unlike the Father in substance." The homoiousians, *Semi-Arianism* accordingly, are known as "semi-Arians." To heal the widening dispute, it was urged by others that the truth was beyond the limit of human thought.¹ Synods held at Ariminum (Rimini) for the West, and at Seleucia for the East, proposed as another *eirenicon* the declaration that the "Son of God is like the Father, according to the Scriptures"—a weak compromise, accepted but for the moment; while the Emperor, wearied of the incessant debates on a topic which he at least was unable to understand, declared that all who should henceforth raise the question concerning the substance of the Son of God should be treated as enemies of the peace of the Church.

It was said that Athanasius himself secretly visited the two last-named councils, witnessing the futile endeavours of the Arian parties to compose their differences. The six years of his seclusion in the desert form a sufficiently remarkable episode in his career; while his adventures, concealments, and hairbreadth escapes have been a favourite subject of mediæval legend.

11. On the death of Constantius (A.D. 361) the position of affairs was wholly changed. Julian succeeded, and his edict of universal toleration was applied to the benefit of the orthodox as against the Arians. Alexandria was convulsed by the strife not only of these two parties, but of the heathen, now exulting in the unexpected reaction. The Arian Bishop George had made himself obnoxious to the pagans by the studied insults which he had heaped upon their religion. Their time of revenge was come; he was seized by them and cruelly murdered. All was distraction and tumult, in the midst of which Athanasius openly entered the city, and was eagerly welcomed. Arianism collapsed, and the churches once again

¹ See Gwatkin, *Studies*, p. 161 Isa. liii. 8 is quoted,

resounded with the Nicene confession. A Council was held in Alexandria, and with a wise moderation those who had been compelled by terror to subscribe the various Arian declarations were received back into the communion of the Church. But Julian soon perceived in the character and fame of the Alexandrian bishop a chief hindrance to his pagan revival. "That such an intriguer," bluntly wrote the Emperor, "should preside over the people is dangerous—one who deserves not the name of a man." He peremptorily ordered Athanasius to quit the city. Whether the bishop obeyed or not is a difficult question to decide. It is certain that he vanished from the sight of the people; possibly, as one story goes, he was sheltered in the house of a Christian lady, who, secure in her own purity and in the exalted character of her guest, did not scruple to keep his hiding-place a secret from all, and to minister to him with her own hands. However this may have been, the death of Julian was no sooner known in Alexandria than Athanasius appeared as if from the clouds.

12. It was a time of reviving hope for the churches. Jovian was a friend to Athanasius, an adherent of the Nicene doctrine, and, as far as can be judged from his brief reign, a tolerant and large-hearted ruler. A new order of things set in, which even the accession of Valens, the last of the Arian emperors, could hardly thwart. True, the succession of Arian prelates at Constantinople was still maintained, Eudoxus the Anomoian having succeeded on the deposition of Macedonius the Homoiousian, who was now in retirement, promulgating the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit henceforth to be associated with his name. But Athanasius, with the three great Cappadocian bishops, Basil and the Gregories, were in the East, a tower of strength to orthodoxy; while in the West, beneath the rule of Valentinian, an opponent of Arianism, the churches were peaceful and flourishing. Hilary, the *Malleus Arianorum*, who had been found more troublesome by his opponents in exile than even in his see, had been ordered

*Return of
Athanasius.*

*Accession of
Jovian.*

*New hopes:
how frustrated.*

to return before the days of Julian, and was still contending for the faith; while Liberius of Rome, having, as before seen, purchased reinstatement in his see by signing the Arian confession, had penitently returned to his former faith, and was passing his latter days in peace. The stress of the conflict was still at Alexandria, and once again was Athanasius compelled to bow before the storm. But his *fifth* exile¹ (A.D. 367) was only of short duration. The now aged prelate, who, it is said, had found a

Death of Athanasius. temporary refuge in his father's sepulchre, returned to Alexandria and closed his days in honour (A.D. 373). *To praise him*, says his friend and panegyrist, Gregory of Nazianzus, is *to praise virtue herself*. The Emperor Valens forcibly instituted an Arian bishop, one Leicius, in his place; but Didymus, the blind professor of theology, now became the leading spirit in the Alexandrian Church, and powerfully vindicated the faith.

13. A medley of opinions rather than any sustained theological discussion characterized the last quarter of this century. The Arians were still divided among themselves; but the interest of the controversy between Homoiousians and Anomoians had passed; and from the same general school of thought other questions had arisen. Macedonius, the deposed semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople, had taught in the latter part of his life a new doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit; denying not His personality, but His *Macedonian-* consubstantiality with the Father, and held Him to *ism.* be created of the same rank with the angels. Hence the name by which the sect is generally known, "Opponents of the Holy Ghost" (*Pneumatomachi*). Into this form of doctrine the semi-Arian form of belief soon entirely merged, and the three titles were indiscriminately used—*Semi-Arian*, *Pneumatomachi*, *Macedonians*. At a later period in the controversy many so-called Macedonians denied the personality of the Spirit, and thus virtually

¹ First, by Constantine, A.D. 335, to Trèves. Second, by Constantius, 342, to Rome. Third, also by Constantius, 351, to the deserts. George

installed at Alexandria. Fourth, by Julian, 362, when Athanasius was possibly concealed in the city.

two schools of thought arose in the sect; for to regard the Holy Ghost as a created *Being* is evidently quite a different thing from representing Him as but a Divine impersonal *Energy*. The opinions of Macedonius were first condemned by a synod held at Alexandria after the return of Athanasius in Julian's reign, also by successive Roman synods under Damasus, successor to Liberius.

§ 5. APOLLINARIANISM: COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. Soon after the death of Athanasius the dawn of a great subsequent controversy was appearing in the questions raised by his friend and adherent, Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, *Teachings of Apollinaris*. distinguished as a defender of Christianity by a treatise against Porphyry, in thirty books. Anxious to maintain the Deity of Christ, Apollinaris was led, like some early Gnostics, to deny His humanity. The Person of the Redeemer, he taught, consisted of a body with $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, or sensitive soul; but the higher reason, the spiritual nature, was supplied by the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ —the Word. Man in general thus being, in Scripture language, "body, soul, and spirit," Christ was body, soul, and Divine Logos. It follows that what is highest in man has no part in the humanity of the Saviour; also that in the passion of Christ the Godhead as well as the manhood suffered. Those who in opposition to this view maintained the two natures of our Lord, were charged with regarding Him as two *persons*, and with denying altogether the unity of His Deity and humanity. The attempts to find a middle course between this dualism and the Apollinarian doctrine occupied the best thinkers of the Church during the decline of the Arian struggle. The extreme views were actually maintained by but few; perhaps the Church of Antioch may be taken as the type of those who were chiefly concerned to affirm the distinction of the two natures, while the theologians of Alexandria mainly insisted upon their unity. Both views were combined in the formula of general belief, *two Natures—one Person*: but the beginnings were already discernible of the great Monophy-

site controversy which in the succeeding generation was to divide the Church.

2. It was to give a final deliverance on the Arian question, as well as to pronounce concerning the opinions of Macedonius and Apollinaris, that a great Synod of the Eastern bishops was convened by Theodosius at Constantinople in the year 381, subsequently accepted as the **SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL**. One hundred and fifty bishops on the orthodox side were present, with thirty-six of the Macedonian party, whom it was hoped to win over to the unity of the Church. The latter, however, persisted in maintaining their belief, and quitted Constantinople before the close of the proceedings. The Emperor himself inaugurated the synod by his presence, and evinced the liveliest interest in the deliberations. Of the great ecclesiastics present the first place was given to Meletius, the bishop of Antioch,¹ who died soon after the opening of the Council; after him, Gregory of Nazianzus being appointed to the vacant see of Constantinople, presided for a short time, and upon his resignation his successor in the bishopric, Nectarius, occupied the chair. The Council lasted from May to July, its deliberations being followed by the people with the most eager interest.² A modified form of the Nicene Creed was drawn up, it is said, by Gregory of Nyssa³ at the request of the Council, explicitly declaring the belief of the churches in contrast with the Pneumatomachian as with the Arian doctrines.

¹ Theodosius, it is said, while still a general of the Emperor Gratian, had dreamed that a holy man presented him with the imperial throne and mantle. On the assembling of the synod the Emperor recognized in Meletius the personage of his vision, and treated him with the greatest honour and affection.—*Theodoret*, Bk. V. ch. vii.

² Gibbon quotes a writer of the period as saying,—“This city is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians, and preach

in the shops and in the street. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told by way of reply that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing.”

³ Some, as Tillemont and Hefele, think that the creed was already current at the time of the Council, being then only formally adopted.

3. The Constantinopolitan creed runs thus: "We believe in *Creed of Constantinople.* one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, light from Light, very God from very God, begotten, not created, of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnated by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, who was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried, and the third day He rose again according to the Scripture, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father;¹ who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. And in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. We look for a resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

4. Seven canons were added, the first of which confirms the *Canons of the Council.* Nicene decrees, and anathematizes the errors of "the Eunomians or Anomoians, the Arians or Eudoxians, the Semiarians or Pneumatomachians, the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians." It will be observed that here the followers of Macedonius are identified with the Semi-arians, the two beliefs being by this time blended into one; the two schools of the stricter Arians being distinguished respectively by the names of Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicus, and of Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, both of whom lived in the days of the Emperor Valens. By the Seventh Canon, followers of these opinions may

¹ The words "and the Son" (*Filioque*) were added to the creed in a later age, and by the Western Church. They first appear in the formula as issued by a council at Toledo, A.D. 589. See Stoughton, *Hist. Theol.*, p. 133.

be received into the Church again on a simple recantation, excepting the Eunomians, "who only baptize with one immersion," and the Sabellians, "who teach that the Son is Father." These, as also the Montanists, are to be rebaptized before admission. The other canons refer to episcopal precedence and ecclesiastical discipline. According to the third, "the Bishop of Constantinople is to have the primacy of honour (τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς) after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome." It is plain that the canon (supposing it genuine), by asserting precedence, tacitly precludes supremacy. The Roman patriarch was as yet acknowledged only as *primus inter pares*.

5. At the close of the Council its proceedings were forwarded *Confirmation* to Theodosius. "In obedience to your letter," the *by Theodosius* bishop writes, "we met together at Constantinople, and having first restored union among ourselves, we then made short definitions confirming the faith of the Nicene Fathers, and condemning the heresies which have risen in opposition to it." The fathers then entreat the imperial confirmation, which was at once granted; a rescript of the Emperor, July 30, 381, enjoining "that all the churches were at once to be surrendered to the bishops who believed in the oneness of the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and were in communion with certain Eastern bishops named. It is certain that the West was not represented at this Council; but the subsequent universal acceptance of its Creed raises it to the œcumenical rank.

§ 6. THE NESTORIAN CONTROVERSY—COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

From the time of the Council of Constantinople, the great questions which for the sixty preceding years had agitated the Church were practically settled; the dissentients, if not prudently silent, were cast out of communion. The Apollinarian belief also slumbered for a time; but the questions raised by the Laodicean bishops were destined to revive under other forms in the next

century, exciting new oppositions of opinion, keener debates, and wider schisms.¹

1. Meanwhile, in the discussions respecting the Divine and human natures of our Lord, the personality of His Virgin Mother became a subject of inquiry. From false notions of the superior holiness of an unwedded life had sprung the belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary—a tenet which became a favourite dogma of the cloister. Its strenuous and general assertion dates from the latter part of the fourth century, Siricius, bishop of Rome, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Ambrose being prominent in its defence. Their opponents, led by one Helvidius, a Roman presbyter, being the unpopular party, were stigmatized by the title of *Antidicomarianites* (“adversaries of Mary,” from ἀντιδικος). But it was the NESTORIAN controversy which brought the name of Mary into a prominence in the Church which it never afterwards lost.²

2. In the strict order of time the great Pelagian controversy should next be recorded. But the tenets which bear the names respectively of Nestorius and Eutyches have a direct lineal connexion with those of Arius and Apollinaris, and therefore will be best considered here. Pelagianism, again, was of the West; Nestorianism was characteristically of the East; where the intellect, as of old, was busied about questions too subtle for the less speculative minds of Rome.

¹ Thus Gregory I. writes long afterwards: “As we acknowledge four Gospels, so do we accept four Councils: that of Nicæa, in which the perverse dogma of Arius was doomed; that of Constantinople, in which the error of Eunomius and Macedonius was refuted; with the first of Ephesus, in which the impiety of Nestorius was condemned; and that of Chalcedon, in which the false doctrine of Eutychus and Diosconius was exposed.”—*Letters*, Bk. i. 25.

² In close connexion with the various opinions about the mother of our Lord, are the views entertained re-

specting His “brethren.” Helvidius held them to have been the children of Joseph and Mary, younger than Jesus; and certainly such opinion seems the most consistent with Matt. i. 24, 25. Epiphanius held that they were the children of Joseph by a former marriage, Jerome that they were the nephews of Mary, and therefore cousins of Jesus. The whole question is exhaustively discussed by Bishop Lightfoot in a Dissertation appended to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. He inclines to the Epiphanian view.

3. Nestorius was a successor of Chrysostom in the patriarchate of Constantinople, two bishops only intervening; *Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople.* Cyril was upon the episcopal throne of Alexandria, Augustine was just at the close of life. Theodosius (the younger), observing that religious parties in Constantinople were still rent by faction, seems to have thought it wise to appoint a stranger to the city as its bishop, and accordingly selected Nestorius, a monk of Antioch, and a disciple of the great Syrian bishop, Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is said that he was chosen partly for his eloquence, the young Emperor thinking, perhaps, to have discovered a second Chrysostom. The early zeal, at least, of Nestorius seemed to justify the choice. He at once attacked Arianism with the greatest energy, adopting even persecuting measures for its repression. But the tendencies of thought characteristic of the Antiochene theology soon manifested themselves in the teachings of the zealous patriarch. To eradicate what might remain of Apollinarianism, Nestorius was accustomed so constantly to urge a discrimination between the words and actions of the Son of man and the Son of God, that this distinction became the main point in his theology. Mary was the mother of our Lord's human nature—not in any sense of His Divinity; and it was the denial to her of the title *Theotokos* (*θεοτόκος*, "Mother of God,") which first provoked opposition to his teaching. She is *Christotokos*, insisted Nestorius and his followers, Mother of the Man Christ Jesus; for the Divinity can neither be born nor die.

4. The views thus advocated were widely adopted, although *Spread of Nestorianism.* not without keen debate. The discourses of Nestorius were copied and passed from hand to hand; and in the Thebaid itself multitudes became converted to the belief of the eloquent patriarch of Constantinople. The attention of Cyril was aroused; he already longed to emulate the renown of his great predecessor Athanasius; and here a second Arius seemed *Interposition of Cyril.* to be delivered into his hands. Cyril wrote to Nestorius in an arrogant tone, received an equally

haughty reply, and laid the matter before Cœlestine, bishop of Rome.

5. Two synods were held, one in Rome, at which Nestorius was declared a heretic, and Cyril was directed to pronounce against him sentence of deposition; the other at Alexandria, at which twelve propositions were prepared for the offending patriarch to contradict—or, after the habit of those days, to anathematize on pain of being degraded. Nestorius replied by propounding twelve counter-propositions for Cyril to anathematize on pain of being judged an Apollinarian. In this position of the dispute Nestorius appealed to Theodosius, partly on the ground of the interference of Cœlestine in a question between the rival patriarchs of the East; and the Emperor resolved to

Council of Ephesus. convene a great Synod at Ephesus, known subsequently as the THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL. Its meeting was held on the Day of Pentecost, A.D. 431. Cyril although the accuser, assumed the presidency; Nestorius, the accused, was a member of the Council. The bishop of Antioch, with many others from the East, had not arrived. Nestorius in vain pleaded for delay; and the proceedings were commenced and concluded in indecorous haste. Sixty-eight bishops out of the three hundred present, having presented a plea for fair dealing with the accused patriarch, were summarily excluded. Candidion, the imperial legate, requested a delay of four days, but was expelled the assembly with insult. The *Theotokos* was then unanimously voted, Nestorius declared a heretic, deposed, and excommunicated.

6. In four days the bishops of Antioch and the East made their appearance, and finding what had been done, *Counter-proceedings.* held a synod of their own, in which they degraded Cyril, together with his obsequious instrument Memnon. Riots ensued, and the assembly dispersed without coming to any definite conclusion. The Emperor strove again to mediate between the contending parties. A conference of sixteen theologians, eight from each party, was summoned at Constantinople; but the

acrimony was only intensified by the well-meant endeavour. The *Compromise*. bishop of Antioch at length proposed a compromise; and Cyril signed, though with some reluctance, a series of propositions drawn up by Theodoret of Cyrus,¹ affirming a twofold Nature in the one Person of Christ. Nestorius felt himself abandoned, and retired from the scene, resigning his patriarchate, and returning to his old monastic abode in Antioch. His opinions, however, spread all the more rapidly because of the compromise adopted by Cyril. It seemed needful to take yet stronger measures, and

Exile and death of Nestorius. Nestorius was banished to an oasis in the Libyan desert. Being driven hence to Egypt by an attack of Nubian marauders, he was ordered by the haughty and implacable Cyril to an obscure retreat in the Thebaid, where he spent his last days, surviving the Alexandrian patriarch about six years.

7. While the Nestorian doctrines were thus proscribed in the Eastern and Western churches, they gained a footing in the school of Edessa, and were especially propagated by the Abbot Barsumas, afterwards bishop of Nisibis (435—489). The Syrian and Persian churches became thenceforth the chief seat of Nestorianism. "The farther the doctrine travelled eastwards, the more intelligible and more congenial to the general sentiment became its Eastern element, the absolute impassibility of the Godhead;"² and in the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, as many modern travellers bear witness,³ there exist communities, much persecuted from time to time by their Mohammedan neighbours, often so reduced in numbers as to be threatened with extinction, with many a strange corruption of practice and belief, but clinging to their ancestral traditions, and repudiating with anathemas that *Theotokos*, for refusing to accept which the founder of their creed was driven forth to die an exile.

¹ See p. 248.

² Milman.

³ See especially Layard and Asahel Grant.

§ 7. THE MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSY: COUNCILS OF CHALCEDON AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. The Council of Ephesus led to the prominence of one *Eutyches zeal- man, distinguished by the vigour with which he*
ously orthodox. denounced the Nestorian belief. This was the Archimandrite, or Abbot, EUTYCHES, head of a great monastic community in Constantinople, who thus separated himself from his own bishop, and zealously attached himself to Cyril of Alexandria. In the disputes which succeeded the Council, Eutyches and his monks were always to the front, with clamour and violence denouncing, and ready to dispossess, all holders of the obnoxious doctrine. But the zealous abbot, whose mind seems to have been very narrow and ill-informed, was betrayed by his own violence into an opposite extreme, and to his amazement *An unwitting*
heretic. found himself charged with heresy. At a synod convened by Flavian, bishop of Constantinople (A.D. 448), Eutyches was accused by one Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, of teaching that our Lord had but one Nature after His incarnation. The simple Archimandrite was no match for his skilled opponent, and was forced to the heretical confession. On this the Council cried out against him, and the eager antagonist of Nestorius was himself condemned and deposed for an equal though opposite offence against orthodoxy.¹

¹ It is not impossible that a court intrigue was at the root of this proceeding. Chrysaphius, a powerful court eunuch, was the godfather of Eutyches, and had schemed, it was said, to raise him to the see of Constantinople. This hope was for the time disappointed by the elevation of Flavian, against whom the eunuch was secretly intriguing. Pulcheria, sister to Theodosius, as shown before (p. 217), had long guided the youthful emperor, who was now married to the beautiful

Eudoxia. Chrysaphius, aiming at supreme influence, strove to create a rivalry between these ladies, enlisting at the same time the interest of Eudoxia on behalf of his godson. Flavian became aware of these intrigues, and resolved to strike the first blow against Eutyches. Eusebius was fitted by his ability, if not by his convictions, to undertake the task of accuser, having previously been a prominent and ardent adversary of Nestorius.

2. But in those days the abbot of a great monastery was a formidable personage. The monks of Constantinople rallied round their aged Archimandrite, loudly demanding a reversal of the sentence. Eutyches himself appealed to Theodosius to have his cause tried by a General Council. Chrysaphius, as a powerful courtier, exerted his influence on the same side, and Theodosius summoned a second council to Ephesus (August 449), to meet as before, under the presidency of the Alexandrian patriarch, Dioscorus, who had succeeded on the death of Cyril, five years previously. The patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were present, with three hundred and sixty bishops and ecclesiastics. Flavian, as patriarch of Constantinople, was in his place, but the other bishops who had joined in the degradation of Eutyches were excluded from the assembly as interested parties. Rome was represented by three legates—bishop, presbyter, and deacon; Leo having been addressed by both Flavian and Eutyches in letters still extant, and having replied to the former in his famous Epistle known as “the Tome,” a masterly examination of the Eutychian doctrine.¹ The Imperial commissioners present at the synod were Elphidius and Eulogius.

From the very beginning the decision of the Council was seen to be predetermined. Dioscorus, the president, was avowedly a partisan of Eutyches; the predominant court influence was now on the same side. Crowds of monks surrounded the council-chamber with riotous acclamations and outcries; the imperial soldiers were menacingly at hand. Within, all was *Turbulent proceedings.* turbulence. The Council refused to listen to Leo’s epistle; when Eusebius of Dorylæum was mentioned, the assembly cried, “He divides Christ, let him be cut asunder!” The question was put, “What of the doctrine of Two Natures in Christ after the incarnation?” “Anathema! Anathema!” was the reply. Eutyches was declared orthodox. Flavian and Eusebius were deposed. Only the deacon (Hilary by name) who represented

¹ An excellent summary of “the Tome” is given by Bishop Gore in a little book on *Leo the Great* (Fathers for English Readers), pp. 62-69.

Leo had the courage to withhold his assent. Flavian stood up to appeal. "Strike him down!" was the cry, Dioscorus himself encouraging the violence. The monks fell upon him and beat him so severely that in a few days he died, heart-broken. "This was the first, but not the last Christian Council which was defiled with blood." Its decisions have never been accepted as binding, and the Council which began by claiming to be œcumenical is known to history only as the *σύννοδος ληστικός*, "the Robber Synod."

3. As a matter of course, the imperial confirmation followed.

The Eutychian Doctrine affirmed. The deceased Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum were branded as Nestorians; the Eutychian or *Monophysite* doctrine (*μονὴ φύσις*, "one only nature") was solemnly affirmed to be the truth. Nestorian writings were proscribed and ordered to be burned as "Porphyrian" and anti-Christian, while the doctrine itself was termed "Simonianism," after the evil name of Simon Magus. The wise and saintly Theodoret of Cyrus was deposed, and confined to his monastery, as an old antagonist of Cyril, and a friend of Nestorius, although by no means a Nestorian. The sentence was afterwards revoked.

But the edict of Theodosius was far from securing general consent, and the bishop of Alexandria was chagrined to find himself opposed by the whole of Western Christendom and by no inconsiderable part of the East. At Rome a

Opposition in the West. synod met at once and repudiated the Ephesian decisions. Leo emphatically denounced the Monophysite belief; Dioscorus upon this renouncing communion with the Roman See. A bitter conflict seemed impending, when the Emperor Theodosius died, within a year of the Ephesian Synod, at the age of forty-nine; and his sister Pulcheria raised her soldier-consort Marcian to the throne. Everything now favoured the opponents of the Monophysite doctrine. At the instance of Leo a GENERAL COUNCIL (the fourth) was called, that the conclusions promulgated at Ephesus might be authoritatively set aside. This Council was summoned to CHALCEDON, opposite to Constantinople, on the Asiatic side,

Council summoned at Chalcedon.

October, A.D. 451. Marcian sent his commissioners; the Roman legates were seated on their left (the place of honour); the representatives of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch on their right. The book of the Gospels was placed in the front of the chair. Theodoret appeared to vindicate his orthodoxy, not without success. Dioscorus was present, but as the head and representative of the "Robber Synod" was forbidden to vote. Leo was represented by two bishops and a presbyter. More than five hundred prelates in all assembled, thus making this Fourth General Council by far the largest that had as yet been held.

The first proceeding related to the late Synod of Ephesus.

The Monophysite doctrine condemned. The deposition of Flavian and Eusebius was cancelled. Dioscorus and five of his principal abettors were deposed, amid a scene of great excitement. The Tome of Leo, contumeliously rejected at Ephesus, was read amid demonstrations of delight. The Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople were solemnly reaffirmed, and the following declaration was adopted:—

"We, all with one consent following the Holy Fathers, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and truly man of a reasonable (*λογικῆς*) soul and body; consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιον*) with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us, without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God (*θεοτόκου*) according to the manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures,¹ inconfusedly (*ἀσυγχύτως*), unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably² (*ἀχωρίστως*); the distinction of natures being by no means taken

¹ This is directed against the Eutychian or Monophysite doctrine.

² This, on the other hand, is aimed at Nestorianism, which so distinguished

between the Divine and human in Christ as to lose sight of the personal unity.

away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one Person and one Subsistence ; not parted or divided into two Persons, but one and the same Son, and only begotten ; God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ ; as the prophets from the beginning [have declared] concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the Creed of the Holy Fathers has handed down to us."

The Imperial power was again called into requisition to enforce the decrees of the Council. Marcian issued two edicts, *Imperial confirmation.* one forbidding under heavy penalties the reopening of the question, and the other declaring the decisions of Chalcedon, "painfully attained by so many holy bishops, and after so much prayer and searching," to be the truth of God. At least, no man by the exercise of his private judgment could hope to reach a sounder conclusion ; such, therefore, was to be the rule of orthodox belief. These decisions were formulated in twenty-eight canons, the last of which asserted the equality of the see of Constantinople with that of Rome. Against this Leo strenuously protested, and his protest was an item in the long and weary struggle of Rome for supremacy over the Churches.

4 The Monophysite belief, having its root in the Eastern tendency to theosophic speculation, could not be wholly destroyed by ecclesiastical or Imperial authority. The monks *Resistance by Egyptian monks.* of Egypt were especially faithful to the cause of their old comrade and superior, Eutyches, and maintained a strenuous, often turbulent opposition to the decrees of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. The death of Pulcheria soon after the Council confirmed them in their fanatic belief that the hand of God was against that assembly ; while the most violent and acrimonious opposition was directed against Proterius, bishop of Alexandria in place of the deposed Dioscorus.

On the death of the Emperor Marcian (A.D. 457), Proterius was murdered in a riot instigated by the monks ; Timothy Ælurus ("the Cat"), a Monophysite, being installed in his place. But the Emperor Leo, two years after, banished the new bishop, and under

Salophacialus, a wiser and more moderate prelate than Proterius had shown himself to be, tranquillity for a time prevailed.

5. A new question arose at Antioch, where the bishop, Peter the Fuller, formerly a Monophysite monk at Constantinople, insisted upon adding to the Trisagion after the words "O God most holy," the phrase "Who wast crucified for us." The addition was adopted by many of the Eastern churches; its opponents charging it with reviving the ancient Theopaschite heresy. More than once Peter was banished and restored. Timothy Ælurus was reinstated at Alexandria (A.D. 476), being succeeded by Peter Mongus ("the Stammerer"), also a Monophysite, and disturbances were incessant until Zeno the *The Henoticon* Isaurian (Emperor of the East, 474-491) issued of Zeno, *Emp.* his *Henoticon* ("decree of union," ἐνωτικόν), composed by the advice, perhaps written by the hand, of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople. This well-meaning document first launched a solemn anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and all heretics by whom Christ is either divided or confounded. It then declared the acts of the *three* great Councils (Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus) to be binding on the churches, but left the validity of those of the fourth an open question; and further required all disputants to abstain from controverted terms or offensive words or phrases in defining the deity of Christ. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch together signed the Henoticon, and once again the promise of unity seemed given to the distracted Christian world.

6. The promise was fallacious, and the adoption of this medium course issued only in the formation of a third party. *Multiplication of Monophysite sects.* The extreme Monophysites in Egypt mourned that they were deprived of their leader, Mongus of Alexandria having signed the document, and hence became known as the *Acephali* ("the headless sect"). At Constantinople, some years afterwards (A.D. 572), the addition to the Trisagion was introduced by the Monophysite monks, and favoured at first by the Emperor Anastasius, who strongly maintained a policy of

universal toleration. But on the accession of Justin I. (A.D. 518) the *Henoticon* was practically abandoned, the decrees of Chalcedon being again made binding in their simplicity. This threw the Monophysite teachers upon one another's support; many deposed holders of the tenet repaired to Alexandria, and it was not long before divergences of opinion began to show themselves. Strange questions arose as concerning the corruptibility of our Lord's body, those who affirmed this being known as the *phthartolatæ*, their opponents as the *aphthartodocetæ*.¹ The former were again divided into the *agnoëtæ*, who maintained that our Lord was ignorant of many things in His human nature, and those who affirmed the contrary. The latter were subdivided into the *actistetæ*, holding that the body of Christ was uncreated, and the *ktistolatæ*,² who taught that it was created. These varieties of opinion caused but a diversion in a weary controversy which smouldered on, sometimes breaking into flame, and dividing the Church to all appearance more hopelessly than any previous question had done.

7. The able and astute Justinian, undismayed by the failure of Zeno's Henoticon, resolved to make another effort to reconcile the Monophysite party with the great body of the Church. The Eutychian belief was secretly favoured by many at his court, even by the Empress Theodora, who, raised to the throne after a dissolute early life, evinced the greatest zeal in religious matters. She persuaded Justinian to favour the Theopaschite formula of the Trisagion—"God who was crucified for us," insomuch that he introduced the phrase into one of his decrees. Through her influence also a Monophysite bishop (Anthimus) was appointed to the See of Constantinople; and Vigilius was made bishop of Rome, with the secret understanding that he should declare for the Eutychian

Justinian : Court favour to the Monophysite doctrines.
¹ These words mean respectively "adorers of the Corruptible," and "[believers in] a *seeming* Incorruptible." They are evidently nicknames, and the latter was intended to fasten the reproach of docetism upon those

who maintained the incorruptibility of Christ's body. For this charge there seems to be no foundation.

² The words signify "[believers in] the Uncreated" and "worshippers of the Created."

doctrine, although he soon proved that he had no intention of keeping the stipulation.

The decisions of Chalcedon, now doubly affirmed, were the chief difficulty in the way of reconciling the two parties; and impartial persons regarded that Council as having thrown its weight on the whole in favour of Nestorianism. To restore the balance the Emperor fixed upon three points in the Chalcedon decrees as requiring modification. First, the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Syrian teacher of Nestorius, had not been explicitly condemned. Secondly, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril and the Ephesian Council had been allowed to pass as orthodox. Thirdly, there was a letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, a friend of Nestorius, to a Persian bishop Maris, denying the "communication of properties" in the two natures; and withal complaining of the excesses of Cyril's party in Alexandria, the orthodoxy of which letter had also been acknowledged. It is presumed that in the transactions of Chalcedon these three points had been a ground of offence beyond the rest to the defeated party. They became prominent in some manner during a revival of the Origenistic controversy which now took place; and Justinian was induced to condemn the "Three Chapters," *Tria Capitula*, as the above-mentioned points were called, in a decree A.D. 544. Hence arose a long distracting controversy, which "filled more volumes than it was worth lines."

8. The East generally sided with the Emperor; the West resisted. A Council in Constantinople, A.D. 548, supported Justinian's edict. Vigilius, who had yielded after some hesitation, took the same side, and persuaded seventy Western bishops to follow his example. Fecundus, an African bishop, took the opposite side, writing an elaborate defence of the proscribed writings (*Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*), and declared Vigilius excommunicated by the fact of his assent to the edict. The Roman bishop, who was a man of feeble character, took the alarm, and refused to concur in a subsequent decree of Justinian (A.D. 551) reaffirming the others.

9. To put an end to hesitation on all sides, the Emperor summoned a fifth œcumenical Council to Constantinople (the *Second Council of Constantinople* SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, May and June, A.D. 553), under the presidency of Eutychius, patriarch of that city. Vigilius was invited to attend, but declined, and was unrepresented. The whole West concurred in standing aloof; but the bishops of the East attended. The Council first of all concurred in the edict of Justinian, anathematising the *Tria Capitula*. It sanctioned the formula "God has suffered," or "One of the Trinity has suffered"; but disallowed the phrase as an addition to the Trisagion. In fourteen anathemas it was sought to include every variety of heterodox belief respecting the person of our Lord. Vigilius was finally suspended from office; and as he refused to acknowledge the conciliar decrees, was forbidden to return to Rome. At length, broken down by the long stress of opposition, he signified his assent, and was permitted to set out for his see, but died at Syracuse on his homeward way (A.D. 555). Pelagius his successor at once acknowledged the Council, a step which led to the immediate separation of the churches in Northern Italy, in Illyria, and in Africa from communion with Rome, the schism continuing to a greater or less extent in the different places, until finally healed by Gregory I., by whose diplomacy the assent of most or all was gained to the decisions of Constantinople. This fifth Council, however, has always held a lower position in regard to authority than the preceding four.

10. Near the close of life, Justinian; still anxious to reconcile the Monophysite party with the Church, endeavoured to stamp as orthodox the doctrines of the *Aphthartodocetæ*. Eutychius, bishop of Constantinople, and Anastasius, bishop of Antioch, strongly opposed the imperial proposal. The former was deposed for a time, the latter threatened, when the death of the Emperor frustrated the scheme. His doctrinal prepossessions, however, had their lasting effect. The schisms in Egypt and Asia Minor became permanent, and amid all succeed-

ing changes in human history and belief the followers of Eutyches, as of Nestorius, have held by their old traditions, and maintained the old animosities—strange religious fossils from the past. There are four branches of the Monophysites—1. the *Jacobites* of Syria,¹ now a monkish and superstitious community, the head of which always bears the name and title of Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch; 2. the *Copts* of Egypt, descendants of the Alexandrians, who, in the days of the great controversy, chose Timothy Ælurus as their bishop. Dean Stanley says of them, “The Copts are still, even in their degraded state, the most civilized of the natives;” 3. the *Abyssinians*, who, in the fragments of Christianity that they cherish in a barbaric and distorted form, still keenly debate the question of the two natures of our Lord; 4. the *Armenians*, by far the largest and most enlightened remnant of the sect, though now scattered, like the Jews, through many lands. The *Maronites* of Lebanon, so called from Maron, a Syrian monk in the latter part of the seventh century, are sometimes added to this list. They, however, sprang rather from the Monothelites: see below. Since the twelfth century they have accepted the supremacy of Rome.

11. After the days of Gregory the Great, there is little mention of the Monophysite dogma; the Emperor *Transition to the Monothelite Controversy.* Heraclius, in the succeeding era, following the example of his predecessors, Zeno and Justinian, in proposing an *Eirenicon* (A.D. 638).² If the two parties would but waive the insoluble question of *Two Natures*, and simply agree to assert that in Christ there was but *One Will*, some common ground might perhaps be established. The doctrine, however, was soon charged with heresy, on the very intelligible ground that one will must imply one nature, and the converse. Hence the MONOTHELITE controversy of the seventh and eighth centuries, in which the former ground was wearily retraversed. But this will be noticed in a subsequent section.

12. Before entirely quitting the great theological discussion of this age respecting the person of our Lord, it is necessary to notice

¹ See p. 341.

² Generally known as the *Ekthesis*.

that Creed or formula in which, more than in any other, the doctrine is declared in full detail, with anathemas against the disbelieving.

The "*Athanasian Creed*,"—or the *Hymn Quicumque*, so called from its first word,—it is now universally admitted, was not the work of the great divine whose name it bears. Athanasius died A.D. 373; there is no trace of this creed, direct or indirect, for a hundred and seventy years afterwards, and then only in the Western Church. In the East, there is no reference to it before the eleventh century. That it does not verbally contain the *Homoousion*, the great Nicene watchword, is itself almost decisive against its Athanasian origin. Then, on the "Procession of the Holy Ghost," the great point of difference between the East and the West, it is distinctively Western, affirming the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son.

13. The Latin form of the Creed is evidently the original; in Greek, the versions vary considerably. Doctrinally, internal evidence shows it to belong to a period subsequent to the rise of the Nestorian and Eutychian theories on the Person of Christ. Several phrases are manifest quotations from Augustine¹ (*d.* 430). In style, the Creed is essentially Western—sententious, antithetic, dogmatic, but without subtlety. Luther regarded it as "the weightiest and the grandest production of the Church since the days of the Apostles."

14. The Authorship of the *Quicumque*, like its date, is absolutely unknown. Waterland ascribes it to Hilary of Arles (*d.* 449), others to Vincentius of Lerinum (*d.* cir. 450), many to Vigilius of Thapsus (*d.* 484). These dates, however, are probably too early. The earliest known MS. copy is in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and is attributed by all the best authorities to the eighth century. Higher than this date it is impossible to go with absolute certainty; although the Creed, as there given, is plainly a copy from some more or less remote

¹ See enumeration in Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, especially in King's handy and serviceable ed., also in the present

writer's *Angus Lectures on the Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*: Appendix.

original.¹ After the eighth century, copies abound; the *Quicumque* occurring in many Psalters and Service-books of the Western Church. The famous "Utrecht Psalter" is now believed to belong to the close of that century, or to the beginning of the ninth. In Waterland's *Critical History*, a brief Commentary on the Creed is given,² attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers in the latter part of the sixth century.³ Internal evidence, as acutely pointed out by the late Prof. Ommaney, favours this date, if it does not clearly prove the authorship of the Commentary; and, on the whole, we may attribute the *Quicumque* to the Western Church (in Gaul or N. Africa), about, or after, the middle of the sixth century.

15. Its use at first was rather as a Hymn or Canticle than as *Its Earliest* a Creed. In its earliest copies it has no title. It *Use.* was, however, known as *Fides Catholica*:⁴ and afterwards, in several documents, as *Fides S. Athanasii*, apparently meaning the faith that Athanasius *held*—not a document which he *wrote*. It does not seem to have been termed a "Creed" (*Symbolum*) until the twelfth century, after which time it is so entitled in most of the Breviaries. The ascription to Athanasius as its author was a natural result of the title given to it.⁵

16. The uncompromising severity of the minatory clauses has *The Minatory* been a very general obstacle to the reception of the *Clauses.* *Quicumque*, and has given rise to many discussions respecting its employment as a public Confession of Faith. In early times an anathema was the usual accompaniment of dogmatic statement, a right belief being regarded as essential, both to a Christian life and to final salvation. The modern spirit accepts these declarations as warnings against the *wilful* rejection of truth, and calls in the principles of Christian humility and charity to determine their application.

¹ See G. D. W. Ommaney, *Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, Oxford, 1897, p. 95.

² See Oxford ed. of Waterland's *Works* (1843), vol. iii., pp. 257, seq.

³ See pp. 174-176.

⁴ See the Commentary (of Venantius Fortunatus?): *Expositio Fidei Catholica Fortunati*.

⁵ Waterland, ch. viii.

Those who employ the Creed in their worship find in it a complete and succinct statement of Church doctrine regarding the Trinity, as opposed to Unitarianism and Tritheism—also respecting the Incarnation and Personality of Christ (“two Natures in one Person”), in opposition to Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian theories¹—with a declaration of the saving work of Christ, and of its final issues.

§ 8. THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY : SEMI-PELAGIANISM.

I. It has often been remarked, that as Arianism and its kindred doctrines were mainly of the East, so Pelagianism was of the West. While the subtleties of a metaphysical theosophy were congenial to the Oriental mind, the practical questions concerning sin and salvation more especially commended themselves to religious thinkers in Italy and Africa, Gaul and Spain. The ecclesiastical historians of the fifth and sixth centuries, Socrates, Theodoret and Evagrius, make no mention of Pelagianism; it had evidently not come within their purview. Pelagius instituted no schism, formed no churches: his doctrine remained a speculation of individual thinkers, or of groups within the Church, although at times the weapon of excommunication was freely employed against them. In fact, the question was and is perennial. The harmony between Divine sovereignty and human freedom, the limits of man’s ability and responsibility in religious matters, the hereditary nature of sinfulness, and the efficacy of Divine grace—these are topics on which the thoughts of men have been baffled through all the Christian ages, and of which the mystery is perhaps insoluble. Extreme dogmatic statements respecting them will always be made, and opposing interpretations of

¹ Against Apollinarianism, art. 32 : “Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo; ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens”; against Nestorianism, art. 34 : “Qui licet Deus sit et Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus”; against Eutychianism, art.

36 : “Unus omnino, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.” But it may be doubted whether there is any intentional reference to the teachings of Eutyches in this or other articles. The question is connected with that of date.

Scripture will be in vain called in to settle the never-ending dispute.

2. Pelagius, whose name has become identified with a system *Pelagius and Cœlestius.* in the maintenance of which others had an equal share, appears to have been a British monk: the name being a Grecised form of *Morgan*; "of the sea." He was a man of ascetic habits and blameless life, as well as of enthusiastic earnestness in promulgating his doctrines. He travelled far, visited the monasteries of Egypt, and settled at last in Rome. His main thesis was two-fold. He denied hereditary depravity, and maintained man's natural ability to obey God's commandments. Among his chief adherents was Cœlestius, a Roman lawyer, "Scotus" by birth, an Irishman. They began to be heard of in the churches about A.D. 404-5.

3. In 410, on the capture of Rome by the Goths, Pelagius *Pelagius and Augustine.* and Cœlestius fled to Carthage, where Augustine received them kindly, notwithstanding their special views on Divine sovereignty and grace. In fact, there is extant a short and brotherly letter from Augustine to Pelagius¹—very pleasant to read, in view of their subsequent dissensions. After a short stay, Pelagius passed over to Palestine, where Jerome, then established at Bethlehem, encountered him with characteristic roughness, denouncing his ambiguities and demanding some clear expression of his views. Cœlestius remained in Carthage, where *Synod at Carthage.* his teachings attracted so much attention that a Synod was convened (in 411 or 412) for their consideration. Aurelius, archbishop of the diocese, presided. Augustine was not present; as yet, indeed, he had not actively entered into the controversy. The doctrines charged as heretical were formulated by one of their chief opponents, Paulinus, a deacon from Milan, under six heads:—

"1. Adam would have died, even if he had not sinned.

¹ "Superscribed: To Pelagius, my lord greatly beloved, and brother greatly longed for, Augustine sends greeting in the Lord" (A.D. 413), Letter CXLVI., Dr. M. Dods' ed., vol. ii. 235.

Heads of Pelagian Belief. "2. The sin of Adam injured himself alone, and not all mankind.

"3. New-born children are in the same condition in which Adam was before the Fall.

"4. It is not true that because of the sin and death of Adam all mankind die; neither is it true that because of Christ's resurrection all men rise again.

"5. Infants, even if unbaptized, have eternal life.

"6. A man can be sinless, and keep God's commandments without difficulty, insomuch that even before the coming of Christ there were men who were entirely without sin; and the Law leads to eternal life as well as the Gospel."

The discussion that ensued, according to Augustine, who, though absent, gives some account of the Synod, related especially to the second and third heads. On both, Cœlestius seems to have urged that they were open questions, orthodox teachers of the Church having held his opinion. The theories of Traducianism, or the transmission of the soul from its parents, and of Creationism, or its immediate derivation from God, were brought into debate; but without any satisfactory result. Pelagius firmly held the latter doctrine; Augustine is not clear. On Infant Baptism Cœlestius was hard pressed. "If there is no birth-stain of sin, why need it be washed away?" Cœlestius could only answer, "As I maintain the necessity of baptism to an infant, what more do you ask?" The unprofitable controversy could at best be closed by the excommunication of the stubborn disputant, which was accordingly pronounced by the Synod. Cœlestius appealed to Innocent, bishop of Rome, but meanwhile repaired to Ephesus, where he sought and obtained ordination to the priesthood.

4. Augustine now began to discuss the subject in earnest. *Discussions in Palestine.* His work *On Nature and Grace* was written about this time; and, the further to counteract the teachings of Pelagius, he sent his pupil, the priest Orosius, to Palestine. A lively discussion ensued. John, bishop of Jerusalem, who

favoured the Pelagian view, convened a Synod at Bethlehem (A.D. 415), at which Pelagius on his entrance was asked whether he had really propounded the doctrine which Augustine opposed.

Synod at Bethlehem. His answer was, *What have I to do with Augustine?*

The assembled bishops were so scandalized by this disrespect to the great theologian, that they were for excommunicating Pelagius forthwith; but the president calmed them down, remarking, "I am Augustine"—that is, for the purposes of the hearing. The debate that followed was long and unsatisfactory. John, it is said, understood no Latin, and Orosius no Greek; while the interpreter, unused to theological disputations, translated them

Appeal to Innocent.

both imperfectly. At length it was agreed to refer the questions involved to Innocent of Rome, who thus became the recipient of a second appeal.

5. A few months later a Synod was held at Diospolis (Lydda),

Synod at Diospolis.

at the instance of Eulogius, bishop of Cæsarea, who had received from two Gallican bishops, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, a strong appeal against the Pelagian teachings. John of Jerusalem again attended, with thirteen other bishops. Pelagius appeared to answer for himself, and read to the Synod the friendly letter received by him from Augustine. Being subjected then to a long examination, Pelagius succeeded in producing a favourable impression,¹ and was declared, in the end, to be worthy of communion. Jerome, hearing of the result, was fiercely indignant—"that *miserable* synod!"

A Synod was immediately convened at Carthage, attended by

Synod at Carthage and Milevi.

sixty-eight bishops of proconsular Africa; followed by another at Milevi in Numidia, at which Augustine was present with fifty-eight Numidian prelates. The condemnation of Pelagius and Cœlestius was on both occasions repeated, and a strong letter was addressed to Innocent of Rome, who, in reply, confirmed the sentence of excommuni-

¹ See the points discussed, in Hefele, *Councils*, p. 455. The Gallican bishops who had raised the question were unfortunately absent from this Synod through illness.

cation already pronounced against them, and threatened their adherents with the same punishment. This was early in the year 417. Innocent died a few weeks afterwards, and was succeeded by Zosimus, under whom the controversy entered upon a new phase.

6. Zosimus, a Greek by birth, was too evidently bewildered by *Hesitations of* the conflict of opinion around him, and was pre-
Zosimus. vailed upon by Cœlestius to grant him another hearing.¹ The result was that he satisfied Zosimus of his orthodoxy, and the condemnation of Pelagius and Cœlestius was annulled. On receiving letters from the Roman bishop to this effect, the African bishops immediately assembled at Carthage, and addressed a strong protest to Zosimus, urging that he should hold to the sentence pronounced by Innocent "until Pelagius and Cœlestius should distinctly acknowledge that for every good action we need the help of the grace of God through Jesus Christ; and this not only to perceive what is right, but also to practise it, so that without it we can neither possess, think, speak, nor do anything good or holy." Zosimus, taken aback, replied that although he had already given the subject his mature consideration, he would transmit all the documents bearing upon it to the Africans for their common consultation. His letter reached Africa in April 418, and found preparations already made at Carthage for a great assembly of bishops, which was attended by about two hundred (May 1). This Synod, in a series of canons, uncompromisingly
Synod of condemned the Pelagian tenets, with the customary
Carthage 418. anathemas. Their canons for the most part followed those of 411, with some additions; among the rest repudiating the opinion that "saints offer the petition in the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' not for themselves, seeing that for them the petition is unnecessary, but for others." It is also noteworthy that on the critical point of Original Sin, these fathers called to their aid a more than doubtful exegesis, quoting Romans

¹ Cœlestius, after his ordination at Ephesus, had gone to Constantinople, but had now returned to Rome.

v. 12 as teaching that "death passed upon all men in Adam, 'in whom all sinned.'"¹

7. Zosimus gave way; and by a Circular Letter (*Epistola Questions of Tractoria*) solemnly confirmed the decrees of the Appeals to Synod. The whole transaction sheds most instructive light on the relation of the Roman prelate to his fellow-bishops and to the whole Church. It is plain that he did not presume upon his infallibility in questions of faith. Under pressure, he admitted his mistakes. And yet further—the Carthaginian Synod, leaving the special subject of Pelagianism, proceeded to deliver its judgment upon several points connected with heretics in general, and with Church regulation and order. Among other enactments it pronounced that "appeal against the decisions of a bishop may be made, with his consent, to the bishops of neighbouring churches;" significantly adding: "If they desire to make a further appeal, it must only be to their primates or to African councils. But whoever appeals to a *court beyond the sea* (meaning Rome) may not again be received into communion by any one in Africa." The blow was in the first instance directed against Zosimus, but no disclaimer of the Roman supremacy could well have been more explicit or remarkable. This position of the African churches was long maintained; and the subject of appeals to Rome was the occasion of many synods.

8. Zosimus died at the close of this year (Dec. 26, 418); his successor Boniface does not seem to have meddled with Pelagian questions. *Intervention of Honorius.* Coelestius had been exiled from Rome by decree of the Emperor Honorius (April 30, 418), who dispossessed eighteen bishops for refusing to subscribe the *Epistola Tractoria*. Among these, the most noted was Julian of Eclana (near Beneventum, in Southern Italy), who soon proved himself the ablest and most vehement opponent of the Augustinian theology. He especially urged against that theology its tendency

¹ Vulgate: *in quo omnes peccaverunt*. The true rendering of the Greek (ἐφ' ᾧ) is simply "because all

sinned." See R. V. But the doctrine, of course, does not depend upon this particular text.

to Manichæism, and denounced it as involving the doctrine of Traducianism, which, however, Augustine only partially held. Julian was protected by many, notably by Theodore of Mopsuestia,¹ but failed in obtaining restoration to communion. Augustine, at the time of his decease (430), was engaged in a treatise against him, left unfinished.²

9. Cœlestius, in the meantime, had been welcomed to Constantinople by the bishop Nestorius, the great *Cœlestius and Nestorius.* opponent of the *Theotokos*. It was not that there was any real connection between the two; probably some natural fellow-feeling between men accused of heresy drew them together. The story of the General Council at Ephesus (431) has already been told: Cœlestius was included in the condemnation of Nestorius, although without specification of his particular views. The controversy, as already noted, was specially Western: it was one to which the Greek bishops did not apply their minds; but finding Nestorius and Cœlestius to be comrades, they made one anathema serve for both.

Pelagius is heard of no more after about 420; he is said to have retired to Palestine after the decease of Honorius. Cœlestius is nowhere mentioned in history after the Ephesian council. Pelagianism, however, made considerable progress in Britain before the middle of the century: two Gallic bishops, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, being deputed by Pope Cœlestine to oppose the growing heresy, and winning, according to the chroniclers, a signal success.³

10. A "Moderate" party had meanwhile risen among the

¹ Theodore wrote a book, now lost, *Against those who say that man falls by Nature, and not by Sentence.*

² *Opus imperfectum contra Julianum.*

³ See Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 17, and the *Chronicles* of Geoffrey and Gildas. The account of the great conference at Verulam between the opposing theologians is possibly founded upon fact. Many miracles

are ascribed to these missionaries. The name of Germanus is lastingly identified with British history and legend, as in the story of the "Hallelujah Victory" over the Picts (430) at the place called after him Maes-Garmon, near Mold in Flintshire. Several churches in Wales are dedicated to him, generally under the form of "Armon" or "Harmon."

Pelagians. Cassian of Marseilles (Johannes Cassianus), pupil and friend of Chrysostom, and afterwards a great promoter of monachism in the West, wrote (about 420) on Grace and Freewill with so much vigour and brilliancy as to command attention, and win many disciples. He rejected the doctrine of arbitrary election, regarding the elective decree as conditioned by foreseen merit and perseverance; he also maintained that man in his natural state is not wholly lost—not morally “dead,” as Augustine held, but “diseased,” yet with a rallying will-power. Thus the grace of God, necessary to the impartation of a Divine life, comes in general to the already willing, as in the case of Zacchæus and the penitent thief. These views were zealously maintained by many who thought they saw in them a rational and Scriptural escape from Augustinian rigidity. Vincent, the presbyter-monk of Lerinum,¹

Vincent of Lerinum. appears to have adopted them with some reservation. The *Commonitorium* of this writer (“Book of Advice against the profane Novelties of all Heretics,” A.D. 434), although in bulk a small treatise, ranks among the most important contributions of the age to theology. Vincent lays down the celebrated test of truth, known from him as “the Vincentian rule”: *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*—“everywhere, always, and by all.” The rule, however difficult of application,² has been constantly employed as the mainstay of Catholic belief. Vincent himself directs it against Gnosticism, Apollinarianism, *Pelagianism*, with other errors, but makes no direct mention, for praise or condemnation, of Augustine. Vincent may have been averse to blame so great a doctor; yet his silence has been justly held to imply that, in his opinion, the special Augustinian teachings lacked the note of universality.

Faustus also, abbot of the monastery in the same island, after-

¹ Lerinum, an island nearly opposite Antibes on the French Riviera, now called *L'Île de St. Honorat*.

² Archbishop Magee caustically remarked of this rule, that it had to

his mind only two difficulties—“(1) it was impossible to prove it, and (2) it was impossible to prove anything by it.”—*Life*, vol. ii., p. 103.

wards bishop of Riez in Provence, argued strongly for the need of human co-operation with the Divine will, as well as against the doctrine of arbitrary predestination. The opinions thus expressed, and variously modified by other teachers, were classed together by the schoolmen of mediæval times as "semi-Pelagian." Synods held at Arles (472) and Lyons (475) under the influence of Faustus, sanctioned his views, as against those of Lucidus, a noted Gallican presbyter. The controversy continued for some time, Prosper of Aquitaine being the chief literary champion of Augustinianism, in prose and poetry.

11. Cassian died in 435, Faustus in 493, Prosper some time after 463. Cæsarius of Arles succeeded Prosper as *Synod at Orange, 529.* a zealous Augustinian, writing a treatise in opposition to the tenets of Faustus, and with the same title, "On Grace and Freewill."¹ Through the influence of Cæsarius, Pope Felix IV. summoned a Synod at Orange (*Arausio*), in Southern Gaul, attended by fourteen bishops and seven distinguished laymen, under the presidency of Liberius, prefect of the province, when the teachings of Augustine were set forth in a series of twenty-five sections (*capitula*), and in the main adopted. As this Synod was among the most important of the sixth century, and as it practically concluded for the ancient Church the whole of the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian controversies, a summary of its conclusions, agreed upon at the close, may here be given :—

"1. By the sin of Adam, freewill is so weakened that henceforth no one can love God in a suitable manner, *Anti-Pelagian conclusions.* believe in Him, or act for God's sake, unless grace has first come to him. Thus that glorious faith of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and other ancient Fathers, on account of which the Apostle praises them, was imparted to them, not through the natural goodness which was in the beginning given to Adam, but by the grace of God.

"2. All, however, are able, after they have received grace

¹ *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio,*

through baptism, with the co-operation of God, to accomplish what is necessary for the salvation of the soul.

“3. It is in no way our belief that some are predestinated by God to evil; rather, if there are any who believe a thing so evil, we with horror say anathema.

“4. In every good work, the beginning does not come from us; but God, without any previous merits on our side, inspires us with faith and love, so that we seek for baptism, and after baptism can, with His assistance, fulfil His will.”

These declarations were subscribed by the prefect, with the bishops and laymen present; and Pope Felix dying soon afterwards, they were solemnly confirmed by his successor, Boniface II. About the same time similar conclusions were adopted by the Synod of another district, convened at Valence.

12. A moderate Augustinianism now prevailed in the Church

—predestination without reprobation (see Article 3 above), and “*prævenient*” without “*irresistible*” grace. These conclusions were explicitly reaffirmed, at the close of the period, by Gregory the Great, and gave a tone to the mediæval anthropology. There were, however, always extremists in both directions, notably in Reformation times. In a modified form the ancient controversy has re-appeared in the rival systems of Jesuits and Jansenists, of Calvinists and Arminians. The abstract questions involved belong to the domain of Reason rather than to that of Faith, and illustrate what has been well said—that “no difficulty emerges in Theology which has not previously emerged in Philosophy.”

*The
Subsequent
History.*

§ 9. ORIGENISM: THE FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. Reference has already been made to the Origenistic controversy,¹ which at different times and in very various places distracted the churches during the three hundred years that succeeded the death of the great theologian.

¹ See p. 189.

In its earlier stages the debate had been chiefly carried on by Methodius of Tyre and Marcellus of Ancyra, in opposition to the tenets of Origen; Eusebius of Cæsarea and his friend Pamphilus defending, although with discrimination, the great theologian. During the long Arian controversy attention was called anew to Origen's teachings, and Athanasius himself pronounced them in the main orthodox, the views chiefly inculcated being speculations only, or suggestions for the thoughtful, and by no means intended as statements of doctrine. Basil of Cæsarea, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, followed on the same side, jointly editing a book entitled *Philocalia*, a volume of extracts from Origen's writings, bearing chiefly on the interpretation of Scripture. Gregory of Nyssa was also an independent adherent of Origen, with Hilary among the Latin Fathers, and for a time Jerome also, who regarded him as "the greatest Church teacher after the apostles."

2. At the same time there were disciples of Origen, like the *Exaggerations of Disciples.* Nitrian monks of Egypt, led by the "Tall Brothers," Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who brought his doctrines into disrepute by the slavish adoption of whatever he had taught, even of what he had thrown out merely by way of suggestion, and of his most unsupported speculations. It is always thus with great teachers. The zealous follower outruns the master, and pushes the doctrine to extremes. Opponents quote these extravagances as faithfully representing the system, and misconception on both sides makes the controversy endless. There can be no doubt that the voluminous writings of the great Alexandrian Father contained many a stumbling-block to the ordinary theological mind. Imbued with the spirit of Plato, he had endeavoured to conceive the Christian system in the light of an ideal philosophy; he allegorized where others discerned but the bare fact, and his speculations on the Divine essence, the spiritual world, and the union of the body and soul in man, were often daring beyond the bounds of revealed truth or of sober judgment. Prosaic minds were sure to misunderstand

him: if they followed him they exaggerated his teachings into absurdities; if they opposed him they, perhaps unconsciously, misconceived and misrepresented them. Heresy-hunters had their quarry ready to hand. And then, it was easy to fasten the reproach of Origenism upon any mystical or conjectural dealing with Divine things. The name of the Master was made to characterize rather tendencies than actual doctrines, and Origen himself would hardly have recognized some of the theories that brought his name into condemnation.

3. His great opponent during the latter part of the fourth century was Epiphanius of Salamis.¹ His Treatise *Epiphanius: on Heresies*, already noticed—the *Panarion* or “*Panarion*.” *his* “Medicine Chest” (A.D. 374)—included Origenism as the sixty-fourth of the eighty enumerated, and is narrow, uncritical, and perverse. In the zeal of Epiphanius against the doctrine, he travelled to Palestine in his old age, and persuaded Jerome to renounce it. John, the bishop of Jerusalem, afterwards noted for his share in the Pelagian controversy, was less amenable to the influence of Epiphanius, who thereupon required Jerome to break off communion with him. Rufinus of Aquileia, then *Rufinus.* living as a recluse on the Mount of Olives, with still greater persistency adhered to Origenism, having been in Egypt a pupil of Didymus, the blind but learned and famous head of the catechetical school in Alexandria (340—395). Hence arose an acrimonious controversy between Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Olivet, appeased for the time by the politic intervention of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, but never entirely healed.²

4. Returning to Italy, Rufinus translated several of Origen’s *Latin version* treatises into Latin—notably his work on *First of Origen.* *Principles* (cir. 215), one of his earliest productions.

¹ See p. 251.

² Jerome writes of Origen: “He has erred concerning the resurrection of the body; he has erred about the condition of souls, about the repent-

ance of the devil; and what is more than these, he has declared in his *Commentaries upon Isaiah* that the Son of God and the Holy Ghost are the Seraphim!”

Unfortunately, the view which Rufinus took of his duties as editor led him to omit or to tone down passages which he considered heretical, as well as to paraphrase or amplify the parts of the argument which appeared obscure or over-brief; so that, as the Greek original has mostly perished, we cannot be always sure that we have the real Origen. Rufinus also translated the *Apology for Origen* by Pamphilus, as completed by Eusebius. Of this translation only the first book out of the six composing the treatise is extant. The Greek original is wholly lost.

5. Theophilus now suddenly became a fierce opponent of Origenism, overawed, it is said, by an irruption of monks from the Egyptian monasteries, who accused him of impiety and threatened his life. The main question in dispute was whether a human form was to be attributed to God. This Origen had denied, his opponents being known as "anthropomorphists." A Synod held at Alexandria (399), followed by one at Jerusalem and another in Cyprus, severally anathematized Origenism, and affirmed the Anthropomorphic theory. The "Tall Brothers," with many of their adherents, were driven from their monasteries, and for a time found a refuge at Constantinople, where Chrysostom received them kindly, although he could not admit them to communion, being excommunicated persons. Theophilus here found an occasion for giving effect to his old jealousy;¹ and, the ruin of Chrysostom having been effected through the mission of Epiphanius,² the Alexandrian bishop cared no more for Origenism! Epiphanius, it is pleasant to relate, saw reason to modify his views about Chrysostom and his followers before departing for his homeward voyage, in the course of which he died.

6. While these transactions were proceeding in the East, the Roman Church was instigated by Jerome and his friends to raise the Origenist question; and Pope Anastasius (399) summoned Rufinus to appear before his tribunal. Rufinus excused himself, but sent a written defence. Anastasius

¹ See p. 257.

² Socrates, *Ecl. Hist.*, vi. 17.

seems to have known nothing of this subject; but on some presumably heretical extracts from Origen's works being laid before him, he pronounced a sentence of condemnation, in which he implicitly included Rufinus. One result of this sentence was that the Emperor Honorius, who was fond of intervening in theological strife, issued an edict (400) forbidding the works of Origen to be read.

The controversy was now calmed down. Both Origenists and anti-Origenists desisted from attacking their opponents, whatever opinions they might themselves hold. Only a glimpse here and there reveals that the subject continued to occupy men's thoughts. Thus, Pelagius at Diospolis (415) disclaimed the doctrine of final restoration, exclaiming, "If any man believe this, he is an Origenist!" Leo the Great (cir. 450) incidentally states that in *Leo I. and Origenism.* his opinion Origen had been justly condemned for teaching the pre-existence of the soul. A synod under Pope Gelasius (494), in preparing an Index of prohibited books, permitted certain writings of Origen to be read, as being authorized by Jerome. In the General Council at Chalcedon (451¹) the subject of Origenism does not appear even to have been mentioned.

7. But the question was revived, in all its intensity, at Constantinople in the next century. The documents that have come down to us are of special value, showing as they do what, in the general estimation of the Church's teachers, the peculiar tenets of the Origenists really were. It was in the Palestinian monasteries that the contest began, the first result being an appeal to the Emperor Justinian. Theodore Askidas, afterwards an active promoter of the condemnation of the *Tria Capitula*,² archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, with a monk named Domitian, represented the Origenist side, and Ephraim, bishop of Antioch, was spokesman of their opponents. Justinian, having taken counsel with the Roman legate Pelagius (afterwards

¹ See p. 298.² See p. 303.

pope), accordingly put forth in 538 a summary of the opinions condemned, in the form of a letter to Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople. A much more elaborate statement of Origen's presumed beliefs was issued by a synod at Constantinople five years afterwards: but the following will suffice:—

“1. Whoever says or thinks that human souls pre-existed: *i. e.* that they had previously been spirits or holy powers; but that, satiated with the vision of God, they had turned to evil, and in this way the Divine love in them had grown cold, and they had therefore become souls and had been condemned to punishment in bodies, shall be anathema.

“2. If any one says or thinks that the soul of the Lord pre-existed and was united with God the Word before the Incarnation, and conception of the Virgin, let him be anathema.

“3. If any one says or thinks that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was first formed in the womb of the Holy Virgin, and that afterwards there was united with it God the Word and the pre-existing soul, let him be anathema.

“4. If any one says or thinks that the Word of God became like to all heavenly orders, that for the cherubim He was a cherub, for the seraphim a seraph; in short, like all superior powers, let him be anathema.

“5. If any one says or thinks that at the Resurrection human bodies will rise in spherical form, and unlike our present form, let him be anathema.

“6. If any one says that the heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters that are above the heavens, have souls, and are reasonable beings, let him be anathema.

“7. If any one says or thinks that Christ the Lord in a future time will be crucified for demons as He was for men, let him be anathema.

“8. If any one says or thinks that the power of God is limited, and that He created as much as He was able to compass, let him be anathema.

*Condemnation
by Justinian
of Ten
Articles.*

“9. If any one says or thinks that the punishment of demons and of impious men is only temporary, and will one day have an end, and that a restoration (*ἀποκατάστασις*) will take place, let him be anathema.

“10. Anathema to Origen and to every one who teaches and maintains the like doctrine.”

8. Whether this schedule of Imperial anathemas, with the fifteen promulgated in 543, was endorsed by the Fifth General Council in 553, is a question much debated. The only direct mention of Origenism in the records of that Council is in the Acts of the eighth and last Session (XI).

Origenism and the Fifth General Council. “If any one does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches *and Origen* . . . let him be anathema.” It has been urged by many that the reference to Origen is an interpolation, but the argument in support of this contention seems insufficient. The point is one which we may well be content to leave in uncertainty, as nothing depends upon it, either way. Practically, the controversy was over; but the last glimpse of the Origenists in Palestine shows them divided against themselves. The *Protoktista* *the System.* held that the soul of Christ existed before the Incarnation, and was itself divine; hence they were called by their opponents *Tetraditæ*, as holding four persons in the Godhead. The *Isochristi* held that in the end all souls would become like Christ's. But such speculations have had no real or lasting effect upon Christian thought.

§ 10. THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY GHOST: EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

1. The controversy on the Procession of the Holy Spirit was initiated in the period now under review, and claims *Language of the Creeds.* a brief notice here, especially as it lay at the root of the theological division between the Eastern and Western Churches. In the Apostles' Creed the simple declaration is, “I believe

in the Holy Ghost": in the Constantinopolitan formula¹ it is added, "who proceedeth from the Father." Some of the chief Latin writers, as Ambrose, Augustine and Hilary, taught that the Procession (or Going-forth, ἐκπόρευσις) was from the Father and the Son.² This is expressed in the *Quicumque* (14), "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." A provincial synod held at Toledo A.D. 447, adopted the phrase, "a Patre Filioque procedens," on the authority of the Roman bishop Leo the Great, in a letter to Turribius, bishop of Asturica in Northern Spain.³ But no attempt seems to have been made to add the clause to the accepted Creeds of the Church until the Third Synod of Toledo,

Reccared. A.D. 589. Reccared, king of the Visigothic conquerors of Spain, had renounced the Arian belief for the orthodox faith, and to signalize his conversion had convened the bishops of the whole nation to a great assembly in that city. Attending in person, he declared his adhesion to the creeds of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, the phrase regarding the Holy Spirit reading, *ex Patre et Filio procedentem*. Twenty-three anathemas were added, the third being, "If any one does not believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is co-eternal with and like unto the Father and the Son, let him be anathema."

2. It will be observed that the doctrine thus enunciated was *The Filioque*. by no means new. The novelty was, its inclusion in the Church's Creed. And this was long resisted, even in the West. Even so late as the ninth century, the Roman bishop Leo III., approving the doctrine, disapproved its introduction into the Creed. "He reckoned the doctrine in question among mysteries difficult to be investigated, and which are of greater importance in a speculative point of view than in the aspect of a living faith."⁴ But the formula held its place in the Latin Church;

¹ See p. 290.

² See the passages in Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. VIII., pp. 492, 493, notes (Bohn's edn.).

³ Leo's words are, *Qui de Utroque processit*.

⁴ Hagenbach, *Hist. Doct.*, p. 169.

and in 867, in a Council of Eastern bishops convened by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the pope was solemnly
Schism
between East
and West. excommunicated, the Western Church being charged with several grave departures from the Faith, especially on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as shown in their corruption of the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed.¹ From this time the breach became irreparable, being only widened by well-meant attempts at compromise.²

¹ The word used by Photius is, *καινολογήσαντες*, "propounding a novelty."

² Thus, at one stage in the controversy, it was proposed to adopt the phrase, "*procedens ex Patre per Filium*." Were the present a theological treatise, it might be remarked that "proceedeth" in John xv. 26

(*ἐκπορεύεται*), in the words of Bishop Westcott, "may in itself either describe proceeding *from a source*, or proceeding *on a mission*"; and that "the use of the preposition (*παρά*, not *ἐκ*) seems to show decisively that the reference is to the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit, and not to the eternal Procession."

CHAPTER V.

LOCAL CONTROVERSIES.

§ I. THE DONATIST SCHISM.

1. **I**N addition to the great theological controversies sketched in preceding chapters, there were others, contemporaneous with them—mainly local in their character, *Ecclesiastical Controversies.* but yet of service to the whole Church by illustrating principles of general application. Some of these discussions related to doctrine, but more of them to ecclesiastical usages and regulations, on which they shed most instructive light. In considering the most notable among them, it is important to keep in mind the caution already given¹—that we hear of the opponents of established order mainly through their enemies, and that what is stigmatized as “heresy,” even by Church Councils, may have been but the endeavour, however blind and wayward in some of its aspects, after a more consistent and spiritual Christianity. The history too plainly shows how far the Church had in many respects departed from the purity and simplicity of the primitive faith.

2. First in time, as in importance, was the DONATIST SCHISM of North Africa. This was the outcome of a persecuting age, although the principles involved were not at first readily seen, and the controversy was not at its height until long afterwards. In many respects it resembled the Novatianist discussions of the third century.² Its immediate occasion was the charge brought against Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, at the beginning of the fourth century, of having

¹ See p. 168.

² See p. 179.

practised evasion in regard to the surrender of the sacred books to Diocletian's inquisitors. The bishop had, it was alleged, substituted some heretical writings, allowing himself to be regarded as a *traditor* when he was only a deceiver. Moreover, he had discountenanced as fanatical the prevalent zeal for martyrdom, aggravating by his disapproval the sufferings of Christian confessors. In the lifetime of Mensurius, no action was taken on these charges, but on the appointment of his successor, Cæcilian, his archdeacon and sworn friend, the smouldering flame broke out. Cæcilian was accused of having himself been a *traditor*; his ordination, it was said, was hurried and irregular—Felix of Aptunga, himself a suspected *traditor*, having conducted it without the presence of other bishops. A wealthy lady, Lucilla, who had been reprov'd by Mensurius for superstitious practices, fomented the opposition; and one Majorinus, a member of her household, was elected bishop by the recusants. The rival

Appeals to Constantine. parties appealed to the newly-appointed emperor Constantine, who by advice of Melchiades, bishop of Rome, and three other prelates, confirmed the appointment of Cæcilian (A.D. 313). This, it may be noticed, was the first instance of imperial intervention in Church disputes. A synod of thirty-three bishops met at Arles in the following year, Silvester having succeeded Melchiades, and confirmed the previous decision, resolving also against the repetition of baptism, in opposition to the decision of Cyprian and the Carthaginian Synod of 256,¹ affirming the validity of that sacrament, by whomsoever administered, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

3. Majorinus died in 315, and was succeeded by Donatus² "the Great," as his admiring followers called him, *Principles of Donatism.* from whom the dissident community received its name ("pars Donati"). Constantine in vain essayed conciliatory measures, enjoining forbearance on Cæcilian. This Donatus

¹ See p. 183.

² There was another Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ, prominent in

the earlier stage of the conflict. This has occasionally led to some confusion.

would not brook. "What have we to do," he replied to the Emperor, "with your fool of a bishop?" The fierce African temperament showed itself both in words and in deeds.

From Carthage the division spread to other towns and districts; and notwithstanding adverse decrees of synods, and the general poverty of the Donatists, the sect so largely increased that in fifteen years (A.D. 330) they held a synod of their own, attended by two hundred and seventy bishops. Their position was uncompromising. Passing from the personal question which had directed their early movements, they formulated their principles in a two-fold form: first, that the true Church must be kept pure from all unworthy membership—for instance, that no *trahitor* of past days should be suffered to hold office in the Christian society; and secondly, that the validity of Christian rites depended on the personal character of the administrator—for, they asked, "How can a man who has not grace impart it to others?" Hence they rebaptized all who came to them from the dominant Church.

4. Constans, on succeeding Constantine as Emperor of the West, at first attempted to deal sternly with the *Efforts at repression by Constans.* separatists, commanding them to return to the Catholic communion; and afterwards repeatedly endeavoured to conciliate them by the offer of liberal gifts. But these were indignantly refused. To the imperial commissioner, who held out to them the alternative of receiving these gifts, or being expelled from their churches, Donatus replied, "*What have we to do with the Emperor?*" enunciating thus a larger principle than he himself probably realized. Force was now employed for their dispossession. Several were slain in stubborn resistance, and their graves became pulpits from which to exhort to constancy.

Unhappily, on the fringe of the Donatist community, as too often happens when authority is defied, there arose a motley fanatic band, with a large mingling of desperadoes, who, under *The Circumcellions.* the name of *circumcellions* (from *cella*, "cottage"), traversed the country districts, carrying terror everywhere—arousing slaves against their masters, debtors against their

creditors, slaying and being slain with equal fanatical frenzy. For a time the bloodshed was frightful; nor did the representatives of law and order always discriminate between the Donatist teachers and these violent perverters of their doctrines. Donatus himself was banished, and died in exile.

5. On the accession of Julian (361) the Donatists were permitted to return to their posts, and exultingly re-
Julian restores the Donatists. entered their churches. Regarding the very buildings and furniture as desecrated by their late occupants, they scraped the floors, washed the walls, flung away the vessels of the sanctuary, tore the vestments in pieces, and cast the very bread and wine upon the ground outside. So, at least, their opponents relate. What is certain is, that they rebaptized those who had meantime become members of the rival communions, and reordained their clergy. For a while they were let alone, but Gratian, in 378, issued an edict, again depriving them of their churches. This does not seem to have been generally carried out where they maintained order and quietness in their proceedings; and for a long time the "separatist" and "catholic" churches in North Africa existed side by side, although with occasional vehement controversies, and frequent interference of the secular arm.

Parmenian, who succeeded Donatus as bishop of the sect in
Parmenian and Optatus. Carthage, was an able, fair-minded man, under whose administration the conflict was carried on—for the most part, with sober reasoning. In an elaborate work, now lost, he argued powerfully for the purity of the Church from the Donatist point of view. A reply, still extant, from which the main points of Parmenian's treatise may be gathered, was written by Optatus, bishop of Milevi, in Numidia. The points discussed were mainly the two before mentioned: Optatus maintaining that the efficacy of Christian ordinances was independent of the character of the administrator or recipient; and that the Church—by which he meant the visible Church—consists of good and bad alike, between whom it is not for us to discriminate. The question is, indeed, perennial; how far a Church, by the tolerance

of unworthy members, loses the attributes of purity and catholicity.

Augustine writes against Donatism. The point was afterwards taken up by Augustine, and copiously argued out—in treatises, letters, sermons, and even poetry.¹ “The baptism we administer,” he maintains, “is not ours, but Christ’s. The administrator is but the instrument: his personal character does not affect the reality of the gift.” It is in the great Father’s writings that the definite idea of One Catholic (visible) Church first comes out in full prominence. “The field is the world;” “Let both (wheat and ‘tares’) grow together till the harvest;” and “the net gathered of every kind—both bad and good;” are among the texts that Augustine quotes. And to the Donatists, claiming to be the one true and incorrupt Church, he says, “How can you in Africa, a little corner of the empire, claim to be the Church Universal?” Their effrontery, in setting themselves up against the rest of the Christian world, was held at once to invalidate their claim.

6. Meanwhile the dissensions that broke out among the Donatists themselves greatly enfeebled their moral influence. On the death of Parmenian (392) his successor Pirmian, by the excommunication of a deacon, Maximinian, rendered himself obnoxious to a party in the sect, who, in a synod of Donatist bishops, deposed him and elected Maximinian in his place. Nothing daunted, Pirmian convened a larger synod, and deposed Maximinian. For a time there were thus two Donatist communities in Carthage, side by side. Other disputes arose, leading to successive separations, notably that which made the “Rogatians” for awhile a distinct sect, although consisting of only ten or eleven congregations.

One man, Tychonius, on the Donatist side, stands out in these

¹ *Homines multum superbi, qui justos se dicunt esse
Sic fecerunt scissuram, et altare contra altare
Diabolo se tradiderunt cum pugnant de traditione,
Et crimen quod commiserunt in alios volunt transferre, etc., etc.*

The reader will probably have had enough! In the latter couplet, Augustine hints that the Donatists themselves had been *traditores*.

discussions as an advocate of the belief that "the Body of Christ *Tychonius*. is not necessarily one outward visible organization." Donatists repudiated him because he did not unchurch the Catholics; Catholics would have none of him, because he did not unchurch the Donatists. But perhaps he better understood than either what the Master meant by saying, "There shall be one flock (not 'one fold') and one Shepherd."

7. In the year 411, at the instance of the Emperor Honorius, *Conference at* a memorable three days' conference was held at *Carthage, 411*. Carthage, attended by two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops, and two hundred and seventy of their opponents. Marcellinus, the imperial commissioner, presided. Seven speakers were chosen on each side, the foremost being Augustine for the Catholics, and Petilian, Donatist bishop of Circa, for the Donatists. Marcellinus declared the Donatists vanquished; and the result of the conference was a revival of persecution. Augustine himself, who had hitherto appeared as tolerant and just, now advocated coercive measures, misapplying the text, "Compel them to come in," and asserting that punishment in their case was not martyrdom.¹ Donatists were forbidden by imperial edict to hold any religious assembly, and were required to hand over their churches to the dominant party. In the next year Honorius issued a still more stringent enactment, imposing heavy fines on those who remained contumacious, and banishing their bishops. In 414 he further ordered that Donatists should be deprived of all civil rights, and forbade them, on pain of death, to assemble for worship. Against this last clause of the Imperial decree, it is satisfactory to record that Augustine protested.

The movement now died out. In a very few years, the invasion *Extinction of* of the Arian Goths extinguished all these differences; *Donatism*. and only a feeble congregation here and there survived up to the sixth century, to tell of a controversy which once had rent the African Churches asunder.

¹ "Non pœna sed causa quæ facit venient maxim for persecutors in every martyrem."—*Epist.* xciii. A con- age.

§ 2. PRISCILLIANISM.¹

1. Forms of Manichæism still attracted speculative minds. About the middle of the fourth century, travellers from the East into Spain made many converts to the doctrine; among whom *Priscillian*, was Priscillian, a wealthy layman, cultured and eloquent. He embraced the mystic tenets with ardour, formed them into a system of his own, and gained many adherents, whom he organized into a society.

To give an intelligible account of a system so alien from modern thought as that of Priscillian is not easy, especially since the chief material is supplied by the strictures of opponents, and the formulated anathemas of hostile synods. Broadly speaking, Priscillianism combined several features of Gnostic and Manichæan speculation. The Trinity was regarded as one of manifestation only; the souls of men and the angels being emanations from the Divine substance. Chaos and Darkness were eternal, and from them proceeded evil spirits and matter generally. Hence the body was essentially evil, its union with the soul being a punishment for pre-natal sin; matrimony was a degradation, the eating of flesh unlawful, asceticism the ground and condition of all virtue. The human nature of Christ was an illusion; hence Christmas and Sundays were to be observed with fasting. Scripture was to be interpreted allegorically. The planets and the signs of the Zodiac were the rulers of human life. Other articles of belief are alleged against the sect, in which Oriental Theosophy, baldly translated into Western forms of speech, appears doubly inexplicable. Nevertheless, the doctrine spread rapidly through Spain and Aquitaine.

2. When Priscillian began to number bishops among his converts, the ecclesiastical authorities took the alarm, and an animated controversy broke out in Southern Spain. Two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, espoused the

¹ To be distinguished from the doctrines of Priscilla the Montanist, p. 178.

cause of Priscillian; Hyginus, bishop of Cordova, and Idatius of Emerita (Merida) took the lead in opposition. A numerous-attended synod at Cæsar-Augusta (Saragossa) condemned the Priscillianists in their absence, and excommunicated the two bishops, with Priscillian himself, and Helpidius, who had been his helper. It is observable that the canons of this synod are mainly directed against "conventicles"—unauthorized associations, and religious meetings held without Church sanction. "No one," it was enacted, "shall on his own authority declare himself a teacher." Hyginus, who had first called attention to the Priscillianist doctrines, was judged to have been unduly lax in his protest, and was himself excommunicated! Another bishop, Ithacius, of Ossonaba, eagerly joined Idatius in the work of persecution.

3. The defiant reply of the Priscillianist party was to consecrate Priscillian bishop of Avila, by the hands of his two episcopal adherents. His opponents now appealed to the secular authority. The Emperor Gratian confirmed the Saragossan decrees, ordered the Priscillianists to be excluded from the churches, and, if persisting in contumacy, to be driven into exile. Priscillian, with his two brother-bishops, hereupon undertook a journey into Italy, to solicit the intervention of Ambrose of Milan and Damasus of Rome. The incidents of their long journey are picturesquely related by the historian Sulpicius Severus. At Bordeaux they gained the enthusiastic adherence of Euchrocia, a wealthy widow, who accompanied them to Italy. On arriving in Rome, they were refused an audience by Damasus. In the midst of their futile endeavours, Salvianus died. Priscillian, with Instantius, proceeded to Milan, where Ambrose pronounced against them. Still they were not altogether disheartened, and, by the influence, it is said, of Priscillian's wealth, they so gained over the court officials that Gratian was induced to rescind his adverse decree.

4. The Priscillianists, restored to their sees and churches, now became the attacking party; and the movement for a time was

popular. Ithacius fled to Treves, where the prefect of Gaul warmly espoused his cause. Further proceedings were initiated on both sides, when Gratian was slain near Lyons in a military revolt, Clemens Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, being elevated to the throne of the West. This event was fatal to Priscillianist hopes. Maximus had recently professed the Christian faith, and was anxious to gain favour with the orthodox. At the instigation of Ithacius, he convened a synod at Bordeaux, which first dealt with Instantius, declaring his bishopric vacant. Priscillian took the alarm, and prayed permission from the Emperor to be heard in self-defence. The appeal was allowed, and the rival parties were summoned before Maximus at Treves. The venerable prelate, Martin of Tours, now appeared upon the scene. Some episcopal duty had called him to visit Treves, where he found these proceedings pending, and vigorously protested against them. On the one hand, he implored Ithacius not to bring an accusation of heresy before a secular court; and on the other, he pleaded with the Emperor to disallow all punishment, beyond ecclesiastical censure, for heterodox teaching. In reply to these representations, Maximus promised that, whatever the issue of the trial, no blood should be shed—a pledge which he did not keep. Ithacius and his supporters pressed their charges, cunningly interweaving accusations of immorality and of magical practices with the imputation of heresy. Priscillian was condemned and executed, with four of his followers, Felicissimus and Armenius, presbyters, Latronianus, an accomplished poet, and Euchrocia, the widow from Bordeaux. The deposed bishop, Instantius, was banished for life to the desolate Scilly Islands.

5. Such was the first instance of the infliction of death for heresy.¹ Events had been for some time tending to this atrocious

¹ The severe measures taken against the Donatists (see p. 331) were based on quite different grounds. The Donatists were regarded as schismatics, never as heretics.

consummation. The Emperor Theodosius had issued stern enactments against Arianism, threatening banishment, confiscation, imprisonment, and capital punishment as the last resort. But these laws had been mercifully interpreted; and the infamy of being the first professedly Christian ruler to send heretics to the scaffold was reserved for Clemens Maximus, prompted by the bishop Ithacius. The place was Treves, the year 385. Martin, who at the time was absent on his episcopal duties at Tours, again sternly protested, refusing communion with those who had abetted the persecution. It is to the honour of the Roman bishop Siricius that he distinctly approved this refusal, many of the Western prelates concurring. On a second visit to Treves, however, two years afterwards, Martin was induced, though reluctantly, to adopt a more tolerant policy, as a condition of the Emperor's cessation from further proceedings, already initiated against the Priscillianists.¹

The followers of Priscillian honoured him as a martyr, and sufficient reason was soon found for deposing the arch-persecutor, Ithacius, from his see. The sect continued in its separation from the general Christian community for a generation longer; the latest references to it, as an existing heretical body, being in the Acts of the Toledo Synod of 447, where the Priscillianist doctrines are condemned, in seventeen articles, reaffirmed in a more emphatic form by a synod held at Braga in Galicia, 563.

End of Priscillianism.

¹ It is said that on his return home afterwards, Martin met an angel in a wood, and submitted the case to him. The angel replied that under the circumstances he had done rightly, but that he must be more strict in future.

The biography of Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, abounding in marvel and miracle, states that from this time the saint's thaumaturgic power sensibly decreased.

§ 3. REACTIONS: AËRIUS, JOVINIAN, VIGILANTIUS.

1. The growing corruptions of the Church are instructively marked by a succession of protests made at all risks by indignant would-be reformers. The names of these brave men have indeed for the most part perished, engulfed in the rising tide of ceremonialism and superstition. A few, however, remain, preserved by opponents,¹ who, amid exaggeration and misrepresentations, give unconscious testimony to the growth of error in the Christian community, as well as to the insight and zeal of those who ineffectually endeavoured to arrest the downward course.

2. One of the earliest of these protesters was Aërius, a presbyter of Sebasteia in Pontus. Epiphanius enumerates his heresies in the seventy-fifth chapter of the *Panarion*. Aërius, it appears, maintained in the first place that in apostolic times there was no distinction between bishops and presbyters;² secondly, that prayers and offerings for the dead were useless and misleading; thirdly, that the imposition of stated fasts was an encroachment upon Christian freedom; and lastly, that the observance of Easter, as practised by the Armenian churches (apparently by the slaying of a lamb and the Paschal meal), was an unjustifiable return to Judaism. For these attacks upon prevailing Church rule and order, Aërius was excommunicated with his followers; and for a time the Aërians formed a separate sect, with community of goods. Driven from the churches, they were compelled to worship in the fields or on mountain sides; "in caves and dens of the earth." Gradually, proscribed on all sides, the sect died away. They had come into the world too soon.

It may be true, as alleged, that one cause of the secession had been the appointment of Eustathius to the bishopric of Sebasteia, for which Aërius also had been a candidate. Be this as it may, it was for "heresies" such as the above-mentioned that he was cast

¹ Compare p. 168.

² "One order," he says, "one honour, one dignity" (*μία τάξις, μία τιμή, ἓν ἀξίωμα*).

out by the churches of Pontus, and held up by Epiphanius to the odium of succeeding ages.

3. Jovinian, an Italian monk in the days of Siricius, was bold *Jovinian.* enough (about 388) to attack the popular doctrine respecting virginity and fasting. He taught that married life was as holy a state as celibacy, and that it was as well-pleasing to God to eat one's food with thankfulness as to fast. Connected with these views was the denial of Mary's perpetual virginity, a "developed" doctrine generally held by the Church of the fourth century.¹ Jovinian also maintained a doctrine of "final perseverance"—"that all who with full faith were born again in baptism could not be overcome by the devil"—and taught the equality of rewards in future blessedness. With all this, he is said to have exchanged his former asceticism for a luxurious life, and to have persuaded several consecrated virgins to enter the marriage state. "What!" he said, "would you be better than Sarah, Hannah, Susanna, and many other holy women in the Bible?"

4. At the instigation of his chief opponent, one Pammachius, a synod was called by Siricius (about 390), which *Condemned by Synod and Emperor.* denounced the teachings of Jovinian, and excommunicated him with his adherents. Jovinian appealed to the Emperor Theodosius; but Ambrose of Milan, to whom the matter was referred, confirmed the Roman condemnation.

The only other notice that we have of Jovinian represents him as living an obscure country life—as Jerome puts it—"among pigs and peasants."

5. Another name distinguished in the struggle against error *Vigilantius,* and superstition is that of Vigilantius, a Spanish *cir. 400.* presbyter, and for a time a guest and companion

¹ Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii.) mentions it doubtfully—"as some say." Tertullian evidently did not hold it. Jerome became its vehe-

ment champion (*Contra Helvidium*). Helvidius was a Roman layman, contemporary with Jovinian.

of Jerome at Bethlehem. In Palestine, the acute and brilliant Spaniard took note of many things; and, returning home, he wrote a treatise, known to us only through Jerome's quotations, against the practices which were fast gaining ground, exposing them with merciless logic and not a little sarcasm. Among these practices he enumerates the honour paid to martyrs and their *Usages* *condemned*, relics, ridiculing the miracles said to be wrought at their tombs; with the customs of burning candles in the day-time in their honour—"copies," he remarks, "from the superstition of the Pagans." He denied the efficacy of invocations to departed saints, condemned the numerous fasts enjoined upon the faithful, and maintained that both clerical celibacy and monastic retirement were cowardly evasions of responsibility. He also sharply criticized the habit of sending alms to Jerusalem, which, he argued, would be better spent in relieving the destitute nearer home.

6. The book of Vigilantius was sent to Jerome, who wrote *Reply of* a reply, or rather a philippic, characterized by even *Jerome.* more than his usual acrimony.¹ He pushes the argument of his former friend to absurd conclusions. If martyrs are not to be honoured, they ought never to have become martyrs! If clergy are to be allowed to marry, bishops should refuse ordination until the condition be fulfilled! As to the lighting of candles in the day-time, it is only an act of simple piety; and as to the monastic life, is it not better to run away from the battle than to stay to be beaten? Then, in regard to the sending of alms to Jerusalem, did not the Apostle Paul himself enjoin it?—and so on. But the arguments of Jerome, such as they are, soon yield to invective. "There have been," he writes, "monsters on earth, centaurs, sirens, leviathans, behemoths. Gaul alone has bred no monsters, but has abounded in brave and noble men.

¹ See the letter in Canon Gilly's *Vigilantius and his Times*, 1844. The learned canon connects the teaching of Vigilantius with that

of Claude of Turin 400 years afterwards, and with the testimony of the Vaudois reformers in the twelfth century.

Then, on a sudden, there has arisen one Vigilantius, who should rather be called Dormitantius, contending in an impure spirit against the Spirit of Christ!" Vigilantius was the son of an innkeeper at Calagurris, and Jerome repeatedly harps upon this fact. "Vigilantius," he says, "adulterates the pure wine;" he "philosophizes in his cups;" he fears lest "if sobriety and fasting should gain ground, there would be no more profit for the taverns."

Notwithstanding such fulminations, Vigilantius still remained a presbyter in the Spanish Church, in the diocese of Barcelona. Probably he found it best, after delivering his testimony, to retire into silence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH AT THE END OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

§ I. CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE.

1. **T**HE first great age of the Christian Church was closed by the pontificate of Gregory, surnamed the Great; fitly called “the last of the Fathers.” “John the Faster” (*Jejunator*), patriarch of Constantinople, and antagonist of Gregory in the matter of supremacy, had died not long before; and his successors, mostly the creatures of the imperial court, have left no name in history. The Empire was in the hands of the wretched usurper Phocas,¹ who endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Rome by declaring the supremacy of the Pope (606), as well as by afterwards handing over the Pantheon of Agrippa to Boniface IV. (a successor of Gregory) for Christian uses; although indeed its dedication to the Virgin in place of Cybele, “mother of the gods,” was too much in harmony with the old idolatry.

It may be noted that the Column of Phocas, one of the most conspicuous ornaments of the Roman Forum, was probably taken from an earlier building, and re-erected where it stands by Smaragdus, Exarch of Ravenna, who added the disgracefully servile inscription to the usurper. More servile still, and less excusable, is the language of Pope Gregory in his *Letters concerning Phocas*.²

2. The northern tribes which had successfully overrun the Western Empire had either been subdued or had abandoned their “Arian” semi-heathenism³ for the profession of the Christian faith. The baptism of Clovis (496) had

¹ See p. 266.

² See Gibbon, ch. xlvi, note 48.

³ See p. 224.

signified the adhesion of the Franks ; the Burgundians, renouncing Arianism in 517, but afterwards relapsing, were overcome by the Franks in 534, when they were finally incorporated in the Frankish Empire. The Vandals in North Africa were subdued by Belisarius, the heroic general of Justinian's armies, in 534, and the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) of Italy and Sicily in 543. The Lombards of Northern Italy had largely embraced the Nicene faith in 590, and their separate kingdom was to endure until 774, when it fell under the power of the Franks. In Spain the Visigoths (Western Goths) continued Arian until their king Reccared avowed his conversion in 589 ; and they remained nominally a Catholic people until subdued by the Saracenic hordes in 711. Thus at the end of the sixth century the whole of Western Europe had become professedly orthodox. The mission of Augustin to the Saxons has already been related,¹ and in 602 the archbishopric of Canterbury was constituted, Augustin being the first occupant of the see.

3. Outlying regions of the Empire were gradually reached ; *Outlying Regions.* among the latest being those inhabited by tribes on the Euxine, in Colchis, the Caucasus, and along the northern shore ; with—hardest of all to win—the fierce and warlike Heruli on the Lower Danube. For a time this tribe had penetrated further west ; and Odoacer the Herulian held the throne of Italy (from 476) until overthrown by the Ostrogoths under Theodoric. Among the principal sects, offshoots from the main body of the Church, the Nestorians not only maintained their ground in Syria and Persia,² but diffused their doctrines as far as Arabia, India and the Farther East. Their school at Nisibis in Mesopotamia was distinguished above all other theological institutions of the sixth century. The Monophysites continued to wield great influence in Alexandria, from which place they spread their doctrines through Arabia, Nubia and Abyssinia. They were also strong in Armenia. One Jacobus Baradæus, the “Beggard Monk,” afterwards bishop of Edessa (541), had espoused the opinions of

¹ See p. 225.

² See p. 295.

Eutyches with so much zeal that the Monophysites received the name of Jacobites, by which they are still known.

4. As a general rule, it may be stated that the descendants of the northern tribes, so soon as they accepted the orthodox doctrine, mingled, with more or less of friction, with the original inhabitants of the countries where they had settled. Their credulity and ignorance, however, caused a too ready reception of the superstitions which had been engrafted on the Christian doctrine, and the consequence was a decline in faith and morals. What the barbarians learned from the nations that they subdued was often counterbalanced by the influences which their own paganism in turn exerted. The acts of many synods testify how gross were the evils that invaded the Church from this cause, and how elementary the principles of morality that it was found needful to inculcate.

§ 2. ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

1. The three great Patriarchates, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, still constituted the main division of the Eastern Church. With these, Jerusalem also had a place as the Holy City, though with scarcely co-ordinate dignity. Rome in the West was pre-eminent, its Patriarch being now universally known as Pope; although in places remote from the centre, as Spain, Gaul and Germany, her jurisdiction was often contested. But papal ambition restlessly sought a wider scope, and, at least from the time of Leo the Great, strove to establish a universal spiritual sovereignty. The century and a half that separated Leo from Gregory the First was a time of reiterated assertion of this claim, and of more or less energetic repudiation of it on the part of the Eastern Churches. The Monophysite controversy, as already noted,¹ furnished the theological ground; but Rome cared more for power

¹ See p. 298.

than for theology; and the struggle was really for mastery. As yet, it need hardly be said, there was no assertion of *infallibility* on either side.

At the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) the Roman legates, as representatives of Leo, presided jointly with Anatolius, the Patriarch of Constantinople; and the twenty-eighth canon of the Council ordained that the two cities should have ecclesiastical pre-eminence above all others. Constantinople, the "Nova Roma," was declared to be next to the elder Imperial Rome, as being "next to it." Such an enactment, however, left the two Churches free to struggle for pre-eminence. This the Roman legates clearly saw, and accordingly protested against the canon, which, as it happened, had been passed in their absence. They had, however, to accept it for a time, and the contest was brought to a climax forty years after Leo's time, in connection with the controversy over the alleged heresy of Peter Mongus, patriarch of Alexandria. Acacius of Constantinople refused to disown him, as Mongus had signed the *Henoticon*. This was not enough for the Roman bishops, Simplicius and his successor Felix III., the latter of whom, through a synod called for the purpose, formally excommunicated Acacius, and pronounced sentence of deposition. Acacius took no notice, except by removing the name of Felix from the diptych¹ in the metropolitan church at Constantinople. The schism between the two Churches, thus occasioned, lasted for five-and-thirty years, until outwardly healed through the abandonment of the *Henoticon* by the Emperor Justin I. (518). This was in the time of Pope Hormisdas, whose uncompromising temper was shown by his demand that the name of Acacius and of those who had sided with him should be erased from the diptychs, involving a *post-mortem* excommunication. The restoration of fellowship between the two Churches was thus a new

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¹ The diptych was a large double memorial tablet in the church, in which the names of patriarchs and leading bishops were inserted, together with those of the most honoured of former times.

triumph for Rome; but the circumstances of the reconciliation were but too sure a presage of the following and final disruption.

2. The most serious check to the Roman ascendancy was due to the cowardice and falseness of the unworthy Vigilius, who had been promoted to the Roman see through the influence of the Empress Theodora, as already related. In his time the Churches of North Italy and Illyria declared themselves independent of Rome, and the loyalty of other districts was greatly shaken. Nor did the immediate successors of Vigilius do much to repair the breach. It was Gregory who restored the fortunes of the Papacy, and once more established its claim to supremacy. He failed, however, to induce the Illyrian Churches to condemn the *Tria Capitula*. It has been already noted that when John of Constantinople assumed the title of Universal Bishop, the claim was indignantly repudiated by Gregory. He terms it, indeed, "blasphemous, anti-Christian and diabolical, by whomsoever assumed."

Gregory I. and John of Constantinople.

This strong language would seem to imply the renunciation of the title on his own part. Yet it is a little doubtful whether his objection was not really to the assumption of the title by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The case might be different with the Bishop of Rome! Yet, if he extended the spiritual sovereignty of the Roman see, it may fairly be said that this was rather by the force of his character and the wisdom of his administration than by any efforts for aggrandizement.

3. Gregory, as we have seen, was fitly called "the last of the Fathers." Gibbon notes that he was the latest of the popes to receive the doubtful honour of canonization. His character was typical of whatever was best in the system, although his pure life and ascetic morality were alloyed with narrowness and superstition. In Church administration he was a reformer, correcting the abuses which had crept into the monastic system, and sternly repressing the corrupt life of many of the clergy. He was courteous and generous: devoting a rich inheritance to pious and charitable uses. His palace was daily sur-

rounded by crowds of sufferers of every rank and station, to whom he distributed impartial relief. Energetic and indefatigable, he gave attention to every detail of Church life and worship: the Canon of the Mass was remodelled by him; and to this day the Gregorian chants are heard in almost all our cathedrals and churches. At the same time, he was fanatical and credulous. Classical learning he despised; and he is said to have ordered the destruction of the Palatine Library. His elaborate and voluminous expositions of Scripture carry the allegorical method to an absurd extreme; and his many epistles show that he was in no way superior to the superstitions of the age.¹

4. The relations between the Church and the secular authority during this period have been indicated² by many scattered notices *Church and State.* in preceding parts of this work. The Roman Emperor had always, as *Pontifex Maximus*, claimed control over the national religion; and, as a survival from the days of heathenism, this prerogative remained in Christian times. It has been seen³ that Gratian renounced the title, but both he and his successors retained to a great degree the functions that it indicated. The manner of their exercise, however, largely depended on the Emperor's character as well as upon that of the Church rulers for the time being. When the Emperor cared but little for theology, patriarchs and synods were unchecked in their proceedings; and, on the other hand, when

¹ The sketch of his character given by Jortin is at least one-sided, and hardly accurate throughout. "Pope Gregory the Great, called Saint Gregory, was remarkable for many things: for exalting his own authority, for running down human learning and polite literature, for burning classic authors, for patronizing ignorance and stupidity, for persecuting heretics, for flattering the most execrable princes, and for relating a multitude of absurd, monstrous and ridiculous lies, called miracles. He was an ambitious, insolent prelate, under the mask of hu-

mility."—*Remarks on Eccl. History*, iv. 403.

² See ch. i. § 4, p. 229.

³ See p. 208. Constantine had put the matter very neatly. Sitting at table in a company of bishops, he remarked, "You are bishops in the interior matters of the Church (*τῶν εἰσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας*), I am a bishop in the exterior matters (*τῶν ἐκτός*)."—*Eus. Life Const.*, iv. 24. But it must be added that the distinction was not always observed by Constantine's successors.

bishops were weak and subservient, they submissively deferred to the secular power. The collisions of will were indeed not infrequent; and during many periods harmonious co-operation alternated with armed neutrality; but, on the whole, some practical *concordat* prevailed, although with occasional friction.

The *Code* and *Institutes* of Justinian may be taken as indicating the general relation of the two powers. They sum up, in fact, the general result of two centuries of legislation and administration.¹ The influence of Christianity on social and political life, first apparent in the laws of Constantine, is now distinctly evident.² No doubt it was in many respects far below the Christian ideal of life. But

Justinian's Code, A. D. 529. there were already sown the seeds of justice, freedom and philanthropy. Slavery was not abolished, but its severities were greatly mitigated. Human life was respected; gladiatorial shows were absolutely proscribed.³ Family relations were placed upon a nobler footing; the right of parents over children was restricted, and infanticide was rendered a crime. The position of woman was raised. Laws against seduction and other forms of immorality were made more severe. Divorce was sternly limited, the prohibition of marriage between near relations was extended; and it is a singular proof of the ascendancy of Christian ideas that sponsorship in baptism was ranked with the parental relationship as a bar to conjugal union.

5. Christianity was recognized and honoured in other ways yet more direct. Thus, from the time of Constantine, the Church had been permitted to receive legacies, to hold property, and to exercise the other rights of a legal corporation. The clergy at the same time were exempted from many public duties, especially from military service. Church property was also relieved from taxation, although the privilege was

Privileges of the Church. ¹ There is an admirable summary of these *Institutes*, so far as they bear on Church matters, in Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Book III. c. v.

² See pp. 196, 235*n.*

³ Compare p. 196.

alternately granted and revoked, according to the policy that prevailed for the time being. Grants of money for church building and the support of the clergy were occasionally made from the imperial treasury. The disused heathen temples were also in many cases made over by imperial grant to the service of the Church. In many places, specially in Rome and Alexandria, the ecclesiastical wealth thus became very large.

A yet more important measure was that of conferring legal validity upon ecclesiastical decisions. After the manner of the Jewish synagogues, and according to the exhortation of St. Paul, writes Dr. Schaff, "the Christians were accustomed from the beginning to settle their controversies before the Church, rather than carry them before heathen tribunals;¹ and down to the time of Constantine the validity of the bishop's decision depended on the voluntary submission of both parties. This decision was now invested with the force of law, and in spiritual matters no appeal could be taken from it to the civil court." Even a decree of excommunication was sanctioned by imperial law, and in many cases a condemnation by Church synods was followed by a sentence of banishment. The principle was variously applied by different emperors and rulers,—Theodosius I. and Justinian, for instance, maintained it strenuously,—and the general result was to make Church and State co-ordinate authorities, to the enormous aggrandizement of the ecclesiastical power in subsequent ages.

6. In return for such recognition, the Church in turn became in many ways subservient to the rulers of the State. Dean Milman gives a succinct enumeration of the particulars in which the imperial control was exercised. "The appointment, the organization, the subordination of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil magistrates of the realm emanated from, were granted, limited, prescribed by the supreme Emperor. Excommunication was uttered indeed by the ecclesi-

*Imperial
Control in
Church
Affairs.*

¹ See I Corinthians vi. 1-6.

astics, but according to the imperial laws and with the imperial warrant. Justinian deigns indeed to allow the canons of the Church to be of not less authority than his laws; but his laws are divine, and these divine laws all metropolitans, bishops and clergy are bound to obey, and if commanded, to publish. The hierarchy is regulated by his ordinance. He enacts the superiority of the metropolitan over the bishop, of the bishop over the abbot, of the abbot over the monk. Distinct imperial laws rule the monasteries. The law prescribes the ordination of bishops, the persons qualified for ordination, the whole form and process of that holy ceremony."¹ Even the restrictions placed upon the conduct of the clergy in distinction from the community in general, as the prohibition to visit the theatre, the circus, or the gaming-table, were invested with the force of law, the breach of ecclesiastical rule being punishable as a crime.

Instances have already been given in these pages, of imperial interference in ecclesiastical affairs.² The chief offices in the *Ecclesiastical Church*, especially in Rome and Constantinople, *appointments.* were continually the objects of court intrigue, or the prize of subserviency to the ruling powers. The appointment of Anthimus to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and that of Vigilius to the Roman popedom,—both through the influence of Theodora, the dissolute consort of Justinian,—were signal instances. In Rome, the barbarian conquerors claimed a similar prerogative. Thus the Herulian Odoacer³ asserted the right to interfere when Felix (A.D. 483) was chosen to the bishopric; and Theodoric the Ostrogoth intervened to place Symmachus in the episcopal chair against his rival Laurentius. Such claims, however, were often resisted by parties in the Church, and there was constant friction between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities.

7. The frequent enactments and rescripts against heretical opinions significantly illustrate the imperial cognizance of matters

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*,
Book III. ch. v.

² See pp., 327, 331.

³ See p. 302.

of faith. This was more apparent under some rulers than others, *Proscription of Heresies.* as the Emperor might be more or less theologically-minded. But "the ancient Roman theory that the religion of the State must be the religion of the people, which Christianity had broken to pieces by its inflexible resistance, was restored, in more than its former rigour. The code of Justinian confirmed the law of Theodosius and his successors, which declared certain heresies, as Manichæism and Donatism, crimes against the State, as affecting the common welfare. The offence was punishable by confiscation of all property, and incompetency to inherit or bequeath. . . . Nearly thirty names of heretics are recited in a law of Theodosius the younger, to which were added, in the time of Justinian, Nestorians, Eutychians, Apollinarians. . . . The Justinian code, having defined as heretics those who do not believe the Catholic faith, declares such heretics, as well as Pagans, Jews and Samaritans, incapable of holding civil and military offices, except in the lowest ranks of the latter; they could attain to no civic dignity which was held in honour, as that of the *defensors*, though such offices as were burdensome might be imposed upon Jews. The assemblies of all heretics were forbidden, their books were to be collected and burned, and their rites, baptisms and ordinations forbidden."¹

To enactments such as these, the natural corollary was found *Persecution.* in those persecutions for opinion which have in successive ages darkened and disgraced the history of the Church.

§ 3. THEOLOGY AND WORSHIP.

I. At the close of the "Era of the Fathers," the Nicene faith, as interpreted at Chalcedon, was generally acknowledged, *The Faith defined.* opponents branching off into sects or being reduced to silence. There were, undoubtedly, in the communion of the Church, many who still sympathized with Pelagian, Manichæan or Origenist views; but they no longer drew down

¹ Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, in *loc. cit.*

upon themselves the anathemas of synods, or attempted to form separate organizations. Only the dreary Monophysite strife, with the barren controversy for and against the "Three Chapters," still lingered on, modified in the next century into the equally fruitless Monothelite discussions. The *Filioque*¹ already divided East and West, and was one premonition of the coming schism.

It may be remarked that there is great cause for thankfulness in the fact that the doctrines of Atonement and Redemption had hitherto escaped the crucible of the Councils. Had these doctrines been subjected to the analysis of Eastern metaphysicians, or to the hard legal formulæ of the West, the process would too probably have issued in dogmatic declarations as remote from the unsophisticated understanding as those of Ephesus and Constantinople. As it was, the Christian consciousness was simply content to acknowledge Christ as Redeemer, and to exercise trust *No Theory of* in Him as the condition of salvation, without analyzing either the nature of the ransom-price, or the mental and spiritual acts involved in its appropriation by believers. *Atonement.* The faith was there: the definitions had yet to come. No doubt there had already been individual speculations on these cardinal topics. Chief among these was the theory of a ransom paid to Satan as the price of deliverance from his power.² Had this view hardened into a dogma, the consequence would have been disastrous to theology. Held only as a pious opinion, it could be rejected afterwards, as by Anselm, without the imputation of heresy even by the most enthusiastic votary of old beliefs.

2. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in like manner, had *The* been left happily free from the discussions and *Eucharist.* definitions of Councils. Church writers had from time to time used expressions which betokened a gradual advance from the thought of a memorial of sacrifice³ to that of a sacrifice itself. Gregory speaks more distinctly (*Victima, Christus im-*

¹ Council of Toledo; 589.

³ "Memoria peracti sacrificii."—

² Irenæus, Origen, Gregory of *Augustine.* Nyssa, etc.

molatus). The belief in a Real though not corporeal Presence, had appeared, but vaguely, in many of the Fathers ("a symbolical and spiritual Presence," *Augustine*; "feeding the soul," *Origen*). But, until the eighth century, there was no accepted theory of Transubstantiation; ¹ the Second Council of Nicæa, 787 (called the Seventh Œcumenical), decreeing that "the elements in the Lord's Supper are the very body and blood of Christ, not figures." All this, however, belongs to the subsequent history.

It is observable that Pope Gelasius (494) had strongly pro-
Communion tested against Communion in one kind only. There
in one Kind. was already a tendency to withhold the eucharistic cup, on the Manichæan ground of the presumed evil nature of wine. Gelasius calls the dividing of the elements "an act of sacrilege."

3. No doctrine perhaps has more contributed to the estab-
Purgatory. lishment of priestly influence than that of Purgatory, through its accompaniments of Indulgences, Masses for the Dead, and the like. The doctrine itself was first formally enunciated by Gregory the Great. Origen had ventured the suggestion that there might be a purification of souls after death. Augustine had intimated his belief in the probability of such purgation, and that by fire: Gregory now asserts it as an article of faith. The Benedictine monks were among the first to discern the value of the doctrine as an auxiliary to Church authority; and they enforced it with characteristic zeal.

4. The adoration of the Virgin Mary, to which many in the
Mariolatry. early Church were sentimentally prone, received its great impulse from the *Theotokos* decreed at Ephesus. There was, however, at first considerable opposition. Epiphanius, although a strenuous upholder of the perpetual virginity, had written, "Let Mary be in honour, but let the Father, Son and Holy Ghost be worshipped: let no man worship Mary"; and even after the Council many remained like-minded. The institution

¹ The doctrine was first formulated still later, by Paschasius Radbertus, in 831.

of festivals in honour of Mary promoted a veneration which led to worship: of these the Annunciation (March 25, "Lady-day") was the chief. This was observed from the fifth century onwards; and Gregory the Great added to it the Festival of the Assumption (Aug. 15), to celebrate the alleged reception of the Virgin into heaven without dying. Narrations by ecclesiastical writers tended to confirm the superstitious practice. Thus Evagrius the historian relates that in Justinian's campaign against the Ostrogoths of Italy (552) his general Narses "used to propitiate the Deity with prayers and other acts of piety, paying due honour also to the Mother of God, so that she distinctly announced to him the proper season for action; and Narses never engaged in battle until he had received the signal from her."

5. In like manner, the Invocation of Saints had risen from the regard paid to the memory of martyrs and confessors. The days of their death were observed as sacred; their characters were venerated as types of excellence; and the honour paid to their virtues and achievements was transferred to themselves. Churches were dedicated to them (from 549); the altars enshrined their relics. Praise was given to God for their life and example: prayers were offered for grace to imitate them; and direct invocation followed. Their intercession and help were invoked, as of holy men and women still present with the worshippers. So again with the angels. For, if these are superior to glorified saints, and ministering spirits to the faithful, why not invoke their aid? Hence the abuses against which Vigilantius in vain protested, and which were at length authorized by the Council that sanctioned so many growing superstitions, the Second of Nicæa.

6. The Confessional, an institution which greatly promoted the influence of the priesthood, was long in becoming a recognized part of the Church system. From very early times, the confession of sin was recognized as a condition of a penitent's restoration to Church fellowship. At first this confession was public, before the congregation, after it

had been made to the presbyter ;¹ but subsequently, to use the language of Hooker, " Forasmuch as public confessions became dangerous, and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded men, and in divers respects advantageous to the enemies of God's Church, it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite, that voluntary penitents should surcease from open confession."² The change was strongly urged by Leo the Great, to whom more than to any other the practice of auricular confession owes its origin.

It was not, however, made compulsory until the fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

7. Great attention was paid to the accessories of Divine *Places of* Worship. The growing wealth of the Church, from *Worship.* the gifts of princes, the offerings of rich and poor, and especially from legacies, provided the means for stately buildings and sumptuous adornments. The old form of the Roman basilica was retained, but pulpit and " altar " were often splendidly enriched by gifts of the faithful. The introduction into places of *Pictures and* worship of pictures and statues was more question- *Images in* able, and was made the occasion of much con- *Churches.* troversy. The custom, no doubt, originally was in part for adornment, in part for instruction. The walls of the church were to be made beautiful for the attraction of the worshippers, and at the same time serviceable as a picture-book for the information of the illiterate. But the latent mischief of such representations was discerned at a very early period. In communities newly weaned from idolatry, it was inevitable that the representation should be treated with something of the honour due to the reality ; and already at the beginning of the fourth century the introduction of pictures into churches was discountenanced. The Spanish Synod of Illiberis (Elvira) in 305 enacts in its thirty-sixth canon that " paintings ought not to be in a church, lest that which is worshipped and adored should be depicted on walls." Even Epiphanius denounced the practice

¹ Cyprian, Letter XVII.

² *Ecclesiastical Polity*, VI. iv. 3.

as heathenish and unscriptural. Especially was it held that the attempt to represent the human form of Jesus Christ was derogatory to His Divine Majesty; much more, that the delineation of God the Father was irreverent and impious. Symbols, as of the Good Shepherd, were of a somewhat different character, and seem to have been tolerated, as may be seen in the Roman Catacombs. The practice, however, continued, notwithstanding the energetic remonstrances of the far-seeing. Stories of miracles wrought by means of pictures and images inflamed the imagination of devotees. Many of these representations became invested with special sacredness in the minds of their votaries, whose zeal it would have been dangerous to repress.

A significant correspondence in the days of Gregory the Great throws instructive light upon this subject. One *Gregory on the use of Pictures.* Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, found this form of superstition so rife among his people, that he ordered the images in his church to be destroyed. Gregory, being appealed to, wrote to Serenus as follows: "We praise you indeed for being zealous against worshipping anything made by hands; nevertheless, we think that you should not have broken the images. For painting is used in churches, that those who are ignorant of letters may at least learn from the pictures on the walls what they are unable to read in books." And again he draws the specious distinction: "If any man wishes to make images, by no means forbid him, but by all means put a stop to the *worship* of images." This, as might be expected, was too subtle for the commonalty; and image-worship became so general as to give rise in succeeding centuries to the long "iconoclastic" controversy. The Mohammedans founded their accusation of idolatry against the Christian Church upon this practice, and were not without warrant for the charge, in the sanction given to the adoration¹ of images by that Second Council of Nicæa, by which so many superstitious observances were authorized.

¹ προσκύνησις τιμητική, "veneration"; not λατρεία, "religious worship."

8. The use of Incense, common in the churches, was possibly *Incense.* in the first instance for the purpose of fumigation;¹ and the process by which the disinfectant became a part of the ritual, well illustrates the transition from a natural to a spiritual significance. For the first four centuries the liturgical use of incense was unknown, or was repudiated as a relic of heathenism. As, however, the idea of sacrifice became associated with the Eucharist, it would naturally follow that the Jewish analogy should suggest the accompaniment of incense, and that the imagery of the Apocalypse should be literally interpreted in the same way. The historian Evagrius mentions that Chosroes II., king of Persia (593), sent to the shrine of Sergius at Antioch an offering of gold, part of which was to be made into a chalice, part into a cross and part into a *censer*; ² showing that the use was by this time fully recognized.

§ 4. LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

1. The literary activity of the sixth century was but little directed to theological subjects. The age of the *Intellectual Stagnation.* great Church theologians was passed; and, after the *Tome* of Leo, the Monophysite controversies were hardly likely to call forth distinguished ability. The intellectual stagnation which marked the succeeding centuries of the Church's history already showed signs of its approach, and was but doubtfully stayed by the voluminous writings of Gregory the Great. The useful historical epitome of EVAGRIUS of Antioch at the close of the century has been described on a preceding page. The chief writer on religious topics during the period was undoubtedly *Boëthius.* BOËTHIUS (*d.* 524), but the question has been raised as to whether he was a Christian, and whether the works on the Trinity and the Person of Christ attributed to him are not

¹ Thus Tertullian. Incense was employed for the same reason at assemblies, as at the induction of funerals, and in crowded *secular* magistrates.

² Evagrius, *Ecc. Hist.*, VI. ch. 21.

spurious. His undoubted work, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, is of great value, but contains little or no reference to the distinctive truths of Christianity. As he fell a victim, however, to the Arian King Theodoric on the charge of conspiring against the Ostrogothic heterodox rule, he was honoured by the Church as a martyr and saint under the name of Severinus.

2. The historian PROCOPIUS of Cæsarea has also been claimed *Procopius*. as an adherent to the Christian faith. There is, however, in his voluminous annals but little reference to religion. With regard to the reign of Justinian he is the chief authority; and as Christianity was the publicly recognized faith he could not entirely pass it over; but he writes as a liberal thinker—a Broad Churchman of his time, if a Churchman at all, and with evident distaste for the subtleties of the current theology. The question has been raised whether Tribonian, chief editor of Justinian's *Institutes*, was not a Christian; but the probability is that he was but an indifferentist. The work itself remains the greatest literary monument of the sixth century.

3. The writings attributed to DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE probably belong to the earlier part of the sixth century. *The Pseudo-Dionysius*. The first mention of them that can be traced is in a conference at Constantinople about the year 533, when they were quoted by the representatives of Monophysitism as favouring their views. For some centuries afterwards they were regarded as the work of the distinguished Athenian convert (Acts xvii.)—a singular and glaring anachronism. They have also almost as strangely been ascribed to Dionysius (Denys), the first bishop of Paris, the patron saint of France, martyred under Aurelian, 272. The probability is that the pseudo-Areopagite was one of the last members of the School of Athens, or, perhaps, of Edessa, driven to seek a refuge in Egypt, and among the latest and most gifted of those who sought to harmonize the philosophy of Plato with the doctrines of the Gospel. The titles of his chief books indicate his lines of thought. The *Heavenly Hierarchy*, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, the *Names of God*, and

Mystical Theology. He sought to show how the Church on earth was constituted after the heavenly pattern, and how human nature became thus uplifted to the Divine. From this author of unknown name and personality, more than from any other teacher, the Christian mysticism of the Middle Ages had its rise.¹

4. Among Church writers the name of GILDAS must be mentioned as that of the earliest British annalist. His work (in Latin) is in two parts, the *History*, dealing with British Christianity until the time of the Saxon invasion, and an *Epistle*, containing much denunciation of impious personages and oppressors of the Church now unknown, together with long illustrative quotations from the Scriptures, chiefly from the prophets.² It is observable that these citations are not from the Vulgate translation, but from some version of which we have no other trace. Gildas was evidently a monk, it is supposed of Glastonbury Abbey; but there remains no authentic record of his life and labours. It has been conjectured that there were two authors of the name.

5. CASSIODORUS³ has already been mentioned. He deserves *Cassiodorus*. especial note, as having been senator and statesman, secretary and trusted adviser of Theodoric, and, after the downfall of the Ostrogothic dynasty, a zealous promoter of learning among ecclesiastics. From his retreat in the monastery of Viviers, in Calabria, he wrote many books, among them an Epitome of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, *Expositions of the Psalms and Solomon's Song*, with other productions of his fertile pen, ranging from a treatise *On*

¹ See a remarkable paper by Bishop Westcott, in the *Contemporary Review*, May 1867.

² The *Epistle* has been translated into English, under the title: "The Epistle of Gildas, the most ancient British Author, who flourished in the yeere of our Lord 546. And who by his great Erudition, Sanctitie & Wisdom, acquired the name *Sapiens*.

Faithfully translated out of the original Latine. London, 12mo. 1638." The translation, with a version of the history by the late Dr. J. A. Giles, has been made accessible to English readers in the volume of *Six Old English Chronicles*, published by Bohn, 1884.

³ *d.* about 568. See pp. 220, 238.

Orthography to an *Essay on the Soul*. This last nobly concludes with the words addressed to Christ, "Nobler is it to serve Thee than to obtain the kingdoms of the world!"¹ Cassiodorus stimulated the monks of his time to a new employment of their energies, in studying, editing and transcribing literary works, a task by the performance of which the Benedictine monks were afterwards distinguished;² and it is to him more than to any other man that we are indebted for the large transmission of ancient books to modern times. The general spirit of the time, however, was adverse to the study of true literature, as we have seen in the case of Gregory himself.

6. In the literary history of the century, the name of DIONYSIUS *Dionysius* THE LITTLE (*Exiguus*), a Scythian by birth, monk and *Exiguus*. abbot in Rome, deserves a record. His surname may possibly have referred to his smallness of stature, but more probably to his humility of disposition. Cassiodorus, his contemporary, speaks warmly of his simplicity of character as well as of his great learning. Dionysius is best known to modern times by his determination of the Christian era (A.D.),—fixed by him, however, as is now generally agreed, four years later than the true date. Notwithstanding this error, "it was a great thought of this 'little' monk to view Christ as the turning-point of ages, and to introduce this view into chronology."³ All other eras and modes of reckoning the years, hitherto in use, were gradually superseded in lands under Christian influence, by the Dionysian computation.⁴

Dionysius also first completely harmonized the two methods of calculation, by months and by years, bringing the solar and the lunar cycles to a common measure. This had been mainly effected by an earlier mathematician, Victor of Aquitaine, chiefly with a view to the regulation of Easter, but Dionysius rectified some errors, and placed the system upon a permanent basis.

¹ "Tibi nobilium est servire quam regna mundi capessere," Quoted in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Eccl. Biog.*

² Cassiodorus himself was not a Benedictine.

³ Dr. P. Schaff.

⁴ Thus "A.D. 1" begins Jan. 1, A.U.C. 754. But our Lord was born, according to the now accepted system of chronology, in A.U.C. 750.

But his most extensive work was the collection and translation of the Canons, beginning with those termed "Apostolical," fifty in number. These were followed by the Canons of Councils and the Decretals of Popes in great number. The Apostolical Canons, chiefly concerned with regulations concerning the clergy and other ecclesiastical persons, were in part taken from the pseudo-apostolical *Constitutions* of the third century, partly compiled from conciliar and synodal proceedings, and partly based upon tradition. The papal decretals, besides their illustrations of the Church life of the fifth and sixth centuries, are also incidentally valuable for what they do not contain, the so-called decretals of Isidore, a forgery of the ninth century in support of papal claims, which long imposed upon the Church.

7. The history of the Franks during this period was related by GREGORY, bishop of Tours (573), a prelate *Gregory of Tours* (d. 594). greatly distinguished for the wise and efficient administration of his diocese, as well as by his activity in public affairs. In the civil war between Sigebert and Chilperic, grandsons of the great Clovis, ended by the victory of the latter (575), Gregory took a manly part as moderator in the strife. Afterwards, when the conqueror wished to enforce upon his people his views of the Trinity, Gregory withstood him. "I will," said the king, "that such shall be your belief!" "Let not your majesty deceive yourself," was the bishop's reply. "You must follow in this thing the teaching of the Apostles and doctrines of the Church, the teaching of Hilary and Eusebius, and the confession which you made at baptism." The king was angry, but silenced. Gregory's *Annals of the Franks* was a history written with a purpose. He looks upon history as a record of "the struggle of the Church against unbelief in the heathen and heretics, and against worldly-mindedness in professed Christians." His work is nevertheless impartial and valuable, and he well deserves the title of "Father of French History." He wrote also

¹ Hefele, *Councils*, vol. i. appendix, gives the Greek originals of these fifty canons, with the Latin translation of Dionysius.

a *History of Miracles* in seven books, four of which are devoted to the achievements of Martin, his predecessor in the Tours episcopate.

8. In Gaul also there lived VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS (530-597), *Venantius Fortunatus*. an intimate friend of Gregory of Tours, chaplain to Queen Radegunda, and subsequently bishop of Poitiers. As a Latin Christian poet he may be regarded as successor to Ambrose and Prudentius.¹ He wrote a *Life of Martin* in hexameters, also *Lives of Saints*, and, according to many authorities, a *Commentary* on the "Athanasian Creed."² His poems are mostly artificial and devoid of sound taste, often also lax in morality. They have well been called "the expiring effort of the Latin Muse in Gaul." He composed also *Hymns for all the Festivals of the Christian Year*, now lost. A hymn written for the reception of "a portion of the True Cross" at Poitiers is of high quality: "Vexilla regis prodeunt,"³ "The royal banners forward go." He has also been credited with another: "Pange, lingua, gloriosi prælium certaminis," but this was probably by a different author.

§ 5. LIFE AND MORALS.

1. The early apologists for Christianity had laid great stress upon the new principles of conduct illustrated in the life of believers. In contrast with the corruptions of heathen society, they had depicted practical Christianity in its purity, integrity, and benevolence. The courage and endurance of confessors and martyrs added force to the argument, and the brotherly love which united the followers of Christ both amazed and convinced the gainsayers. But when persecution ceased, and Christianity became the religion of the State, there came in other influences.

¹ See pp. 261, 266.

² See p. 307.

³ This fine Latin hymn is quoted in full by Dr. Julian, *Dict. Hymnology*, p. 1219. A translation by the late

Dr. Neale is given in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (96). There is also a good rendering by the Rev. J. Brownlie, *Hymns of the Ancient Church*, p. 169.

2. For one thing, the area of Christian profession was greatly extended. Multitudes of merely nominal Christians accepted the new position without any real spiritual change. They were little more than baptized heathens. This applied also to professed converts from paganism. "The principal injunctions," it has been said, "imposed by missionaries upon their rude proselytes was, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of Christ and the saints the same religious services which they had formerly offered to the statues of their gods." Of the Saxons evangelized by Augustin, one remarks: "They were converted in battalions and baptized in platoons."

3. The cessation of persecution brought about another result. The strenuousness of the Christian life, even with true believers, could hardly fail to be relaxed. The faith had no longer to be fought for in a life-and-death struggle, and the olden enthusiasm consequently declined. Zeal grew languid; piety declined; and the Christian, no more an outcast from society, was insensibly led to conform to the average standard of morality in the world around.

4. To all this may be added the influence of riches and prosperity on the teachers and leaders of the Church. In many places the Church had become a wealthy society; and avarice is often mentioned as among the besetting vices of the priesthood. The ministry of the Church thus attracted worldly-minded men, ease-loving and hypocritical, who brought a scandal upon their order. The laity, on the other hand, perceiving the influence of wealth in the Church, took advantage of the fact to purchase absolution from their sins, or sought to make amends for corrupt lives by death-bed gifts and legacies.

5. But a yet more insidious evil arose from the very attempts to establish the purity of Church doctrine. The long discussions of dogma, the minuteness of theological definition, and the anathemas attached to

every deviation from the true belief, laid a disproportionate stress upon orthodoxy as compared with conduct. To think aright concerning the mysteries of the faith came to be held as more important than to live "soberly, righteously, and godly." Hence also uncharitable judgments, bitter animosities, and mutual ex-communications. A pagan historian in the latter part of the fourth century had already remarked that "the enmity of many Christians towards one another surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man."¹ Whatever of truth there may be in this representation was still further exemplified in the results of the long theological disputes which followed; and very often, then as in later times, the more minute the points of difference, the greater was the acrimony. It was a sad reversal of the old heathen comment: "See how the Christians love one another!"

6. The sense that all was not right in the life of the Church led to the exaggerations of asceticism. Certain restrictions, many of them wholesome in themselves, were laid upon all Christians. Thus, "theatrical amusements, dances, oaths, and loans upon usury" were strictly forbidden. But beyond the ordinary rules of morality, a higher life was sought by those who inspired to saintship; and, in a not surprising reaction from prevailing worldliness and sensuality, this was held to consist greatly in superiority to the ordinary and natural enjoyments of life. This was probably in the first instance imposed as discipline; afterwards it became regarded as meritorious. Abstinence, almsgiving, celibacy, were among the requirements of this higher life. Such are the virtues, with kindred qualities, constantly recorded in the lives of the saints. The monastic system, which had arisen in times of persecution,² was greatly extended; and by the Rule of Benedict, which corrected abuses and provided wholesome employment for the time and ability of the recluses, it was even

¹ "Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus," quoted by Gibbon, ch. xxi., n. 161. From

Ammanianus of Antioch, quoting Emp. Julian.

² See p. 80.

overruled for good. Clerical celibacy was gradually enforced. From the time when Eustathius was condemned by a synod for rejecting a married priest from communion,¹ to the successive edicts of Justinian, enforcing celibacy on all the clergy, and the *Celibacy of the* imperative prohibition of clerical marriages by *Clergy.* Gregory the First, a succession of synods² had considered the question, making the rule increasingly stringent, and proving also, by the difficulty of enforcing it, how it violated natural laws in maintaining a false ideal of morality. That the temptations of a celibate life were in innumerable cases too strong to be withstood, is apparent also from the many references to them in Church councils and the severe measures taken to counteract them.

7. It is gladly acknowledged that all the above presents but one side of the picture. In happy contrast with *Exceptions to prevailing Degeneracy.* the defects and evils which characterized the Church life of the centuries under review, it is certain that there was much true piety, with simple but sincere devotion to Christ. History must necessarily in great measure dwell on what is outward and striking. Irregularities and defects are more apparent than the quiet working of systems and institutions. The stir of conflict arouses attention denied to silent and peaceful progress. Faults are more glaring than virtues; and beyond the inconsistencies which defaced the features of early Christianity there was an inner life, demanding for its recognition both insight and sympathy. The great principles of faith and charity which the Gospel had brought into the world were still the guiding light of many trusting souls. The simple-hearted believer might have been ill able to analyze the One Person and the Twofold Nature,

¹ Socrates, *Ecl. Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 43. The Synod was that at Gangra in Paphlagonia, about the middle of the fourth century. For the canons of this Synod, see Hefele, vol. ii., c. 94.

² The following Western Synods

are mentioned in the sixth century as having pronounced upon the subject: Agde 506, Gironne 517, Toledo 531, Auvergne 535, Orleans 538, 541, 549, Tours 567, Auxerre 578, Macon 585, Toledo 589.

but, regardless alike of definition and anathema, he still knew Him whom he had believed. There was, in many perhaps obscure and unsuspected places, a patient continuance in well-doing, which on occasion, as in the times of old, rose to an heroic courage. The first invasion of the Goths, the ruthlessness of the Vandals in Africa, brought out the fact that the martyr spirit was not dead, although of the martyrs themselves we know nothing. There was a secret power which kept the Church from becoming corrupt, and which sustained its life even through the dark and *Hidden Life* sorrowful ages of ignorance, superstition and spiritual *of the Church.* tyranny which were to succeed the era of which this volume treats. What is evil and imperfect has its day, and will cease to be ; but, as the Reformation of the sixteenth century was to prove, and as the ages to come may yet more signally illustrate, there is in the Church of God that which "cannot be shaken" and which will evermore "remain."

PART IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY
THE GREAT TO THE CORONATION
OF CHARLEMAGNE.

A.D. 604—800.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.

* * For the names of Emperors, Popes, and Patriarchs, see Chronological Tables.

	A. D.
Missions to Rhineland and Switzerland	c. 605
Boniface III. invested with the primacy by Phocas	606
Mohammed asserts his Divine Commission	611
Westminster Abbey founded	620
Hedjira of Mohammed	622
Monothelite discussions initiated by Heraclius	625
Mission of Paulinus to Northumbria	627
Death of Mohammed	632
Pseudo-Isidorian "Decretals" and "Donation"	635
First Lateran Council ("Dyothelite")	649
Rise of Paulicianism	c. 650
Conference at Whitby: English Submission to Rome	664
Conversion of the Heptarchy completed	678
Trullan Council at Constantinople (<i>Sixth General</i>)	680
Second Trullan Council at Constantinople (<i>Quinisextum</i>)	692
Mohammedan Conquest of Spain	711
Boniface, the "Apostle of Germany"	723
Iconoclastic controversies	from 726
John of Damascus (d. 750)	730
Victory of Charles Martel at Tours	732
Death of "the Venerable" Bede	735
Pepin the Frank ends the Merovingian Dynasty	752
Iconoclastic Council at Constantinople	754
Donation of Pepin to the Roman See	755
Charles (Charlemagne) sole King of the Franks	771
The Saxons forcibly evangelized	772
Lombard Kingdom in Italy overthrown	774
Alcuin invited to the Court of Charlemagne	780
The Adoptionist Controversy originated in Spain	783
Haroun al Raschid, Caliph	786
Council at Nicæa, reactionary (<i>Seventh General</i>)	787
Council at Frankfort (Iconoclastic)	794
Charlemagne crowned as Augustus and King of Italy, Dec. 25th	800

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

§ I. BEGINNINGS OF MEDIÆVALISM.

THE "mediæval period" of the Church is a convenient although somewhat indefinite note of time, indicating the transition, through much confusion and darkness, from the period of the Fathers, when able and cultivated minds were engaged in great theological discussions, to those ages of spiritual domination and intellectual slavery which led to the supremacy of Rome, and prepared for the convulsions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the political conflicts and changes of this long period, the reader will still find in Gibbon the surest guide. That historian also depicts with masterly touch the externals of ecclesiastical life; although for pictures drawn by the hand of sympathy, the reader must turn to other authorities.¹

The period began with the passing away of Gregory the First, followed in about six years by the death of the miserable usurper Phocas, whose reign Gregory had heralded with so unworthy an encomium. Heraclius of Ravenna, who led the revolt in which the tyrant was slain, succeeded to the imperial purple; and, with his descendants, Constans II. and Constantine Pogonatus (the Bearded), evinced much interest in theological matters, as will be illustrated later on. In imperial fashion, their views were expressed by dogmatic deliverances, and enforced by proscription and punishment.

¹ Dean Milman's *History of Latin Christianity* should be read, with the *Present Time*, as edited by the Dr. George Finlay's *History of Greece* Rev. F. H. Tozer.

The theory of imperial supremacy, maintained with varying success since the days of Theodoric, now became obviously untenable. It was impossible that ecclesiastical Rome could be permanently or satisfactorily governed from Constantinople. From the time of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (668-685), the confirmation of papal appointments by imperial mandate was virtually abandoned, and the claim to tribute from newly-appointed popes no longer enforced. Many subsequent disputes—notably that concerning image-worship—tended to widen the breach between pope and emperor. The tables in fact were completely turned. It was the pope who demanded tribute from secular princes. Thus when Felix, appointed Exarch of Ravenna, refused to pay the tribute demanded by Pope Constantine (708-715), the pontiff sent him to Constantinople for the judgment of the emperor, Justinian II., by whom Felix was sentenced as a rebel to the deprivation of sight, Justinian at the same time offering to the Pope the homage of prostration.

Another fact which brought into light the growing weakness of the Empire, was its inability to defend the Papacy against the aggressions of the Lombard kings. It was in vain that the popes repeatedly besought imperial succour. The struggle with Mohammedanism was more than sufficient for the enfeebled East. In the year 752 the Exarchate of Ravenna was overthrown by the Lombards; and the Roman state was imperilled. The terrified pontiff (Stephen II.) appealed to the rising power of the Franks. The appeal was successful, beyond the Pope's anticipations: the Frankish king Pepin, having already overthrown the Merovingian dynasty, crossed the Alps, regained Ravenna and the other cities which the Lombards had seized, restored them to the Roman see; and, as will be shown hereafter, began that series of events which was to eventuate in the "Holy Roman Empire" and the history of modern Europe.

Out of all these conflicts the Papacy emerged with constantly-

increasing wealth. The metropolitan and episcopal sees, the monastic establishments, the secular clergy generally, received larger bequests and donations; as though, amid the turmoil of earthly affairs, treasure might thus be laid up in heaven. It was believed that the punishments of the future world might be averted or lightened by these liberal gifts; and although the age of plenary indulgences had not yet arrived, such means of securing the Divine favour were unsparingly employed. And inevitably, a general corruption of manners followed the secularization of the Church.

But notwithstanding all these causes of spiritual decline, the true life of the Church during this period was shown in the multiplication and progress of missions to the heathen. This, beyond all other movements and events, was the outstanding fact of the period. Some outline of the enterprise is given in another section. In the story of the seventh and eighth centuries there is much to humiliate and sadden every Christian student. But in the largeness of the Church's outlook and the frequent heroism of its achievements, the period deserves to be gratefully remembered as that of the missionary era which preceded the darker ages of mediæval Christianity.

§ 2. CHIEF WRITERS OF THE PERIOD.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, few writers of distinction appeared. The old Greek and Latin culture no longer contributed their weapons to the theological armoury. Names brought into prominence by the controversies of the time will be noticed in their place. The Western Church had by far the larger share in such literature as the age produced.

Isidore of Seville, d. 636. ISIDORE of Seville, in the former part of the seventh century, was a brilliant editor of Gregory and Augustine; he also largely compiled the Mozarabic Liturgy, which became the text-book of Spanish worship. His name, unfortunately, is best remembered in connection with that

famous and audacious forgery of a subsequent age, "The Donation of Constantine," falsely attributed to Isidore.

A yet greater name is that of BEDE, justly named "The Venerable," a native of Durham, who spent studious years in the monastery of Jarrow. He commented on the whole "The Venerable" Bede, of the Scriptures, wrote Homilies, Lives of the d. 735. Saints, and a valuable *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*. But his most memorable work was his translation of the Gospel by John, completed in the last hours of his life.¹

One of Bede's disciples was ALCUIN, for some time master of the famous school in York, afterwards confidential adviser of *Alcuin, d.* Charlemagne. Many of Alcuin's works, mostly 804. scholastic and elementary, with *Epistles* to the greatest men of his age, have survived to our own time.

In the East, the most distinguished writer was JOHN OF DAMASCUS, who lived in the earlier part of the eighth century. For his eloquence he was accounted a second Chrysostom, being surnamed by his admirers, Chrysorrohas. His works on the theological and ecclesiastical questions of the time were regarded as of great authority, but to a modern reader will appear superstitious and inconclusive.

¹ An anecdote related by Cuthbert, one of his scholars, will bear repetition:—"Ascension-day (A.D. 735) drew near. The illness of Bede increased, but he only laboured the more diligently (in the translation of St. John). On the Wednesday, his scribe told him that one chapter alone remained, but feared that it might be painful to him to dictate. 'It is easy,' Bede replied; 'take your pen and write quickly.' The work was continued for some time. Then Bede directed Cuthbert to fetch his little treasures from his casket (*capsella*) that he might distribute them among his friends. And so he passed the remainder of the day till evening in holy and cheerful conversa-

tion. His boy scribe at last found an opportunity to remind him, with pious importunity, of his unfinished work. 'One sentence, dear master, still remains unwritten.' 'Write quickly,' he answered. The boy soon said, 'It is completed now.' 'Well,' Bede replied, 'thou hast said the truth; all is ended. Support my head with thy hands; I would sit in the holy place in which I was wont to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my Father.' Thereupon, resting on the floor of his cell, he chanted the *Gloria*, and his soul immediately passed away, while the name of the Holy Spirit was on his lips." See Westcott, *History of the English Bible*; Introduction.

The distractions of the time were unfavourable to the progress of learning; and, partly from the same cause, religion to a great extent lost such vitality as it had possessed. The professed Christian guides of the people were more concerned with the externals of worship than with the principles and exemplifications of Christian conduct. The Eastern Churches were paralyzed by the triumphs of Islam, the Western were occupied by schemes of papal aggrandizement, with intervals of resistance in various directions; while the now dominant Lombards, from their uneasy throne at Pavia, strove ineffectually to maintain some kind of *concordat* with Rome.

§ 3. MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

One redeeming feature in these days of ignorance and superstition was the spirit of enterprise and devotion which led to the evangelization of outlying regions of the Empire as well as of unsubdued heathen tribes—a spirit of which the mission of Augustin to the Saxons of Britain had been among the firstfruits. It must in fairness be added that the Nestorian communities enlisted in this work a zeal at least equal to that of the orthodox; and it was to these reputed heretics that many a distant and scattered tribe owed their first knowledge of the Gospel.

There was, in many at least of these missions, great evangelistic earnestness with little evangelical doctrine: belief was often made very easy. To repeat a few formulas, with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, and to submit to baptism, was in many instances the simple conditions of so-called conversion. No doubt, even this was an advance from paganism: but the way was thus left open for such superstitious beliefs and practices as were quite possible without any change of heart; and there was too frequently a strange engrafting of the new profession upon the old heathen life. The soil was still encumbered with old weeds that made it difficult, although happily not impossible, for the good seed to spring up; and all

over the vast field of nominal Christianity there appeared at intervals, and sometimes in unexpected places, the fruits of a living faith.

The Mission of Patrick to IRELAND in the fifth century continued to bear fruit. About the year 521, Columba, a native of Donegal, had founded his monastery at Iona, an island in the kingdom of the Picts. He died in 597, the year of Augustin's entrance into England; and his disciple Columbanus, at the beginning of the seventh century, is found labouring in GERMANY. Among the companions of Columbanus was Gallus, who preached with great success in SWITZERLAND. The well-known monastery of St. Gall still perpetuates his name. At the same time a French hermit, Goar, was carrying on the work of evangelization on THE RHINE, where his memory is preserved in one of the most picturesque reaches of that noble river.

All these missions were to a great extent independent of Rome. In SAXON ENGLAND, however, the work of Augustin had been pre-eminently a Romish mission, and came into frequent collision with the older British Churches. Its progress was marked by many reverses.¹ Even in Kent, the scene of Augustin's own labours, King Ethelbert was succeeded by a pagan son, Eadbald, who for a long time thwarted the efforts of Laurentius, Augustin's successor, although yielding at last. The remaining kingdoms of the Heptarchy followed at unequal intervals. In most cases, kings and queens are chronicled as the earliest converts, and the people, with more or less intelligence, loyally followed suit.

Pagan reactions were succeeded by Christian revivals; and before the end of the seventh century the whole nation was nominally converted. With representatives of the Roman faith, there came in some instances missionaries from Ireland, to whose zeal the *History* of Bede

¹ See Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, vol. v., for a detailed and vivid narrative of the prolonged struggle.

bears emphatic witness. Among these was Cedda, bishop of the East Saxons, and Fursey, the evangelist of East Anglia. Of especial interest was the introduction of the Gospel to the kingdom of Northumbria (A.D. 627) through the agency of its queen, wife of Edwin, daughter of the Kentish Ethelbert, and the preaching of her chaplain Paulinus. Bede has immortalized the apologue of the sparrow in the banquet-hall, by which a courtier of Edwin enforced the evangelist's appeal.¹

The long-pending controversies between Rome and the ancient British Churches were brought to some kind of settlement in a Conference at Whitby. The test-question was, as usual, the method of observing Easter—whether that of Rome or of the British Churches. The real point of dispute, of course, was the right of Rome to demand obedience. The Church of Columba was represented by his successor, Colman, the Papacy by Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York. King Oswy of Deira presided over the assembly. Wilfrid boldly challenged the claims of Columba:—"However holy he may have been, were the keys of the kingdom of heaven entrusted to him, as they were to Peter?" Colman could not say they were. Then the simple-hearted king declared, "I cannot contradict the door-keeper, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, there

¹ The sonnet of Wordsworth, though beautiful, is hardly more poetical than the prose of the chieftain:—

Man's life is like a Sparrow, mighty King!
 That—while at banquet with your Chiefs you sit
 Housed near a blazing fire—is seen to flit
 Safe from the wintry tempest. Fluttering,
 Here did it enter: there on hasty wing,
 Flies out, and passes on from cold to cold:
 But whence it came we know not, nor behold
 Whither it goes. Even such the transient Thing,
 The human soul: not utterly unknown
 While in the body lodged, her warm abode;
 But from what world She came, what woe or weal
 On her departure waits, no tongue hath shown;
 This mystery if the Stranger can reveal,
 His be a welcome cordially bestowed!"

should be no one to open them to me." By such reasoning was the kingdom won! Colman withdrew to Scotland, and an archbishop, Theodore of Tarsus, was commissioned by Pope Vitalian to rivet the yoke of ecclesiastical supremacy upon England. Soon, however, there was rivalry between the two prelates, Wilfrid being worsted and deposed. In the controversies that ensued, the Roman side was espoused by Bede, in his quiet monastery at Jarrow, but he took no active part in the strife. It is remarkable that "among all the Teutonic tribes, the English became the most devoted subjects of the Pope. They sent more pilgrims to Rome and more money into the papal treasury than any other nation. They invented the Peter's pence."¹ But we shall see how, under the Norman and Plantagenet sovereigns, the spirit of resistance arose.

To the mission of Columbanus and his associates was now added another, also from this island, and yet more momentous in its issues. One Willibrod, a native of England, with eleven companions, passed over to HOLLAND, to preach the Gospel among the Frisians, and laboured, amid difficulty and persecution, with much success until in 696 he was consecrated Archbishop of Utrecht. Feeling at length the pressure of age and infirmity, he sought the aid of another Englishman, Winfrid, a native of Devonshire, who had received authority from Pope Gregory XI. to preach in Germany and adjacent countries. Winfrid received the name of Boniface ("the Benevolent": perhaps a rough translation of his Saxon *Boniface*, the name), and under that name has become known to succeeding ages as "the Apostle of Germany." He preached in THURINGIA, HESSE, and BAVARIA. At the outset of his mission to Hesse, it is related, he greatly impressed a pagan multitude by boldly cutting down with his own hands the sacred oak of their great God Thor; the very powers of nature seeming to aid him by a violent storm which shattered the tree almost at his first stroke. With the wood of the oak, it

¹ Schaff.

is added, Boniface built a chapel to St. Peter. In the course of his labours he founded the great monastery of Fulda, and was consecrated Archbishop of Mainz. He erected churches, summoned councils, and in many parts of Germany left companions and disciples able and willing to carry on his work. At length, in a good old age, he resigned his archbishopric, impatient to resume his travels and evangelistic labours. He had reached Friesland when, with his companions, he was attacked and put to death by a band of pagan robbers, for the booty which they vainly hoped to secure.

The missions above described were all of the West. In the *Nestorian missions.* East the missionary spirit, as already intimated, seems to have been well-nigh confined to the Nestorians. This energetic sect, organized under its patriarch (or *catholicos*), whose seat was first in Syria, afterwards in Chaldæa, and whose great school of learning was at Nisibis, sent their emissaries, during the sixth and four following centuries, throughout MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIA, MEDIA; among the Tatars of the CASPIAN shores, to BACTRIANA, INDIA, and even CHINA. In some of the lands of the far East they found traditions and memories of churches established in the primitive age of Christianity, which for a time were resuscitated by their efforts, and perpetuated their theology.

But it cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that in these *Missions and conversions.* missionary narratives, with all their records of earnestness and heroism, the word "conversion" must be used in a qualified sense. Nations cannot be Christianized by wholesale; and those who went as heralds of the Cross to barbarian tribes, too often failed to impress upon them the highest lessons of the Gospel. The power of their teaching was impaired by "their coarse and superficial religion, their readiness to allow sin to buy itself off by prodigal gifts, the connivance by the best men at imposture, its direct encouragement by the average." And yet the great outlines and facts of Christianity

could not but be "strongly and firmly drawn; and they were never obliterated, though often confused by lower and meaner admixtures. It was impossible to forget the Cross of Christ; the appeal to our Father went up in numberless tongues and dialects all over the West, from the ignorant and the miserable, from the barbarian warrior, and perhaps his victim."¹ The full result another generation was to see.

¹ Dean Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, p. 49.

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

§ I. RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THE almost sudden uprising in Arabia of a new and relentless hostile force against the Church was undoubtedly the most *Mohammed*, signal and portentous event of the seventh century. 571-632. Mohammedanism chiefly affected the East ; it also long threatened the West, triumphing in Africa and Spain, but repelled by Rome, and finally arrested in its course of conquest by Charles Martel at Tours, exactly one hundred years after the death of Mohammed (732).

It was in the year 611 that he had begun to declare at Mecca, as the Divine message to mankind, "There is no God but One, and Mohammed is His prophet." From the date of the Hedjira, *Early conquests.* or Flight from Mecca to Medina (622), which became the great Moslem era, that message attracted enthusiastic followers, and yearly gathered strength. The death of Mohammed failed to arrest the progress of his cause, supported as it was by myriads of fanatics in arms against Christian and pagan alike.¹ Within ten years the Saracens ("Sons of the Desert") had mastered Egypt, Palestine, and Syria : three out of the four chief centres of Eastern Christianity had fallen, Jerusalem in 636, Antioch in 638, and Alexandria in 641 ; the Persian Empire was blotted out, after obstinate and atrocious conflicts, as that at Cadesia (636). Constantinople still held out, and twice in later days (669 and 716) repelled the invaders, but was also destined to yield. North Africa was subdued, and the churches that had withstood the Vandal shock were entirely swept away.

¹ See *The Caliphate*, by Sir Wm. Muir. R.T.S.

From Africa the invaders passed over to Spain, subverted the Visigothic kingdom, and founded the Moorish Khalifate of Cordova. They crossed the Pyrenees into France, and all Western Europe seemed at their mercy ; when Charles Martel,¹ the heroic son of the first Pepin, met the invading host, under their *Battle of* general Abderrahman, upon the plain of Tours, and *Tours, 732.* after five days' conflict gained what has been well characterized as one of "the fifteen decisive battles of the world."²

§ 2. CAUSES OF MOHAMMEDAN SUCCESS.

The successes of the Saracens, and the purposes of God in permitting so wide a devastation of His professed Church, have engaged the speculations of Christian thinkers from that time to this. On a subject so mysterious, it is impossible to dogmatize : but at least it must be said that the fact cannot be wholly explained by the theory of conscious imposture on the part of *The Mystery* Mohammed. Archbishop Trench has wisely written : *of Islam.* "If by 'impostor' we understand, and we can scarcely understand less, one who devised a cunningly-arranged system of fraud and falsehood, which then with the full consciousness that it was such he sought to impose upon others, impostor Mohammed was not. Deceiver I believe that he often was, but only where, not of course without his own sin, he was himself first deceived. On any scheme of simple and self-conscious imposture, it is altogether impossible to explain the results of his preaching, which has changed the face of so large a part of the world, given birth to a religion which for many centuries contended as on equal terms with the Christian ; and which, if waning now like the moon that is its symbol, yet still subsists a mighty power and passion in the hearts, and moulding the lives, of millions of our fellow-men."³

¹ Martel, "Hammer," like the Maccabæus of Jewish history, and the title of *Malleus Scotorum*, given to the English Edward I.

² See the work of Sir Edward Creasy bearing that title.

³ *Lectures on Mediæval Church History*, p. 49.

The truth appears to be that Mohammed began with a strong and passionate sense of the absurdities of the surrounding idolatry, that he had learned from the Old Testament the truth of the Divine Unity ; while he formed the notion that the Christianity *Belief of* of his day had misconceived the mission of Jesus, *Mohammed.* whom he still held to be a Prophet, but human only. Thus, with the egotism of the fanatic, he regarded himself as the prophet who was to crown the fabric of Divine revelation ; it being the duty of all men to accept and follow him. To him, again, the Divine Being was conceived chiefly as absolute Will and Power. Islam means "submission," and true religion was to bow unmurmuringly to one's destiny. For the Divine love, and for human free-will, there was no place in Mohammed's system. From his starting-point he was led on to the attempted enlistment on his side of human passions and prejudices. As so often *Fanaticism* happens in the warfare of opinion, the fanatic became *and deceit.* the deceiver, the schemer, unscrupulous and cruel. Most fanatics think deception, so far as seems necessary to their designs, to be holy and approved of God ; and thus resort to deception wherever they can employ it safely. To subdue men, they must appeal to what is grossest in human nature. Hence the remorselessness of Mohammed in dealing with enemies ; hence his indulgence of slavery and polygamy ; and hence also the sensuousness of his promised Paradise.

§ 3. THE CHURCH IN MOHAMMED'S DAY.

It is needful, also, to remember the character of that Christianity against which Mohammed called his followers to arms. The *War against* words of Isaac Taylor, author of *The Natural History* *a corrupt* of *Enthusiasm*, are strong, but justifiable. "What *Christianity.* Mohammed and his caliphs found in all directions whither their scimitars cut a path for them, was a superstition so abject, an idolatry so gross and shameless, Church doctrines so arrogant, Church practices so dissolute and so puerile, that the strong-minded Arabians felt themselves inspired as God's mes-

sengers to reprove the errors of the world, and authorized as God's avengers to punish apostate Christendom. The 'son of the bond-woman' was let loose from his deserts to 'mock' and to chastise 'the son of the free-woman.'" ¹ In truth, the iconoclastic controversies of a succeeding generation plainly showed how it was that Mohammed in his crusade against pagan idolatry was led to include in his condemnation many favourite usages of the Church.

It must be added that the divisions among Christians themselves afforded no slight vantage to their antagonists. Almost everywhere, as the result of theological and ecclesiastical feuds, the Church was *Divisions in the Churches.* enfeebled by strife and mutual misunderstanding. Nestorians in Syria and the surrounding countries, Eutychians and Jacobites in Egypt, with smaller companies of sectaries, proscribed and persecuted by orthodox rulers, were ready for counsels of disaffection; and in some instances they lent too ready an ear to those who seemed to offer a relief from spiritual despotism. They were soon disenchanted. The Saracen forces knew no compromise. "The Koran, or Death, or Tribute," was the conquerors' mandate. When once made tributary, Christians were left in many places to enjoy a nominal freedom. Hence we read of patriarchs, bishops, councils, existing in certain regions under Moslem rule; although some churches, like that of Carthage, made illustrious in the past by the names of Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Augustine, became utterly extinct.

¹ *Ancient Christianity*, vol. i. p. 266.

CHAPTER III.

SECTS AND CONTROVERSIES.

§ 1. THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.

ANOTHER question regarding the Person of our Lord remained for the speculative genius of the East. Nestorius had been condemned for his doctrine of the twofold Personality. Eutyches had been condemned for maintaining Christ's unity of Nature. "Two Natures combined in one Person" had at Chalcedon been declared the orthodox belief.¹ But now it was asked, "Was the *Will* of our Saviour twofold like His Nature, or one like His Person?" The question was raised by the Emperor Heraclius on his victorious return from the war against the Persian Chosroes (A.D. 629); and the patriarch Sergius was requested to solve the mystery. Sergius was greatly perplexed; no œcumenical council had decided this difficult point; but after consideration he with his brother patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria pronounced in favour of a single Will, falling back upon an expression of the pseudo-Dionysius, "the one theandric (divine-human) will and activity" (*energeia*). Strong opposition was raised to this view by Sophronius, a Palestinian monk, then in Alexandria, afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem; and the controversy became acute. Sergius, in a correspondence with Honorius of Rome, procured from that prelate an explicit assent to the doctrine of One Will—a fact, as we shall see, not without important issues. At this juncture the Emperor issued an *ecthesis*, or utterance on the subject, composed by Sergius, in which the "Dionysian" or

*Questions as
to our Lord's
Person.*

*Declarations
of Sergius
and
Honorius.*

*The
theandric
theory.*

¹ See page 299.

theandric doctrine is asserted. Two Synods in Constantinople "*Ecthesis*," of adopted the *ecthesis*, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Heraclius*, who had succeeded Sophronius, concurred. But it
639. met elsewhere with strong opposition, of which Maximus of Chrysopolis (Scutari) was the leader. It is recorded that Maximus, passing through Africa on his way to Rome, held a discussion (645) with Pyrrhus, who had succeeded Sergius, although deposed for a time; and succeeded in so completely converting him from the doctrine of the One Will, that on returning to Constantinople he maintained the doctrine of *Three Wills* in our Lord—two "natural" and one "personal."

Meantime the Roman bishops (John IV., Theodore, Martin) had successively disavowed the views of their predecessor Honorius. Constantinople and Rome were now therefore at open defiance. The Emperor Constans II., grandson of Heraclius, thought to reconcile the contending parties by a compromise; and, withdrawing the *ecthesis*, issued an edict called "*Type*" of the "*Type*" (*τύπος*, "model"), stating the two views, *Constans*, and declaring that neither of them was heretical.
648.

Only let the combatants on both sides rest in the Chalcedon decision, and each recognize the other's place in the Church, laying aside controversy, strife, and contention. This well-meant endeavour failed. The venerable Pope Martin would not hear of any compromise. On the one side was truth, on the other heresy! The incensed Emperor therefore commissioned his representative, the Exarch of Ravenna, to enforce the *Type* upon the Pope, and in case of his continued refusal to bring him prisoner to Constantinople. The order was executed with relent-

Persecution less severity. Martin was carried to Constantinople
of Pope and treated with cruel harshness, which he bore with
Martin I. dignity and courage. Maximus was also apprehended,
653. and both were banished—Martin to the Crimea, Maximus to Colchis, where in captivity and suffering they died. It was not the first nor the last time in the history of opinions that indifferencism proved itself even more relentless than dogmatism.

The controversy smouldered for many years, threatening to cause permanent division between East and West, although the "dyothelite" view, as the doctrine of the two Wills was afterwards compendiously called, had a considerable following in the Oriental churches. The *Type* was practically dead when its author, Constans II., was succeeded in 668 by Constantine Pogonatus (the Bearded). In the twelfth year of his reign, Constantine summoned to his metropolis a General Council (the *Sixth Œcumenical*, A.D. 680), called "the Trullan Council" from the place of its assemblage, *Trullus*, "palace with closed roof." The Pope Agatho, fifth in succession from Honorius, was represented by delegates, who brought with them a resolution against Monothelitism, adopted by a Synod in Rome. Agatho had also addressed a circular letter to the churches, somewhat after the model of the famous *Tome* of Leo the Great, and worthy of note from its detailed citation of New Testament passages bearing upon the distinctly Divine and distinctly human actions of our Lord.

"The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus opened the proceedings in person, attended by thirteen officers of the court. On his left hand were ranged the Roman legates, the Archbishop of Ravenna, and the remaining bishops subject to Rome; on his right hand were the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, with a representative of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and the remaining bishops subject to Constantinople. The proceedings were orderly. The whole history of the controversy was brought into evidence, with the correspondence between Sergius, Cyrus, and Honorius which had led the way. Eventually the assembled prelates affirmed their adhesion to the decisions of the five preceding General Councils, especially to the creeds of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon; further declaring it as doctrine of the Church, that there existed two wills and 'energies' harmonized in the One Person of our Lord, 'not opposed—God forbid!

Sixth Œcumenical Council, 680.

Letter of Pope Agatho.

Procedure of the Council.

Dyothelitic theory affirmed.

—as impious heretics have said,' but the human absolutely subject to the Divine; John vi. 38 being quoted."¹ The decision was all but unanimous; the patriarch George of Constantinople concurring after some hesitation; while Macarius of Antioch, still adhering to the Monothelite theory, was deposed. A comprehensive anathema, after the usual style of the councils, was pronounced against opponents, including Sergius and his successors, and specifically Pope Honorius.²

At this Council the title of Universal Bishop, disclaimed by Gregory, was given to Pope Agatho by his representatives, and was thereafter generally assumed by the Roman pontiffs. It is clear that the thought of papal infallibility had not yet dawned upon the minds of the Council, and their distinct unmistakable anathema has to be taken into account in all discussions of the Church doctrine upon this subject.³

"This Monothelite dispute," in the impressive words of Dean Waddington, "had lasted fifty years; and it is a painful but

¹ See the whole definition in the Greek original, from the *Concilia of Mansi*, in Gieseler's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 176, Clark.

² The Council was not without singular episodes. At its fifteenth sitting, a Thracian presbyter, Polychronius, declared that he had seen a vision, in which a being of indescribable glory had appeared to him in the midst of a white-robed company, and had announced that those who did not accept the One Will and the Theandric Energy were no Christians. To attest the truth of the revelation, Polychronius offered to raise a dead man to life. Accordingly, in the presence of a great company of people, he spent several hours in vain incantations over the corpse, on which the people cried out against him as a new Simon Magus. But Polychronius remained unconvinced.

³ The defence of Pope Honorius,

by upholders of the Infallibility, is mainly threefold. Controversialists on that side must settle amongst themselves which view they prefer: (1) It is alleged that *the Council erred*—not of course in the matter of faith—that would be to fall from Scylla into Charybdis—but in matter of fact. Honorius, it is said, never really asserted the Monothelite doctrine. (2) It is pleaded that Honorius was blamed, not for any *adoption* of the heresy, but only for *his negligence in suppressing* it. (3) It is asserted, yet more boldly, that Honorius was *never condemned at all*, the Acts of the Council to this purport having been corrupted. The authorities in support of these respective positions are cited in the *Dict. Christian Biog.*, article "Honorius." To any or all of these, the genuine records of the council supply an adequate refutation. See Mansi.

necessary reflection, that during its continuance, while the attention of Christendom was in some degree engaged by *Monothelite controversy and Mohammedan progress.* it, the Mohammedans had found time to convert Arabia and to complete the conquest of Persia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; the three patriarchal thrones, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, had fallen into their hands; and Carthage itself was already on the point of undergoing the same fate."

The question was now practically at rest; for although the *Attempt to restore Monothelitism.* Emperor Philippicus Bardanes in the next century (A.D. 711, 712) attempted to restore the ascendancy of the Monothelite doctrine, he entirely failed.

As in the General Council just described, as well as in that which preceded it (Constantinople, A.D. 553), attention had been devoted rather to the controversies of the hour than to laws affecting the constitution of the Church, a kind of supplemental council was held in the Trullus by command of the *Concilium Quinisextum*, Emperor Justinian II., at which 102 canons were passed, to confirm, repeal, or codify earlier regulations. The Council was called *Quinisextum* (fifth-sixth) to mark its connection with the two preceding. Its canons were subscribed by the Emperor and the four Eastern patriarchs, also by the papal representatives at Constantinople; but the Pope (Sergius I.) refused his assent;¹ and this refusal was the first serious step towards the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

§ 2. PAULICIANISM.

A movement by which the churches in the East were long agitated, and which was marked by unprecedented cruelty of

¹ The canons to which the Pope particularly objected were (2) the recognition of 85 "apostolic" regulations, whereas Rome acknowledged only 50; (13) the permission of clergy married before ordination to retain their wives; (36) the rank conceded (as at Chalcedon) to the Patriarch of

Constantinople; (55) the prohibition of fasting on Saturdays, Easter eve excepted; (67) the prohibition of eating blood and things strangled; and (82) the requirement that representations of our Lord shall be in human form and not under the figure of a Lamb.

persecution, was that of the Paulicians. The origin of the sect *Constantine* was in Samosata, noted for having in the seventh century given to Antioch its heretical patriarch Paul *of Samosata,* the "Psilanthropist."¹ His name, however, is connected with Paulicianism rather from the accident of locality than from any similarity of doctrine. Constantine, a dweller in the neighbourhood,² a man of ability, it is said of Manichæan descent, and certainly versed in the speculations of Gnostic dualism, had, about the middle of the seventh century, received and hospitably entertained a Christian deacon, a refugee from Saracen captivity. On departing, the grateful guest presented his host with a copy of the New Testament—a book with which Constantine had hitherto been acquainted only in scattered portions. He was greatly attracted by the Pauline Epistles, with their antitheses of Flesh and Spirit, Law and Grace. These seemed to give form and distinctness to his dualistic speculations; and the system of doctrine to which he was thus led was preached by him with fervour. For greater freedom in his work, Constantine travelled northwards, crossing the Taurus range, and established himself at Cibossa, a town on the frontiers of Pontus and Armenia, not far from the famous city of Neo-Cæsarea. Soon he gained many adherents, on whom the title of Paulicians was bestowed, from *Dualism and Pauline theology.* "Paulicians," the name of the apostle. Some say that the name was given them at first by their enemies, some that they themselves assumed it.³ It is certain that it became the appellation by which they were generally known; although they preferred to call their community "The Holy, Universal, and Apostolic Church." Still further to mark their veneration for the apostle, their leaders assumed the name of his companions: Constantine himself was called Silvanus; others were Titus, Timothy, Epaphroditus, Tychicus, and so on.

¹ See p. 188.

² The village where he lived was called Mananalis—otherwise unknown; Samosata, it will be remembered, is

in the upper Euphrates on the northern border of Syria.

³ Compare the origin of the name "Christians," Acts xi. 26.

It is not altogether easy to state the exact doctrines of Constantine and his followers. The contemporary accounts of the Paulicians that have survived are almost wholly from their opponents, who, as in other cases of alleged heresy, may have misconceived or misrepresented them. The chief charge against them was that of Manichæism—a charge which Gibbon has made familiar, employing indeed the names of Paulician and Manichæan as convertible. Their chief literary opponents of later day, Photius (d. 891) and Petrus Siculus (in the same century), write against them under the name of Manichæans, although Constantine and his followers had explicitly repudiated the doctrines of Mani, and there is no valid reason for disbelieving their disclaimer. That, as was also charged against them, they also maintained Docetic views in regard to the humanity of our Lord is equally a mistake.

Such misconceptions may be decisively set aside by aid of a recently-discovered work, *The Key of Truth*, which is believed on good grounds accurately to reflect the opinions and rights of the Paulicians from the eighth to the twelfth centuries.¹ Taking this work as a guide, we may at once acquit them of the charge of Docetism. They held rather the doctrine which at a later date was formulated, as we shall see, in Spain as "Adoptionism." Our Lord, they held, born of the Virgin in perfect, sinless humanity, received in baptism the Divine Sonship, in which we also, through Him but in a lower degree, may partake.

Our baptism, therefore, as the counterpart to His own, is to be conferred in mature life, as Jesus was baptized at the age of thirty; its prerequisites being repentance and faith. With the third affusion, the Holy Spirit enters the candidate, and the Evil One is thenceforth excluded.

¹ A MS. copy of this work has been preserved in the library of the Holy Synod at Edjmiatzin in S.E. Armenia. Here it was seen (1891) by Mr. Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., who obtained a copy, and has since published it in the original Armenian,

with a translation, introduction, and copious notes (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898). The work is attributed by Mr. Conybeare, on what seems satisfactory evidence, to the ninth century A. D.

This explicit reference to Satan is in accord with their whole system. It is evident that they had a most lively sense of the presence and power of the impersonated principle of evil. The doctrines against which they protested are uniformly described as "devilish." But this devilism was by no means Manichæan; evil was not eternal; and "the adversary," as in the New Testament, was still subject to the Omnipotent Lord.

But the true reason of the hatred with which the Paulicians were regarded must be found in their outspoken antagonism to prevailing beliefs and practices. They denounced the adoration of saints and the worship of images. They maintained that the *Their* brothers of the Lord were the sons of Joseph and *antagonisms.* Mary. To them the cross of wood, as they contemptuously termed it, was a symbol not to be venerated but abhorred. They disowned all clerical orders: the ministry of the Church, they held, in its different departments, was a function, conferring no official superiority, and comprising prophets, teachers or pastors, evangelists, and "notaries." They termed their places of worship, not temples but oratories, or *proseuchæ*, according to Acts xvi. 13. Their authority was the New Testament, the reading of which they enjoined upon all; still preferring the Pauline Epistles, but honouring also the Four Gospels, and indeed the entire book, excepting the Epistles of Peter, which they rejected, partly for what was accounted their Judaic character, and partly because Peter was regarded as antagonistic to Paul. The Old Testament they regarded as given by inspiration of a spirit inferior to the Divine. Here also is a relic of the early Gnosticism.

The six particulars in which the charges against the Paulicians were formulated by their theological opponents are *Charges* thus easily explicable, not as wholly false accusations, *against them* nor by any means as an impartial or complete *formulated.* statement, but rather as a distortion of fact, such as hostility and prejudice were sure to make. The points selected were these—

(1) They hold that the world was framed by a Being inferior to the Supreme.

(2) They condemn the Blessed Virgin Mary (no doubt this means that they deny her perpetual virginity, and refuse to worship her).

(3) They refuse to celebrate the Eucharist.

(4) They load the Cross of Christ with contempt and reproach (evidently referring to their refusal to pay honour to the "cross of wood").

(5) They reject, after the manner of the Gnostics, the books of the Old Testament, and regard their authors as inspired by the Creator (Demiurgus), not by the Supreme.

(6) They exclude presbyters and elders from all part in the administration of the Church (a charge plainly founded on their rejection of the ministry as an Order).

That the life of these "premature Protestants" was pure and exemplary is well attested, although strange unsupported accusations of profligacy were brought against them. The worst that could fairly be said was that they were too apt to dissemble their beliefs in the presence of their persecutors, and even to join in the services of the Church while in heart repudiating them.

For about seven-and-twenty years, the labours of Constantine Silvanus at Cibossa and in the neighbourhood continued without serious interruption. About 684, however, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus was urged to take measures against the growing community. He sent a commissioner, Simeon by name, to demand submission to the orthodox Church, or on refusal to take extreme measures. Simeon found them firm and determined; and with a refinement of cruelty, set Silvanus in front of a company of his disciples, commanding them to stone him to death. Only one, Justus by name, was found base enough to comply, and the teacher fell a victim. Such, however, was the effect of the scene, and of subsequent intercourse with the Paulician community, that Simeon

*Morality of
the
Paulicians.*

*Persecution
and
martyrdom.*

himself embraced the doctrine, became the successor of the martyred Silvanus under the name of Titus, and, on the information of the apostate Justus, suffered at the stake (690), on the very spot where a heap of stones formed his predecessor's memorial. He was succeeded first by Paul of Armenia,¹ then by *Succeeding teachers of the community.* Gegnæsius son of Paul (715), who, being charged with heresy before the Emperor Leo, "the Isaurian," escaped, it is said, through some unworthy evasion, and carried on his work for thirty years. Divisions followed; with fresh persecutions, which caused much lawlessness and rebellion; and late in the century one Baanes, leader of the community, an immoral man, brought discredit on the Paulician name. In the following century (801-835) a new leader, Sergius by name ("Tychicus"), reorganized the community by his wisdom and devotedness, and saved it for a time. But after his death by assassination, the Paulicians were weakened by division, and *The Empress Theodora.* their power was broken by the persecuting Empress Theodora, no fewer than one hundred thousand being hanged, beheaded, or drowned. The remnant for some time maintained a troubled existence; the mountain village of Thonrak appears to have been their refuge; whence the appellation "Thondracians," under which name they were violently attacked by Gregory Magistros, Duke of Mesopotamia (eleventh century), whose wild invectives still survive.²

The influence of the Paulician doctrines, reaching Western Europe through the agency of refugees from persecution, continued long after the practical extinction of the sect, and was apparent in the teaching of the Cathari, the Albigenses, and other Reformers before the Reformation.

¹ Some have erroneously attributed the name of the sect to this leader. The confusion, in fact, between Paul the Apostle, Paul of Samosata, and Paul of Armenia, to whom the name of another Paul, with John his brother,

has been added, as the founders of the sect before Constantine Silvanus, has been not a little misleading.

² See *The Key of Truth*, appendix iii. p. 141.

§ 3. RENEWED ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSIES.

The question of images and pictures in churches, already discussed by Gregory I. in his Epistle to Serenus of Marseilles,¹ again became prominent in the eighth century. During the hundred and twenty years since Gregory's death, the practice had greatly developed. Not only were the pictures revered, as
Images and pictures in churches. among ignorant worshippers was sure to be the case, but a supernatural character was attributed to them. Some of them were believed to have been made without hands. There were pictures said to be painted by St. Luke, images fashioned by our Lord Himself! Portraits of the Virgin were alleged to weep, pictures of the saints became famous for cures attributed to them; in fact, superstition had free play, especially in the East, but also in the colder and less imaginative West. Mohammedanism had taken full advantage of the growing habit, and not unnaturally stigmatized Christians as idolaters. The more thoughtful grieved, but the custom seemed to have too great a hold upon the popular mind to be successfully attacked.

At length the Emperor Leo, surnamed the Isaurian, from his
Edict of Leo, 726. early home among the Taurus mountains, was induced to take measures against a practice which revolted his rough and sturdy nature. He had successfully repelled the Moslem attack upon Constantinople (A.D. 718), and probably wished to do away with one cause of Mohammedan enmity. At any rate, he issued an edict of the nature of a compromise. The pictures and images might remain, but on condition of their being placed too high for the worshippers to touch or kiss them! But the compromise failed. Germanus, the aged patriarch, refused compliance with the Emperor's order: the monks and people were furious; John of Damascus, the ablest theologian of the age, issued three tracts against the "sacrilegious" proceeding. "It is
Resistance. John of Damascus. not the business of the Emperor," wrote the fiery Damascene, "to make laws for the Church. Apostles preached the Gospel; the welfare of the State is the

¹ See p. 354.

monarch's care—pastors and teachers attend to that of the Church.”

Pope Gregory II. added his protest. In Western Greece the popular frenzy ran so high that a fleet and army were dispatched to attack Constantinople, and to place one Kosmos on the imperial throne. Leo, however, had no difficulty in repelling this onslaught. The fleet was routed and Kosmos beheaded. Leo, while treating the rest of the insurgents with mildness, reinforced his original decree with one of greater stringency, convoking his senators and counsellors, and with them commanding that images were to be removed from all churches throughout the Empire.¹

The military were sent to enforce the injunction; many popular risings occurred and were sternly suppressed. Pope Gregory in vain protested, and Gregory III., who succeeded him *Contest between Pope (731), calling a synod, excommunicated all enemies of and Emperor.* images. Leo replied by depriving the Pope of his revenues from Southern Italy, transferring Illyria from papal rule to that of the patriarchs of Constantinople. Thus the conflict became more and more acute, and another link was severed in the fellowship of East and West.

The son and successor of Leo, Constantine V., surnamed Copronymus (741–775), was an even more zealous Iconoclast than his father. He could not, however, prevail against the popular feeling, and found it expedient to convene a Council of the whole Church to consider the matter. Accordingly in A.D. 754 there assembled at Constantinople “the most numerous assembly of the Christian clergy which had ever been collected together for ecclesiastical legislation.”² The patriarchate was vacant by the death of Anastasius, successor to Germanus. The other three patriarchates of the East, Antioch, Alexandria, and *Council at Constanti- nople, 754.* Jerusalem, were in Moslem occupation, and sent no representatives. Rome, in the person of Stephen III., disdained to take any part in its proceedings. The claim of the Council to be œcumenical has therefore been disallowed. Theo-

¹ See Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. ch. 1.

² Finlay, vol. ii. p. 57.

dosius, archbishop of Ephesus, presided. "The decisions were all against image-worship, which the Council declared to be contrary to Scripture, a pagan and antichristian practice, the abolition of which was necessary to avoid leading Christians into temptation. Even the use of the crucifix was condemned, on the ground that the only true symbol of the Incarnation was the Bread and Wine which Christ had commanded to be received for the remission of sins." In their zeal, the assembled bishops went much farther. All sacred art was alike proscribed, all representations of our Lord, in painting or sculpture, were stigmatized as either Nestorian or Eutychian. Pictures, crucifixes, images, and symbols of every kind, not only as employed in churches, but for private use in house or monastery, were forbidden; and the artists who fashioned them were to be excommunicated. To crown the whole, as no council was complete without its *Anathemas*, anathemas, the assembly declared the names of the venerable Germanus, the late patriarch, and of John the Damascene, still living in his quiet monastic retreat, to be accursed.

It was impossible that the decrees of such a council should pass without opposition. Thousands of recusant monks were *Persecutions*, imprisoned, scourged, banished, and in other ways maltreated. Others suffered bravely in defence of their favourite superstition. But the churches everywhere throughout the Empire were despoiled and stripped, although it may be questioned whether purity and simplicity of worship were thereby secured; for the Council at Constantinople had uttered corresponding anathemas against all who should oppose the religious veneration of Mary and the Saints.

In Rome a Lateran Synod (769) under Felix III. denounced the decisions of Constantinople, and anathematized the Council. For a time at least image-worship, driven from the East, found countenance and protection in the West. But this state of things was not to last.

*Rome main-
tains image-
worship.*

The successor of Constantine Copronymus, Leo. IV., was
Leo IV., equally opposed to the worship of images. But his
Irene, and queen Irene was strongly in favour of the practice,
Constantine and when left a widow in 780, her son Con-
VI. stantine VI. being a minor, she promoted it in every way. After
 a while she wrote to the Pope (Hadrian I.), inviting him to a
 Council at Constantinople to reconsider the decrees of 754. The
 Pope, after long delay, sent presbyters to represent him. The
 Council, however, was broken up by disturbances arising chiefly
 from the military, who held by their late Emperor, and it was
 eventually resolved to remove it to Nicæa, partly for
Second quietness' sake, partly from the prestige of the place.
Council at It was attended by 350 bishops or their representa-
Nicæa, 787. tives, the legates of Pope Hadrian occupying the
Seventh chief place, and Tarasius, the newly-appointed Patriarch of Con-
Œcumenical. stantinople, a great adherent of the Empress-mother, the second.
 There were eight sessions, extending over a month, the last being
 adjourned to the Palace of Irene at Constantinople. At the first,
 the process of recantation began. Several bishops hastened to
Recantations. renounce their iconoclastic professions and to disown
 the proceedings of 754. But the arguments for what was a fore-
 gone conclusion need not be recounted. This was reached at the
 seventh session, to the effect that "images of our Lord and His
 saints should be set up in the same manner as the figure of the
 precious and life-giving Cross—both those which are in colours or
 mosaic, and those of other suitable material, in the holy churches
 of God, on sacred vessels and vestments, on walls and boards, on
 houses and by the wayside—the images, to wit, of our Lord and God
 and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the one undefiled
Decree restor- Lady, the holy mother of God, and of the honourable
ing image- angels and all saints and holy men. For the more
worship. frequently they are seen in their pictured resemblance, the more
 are those who behold them stirred up to the recollection and love
 of their prototypes, and the offering to them of salutation and
 honorific worship; not indeed true supreme worship (*latreia*)

according to our faith, which is due to the Divine Nature alone ; but that, according to the pious custom of the ancients, an offering of incense and lights shall be made in their honour, in the same manner as to the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross, and to the holy Gospels, and to other sacred ornaments. For the honour of the image passes on to the original, and he who worships the image worships in it the person of him who is therein depicted."

This Nicæan assembly is known as the Seventh Œcumenical Council, and was indeed the last in which the Eastern and Western Churches united. John of Damascus did not live to see the triumph of his cause and the removal of the anathema from his name, although the precise date of his death is unknown.

Irene was now mistress of the situation. About ten years afterwards her son, the nominal Emperor Constantine VI., was deprived of his sight and kingdom at her instigation ; but she in turn was expelled from power (802) by Nicephorus. In the early

*Temporary
iconoclastic
reactions.*

part of the ninth century there was some return at intervals to iconoclasm, notably under Leo the Armenian (813). His successors, Michael and Theophilus, were also adverse to image-worship, and a reaction appeared imminent ; but on the death of the latter (842), his widow Theodora, regardless of an oath to her dying husband, promoted the reaffirmation of the Nicæan decrees. Again, therefore, through a woman's agency, this form of idolatry was

*"Orthodox
Sunday,"
842.*

established in the churches ; and the anniversary of the triumph of images in 842 has ever since been celebrated in the Greek Church on the first Sunday in Lent under the name of the Festival of Orthodoxy.

These particulars properly belong to the next period of the history ; but it must be added here that in the Western Church the iconoclastic spirit to a large extent prevailed. To this we

*"Capitular-
ies" of Char-
lemagne.*

must return in the next part of our work, only noting here that in 790 Charles (Charlemagne), then King of the Franks, wrote or caused to be written a work,

long famous, against the decree of the Nicæan Council. It was known as *Libri Carolini* or *Capitulare Prolixum*, and was ineffectually answered by Pope Hadrian.

The royal author (or perhaps Alcuin in his name) decidedly rejects image-worship, but allows the use of images for ornament and devotion, supporting his view with Scripture passages and patristic quotations. The spirit and aim of the book are almost Protestant. The chief thoughts are these:—God alone is to be

His worshipped and adored (“colendus et adorandus”).
Argument Saints are only to be revered (“venerandi”).
 (? *Alcuin's*). Images are by no means to be worshipped. To bow or kneel before them, to salute or kiss them, to burn incense or to light candles before them, is idolatrous and superstitious. It is far better to search the Scriptures, which know nothing of such practices. The tales of miracles wrought by images are inventions of the imagination or deceptions of the evil spirit. “On the other hand,” he says, “the iconoclasts in their honest zeal against idolatry went too far in rejecting images altogether. The legitimate proper use of images is to adorn the churches, and to perpetuate and popularize the memory of the persons and events which they represent. Yet even this is not necessary; for a Christian should be able without sensuous means to rise to the contemplation of the virtues of the saints, and to ascend to the fountain of eternal light. Man is made in the image of God, and hence capable of receiving Christ into his soul. God should be ever present and adored in our hearts. O unfortunate memory, which can realize the presence of Christ only by means of a picture drawn in colours! The Council of Nicæa committed a great wrong in condemning those who do not worship images.”¹

In the year 794 a council was held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, under the presidency of Charlemagne, which unanimously condemned the adoration and services declared by the synod of the *Frankfort* Greeks to be due to the images of the saints. In all *Council.* these protests of the great king we discern the

¹ See Dr. Schaff, *History of Mediæval Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 468.

prompting of his wise and devout counsellor Alcuin. It was in this Council of Frankfort also that, as will be shown in the next section, a growing heresy as to our Lord's Person was decisively condemned.

§ 4. ADOPTIONISM.

Another phase of Christological speculation, towards the close of the eighth century, largely occupied the attention of the Western Churches. Its immediate origin is obscure: one account is that Elipand, the aged archbishop of Toledo, and primate of Spain, became involved in controversy with one Megetius, who had propounded a strange variation on old Sabellian theories, maintaining that the threefold Divine manifestation to mankind had been in David as the Father, in Jesus as the Son, and in the Apostle Paul as the Holy Ghost! In reply, the archbishop was led to insist upon the distinct personality of the Son, and was brought to the conclusion that the filial relation of Christ's humanity to the Godhead was not original and essential, but conferred upon Him by an act of Divine "Adoption." Such a theory in fact had often been floating in the minds of speculative thinkers, especially when treating of Christ's baptism, in which act, it was suggested, the humanity of Jesus, the perfect man, was raised to the Divine.¹ Elipand laid the question before Felix, bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, a divine of considerable ability and learning, who was able to adduce passages from the Fathers that seemed to bear out the conclusion, at the same time laying stress on those passages of Scripture which affirmed the essential subordination of the Son.

The doctrine of Adoptionism, as it was termed, spread rapidly through Spain, appearing to its adherents to afford a rational ground of argument against Mohammedan objectors to the

¹ A remarkable various reading in some early MSS. of Luke iii. 22 represents the Father as declaring at Christ's baptism, "Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee." The Paulicians, it will have been noted, had held substantially adoptionist views.

doctrine of the Trinity ; while on the other hand it was strongly resisted, as tending to the Nestorian heresy. Pope Hadrian I. denounced the doctrine in an Epistle to the Spanish bishops ; and Felix was summoned to a council at Ratisbon, where he ably defended his opinions, but at length owned himself defeated. The Council at Frankfort under Charlemagne renewed the emphatic condemnation of adoptionism ; and Alcuin composed a treatise against the doctrine in seven chapters, which he quaintly entitled his *Five Loaves and Two Little Fishes*. Meantime Felix had withdrawn his recantation and reaffirmed the doctrine, occasioning further conferences at Friuli (796) and Rome (799), as well as a controversial though not unfriendly correspondence with Alcuin. The end was that Felix was summoned to Aix-la-Chapelle, to the court of Charlemagne, and detained there until his death. Both he and Elipand maintained their views to the last.

CHAPTER IV.

EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES: END OF THE PERIOD.

§ I. MUTUAL JEALOUSIES.

THE two centuries that separated the era of Gregory from that of Charlemagne were for the most part a time of jealous *Rome and the East.* and watchful neutrality between the Eastern and the Western Churches. There was no fresh struggle for supremacy over Christendom, as there had been between Gregory and John Jejunator. For a time the age of great popes and great patriarchs was over; and a series of undistinguished ecclesiastics fill the annals of Rome and Constantinople. Politically, Rome remained a part of the Eastern Empire. The successive viceroys of the Emperors, the Exarchs of Ravenna, were the instruments of what was often a nominal sovereignty, chiefly active when questions arose respecting the appointment or the confirmation of a pope. The Mohammedan conflict exhausted the energies of the East, and taxed to the utmost the watchfulness and the *The Lombard monarchy.* strategy of the West. In Italy the Lombard monarchs were in uneasy alliance with the Roman prelates, broken by frequent quarrels. Under Luitbrand, the greatest of their kings (712-744), their power culminated. After his death the Exarchate fell for a short time into Lombard hands. But at the appeal of the Pope, the Franks appeared upon the scene. The line of Clovis the Merovingian, once so powerful, died out in the persons of weak and indolent sovereigns, and was finally extinguished in the abdication of Childeric, who retired from his throne to a monastic cell. Pope Zacharias had been called in to advise as to the Frank succession. His counsel was that a feeble and effete monarchy should be superseded by one more vigorous

and efficient. Pepin, "Mayor of the Palace," son of Charles Martel, the conqueror at Tours, was accordingly crowned by Boniface, "the Apostle of Germany." All was now changed; the Exarchate was captured, with the "Pentapolis," the lands between the Apennines and the Adriatic, from Ferrara to Ancona. This newly-won territory Pepin soon after presented, in a great "Donation," to the Papal See, and thus the temporal power of the popes began.

*Accession
of Pepin,*
752.

*His "Donation"
to the
Papal See,*
756.

§ 2. CHARLEMAGNE.

Charles succeeded his father as King of the Franks in 768; at first in association with his younger brother Carloman, and on the death of the latter in 771, as the sole ruler of the Frankish Empire with its vassal German nations. These were nominally Christian; only the Saxon people on the north-east were still pagans, and stubbornly held to their independence. To be converted, in the view of the new monarch, these must first be conquered; and his war against them must reckon among the great exploits or the darkest blots of his reign, according to the point of view that may be taken. What is certain is, that, Charles having crossed and recrossed the Alps in his victorious campaign against the Lombards, many thousands of the warlike Saxons tendered their homage at Paderborn, and were baptized into the Christian faith. There followed the expedition into Spain, with the famous struggle and reverse at Roncesvalles, when the brave Roland was slain. During the absence of the Frankish army the Saxons took occasion to revolt, but the rebellion was avenged by Charles in the most relentless fashion, four thousand five hundred prisoners being slain in cold blood. The struggle nevertheless continued, occupying from first to last no fewer than thirty-three years and eighteen campaigns, until at last Wittikind, the Saxon chieftain, owned himself subdued by the "God of Charlemagne," and received baptism at Attigny (785). Bishoprics were now estab-

*Accession of
Charles.*

*War against
the Saxons,*
777.

lished throughout the conquered territory ; the still irreconcilable heathen inhabitants found a refuge among the Northmen ; and Charles crowned his work by deporting thousands of families from suspected districts, and filling their places with loyal settlers. So at length the whole of Western Europe was included in the Christian brotherhood. Apologists for Mohammedanism, in reply to the charge of propagating Islam by the sword, are not unnaturally prone to retort by pointing to the sanguinary conversion of the Saxon people by Charles the Great.

On Christmas Day, A.D. 800, Charles was worshipping in the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome. At one part of the service Pope *Coronation of Leo III.* suddenly placed a golden crown upon the *Charles as* King's head, declaring him King of Italy and Emperor. *Emperor,* Dec. 25, 800. The people welcomed their new Augustus with enthusiastic acclamations ; the royal anointing followed, and the Pope did homage to his sovereign. Charles was accustomed to aver that his coronation was unexpected and undesired by him, but it is hard to believe that so august a ceremonial was without previous concert and preparation. Be this as it may, the act marked, as it has been said, the beginning of modern Europe. "A barbarian monarch, a Teuton, was declared the successor of the Cæsars."¹

§ 3. WIDENING BREACH BETWEEN THE CHURCHES.

One immediate consequence of the new imperial appointment was an increasing alienation of Eastern from Western Christendom. The distance between Rome and Constantinople, the diversity in language and race, the discordant elements of national character, were ever-fresh provocatives of antagonism. A widening discrepancy in ecclesiastical usages and habits, as well as in doctrine, tended to weaken the idea of the *one* Catholic Church. There was the *Filioque* of the Latins, symbol to the Greeks of a heresy ;

¹ Dean Milman.

there was the *Quicumque*, which the Greeks never accepted as a *Theological and ecclesiastical differences.* formula of their faith. Among ceremonial institutions, the trine immersion in baptism, the participation by the laity in both kinds at the Lord's Supper, the practice of infant communion, the use of the vernacular in Church worship, were distinctions which all the world might see. Still more significant was the liberty of priests and deacons to marry. True, the permission, which was a note of the Eastern Church, was fenced about with restrictions. Altogether withheld from the bishops, it was granted to the parochial clergy only before ordination. But, with Rome, the enforced celibacy of the priesthood is a main stay of her anti-scriptural power; and this alone constituted, and still constitutes, any irreconcilable difference between the two Churches.¹

Such differences, and the controversies thence arising, could not but keep jealousy and animosity alive. The popes, as their power increased, could not endure any form of dependence, *Beginnings of severance.* political or ecclesiastical, on a government which stood as the symbol of rebellion against their authority. Neither Leo nor Charles probably understood how the ceremony of that Christmas Day was to presage the great schism of Christendom. But this was for succeeding ages to prove.

¹ Dean Stanley writes: "It is a startling sight to the traveller, after long wandering in the South of Europe, to find himself among the mountains of Greece or Asia Minor, once more under the roof of a married pastor, and to see the table of the parish priest furnished, as it might be in Protestant England or Switzerland, by the hands of an acknowledged wife."

PART V.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE
SEVERANCE BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST.

RISE OF "THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE."

A.D. 800—1054.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.



* * * For the names of Emperors, Popes, and Patriarchs, see *Chronological Tables*.

	A. D.
Death of Alcuin, Charlemagne's adviser	804
Renewed Iconoclastic Controversies	815
Benedict of Aniane : Monastic Reformer	817
Anskar : "Apostle of Northern Europe"	826
Claude, Bishop of Turin	831
Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals published	832
Final restoration of Image-worship	842
Eucharistic Controversies : Radbert and Ratramn	844
Renewed Persecution of the Paulicians	845
Predestinarian Controversies : Gottschalk	847
Cyril and Methodius : "Apostles of the Slavonians"	855
Ignatius and Photius : Rival Patriarchs	858
Bulgaria evangelized	861
Rival "Ecumenical" Councils at Constantinople (<i>Eighth</i>)	869-879
Alfred the Great, King of England	871
Mohammedans threaten Rome	876
Monastery of Clugny founded	910
Approaching end of the world predicted	950
Olgar of Russia embraces Christianity	955
Hungary recognized as a Christian Kingdom	1000
Council of Sutri affirms the Imperial Supremacy	1046
Renewed Eucharistic Controversies : Berengar	1050
Michael Kerularius—Severance of Eastern and Western Churches	1053

CHAPTER I.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE EMPIRE.

§ I. IDEALS OF THE EMPEROR : CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

THE Latin-French form in which the name of the Emperor Charles the Great most commonly occurs¹ is apt to obscure the fact of his Teutonic descent. Charlemagne, in truth, was *Charlemagne* wholly German. His metropolis was Aachen (Aix-la-German. Chapelle); German was his mother-tongue, although he was familiar too with Latin. To the polished inhabitants of Italy he was a barbarian, and to a great extent the instincts of the barbarian remained. His methods of evangelization, as we have seen in the case of the Saxons, were stern and remorseless. In his domestic relations he was irregular, even beyond the limits of *His character* Teuton licence. But he was, beyond all things, a man *and purpose.* of ideas. His ruling purpose was the transference of the old Roman dominion, with its mighty traditions, to Germanic rule, in which, with prevision clear or dim, he beheld the future of Christendom. He held fast, also, to the ecclesiastical as well as to the civil ideal. As Christian Emperor he sought to tread, with as much closeness as the circumstances of the era permitted, in the steps of Constantine, of Theodosius, and of Justinian. It is related that among the books chosen for reading to him at meal-times, Augustine's *City of God* had a foremost place. The great theologian and the great Emperor alike desired, although from different points of view, to see a divine state on earth—the spiritual and the secular in union. Of the spiritual, Charlemagne

¹ His is the only instance of Maistre, "was this man, that his very "greatness" being blended with the name is penetrated with his greatness." name. "So great," says Joseph de

was content that the Bishop of Rome should be the representative, *The twofold dominion.* his authority being theoretically co-ordinate with that of the Emperor; but often practically subordinate, as events were to prove. In such a partnership, in fact, it is impossible to keep the functions strictly apart. The Emperor himself took the largest view of his own share in the ecclesiastical prerogative.

While he was yet but King of the Franks, the Council of Frankfort, already noted, had shown his disposition to meddle with civil affairs of every description. The temporal interests of the Church were avowedly his care. Hence his measures for its *His early policy.* defence against external foes from the North and East — Norsemen, Huns, and Saracens. Hence also his munificent endowments. Pepin his father had enriched the Church by the famous "Donation" of territory and revenue. This Charlemagne confirmed and increased; he made tithes a legal obligation instead of a voluntary offering, or one simply enforced by ecclesiastical penalties, as before; he founded schools and libraries, made the education of all freeborn male children compulsory; but his *Capitularies* deal with matters more closely connected with the interior life of the Church. He prescribed rules and methods for the training of the clergy; he ordered conformity to ritual; he discouraged the use of pictures and images in churches; in fact, he declared himself *Episcopus episcoporum*. It was fortunate for his plans that all through his imperial career he had to deal with one and the same pope, Leo III., by whom he had been anointed and crowned. The fact of his coronation, however, had an unforeseen tendency to exalt the *Pope and Emperor.* papal pretensions. What the Pope bestowed the Pope might take away; and the mutual understanding between the two powers, which worked so smoothly in the days of Charles, too soon turned into bitter rivalry. Leo survived the great Emperor for rather more than two years, and before he passed away, the barque of the Church was already in troubled waters.

§ 2. CHARLEMAGNE'S IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

The reign of Louis the Pious, or the "Gentle," with the angry *Louis le* strifes which marked its close, belongs to secular *Debonnaire.* history. The significant ecclesiastical facts are, that, before its close, the Pope (Gregory IV.) had to be called in to mediate between the estimable but feeble Emperor and his rebellious sons; and that, at more than one stage in the conflict, Louis was compelled to do penance for some real or imaginary offence—an instinctive comment on the imposing schemes which formed the basis of the "Holy Roman Empire."¹

Louis died in 840, and was succeeded as King of the Franks by his son Charles the Bald, who reigned thirty-seven years, but was crowned as Emperor only two years before his death, his half-brother Lothair having preceded him, and the division of the Empire having commenced in the battle of Fontenay and the partition of Verdun (843).

The succession of Charles to the imperial dignity was marked by a momentous transaction with the Pope (John VIII). *Charles the* The new Emperor, in return for the Pope's complais- *Bald and Pope* *John VIII.* ance, renounced, on behalf of his successors, the right to interfere in papal elections for the future. It was not until the year 962 that Otho the Great reasserted the imperial claim. To its abandonment by Charles, it may be plausibly said, much of the terrible disorder which degraded the Papacy during the tenth century was due. "The removal of imperial superintendence had thrown the election entirely into the hands of an unprincipled nobility, an intriguing clergy, and a venal populace, whose united fraud and violence usually favoured the most flagitious candidate, and promoted his success by means the most shameful."²

The Carolingian imperial dynasty, so grandly inaugurated on that Christmas Day of A.D. 800, died out in the contemptible personality of Charles "the Fat" (888). Some attempts, indeed,

¹ Charlemagne died Jan. 28, A.D. 814; Leo III., June 16, A.D. 816.

² Waddington, *History of the Church*, p. 239.

were made to maintain the Empire in the line of Charles the Great, in the shadowy sovereignties of Lambert, Arnulf, and Louis "the Child"; but the ambition of rulers, the growing degeneracy of the popes, and the ever-present Saracen terror, were fatal to anything like settled order, until a strong man was elected in the person of Conrad the Saxon, who prepared the way for the greater Otho (crowned at Aachen as King of the Franks, 936, and in Rome as Emperor of the West, 962). To this Otho, with good reason surnamed "the Great," it was given again to attempt, with better success than heretofore, to apprehend the ideas and to carry out the purposes of Charlemagne.

In all these conflicts between the political and ecclesiastical authorities, to employ the words of Sir Frederick Pollock, "it was the common ground of the disputants that the Papacy and the Empire were both divinely ordained, and that each in its own sphere had universal jurisdiction over Christendom. The point of difference was as to the relation of these two jurisdictions to one another. Was the temporal ruler in the last resort subordinate to the spiritual as the lesser to the greater light? Or, were their dignities subordinate and equal? Or, was the temporal ruler, as Frederick II. afterwards aimed at making himself, actually supreme in spiritual as well as temporal government?"¹

§ 3. SEVERANCE OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES.

The establishment of the Roman-German Empire had one great result in the severance of Rome from the East. Practically, the separation had begun when the Lombards overthrew the Exarchate of Ravenna (752). With the disappearance of this viceroyalty, the hold of the Byzantine Emperors on the West was necessarily weakened,

¹ *History of the Science of Politics*, vii.; and B. Kidd, *Principles of Europe during the Middle Ages*, ch. p. 34. See also Hallam, *State of Western Civilization*, pp. 255-260.

although the claim was still asserted. When, after the fall of the Lombard kingdom, the Frankish monarch appeared upon the scene, the East had not sufficient vitality to resist. Irene, the beautiful, clever, heartless Athenian, was reigning at Constantinople, as successor to her young son Constantine, whom in superseding she had so barbarously misused,¹ and for awhile a matrimonial alliance between Charlemagne and the Empress appeared feasible. The original plan had been that the daughter of Charles, the princess Rotrude, should be married to Constantine. After the miscarriage of this scheme, a formal proposal was made by Charles to unite the two empires by himself marrying Irene (802). The project, if carried out, might have changed the destinies of Christendom, but it came in the crisis of Irene's fate. In a few weeks she was deposed and exiled; and Nicephorus, her successor, was neither in a mood to negotiate with Charles, nor able to resist what he still regarded as the Frankish usurpation.

The Mohammedan power on the one hand, and the revolted Bulgarians on the other, fully occupied the energies of the Byzantine sovereigns; and the Latin kingdoms, without formal negotiation or open conflict, gradually slid from their hands.

It is at the same time important to distinguish between the *An important distinction.* political and the ecclesiastical separation. No doubt the former was among the causes contributory to the latter; but the intercommunion of the two churches was maintained, although with frequent interruptions and a continual undercurrent of strife, for more than a hundred years after the breach between the empires became irreparable.

¹ See p. 395.

CHAPTER II.

CLAIMS AND CHARACTER OF THE PAPACY.

§ 1. THE FORGED DECRETALS AND "DONATION OF CONSTANTINE."

THE claim to spiritual dominion, asserted in the past by many of the popes, especially by Leo I. and Gregory I., was reinforced, about the middle of the ninth century, by the appearance at intervals of certain documents, purporting to contain sixty Decretals of the Popes, from Clement of Rome (c. 100) to Damasus I. (384), with many later ones, as well as the alleged *A great forgery.* "Donation of Constantine" to Pope Sylvester I. (d. 335). The whole collection bore the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville in the seventh century. Many of the later Decretals are from the collection already described, made by Dionysius Exiguus in the early part of the sixth century, beginning with Pope Siricius,¹ several others being added. The whole contain the most explicit assertion of clerical independence. "The clergy is a divinely instituted, consecrated, and inviolable caste, mediating between God and the people, and subject to no earthly tribunal, being responsible to God alone, who appointed them judges of men. The privileges of the priesthood culminate in the episcopal dignity, which in its turn culminates in the Papacy. The Pope, a 'universal bishop,' is the ultimate umpire of controversy, and from him there is no appeal." To give effect to such claims, the Emperor Constantine is represented as having bestowed upon Sylvester and his successors the Lateran Palace, the Roman territory, and all the provinces of Italy.

Such, in brief, were the documents which all through the Middle Ages were accepted by priests and people as genuine, and on which the popes rested their claim at once to spiritual

¹ See p. 199.

sovereignty, to their independence of secular government, and to their temporal power. It is now known that the whole, apart

from the Dionysian collection, was a fabrication; the *Effect of the Forged Decretals.* "Donation of Constantine" in particular being, in the words of Mr. Bryce, "the most stupendous of all the mediæval forgeries." It gave form to a yet older tradition, of the gift by the Emperor at the time of his baptism to Pope Sylvester, A.D. 324. Even in an uncritical age this might have aroused suspicion, seeing that one of the best-established facts in

ecclesiastical history is the baptism of Constantine on his death-bed by Eusebius of Nicomedia in 337. But *Pretended Donation of Constantine.* the whole, excepting the grant of the Lateran Palace as an episcopal residence,¹ is demonstrably false. The question of the Decretals—the whole sixty before Damasus, and many afterwards—is now past controversy. No Romanist now ventures to defend them.² But they did their work. Who the forger was remains quite unknown. It is certain that the Decretals were quoted as early as 857 (*e. g.* by Hincmar) as against aggressors on

the rights of the Church, that Pope Nicolas appeals to them in a circular epistle of 865, and that they are *Papal appeals to the Decretals.* repeatedly and without misgiving adduced in subsequent papal rescripts.

§ 2. ADMINISTRATION OF POPE NICOLAS I.

Pope Nicolas was a man of great learning as well as of consummate ability. It is hard to believe that his suspicions as to the genuineness of the forgeries were never aroused by their

¹ The Lateran takes its name from the family that originally occupied it. From them it was transferred to Constantine and became the residence of his wife Fausta. When the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the palace was bestowed upon Sylvester, "as the chief of the Roman clergy and nobility." Hence, remarks Dr. Schaff, "it contains to this day the pontifical throne with the inscription, 'Hæc est papalis sedes et pontificalis.'"

² See Gieseler, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 331, *note* 12. The best Romish apologies made for them are, that the writer was a "romanticist," giving truth in the garb of fable; that they were not after all so influential as is thought; and, of course, that the forgery was "well-intentioned"—falsehood serving the interests of truth. The fraud was first effectively exposed in the *Magdeburg Centuries*, 1560-1574.

absence from the Roman archives, as well as by their glaring anachronisms.¹ But modern historians have, on the whole, been inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt. In some notable assertions of papal authority by Nicolas, it may be conceded that he was on the side of justice. One was in a dispute with Hincmar of Rheims, who as archbishop had arbitrarily deposed and imprisoned Rothad, one of his suffragan bishops. Nicolas, quoting the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, declared that the Roman See was the protector of the bishops and clergy against their metropolitans, and demanded the restoration of Rothad. Hincmar, with however bad a grace, had to yield (862). In this dispute it is observable that Hincmar protested, not against the Decretals themselves, but only against their application to France. Another case was that of Lothair II., king of Lorraine, son of the Emperor Lothair, who had divorced his wife Teutberga in order to marry his mistress Waldrada. The fearless Pope asserted the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage bond; Lothair was compelled to divorce Waldrada, and to reinstate his rightful queen. These two papal acts, praiseworthy in themselves, had naturally great influence as precedents for the claims of Rome. The yet more significant contest of the Pope with Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, belongs to a subsequent section.

§ 3. THE "DARK CENTURY" AND ITS SEQUEL.

"The Tenth Century," writes Baronius, the famous annalist of the Roman Church, "was an *iron* age, barren of all goodness; a *lead* age, abounding in all wickedness; and a *dark* age, remarkable above all others for the scarcity of writers and men of learning."

1 "Roman bishops of the second and third centuries are made to write, in the Frankish Latin of the ninth century, in the spirit of the post-Nicene orthodoxy, and on mediæval relations in Church and State; they quote the Bible after the version of Jerome as

amended under Charlemagne; Victor is made to address Theophilus of Alexandria, who lived two hundred years later, on the paschal controversies of the second century, and so on."—Dr. P. Schaff.

It is good to remember, in entering upon the dreary annals of the period, that the history of the Papacy is not the history either of Christianity or of the Church. But the record becomes appalling when we reflect that there is here delineated to our view the great spiritual authority to which the world was expected to bow down, and which, we are now told at the distance of a thousand years, was charged with the prerogative of infallibly interpreting the Divine counsels to mankind. It has been sarcastically maintained that the papal system must have been of God, or it would inevitably have sunk beneath the weight of so much infamy. May we not rather say that there was in the community, as distinguished from the hierarchy, an occult life which prevented entire corruption, and was to manifest itself hereafter?

During this century no fewer than five-and-twenty popes and anti-popes occupied the papal chair. But the ghastly record of immorality and outrage begins yet earlier. In the pontificate of Formosus, when party spirit was at the highest in the struggle of competitors for the imperial throne, the Pope, after crowning Lambert, called in his rival Arnulf to deliver the people from that Emperor's tyranny. Stephen, successor of Formosus, a partisan of Lambert, in revenge caused the body of Formosus to be exhumed, mockingly arrayed in full pontificals, and, after many indignities, to be thrown into the Tiber.¹ In return, Stephen, when the other party gained the upper hand, was imprisoned and strangled. The popes who followed in rapid succession have left their names and little else, excepting records of deposition and murder, until the crowning scandal was reached in the accession of Sergius III., through the influence of Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, and a noble and wealthy widow named Theodora. This woman, beautiful and depraved, had two daughters, Theodora

¹ The ostensible charge against Formosus was that he had been translated from a lesser See to Rome, contrary to the Canon, and had submitted to a second consecration by imposition of hands.

and Marozia, of like character to herself; and among them they

Theodora disposed of the Roman See for more than half-a-century. *and Marozia*. Sergius III., paramour of Marozia, began the vile succession (904), and, after two of inconsiderable name, was followed by John X. (914), paramour of Theodora the younger (or, as some say, the elder). Marozia, who in the meantime had married Alberic, son of Adalbert, caused this John (who had acquired some military fame by victory over the Saracens) to be imprisoned and put to death in the castle of St. Angelo. After two insignificant popes, John XI., a son of Marozia, succeeded to the chair (931), but was dethroned by his brother (or half-brother), Alberic the younger, who, as "prince and senator of all the Romans," appointed four popes in succession,¹ subject to his will; and, on the death of the last, raised his own son to the pontificate, Octavian, a boy of eighteen, as pope called John XII. (955), the first instance of what afterwards became customary, the change of names on assuming the papal dignity. By this John, Otho the First was crowned Emperor, as already noted. But Otho contemptuously disregarded the pledge made in the previous century by Charles the Bald to refrain from interference in the choice of popes. He would not in any way be a tool of the Papacy; on the contrary, he claimed the power to depose as well as to appoint, and instituted a strict inquiry into the character

Imperial and habits of the pontiff. The result was the disclosure *interference*. of the most abandoned profligacy. The Emperor threatened the Pope with deposition. John retorted by threats of excommunication; but Otho persevered, and Leo VIII., a layman, was appointed in John's room (963), having passed rapidly through

¹ The Roman Catholic apologist and historian Möhler speaks of this series of "horrible popes."—Arnulf, archbishop of Orleans (991), uttered a memorable protest. See his speech (at a council held in Rheims) in Neander's *Church History*, vi., p. 132. "For what," said the bold prelate, "do we hold him who sits

blazing with purple and gold on a lofty throne? If he wants love, and is only puffed up with knowledge, then is he Antichrist sitting in the temple of God." This, perhaps the earliest application of the name of Antichrist in such a connection, is very noticeable.

the intermediate orders. John, however, was soon reinstated by a synod, which deposed Leo and took vengeance on his adherents. Soon afterwards John was slain by a husband whose wife he had seduced. The Romans elected Benedict V. as his successor, but Otho expelled him and restored Leo. Benedict, a man of high character, calmly resigned his office, being permitted to retain only his status as deacon, and was banished to Hamburg, where he died in peace.

With the ignominious end of John XII. this dark chapter in the annals of the Papacy, which has been stigmatized as "*The Porno-Pornocracy*,"¹ came to a close. But the troubles were not yet over. The successor of Leo, John XIII. (965), was driven from the city in three months by conspirators who aimed at a democratic revolution, and who, as the first step, appointed tribunes of the people according to the ancient model. They at once denounced the dismal inconsistencies of ecclesiastical rule; and, with something of the old Roman pride, rebelled against the German domination. But Otho descended upon the city, and relentlessly crushed the conspiracy. The twelve tribunes were beheaded, three of the confederates were blinded or mutilated; the prefect of Rome was ignominiously paraded about the city, crowned with a bladder and mounted upon an ass. John was restored, and for seven years exercised his functions in comparative peace. He was succeeded by Benedict VI., who was strangled in prison (974) by Crescentius, probably son of John X. and Theodora. Then came Boniface VII., who, however, was driven from Rome in a month's time. Domnus II. followed—an insignificant personage; on his death Boniface returned, and fiercely contested the chair with Benedict VII. The latter succeeded for a time; on his death (984) John XIV. was put into the chair by Otho, but was imprisoned and murdered by the irrepressible Boniface. After six months Boniface died (985), and John XV. held quiet possession for eleven years.

¹ *i. e.* "government by harlots."

Young Otho III. then deposed him in favour of Gregory V. (Bruno, the first German pope) ; but the Romans held by John, and Gregory was expelled by Crescentius. Otho, incensed, came to Rome, and, depriving John of eyes, nose, and ears, imprisoned him until his death. Gregory returned, but soon died ; and the Emperor, making for once a wise choice, appointed, with the concurrence of the Romans, the French Gerbert, who took the title of Sylvester II. (998). Had he lived, he might have effected much in the reformation of the Papacy, but he died in 1003, leaving the way open for further outrage and anarchy.

In the year 1000 the minds of men were much disturbed by *Predicted end of the world.* anticipations of the end of the world. So early as 950 certain preachers in France, Germany, and Italy had gone about proclaiming, on the basis of misunderstood passages in the Apocalypse, that the Christian era was appointed to last for a thousand years, and would therefore end with the century. The prediction was very generally believed ; deeds of gift often begun with the sentence, "The end of the world being at hand."¹ As the time approached a panic set in. People hid themselves in caves and dens as if to escape the notice of the Judge. Multitudes travelled to Palestine to be the more ready for His appearing. Jerusalem was overcrowded with penitents, praying, trembling, fearfully expectant. But the year 1000 passed, nothing happened, and the world went on very much as before. Only the more earnest were led to celebrate the respite by building and decorating places of worship, and some of the stateliest cathedrals in Christendom owe their origin to this feeling. It was no wonder that those who lived under the immediate influence of the popedom should anticipate some dire catastrophe. For some years, however, in the next century, so soon as the beneficent influence of Sylvester had closed, the dismal record of intrigue and crime continued. Simony was unblushingly practised. The papal see had passed to the disposal of the counts of Tusculum, Benedict VIII. (1012) and

¹ "Appropinquante mundi termino."

John XVIII. (1024) having bought it by open bribery. On the death of the latter, Theophylact, a boy of twelve, was placed in the papal chair under the name of Benedict IX. (1033). The wretched lad grew up in the practice of the most shameless vice, until the long-suffering Romans could no longer endure the scandal, and expelled him from the city (1044), but sold the office to one Sylvester III., who held it only a few months. Benedict then came back, and soon disposed of the tiara to John Gratian (Gregory VI.) for a thousand pounds of silver (1045). The new Pope was in morality a refreshing contrast to his predecessors; but his seat was speedily disturbed. Benedict repented of his bargain, and endeavoured to dispossess him, as he had previously dispossessed Sylvester. But neither would give way. Benedict occupied the Lateran; Gregory, S. Maria Maggiore; and Sylvester, St. Peter's and the Vatican. The city and surrounding country were given up to anarchy until the Emperor Henry III. interfered, convened a synod at Sutri (Dec. 1046), a small town about twenty-five miles north of the metropolis, and pronounced the papal chair to be vacant. At a synod held in Rome immediately afterwards, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, a man of high character, was elected Pope (as Clement II.); but he died in nine months, probably from poison. Benedict, with marvellous effrontery, again appeared upon the scene, and held possession till 1047, when he closed his shameful life. He was succeeded by one Poppo, bishop of Brixen (Damasus II.), who died in less than a month, probably also by poison. Bruno, bishop of Toul (Leo IX.), was now chosen (1048)—a man above the suspicion of intrigue or bribery; and the long story of simony and profligacy came at last to an end. The later days of Leo, however, were overclouded by misfortunes. Alarmed by the growing aggressions of the Normans in Southern Italy, and having vainly sought the aid of the German Emperor "to defend the patrimony of St. Peter," the Pope himself took the field at the head of an irregular force of Italians and a small

band of German recruits. They were decisively defeated, and Leo was made a prisoner. As a result of the brief contest, the Normans were confirmed in the possession of "the Two Sicilies," which they were henceforth to hold as a fief of the Papacy. The Pope remained in honourable captivity at Beneventum, being released only in time to return to Rome and die. His couch was placed in St. Peter's before the high altar, and there he breathed his last, with words of humility and resignation on his lips. The events that followed belong to the subsequent part of the history.

Civitella,
June 18,
1053.

§ 4. EASTERN AND WESTERN HIERARCHIES: DISRUPTION.

The ecclesiastical strife between Rome and Constantinople, aggravated by disputes about the jurisdiction of the two churches over the countries east of the Adriatic, in Bulgaria and elsewhere, had become once more acute in the pontificate of Nicolas I.

Ignatius,
Patriarch,
846.

The patriarch Ignatius, son of Michael I., had rebuked a notorious offender of high station, Bardas, brother of the Empress Theodora, and had repelled him from the communion.¹ Bardas in revenge demanded of the son of Theodora, the Emperor Michael III., that she, as the patroness of Ignatius, should be consigned with her daughters to a convent. Ignatius refused concurrence, and was commanded to resign; on his refusal he was deposed on a trumped-up charge of treason by the young Emperor. A distinguished layman, Photius, was appointed in his place. In order to qualify for the office, Photius passed in one week through all the preliminary clerical orders. Ignatius, after harsh and cruel treatment, was exiled to Mitylene. Photius, with the young Emperor to confirm his position, appealed to Rome (860), stating that Ignatius had voluntarily retired, and entreated Nicolas to send legates "to assist them in maintaining the discipline of the Church."

Ignatius and

Photius.

The legates arrived, and by bribery or force were

¹ Bardas had divorced his own wife and was living in adultery with his son's widow.

induced to meet a council for the deposition of Ignatius. Even torture, it is said, was applied to the resolute patriarch to compel his act of resignation.¹ The legates returned to the Pope, who at once disowned their proceedings, summoned a council, and in the name of the Roman See, with threats and anathemas, demanded the restoration of Ignatius. A bitter correspondence followed between Pope and Emperor. Bardas, the primal cause of strife, had been put to death on a charge of high treason; but the quarrel had gone too far to be thus ended. The question had become one of prerogative, and neither would yield. In vain did Nicolas summon Photius with Ignatius to Rome for adjudication of their case. A Council convened by the former at Constantinople (867) decreed the excommunication of the Pope, and set forth his departure from the faith and practice of the Church in eight particulars.¹

1. The observance of Sunday as a fast.

*Charges
against the
Papacy.*

2. The permission to eat milk and cheese in Lent.

3. The enforcement of celibacy on the clergy.

4. The restriction of the chrism to the bishops.

5. The insertion of *Filioque* in the creeds.

6. The promotion of deacons to the episcopate without passing through the intermediate grade.

7. The consecration of a lamb at Easter.

8. The shaving of the beard by the clergy.

In reading this extraordinary catalogue of "heretical" beliefs and acts, one is tempted to question the character given to Photius as "the most learned and accomplished man of his age." The decrees of the Council were signed by the Emperor, by his parasite and eventual successor, Basil the Macedonian, by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, as well as of Constantinople, and by nearly a thousand abbots and bishops.

¹ It is added that, when unconscious in his prison-cell, his hand was forced to inscribe a cross upon a blank sheet of paper, above which Photius afterwards wrote out the confession

and resignation.

² Compare the points of difference between East and West as enumerated on pp. 401-2.

So the fateful document was sped on its way to Rome. But the messenger who bore it was stopped in his journey. A sudden revolution had occurred. The hapless young Emperor Michael, *Intervention* from his habits surnamed "The Drunkard," had been *of Basil, 869.* assassinated by Basil, who succeeded him, having thus risen from the position of a groom to be the founder of a new dynasty. The first act of the new Emperor was to depose Photius, who is said to have repelled him as a murderer from the communion. A new Council, regarded by Rome as the Eighth Œcumenical, was summoned at Constantinople. Pope Nicolas was dead, the legates of Pope Hadrian appeared. The adherents of Photius were turned out of the Council; his condemnation was a foregone conclusion; and before his accusers he maintained a dignified silence. His deposition, it is related, was signed with pens dipped in sacramental wine! Ignatius came back in triumph, and for ten years ruled in peace. But upon his death there came an extraordinary reaction: another "Eighth Œcumenical Council" was summoned, also at Constantinople. Again the legates of the Pope (now John VIII.) appeared, and Photius was honourably restored.¹ When, however, the imperial throne fell to Leo "the Philosopher," the son of Basil, the much-enduring patriarch was again dispossessed. It is said that Leo wanted the office for his brother Stephen, a lad of eighteen. Photius withdrew into retirement, and five years afterwards died in a cloister, A.D. 891.

The long controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches now slumbered for awhile. Patriarchs and popes, *Rival Councils,* absorbed in their own domestic troubles, let each other *869, 879.* alone. Such intercourse as there may have been between them was occasional and formal. The links that had united them were beyond reparation. No new theological or ritual questions arose between them, and "the darkness which gathered around both Churches shrouded them from each other's sight."

¹ This was the last instance of the direct interference of Rome in the affairs of the Eastern Church.—SCHAFF.

But in the patriarchate of Michael Kerularius the final disruption came. There had been much dissension, renewed from time to time, as to the jurisdiction of the two Churches in many countries, notably in Bulgaria. The scale had now inclined to the East, and the patriarch Kerularius not only forbade the celebration of the Latin rite in the countries subject to his jurisdiction, but, in conjunction with the learned Bulgarian archbishop Leo, formulated in a circular letter, through John, bishop of Trani in Apulia (belonging to the Eastern Church), to the bishops and clergy of the West, a new series of charges. The Latins, it was said, were *azymites* (a new name being coined for their heresy), that is, they employed unleavened bread in the Eucharist; they fasted on Saturdays in Lent; they "ate blood and things strangled"; and in their fast-day services they did not sing the Hallelujah. The captive Pope (Leo IX.) replied from Beneventum in a well-reasoned letter, at the same time commissioning legates to Constantinople, apparently with some hope of reconciliation, especially as the Emperor Constantine X. was inclined to the Latin side. The chief of the legates, however, Cardinal Humbert, was of uncompromising, bitter temper. A learned monk, Nicetas Pectoratus, was set up to argue the case of the Greeks, but was declared by the Emperor to be vanquished, and was compelled to burn his own dissertation in the presence of his triumphant adversary. But Kerularius stood firmly to his ground, and the strife became yet more acute. Finally, the legates excommunicated "the patriarch, and all those who should persistently censure the faith of the Church of Rome or its mode of offering the Holy Sacrifice," depositing the sentence of excommunication on the altar of the church of St. Sophia, July 16, 1054. The Greeks retorted by a counter-excommunication, with further charges, as, that bishops wore rings and engaged in warfare; that baptism was administered by a single immersion; and that images and relics of saints were not honoured; finally referring to the *Filioque*.

*Kerularius,
Patriarch,
1043-1059.*

*New charges
against the
Papacy.*

*Mutual ex-
communi-
cations.*

The breach was absolutely irreparable—all the more, perhaps, because of the triviality of many special points of difference. The

Severance of schism between East and West became complete, the Churches. Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem adhering to Constantinople.

Pope Leo had died three months before the act of excommunication; the Emperor Constantine X. died in the following November; the patriarch Kerularius, whose haughty assumptions had at length become intolerable, was deposed by the Emperor Isaac Comnenus, and died in exile. But these events left the now separated Churches much as before.

CHAPTER III.

THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS AND HERESIES.

§ I. RELICS OF FORMER CONTROVERSIES.

THIS long period of intellectual stagnation was marked by few theological discussions of importance. Of the iconoclastic controversy, a sufficient account has already been given. It closed in 842 by the triumph of the image-worshippers; and, although individuals still protested, the practice became prevalent in both East and West. The *Echoes of former controversies.* Greeks still protested on occasion against the *Filioque* of the Latin creeds; but for the most part the controversy slept until fiercely revived at the close of the period. There was too little vitality in the Church to encourage any form of theological debate. The Paulicians lived on, in the retreats into which they had been driven by persecution, and were favoured for a while by the Emperor Nicephorus, successor to Irene; but they were again fiercely persecuted by Leo the Armenian; and especially by the Empress Theodora, under whom a hundred thousand of this sect were put to death (A.D. 845). Notwithstanding all attempts at repression, however, they maintained their ground wherever *Continued persecution of Paulicians.* suffered to settle down, especially in the Valley of the Halys; Tephrika, in the contiguous mountain district, being their chief stronghold; and they even sent missionaries to Bulgaria. Meanwhile from their Armenian strongholds they made constant incursions into Asia Minor. In their antagonism to the Eastern Empire they appear to have thrown themselves into the arms of the Saracens; and the Emperor Basil I., dreading the consequences of such an alliance, conducted for some years a campaign against them. The Paulician leader Chrysocheir offered long and stubborn resistance; but Tephrika

was at last captured (A.D. 873), Chrysocheir was slain, and the Paulician power was finally broken, although the tenets of the community, so far as they were in opposition to current usages, reappeared in many directions.

§ 2. RISE OF THE BOGOMILES.

Towards the close of the tenth century, John Zimisce, the Emperor, next to Basil I. the ablest as well as the most *Paulicians* tolerant of the Macedonian dynasty, gave to the *at Philippopolis.* Paulicians, after their decisive defeat in Asia, a settlement at Philippopolis in Thrace, where a colony of this sect had existed since the days of Constantine Copronymus. Here a *Bogomil.* teacher from Bulgaria, Jeremiah, surnamed Bogomil—a Slavonian name, meaning "Friend of God"—introduced a yet more rigid modification of the Paulician system, founding a community that called themselves "Christians" only, analogous in many respects not only to the Paulicians, but to communities already existing in both Eastern and Western Europe, known as "Cathari," or "Puritans," "Euchites" or "Messalians," praying people, who had in various ways attempted to solve the mystery of evil, and to counteract the temptations of the flesh by ascetic methods, without the aid of recognized religious methods and institutions. The Bogomiles worshipped in private houses and in the open air. They were of two classes, the "believers" and the "perfect." The latter, to cultivate the higher life, abstained from matrimony as well as from animal food and from fermented liquors. They were instructors of the young, visitors of the sick, but were all required to take a share of manual *Bogomil* labour. Women as well as men might preach. Oaths *beliefs and* were strictly forbidden, and all war was regarded as *practices.* sinful. Their doctrinal opinions are set forth at large by Euthymius Zigabenus in his *Panoplia*, probably with substantial correctness, although again it must be remembered that it is an enemy who writes.

In their system, the evil principle appeared in Satanael, a Son

of God, who had revolted through pride, and had formed man, into whom God Himself infused the breath of life. Through man's material part, which, as the work of Satanael, was wholly evil, human nature became depraved, until another Son of God, the Logos, appeared for its redemption. The Incarnation was in appearance only, and was crowned by the Resurrection, or manifestation of the Logos, when Satanael was conquered and bound. To be saved was to be made partakers of the Logos, the giver of the true life. The Bogomiles placed St. John's Gospel above all the rest of Scripture, great part of which they interpreted allegorically. Unlike the Paulicians, they altogether rejected water baptism, believing only in the baptism of the Spirit. The mass was, in their view, a sacrifice presented to demons; the true Eucharist was spiritual nourishment by the bread of life. Veneration of relics and images, the sign of the cross, and even the consecration of buildings for worship were abhorrent to them.

These tenets and the practices connected with them could not but be obnoxious to the rulers of the State; it is possible also that abuses may have sprung from such forms of mediæval puritanism. Accordingly, in the early part of the next century, strong measures were adopted for the repression of the sect. In the year 1020 thirteen suffered at the stake at Orleans. The opprobrious name of "Manichæans" was attached to members of the body. It is said that, as the quiet unobtrusiveness of its members made it difficult to bring home specific charges against them, Basil, who had succeeded Bogomil as leader of the community, was summoned *The Emperor and the Bogomiles,* friendly conversation, in which Basil was lured into strong, outspoken statements of his antagonism to received opinions. At the close of the conference a curtain was drawn back, revealing the presence of the patriarch as well as of the Emperor's secretary, who, seated behind it, had been taking down the "heretical" words. The condemnation of Basil, followed by his execution, it is said, was postponed from time to time, until eight years afterwards, when, as he continued inflexible,

he was consigned to the stake. But this nefarious proceeding belongs to the next period of the history.

§ 3. NEW PREDESTINARIAN CONTROVERSIES: GOTTSCHALK.

The revival in the ninth century of the old Predestinarian or Augustinian controversy is mainly due to one man, Gottschalk *Gottschalk.* (or Godescalculus), an unwilling monk, by parental dedication.¹ In the Rheims monastery he was led by the works of Augustine and Fulgentius to the enthusiastic adoption of extreme predestinarian views, holding and teaching a "twofold election"—of the elect to eternal life, of the reprobate to eternal death, maintaining also that Christ died only for the elect. The result, he held, proved the purpose. If any are lost, God must have intended them to be lost, as He is unchangeable, and nothing can happen contrary to His will. These views he maintained before the German king at Mayence (848), and was opposed chiefly by Rabanus Maurus, who maintained that Divine foreknowledge must be distinguished from Divine fore-ordination. Punishment, Rabanus argued, is fore-ordained for the sinner, but the sinner is not fore-ordained for punishment. Thus the never-ending, still-beginning controversy was maintained, with appeals on both sides to Scripture and the Fathers. The synod decided against Gottschalk, and handed him over to his metropolitan, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, for admonition and correction.

Hincmar was the most learned, if the most restless and pugnacious theologian of his age; a great churchman, a stern moralist, impatient of dictation, whether from Pope or King, an administrator of consummate ability, but withal most unphilosophically intolerant towards difference of opinion. His treatment of Gottschalk leaves an ineffaceable stigma on his memory. The poor monk, whose main

¹ He was dedicated (oblatus) at Fulda in Hesse, but in mature years sought to be released from monastic vows. He failed, chiefly through the influence of Rabanus Maurus, but was permitted to remove to Orbais, near Rheims.

fault was that he was an ultra-Calvinist before Calvin, was summoned to appear before a synod at Crecy—afterwards famous for the great battle in the days of Edward III. of England and the Black Prince. Gottschalk stood his ground firmly, and was pronounced an incorrigible heretic, deposed from the priesthood, and cruelly beaten until, says the record, he had scarcely strength left to drop his offending manuscripts into the flames to which they had been condemned. He was then shut up for life in the monastery of Hautvilliers in the province of Rheims, where, with undaunted spirit, he composed an *Apologia*, strongly reasserting his doctrine of double predestination. He appealed to Pope Nicolas I., who evidently pitied him, but took no steps to have the case retried. Gottschalk even offered to undergo the ordeal by fire, but the appeal was disregarded. The unrelenting Hincmar refused to recognize the “heretical” monk excepting on full retractation. So Gottschalk died, after twenty years’ imprisonment; denied the Sacraments of the Church, and interred, without funeral rites, in unconsecrated ground.

It is impossible to believe that all this virulence could have arisen merely from the tenacity with which the obnoxious doctrine was maintained. Most probably the real offence was insubordination to authority, and it is also stated by some historians that Gottschalk had ventured to criticize the theology of his superior.¹

§ 4. JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA.

During the long imprisonment of Gottschalk, a yet abler disputant had appeared in the person of John Scotus Erigena.

*Predestina-
tion meta-
physically
considered.* This great Irishman, called in by Hincmar to confute the insubordinate monk, somewhat spoiled his reputation by carrying the discussion into an abstract region where the theologians of the time could not follow him. “There is, indeed, no twofold (*gemina*) predestination; for in God

¹ It is said that Hincmar had a change which Gottschalk characterized as Sabellian. altered a hymn—changing the words “Trina Deitas” to “Summa Deitas,”

knowledge and will are one, but it applies only to the good. Predestination to sin and punishment is unthinkable, for sin is nothing at all—only a negation, and punishment is simply the displeasure of the sinner at the failure of his evil aims. Sin lies outside of God, and does not exist for Him at all. He does not even foreknow it, much less foreordain it, for God knows only *what is*. God is the End of all creation, which, after the defeat of all opposition, must return to Him in a restitution (*apokatastasis*) of all things." This mystic pantheism was quite beyond Hincmar, who termed it *pultes Scotorum* ("Scotch porridge"). John Scotus was charged with Pelagianism, Origenism, insanity! Happily, whatever the merits or demerits of his system, it was too abstruse for the author to be proceeded against after the usual fashion. He was, besides, a favourite at court, in the days of Charles the Bald. To us he is chiefly notable as precursor of the Schoolmen, although differing from them in many particulars, both in the method and result of his inquiries.

§ 5. THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY: BERENGAR.

Another controversy, yet greater in its issues, arose in these days concerning the Eucharist. The presence of our *The "Real Presence."* Lord in the elements of the Supper had been long held, but for the most part in a vague, undefined way. Was He present *in* or *with* the bread and wine; or were these simply memorials or emblems of Him; and on what did their supernatural efficacy depend? About the year 830, Paschasius Radbertus, *Paschasius Radbertus.* a monk of Corbey, endeavoured to answer such questions more definitely than had yet been attempted, maintaining that by consecration the bread and wine became the veritable Body and Blood of our Lord. In upholding this view Radbertus explicitly stated and defended the doctrine of transubstantiation, without, however, using the word. He maintained, first, that "after the consecration of the bread and wine nothing remains of these symbols save the outward figures under which the Body and Blood of Christ are really and locally present;

secondly, that the Body of Christ thus present is the same body that was born of the Virgin, suffered on the Cross, and was raised from the dead." This doctrine was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, afterwards archbishop of Mentz, the illustrious *Ratramnus*, pupil of Alcuin; as well as by Ratramnus, a fellow-c. 844. monk of Paschasius. Ratramnus, who was a trusted adviser of the Emperor Charles the Bald on ecclesiastical questions, maintained (in a treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*) that the real Body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist, but yet that there is a kind of mystical presence, as of the Holy Spirit in the water of Baptism. In succeeding centuries this treatise was regarded as the work of John Erigena, who was known to have held similar views, and who wrote on the subject a book now lost. It is observable that at the time of Ratramnus' publication, no proceedings were taken against this work, nor against the yet earlier reply of Rabanus Maurus. Their belief was not yet a "heresy."

For two centuries the question was practically at rest, the opinion of Paschasius Radbertus being received with general *Berengar* acquiescence; but about 1040 Berengar, the learned *of Tours.* Director of the Cathedral school in Tours, was led by his study of the New Testament and the writings of Augustine to the conviction that the current doctrine was a popular superstition (*inepta vecordia vulgi*). This opinion he first expressed to his students, awakening much surprise and alarm; and at length he gave it explicit utterance in a letter to Lanfranc, his former fellow-student under Fulbert of Chartres, and the future archbishop of Canterbury. Berengar in this letter ventured to express his surprise that Lanfranc should agree with Paschasius Radbertus and condemn Scotus Erigena as heretical, thereby showing an ignorance of Scripture as well as of the writings of Jerome, *Proceedings* Augustine, and other Fathers of the Church. Lanfranc *against* received this letter in Rome, and, in his indignation *Berengar,* at its contents, induced Pope Leo IX. to summon a *1050.* Council (April 1050), at which the opinions of Berengar were

condemned, the bitter theologian Cardinal Humbert, whom we have already seen in another controversy,¹ taking violent part.

A second Council was held at Vercelli in the following September, which Berengar was summoned to attend, but fruitlessly, as King Henry I. of France had meantime imprisoned him and seized upon his property. At this Council the condemnation was repeated. Another synod was convened at Tours, 1054, where Hildebrand, who was to win so great a name in the Romish Church, presided as papal legate. Berengar here explicitly admitted that after consecration the bread and wine of the altar are the Body and Blood of Christ, explaining at the same time that the real presence thus affirmed is incorporeal and spiritual. Hildebrand was content to accept this explanation, and invited Berengar to Rome, where he appeared before a Council at the Lateran under Nicolas I. There, however, the assembled bishops, one hundred and thirteen in number, contumeliously rejected the notion of spiritual participation, and insisted on a literal "sensuous" change—the veritable Body of Christ being handled and broken by the hand of the priest and *Retraction of Berengar.* masticated by the faithful. Berengar's firmness was not that of a martyr. Notwithstanding all the strong language in which he had affirmed his belief, he shrank in the crisis of trial from the fate of the heretic, and recanted on his knees. He was liberated and returned to France, where he again avowed his real convictions in passionate and vituperative language. Summoned again to Rome by Hildebrand, who now occupied the papal chair, he was commanded on pain of death to repeat his recantation (1078). Unhappily he yielded, and the words in which he afterwards described his submission are most pathetic: "Confounded by the sudden madness of the Pope, and because God in punishment for my sins did not give me a steadfast heart, I threw myself on the ground and confessed with impious voice that I had erred, fearing that the Pope would instantly pronounce against me the sentence of excommunication,

¹ See p. 421.

and that as a necessary consequence the populace would hurry me to the worst of deaths.”¹ Returning to Tours, he sank into obscurity, and died in 1088. The doctrine of transubstantiation was formulated under that name as a dogma of the Latin Church under Innocent III. at the Lateran Council of 1215, as will be hereafter shown.

¹ See the noble and pathetic poem of Coleridge: *Lines . . . suggested by the last words of Berengarius*: “No more staggering between conscience and the Pope, I shall soon appear before my God; by Him, as I hope, to be acquitted; by Him, as I fear, to be condemned.”

A few lines from the poet's apology may be quoted:

“What though dread of threatened death
And dungeon torture made thy hand and breath
Inconstant to the truth within thy heart?
That truth, from which, through fear, thou twice didst start,
Fear haply told thee, was a learnèd strife,
Or not so vital as to claim thy life;
And myriads had reached Heaven, who never knew
Where lay the difference 'twixt the false and true!
Ye who, secure 'mid trophies not your own,
Judge him who won them when he stood alone,
And proudly talk of *recreant* Berengare—
O first the age, and then the man compare!
That age how dark! congenial minds how rare!
No host of friends with kindred zeal did burn!
No throbbing hearts awaited his return!
He, like the worm that gems the starless night,
Moved in the scanty circlet of his light;
And was it strange, if he withdrew the ray
That did but guide the night-birds to their prey?”

CHAPTER IV.

MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN.

§ I. CHARACTERISTICS OF MISSIONARY WORK.

IT is inexpressibly refreshing to turn from the dreary records of ambition, intrigue, and bloodshed, which mark the ecclesiastical annals of this period, to the story of continued missionary enterprise, with its illustrations of simple-hearted devotedness and heroic endurance. It is too true that in many instances the heathen were won over to the religion of popes and monks rather than to primitive Christianity. The missionaries were nearly all from the cloister, generally of limited education, and were apt to fortify their appeals by legend and pretended miracle. Pagans were converted from one set of superstitions to another. The profession of multitudes was merely formal, while the frequent mingling of barbarian habits and traditions with imperfectly apprehended Christian notions led to strange and lasting corruptions of the faith; but, notwithstanding all drawbacks, the piety and earnestness of the labourer in this field stand out in strong relief against the ordinary life of the churches; and among those who received the Gospel, however imperfectly, there was preparation for future and often distant days.

It would have been well had the exposition and enforcement of Christian truth been left in the hands of the missionaries. No doubt they would for the time have been without some of the resources which appeared necessary for their work, and their progress would have been correspondingly slow; but they would have avoided many terrible evils which beset and vitiated their enterprise. Christian rulers had yet to learn the true methods of advancing the Kingdom of Christ, and

sought to promote the work by weapons which often, with deadly effect, recoiled upon themselves. It has been already seen how Charles the Great forced a nominal Christianity upon the Saxons; their baptism in thousands was but a proof of their submission to the victorious and relentless monarch of the Franks. So the pagan kings and chiefs who had received the Gospel regarded it as their first business to impose Christianity upon their subjects. Political influence and military force became main instruments of conversion. The evangelists themselves hardly escaped the deteriorating influence of secular power. One *Dubious help* frequent method of aiding their work, wise and effectual as it seemed at the time, was to confer bishoprics and archbishoprics upon the leading missionaries in proximity to the lands they sought to evangelize. This gave them status and some kind of authority, while yielding them revenues for the support of their mission, and of the charities by which many were won.

Naturally, the attempted compulsion of the indifferent or unwilling led to many a terrible reaction. Too often a royal convert was succeeded by a pagan, who furiously endeavoured to *Heathen reactions.* undo his predecessor's work. The baptized multitude relapsed into heathenism, or bitter and sanguinary conflicts followed between the adherents of the old idolatry and the professors of the Christian faith. These conflicts were waged with varying issues during the ninth and tenth centuries, but by the year A.D. 1000 the work of missions had proved so far successful that nearly all the nationalities of Europe had, at least in name and form, accepted Christianity. That the power of paganism was thus broken could not fail to be an immense advantage, and in the Providence of God there emerged amid formality and corruption the elements of the future spiritual kingdom.

The introduction of the Gospel into the regions outlying the *Missions to outlying parts of Europe.* borders of Christendom can only be very briefly noted. Special attention may be given to the missions carried on in North-western Europe, among

the Scandinavian people, and to those in the East and South-east in the kingdoms inhabited by different branches of the great Sclavonic race.

§ 2. NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE.

The pioneer of missions to DENMARK was the learned Luidger, a disciple of Alcuin at York. He settled for a time, by *Denmark:* direction of Charlemagne, in Frisia; but after many *Luidger.* troubles arising from pagan invasions, he retired to Munster in Westphalia, where he was made bishop, and gained great reputation. He died in 809.

Among the plans of Charlemagne was the foundation of an archbishopric of HAMBURG, as a centre of missions for the whole of Scandinavia. The carrying out of this scheme was, however, reserved for Charles's son and successor, Louis "the Pious," who opened negotiations with Harold, king of Jutland; a mission being at the same time begun and superintended by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, and Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai. Harold *Ebbo of* embraced Christianity, and, with his queen and several *Rheims.* Danes, was baptized at Mayence (826). This opened the way for the distinguished and enterprising teacher who afterwards became known as the "apostle of the North." This was Anskar of Picardy. He had been educated at the monastery of Corbey near Amiens, where the professor of theology was *Anskar,* Paschasius Radbertus, afterwards so famous in the *801-864.* Eucharistic controversy. While still young, Anskar was transferred to a branch monastery at Corbey in Westphalia, on the river Weser. Here he could not but become painfully cognizant of the piratical incursions of the North along the sea-coasts and up the great rivers of North-western Europe, and a great desire sprang up in his heart to carry to them the Gospel message. On a visit to the parent monastery he found that a mission to the North had already been proposed, and gladly welcomed the task. He was added to the suite of Harold on the introduction of Louis (827). The paganism of Jutland, how-

ever, was strong enough to dispossess the king, and Anskar retreated to SWEDEN (831). In the following year he was made Archbishop of Hamburg, his appointment being confirmed at Rome by Pope Gregory IV. His labours in Sweden were much impeded by persecution. Hamburg itself was laid waste by pirates from the North (837), Anskar and his associates were expelled soon afterwards from Sweden by the heathen populations, but in the end they regained their footing in that country. To the ruined See of Hamburg that of Bremen, larger and richer, was added by Louis II. augmenting the resources of the mission. With some like-minded associates, Anskar gradually won his way into the favour of the people, and at length boldly declared his message before Olaf the king. By advice of the nobles of the court, Olaf submitted the question of the toleration of Christianity to the arbitrament of the heathen lots. The lots were favourable, and, notwithstanding dark reverses in Denmark, the missionaries and their congregations were left in peace. Even the rough pirates of the coast were softened, and attributed the influence of Anskar to miraculous power. But he repudiated the claim, remarking in words which deserve to be recorded among the great sayings of Christ's servants: "One miracle only I would, if worthy, ask the Lord to grant me; and that is, that by His grace He would make me a good man." He passed away in the year 865, longing for the crown of martyrdom, until reassured, according to Rimbart his biographer, by a celestial vision, showing him that the consecration of a life is as truly acceptable to God as the endurance for His sake of suffering and death.

Rimbart with others carried on the work in Sweden with continued success until, in 1075, the public adoration of Thor and Odin was by royal ordinance finally prohibited. Meantime in Denmark the king, another Harold, had favoured the proclamation of the Gospel; and though at the close of the century his son, the ferocious Sweyn, long the

Mission to Sweden.

Christianity favoured.

A noble saying.

Enactments against Idolatry.

terror of the English coast, had endeavoured to restore paganism, he embraced Christianity before he died. His son King Canute *Sweyn and Canute.* the Great followed, and boldly maintained Christianity, the profession of which Denmark never lost, although in corners of the land, and especially in Friesland, the old idolatries long lingered.

NORWAY was first evangelized, it is said, virtually from Eng-
Norway. land; Haco, the ruler by whom Christianity was introduced, having been instructed at the court of Athelstan. He was, however, compelled by his subjects to apostatize, and idolatry was in the ascendant until Harold of Denmark (962), having subdued the country, endeavoured to reintroduce the Gospel by force of arms. Hence there began a series of fierce encounters, maintained in after days by two kings, Olaf Tryggvasön (995), who *The two Olafs.* had received the Gospel in the course of his piratical expeditions, and had been baptized in the Scilly Isles, and Olaf the Holy (1017), who seems to have won that appellation by the vigour with which he endeavoured to uproot idolatry, and compelled his subjects to profess the Christian faith. "Wheresoever he came," says the historian Sturleson, "to the land or to the islands, he held an assembly, and told the people to accept the right faith, and to be baptized. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country which he passed through was made Christian."

IN ICELAND the Gospel, as understood by Olaf Tryggvasön, secured a firm footing during his reign. Norwegian missionaries founded churches and schools, which afterwards became famous. A law was passed about 1000 that all Icelanders should be baptized, idol rites being at the same time prohibited; and notwithstanding these measures of compulsion, this "Ultima Thule" *Iceland and Greenland.* appears to have become a centre of true Gospel light. From Norway and Iceland the islands of the North Sea were successfully evangelized, and Christianity penetrated even to the inhospitable shores of Greenland.

§ 3. SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

The countries in South-eastern Europe, inhabited by Slavonic populations, were successively reached by evangelists from the Eastern Church. The pioneers of the work were two brothers, Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica. Cyril, the younger and more distinguished of the two, was at an early age appointed Professor of Philosophy at Constantinople, but was soon commissioned to visit the TAURIC CHERSONESUS (the Crimea) on a novel and remarkable errand. The ruler of the pagan Khazars, whose vast territories included that peninsula, finding his people assailed by Jewish and Mohammedan missionaries, and having heard that there was taught at Constantinople another faith which professed to be the truth, sent an embassy to *The Crimea.* the Emperor Michael II. (860) to ask for some learned Christian who could defend that faith against all adversaries. Michael selected Cyril; his brother accompanied him, and together they established themselves in the town of Cherson. Here, after studying the language of the people, they disputed with much energy and success, until Jews, Mohammedans, and pagans were alike vanquished; the ruler professed himself a convert; and the way was opened for the zealous brothers to preach the Gospel. Returning after a time to Constantinople, they extended their missionary labours to MORAVIA and BULGARIA. Cyril invented a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Gospel into that language. The brothers then proceeded to render the Breviary into Slavonic, awaking a keen and curious controversy as to the allowableness of the vulgar tongue as the language of devotion. Only three languages, it was held, were sacred, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. To employ any other tongue in Church formularies was a profanation. The question was considered so important as to call for an appeal to Rome, and accordingly the missionary brothers set out for the imperial city to consult Pope Nicolas. That pontiff

*Slavonian
kingdoms.*

The Crimea.

*Cyril and
Methodius.*

*Literary
labours of
Cyril.*

*Appeal to
Rome.*

died before their arrival, but his successor Hadrian II. accorded them a gracious reception, and summoned a conclave for consideration of the point. It is told in legends how, while the matter was under discussion, a supernatural voice was suddenly heard in the assembly, "Let *everything that hath breath* praise the Lord." The appeal was irresistible, and the work of the translators was authorized with one consent.

Cyril was now designated to the episcopal office, but did not live to enter upon it, passing away at the age of forty-two. His brother was made Archbishop of MORAVIA and HUNGARY (Pannonia); the latter at the instance of a Hungarian prince, Kocel. It was difficult, however, to administer the affairs of so vast a diocese, neighbouring prelates were jealous of the new-comer, and the life of Methodius was full of troubles. Yet he persisted with great courage and patience, and one result of his unsettlement in Hungary was that he found an entrance into BOHEMIA, and laid in that country the foundations of the Church which became so famous in the annals of Christianity. He died in 885, having churches everywhere planted in the Southern Slavonic kingdoms.

The history of Christian missions in BULGARIA is interesting, not only in itself but in its bearing upon the long controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches. In the early part of the ninth century the heathens that inhabited that district had descended upon Greek territory and had carried off many into slavery, among them a bishop of the Church, who formed his fellow-exiles into a Christian community, and with their assistance sought to evangelize their captors. These efforts were seconded in a very unexpected way. The sister of Bogoris, the Bulgarian king, had in her earlier life been carried captive to Constantinople, and had there been instructed in Christianity. On her return she endeavoured to win over her brother, but with no success until his heart was softened by a famine in the land. The brothers Cyril and

Methodius¹ had already visited Bulgaria on their way into Moravia, and the influence of their transitory visit remained. Some communications also seem to have passed between Bogoris and the German Emperor. The end was that the king professed his faith in the Gospel, and was baptized under the name of Michael, after Michael III. the Greek Emperor. The next step was to force Christianity on his people, which he attempted after the fashion of many a converted pagan chieftain. After the slaughter of the recalcitrant nobles and their families, armed resistance was at an end, and Bulgaria became peacefully, nominally Christian. Bogoris, during the following years of his long reign, seems to have been sincerely anxious, according to his lights, that his people should be instructed in the faith; and to this end he sent first to Constantinople, afterwards, being dis-

Heritation satisfied, to Rome. He was inclined to the latter,
between owing to the greater clearness of the Pope's answers
Rome and to his inquiries; but in the end the papal claims
the East. disgusted him, and he determined to cast in his lot with the Eastern Church. An archbishop was accordingly sent from Constantinople with ten suffragan bishops (c. 867). But the rivalry between Pope and Patriarch was by no means at an end, and the animosities of succeeding generations had no small share in the severance of the two Churches.

§ 4. RUSSIA.

The introduction of the Gospel into Russia was more gradual.

Early evan- As early as the year 866 the patriarch Photius speaks
gelization. of the Russian nation as "beginning to exchange

¹ There is a story that Methodius, who appears to have been artist as well as missionary (or, according to some accounts, a monk of the same name), was commissioned by Bogoris to paint a hunting scene upon his palace wall; but, when unveiled, the picture proved to be one of the "Last Judgment." By this simple expedient, it is said, the monarch was so im-

pressed that he repented of his sins, and sought the mercy of his Judge. The story is doubtful enough, and is further discredited by the fact that the same incident is related with variations of the introduction of the Gospel into Russia and the conversion of Vladimir. It belongs to the Christian Slavonic folklore.

heathenism for Christianity." Captives taken in border warfare, and traders on their travels, quickly sowed the seeds of truth in different places, notably in Kieff, where there was a flourishing Christian community before the middle of the tenth century. But the first sustained endeavour to evangelize the country appears to have originated with the widowed princess Olga, a Christian, who governed Russia during the minority of her son Swatoslav. Her pious instructions seemed to have been wasted on the young *Princess Olga*, Emperor, a fierce and rugged warrior, but he was wise c. 935 enough to entrust to her care his son Vladimir, who seems at least to have had an open mind.

To Vladimir, shortly after his accession (980), there came envoys from different countries to plead for their respective faiths.¹ First Mussulmans from the Volga, then representatives of Western Christendom (papists, or perhaps Paulicians), followed by a company of Jews, were all tried and found wanting. Then came "a philosopher" from Greece, who proceeded to relate all the *Vladimir* Divine acts and deeds from the beginning of the *the Great* world, and who ended, as in the story related of Methodius, by exhibiting a picture of the "Last Judgment,"² showing to the prince, on the right hand, the just who, filled with joy, were entering Paradise, on the left the sinners going into hell. Vladimir, as he looked on the picture, heaved a sigh, and said, "Happy are those who are on the right; woe to the sinners who are on the left." "If you wish," said the philosopher, "to enter with the just who are on the right, consent to be baptized." Vladimir reflected profoundly, and said, "I will wait yet a little while."

Vladimir then determined to send embassies to the different *Rival faiths* centres of worship to enable him to form a judgment; *examined.* they reported unfavourably of the Mussulman and Jewish ceremonies, spoke respectfully of the Roman, but that of Constantinople overwhelmed them with admiration. They were

¹ See the brilliant narrative of Dean Stanley, *Eastern Church, Lect. IX.*

² See p. 439, note.

invited to the Church of St. Sophia on some great festival, at which the multitude of lights, the chanting of the hymns, the procession of deacons and sub-deacons with white wings upon their shoulders, appeared to them like heaven come down to earth. Vladimir was induced by their report to accept Christianity according to the Greek rite. He was baptized in the year 980 in the old Christian commercial city of Cherson on the Dnieper, receiving at his baptism the name Wassily. He married the Greek princess Anna (sister of the Emperor Basil II.) and then took measures to introduce Christianity among his people. To effect this object he made use of his authority as ruler. The idols were destroyed and the people commanded to submit to baptism. Vast bodies of men and women appeared with their children on the banks of the Dnieper, and were baptized at one and the same time. The principal idol of the Russians was at the same time carried in procession to the river-bank, *Wholesale conversions.* belaboured on its way with sticks, and flung into the stream. No sooner had the outward conversion been forcibly effected than schools were established at Kieff, and the Cyrillian alphabet¹ and Cyrillian translation of the Bible used for Christian instruction.²

The rapid spread of the Christian faith in Russia is one of the most notable facts in the history of early missions. It was without force of arms, without rebellion, without martyrdom. The nation submitted as one man. Various reasons for this almost unique phenomenon have been assigned. One is that the nation being Slavonic, the rulers Scandinavian, there may have previously sprung up a spirit of tolerance as between different religions. Then the "Cyrillic" translation of the New Testament and liturgy into the vernacular had before the time *Causes of progress.* of Vladimir already been in existence for a century, and must have been known to a considerable extent in Russia. "In every country converted by the Latin Church, the Scriptures and the liturgy had been introduced, not in the vernacular language

¹ See p. 437.

² Neander (Torrey), vol. vi. p. 80.

of the original, or conquered population, but in the language of the government or missionaries, the Latin language of the old Empire and New Church of Rome. Our own sense and experience are sufficient to tell us what a formidable article must have been created by this single cause to the mutual and general understanding of the new faith."¹ Thanks to Cyril and Methodius, this barrier to the entrance of the Gospel into Russia had been effectually broken down; and, as Dean Stanley remarks, the very look of the Russian alphabet to this day, with its quaint Greek-like characters, attests the religious origin of the literature of the Empire.

Value of translation work.

§ 5. HUNGARY.

The Hungarian nation (the Magyars) first received the Gospel from Constantinople, where a chieftain, Gylas, was baptized during a visit in 948, returning to Hungary accompanied by a bishop, Hierotheos. The daughter of Gylas, Sarolta, marrying the Hungarian prince Geysa, won him over at least to favour Christianity; and their son Waik, better known as Stephen, succeeding to the duchy at the age of eighteen, and afterwards (1000) made king, maintained during a long reign (997 to 1038) the profession of the Christian faith. As in other countries of South-eastern Europe, the ecclesiastical relations of Hungary were for a time doubtful as between East and West, but through the victories of Otho they eventually inclined to Rome, the Pope sending to Stephen the famous crown, still preserved among the treasures of the ancient kingdom.²

Stephen laboured indefatigably for the promotion of the form of Christianity that he had accepted, inviting priests and clergy into his dominions, founding monasteries and hospitals, churches and schools, establishing bishoprics, and organizing missions among his subjects. Too often, however, like other rulers converted to the faith, he had recourse to the secular arm for

¹ Stanley in *loc. cit.*

² See representation and descrip-

tion of this crown, *Encycl. Brit.*, vol.

xii. p. 367.

promoting it; and the paganism which he sought forcibly to repress avenged itself by frequent reactions, especially after his death. Nearly a century was to elapse before Christianity was finally established as the religion of Hungary.

§ 6. THE FARTHER EAST.

It should be added that the Nestorian missions to the East, already noticed,¹ were greatly strengthened and extended during the period now under review. For the most part they were favoured by the Moslem rulers, as against other forms of Christianity, and were thus enabled to carry on their work where these were prescribed. The churches already established in Asia were strengthened. Nestorian missionaries penetrated to Scythia and Mongolia, while in Tartary their converts amounted to 200,000 by the close of the tenth century. The leaders of the *Nestorian missions.* Christian community in this region seem to have been successively known by the name of "Prester John." The name "Prester" is probably a form of "Presbyter." On the borders of India and China they still maintain their ground, and, chiefly through the labours of the Syrian merchant Mar-Thomas, reached the Malabar Coast and the distant territory of Cochin China. The after-fate of these communities is wrapped in obscurity. Those of Tartary probably perished amid the devastating inroads of Tamerlane.

¹ See p. 371.

CHAPTER V.

EFFORTS FOR PURER FAITH AND LIFE.

§ 1. "REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION."

IT is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that all through this dark time there were in hidden places true servants of Jesus Christ, who more or less dimly discerned the truth, hidden by the forms and accessories of a corrupt religion, and degraded by the vices and ambitions of its foremost representatives in Church and State. Many minds must have been *secretly* revolted by the absurdities inculcated as part of the Christian faith. Legends and lying wonders could hardly have imposed upon every one, and the flagrant immoralities tolerated in ecclesiastical circles could not fail to reveal to the thoughtful their contrast with the teachings of Christ. Through the clouds of superstition some light from heaven would shine. As in the days of Elijah, there were the seven thousand who had not bowed their knees to Baal. These were *Protestants before Protestantism, Reformers before the Reformation.* The rigours of asceticism and the seclusion of the monastic cell, while hindrances to most, would be helps to not a few in reaching after the Divine. Hence the rise and growth of mysticism, of which we shall hear more in succeeding parts of this work.

The barren literature of the period is not without glimpses of the higher truth, but those whom the rulers of the age would have stigmatized as heretics were for the most part *silent* or their works have been suppressed. We are only left to surmise the existence of a Scriptural faith and of evangelical piety, without which the Church must have perished amid its corruptions. Very gladly to be recognized are many

sincere and strenuous efforts at reform that were made within the circle of prevailing beliefs and usages. A more rigid rule in the monasteries, a stricter discipline among the ecclesiastical orders, severer penances and punishments for transgressors, it was thought, would bring about the needed reforms. But those methods all failed, as was inevitable; the system itself was incurably bad.

§ 2. REFORMING ENDEAVOURS FROM WITHIN.

The attempt was frequently made to purify the monastic system, of which the abuses had become intolerable. It was not understood that the fault lay in the system itself—based upon ignorance of human nature and misunderstanding of the word of God. True, there were some redeeming features, even in the midst of error and superstition. Society was in general so corrupt, that the pure-minded and devout often found in *Monastic reforms.* the monastery their only refuge. Mr. Hallam justly remarks that “in the original principles of monastic orders, and the rules by which they ought at least to have been governed, there was a character of meekness, self-denial, and charity that could not wholly be effaced. These virtues, rather than justice and veracity, were inculcated by the religious ethics of the Middle Ages; and in the relief of indigence it may, on the whole, be asserted that the monks did not fall short of their profession.”¹ Yet it cannot be doubted that the cloister had its terrible temptations to self-indulgence, idleness, and hypocrisy, while *Temptations of the cloister.* self-righteousness and bigotry seem to have been inseparable from the ascetic life. The rule of Benedict was expressly framed against evils such as these, and was intended—often how vainly!—to prevent the yet worse evils which spring from enforced celibacy.

Early in the ninth century another Benedict, Abbot of *Benedict of Aniane.* Aniane in Languedoc (817), distinguished himself by his attempts to enforce a high standard of morality on

¹ *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 350.

strict ascetic lines in the cloister. Berno, in the following century *Berno at* (910), founded a monastic community at Clugny, near *Clugny.* Macon in Burgundy, which gradually grew into a large "congregation" of associated religious houses, and became famous. To the monk of Clugny the Feast of All Souls (Nov. 2) owes its origin about 1024. No doubt it arose from the doctrine of purgatory, and from the notion that suffering souls might be benefited by earthly prayers. It was a pendant to the Feast of All Saints (Nov. 1), to which Alcuin refers in one of his letters (799).¹ It was from this monastery also that in a subsequent age came forth the sweet and pensive strains of "Jerusalem the Golden."² Others again, from episcopal and archiepiscopal seats, laboured earnestly for reformation of the secular clergy. Rathenius, bishop of Verona (d. 974), and Dunstan, archbishop of *Reforms* Canterbury (d. 988), notwithstanding much arrogance *among the* and prelatie pride, have left honourable record of *Clergy.* their endeavours to check abuses and to maintain a high standard of morality. But such men were few, and their efforts for reform were too often nullified by false ideals of the Christian life.

§ 3. AGOBARD OF LYONS AND CLAUDE OF TURIN.

Among those teachers of the Church who strove after a purer faith as a means to a higher life, must be mentioned Agobard, archbishop of Lyons. To a great extent he was mixed up with the political struggles of the time, as when he maintained the independence of the French people and clergy against the Emperor Louis the Pious. This led to the arch-*Views of* bishop's suspension and banishment for a time; but *Agobard,* *d. 840.* he was afterwards restored, and seems to have been allowed a free

¹ It is observable that Alcuin, quoting Scripture in this letter, interpolates a clause, "The peace of God which passeth all understanding, through the intercession of all His Saints, keep your hearts throughout

Eternity." *Ep.* 76.

² The poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, by the monk Bernard, so well known through Dr. Neale's translation and the hymns derived from it.

hand. Theologically, he argued against adoptionism, and advocated the inspiration of Scripture on intelligent grounds ; but he is best remembered for his opposition to popular superstitions, such as the attributing of hail and thunder to the agency of evil spirits, and the value of ordeals, or "wager of battle," as tests of guilt and innocence ; but above all for his demonstration of the absurdity of image-worship.¹ Agobard was no mere iconoclast, he went to the root of the matter. The worship of images, he argues, involves the adoration of saints, which is without authority. The saints themselves decline it. "Since no man is essentially God, save Jesus our Saviour, so we, as the Scripture commands, shall bow our knees to His name alone, lest by giving this honour to another, we may be estranged from God, and left to follow the inventions of men, according to the inclinations of our own hearts." It is remarkable that Agobard escaped, so far as we can learn, the imputation of heresy, and was even canonized.

Another genuine reformer, better known than Agobard, was *Teachings of Claude*, archbishop of Turin. Like his contemporary of Lyons, he opposed image-worship as essentially idolatrous. In face of popular opposition, he removed both images and relics from the metropolitan church of Turin, and preached with great fervour against the worship of any visible object. Augustine was his master and guide ; he saw how far the Church had deviated from that great Father's teachings. Justification by good works, and the imputed merits of the saints, he alike denounced. He even ventured to deny the special value of monastic vows, a practical point which, even more than his theological opinions, would awaken antagonism. He, moreover, denied the claim of any one, at Rome or elsewhere, to be called *Dominus apostolicus*. No special power, he contended, of binding or loosing had been given to Peter or his successors, "He only is

¹ *Contra superstitionem eorum qui pictoris et imaginibus Sanctorum adorationis obsequium deferendum putant.* See this passage in Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i.

pp. 242, 243. The works of Agobard were unknown until their discovery in the early part of the seventeenth century.

apostolic who does the work of an apostle." It is a wonder that, with such opinions fearlessly expressed, the archbishop escaped the treatment customarily meted out to heretics; but so it was, he was left undisturbed in peace while the Pope (Paschal I.) denounced his doctrines; and treatises were written against him, notably a letter by a learned abbot, one Theodemir, unhappily lost, a reply to which is said to have been Claude's principal work.¹ He wrote also several commentaries on Scripture, in which his views are strongly maintained. The influence of Claude in a succeeding generation may be noticed in the protests of the Waldenses against the corruptions of the Church.

§ 4. OTHER SEEKERS FOR THE TRUTH.

The name of John Scotus Erigena has already been noticed in the section on Theological Controversies. This distinguished thinker may not indeed be classed as an evangelical teacher, yet indirectly he was undoubtedly a pioneer of progress, and the philosophy and theology of the future were largely indebted to him. He has been called, not very accurately, "The first of the schoolmen"; also "The last of the Neo-Platonists"; it is certain that he occupied a place between two eras in thought, without strictly belonging to either. "His idea of the unity of philosophy and theology comes up in Anselm and Thomas Aquinas, his speculation concerning primordial causes in Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus. From him Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant drew their pantheism, and various mystical sects of the Middle Ages were inspired by him."² The religious teachers of his time, as already remarked, did not comprehend him, but a belated condemnation was passed upon him by Pope Honorius III. in the thirteenth century. His great maxim to his disciples was, "Let no authority terrify thee."

¹ *Apologeticum atque Rescriptum adversus Theodemirum Abbatem.* See C. Schmidt in Herzog's *Ency.*, ed. Schaff.

² Dr. P. Schaff, *Medieval Christianity*, p. 772.

Other names may be more briefly mentioned. Glimpses of a faith unobscured by ceremonialism and superstition may be observed in the memorials left of Haymo, a pupil of the great Englishman Alcuin, friend of Rabanus Maurus, and bishop of Halberstadt in Saxony. He took part in the Predestinarian controversy against Gottschalk, and wrote much on Holy Scripture.

Haymo,
d. 853. Here is a quotation: "In the Law, no room is reserved for repentance, but its language is, The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The Gospel saith, I will not the death of a sinner. The Law is not of faith. It is the province of faith to believe, and to hope things invisible. The Law therefore is not fulfilled by faith, but by works: but the Gospel is fulfilled by faith, rather than by works; for faith alone saves. Galatians iii. 12."

Another name worthy of preservation is that of the venerable Nilus, a Calabrian monk. According to the record left of his life and sayings, he was remarkable for his plain dealing with the great. The simple anecdotes preserved of this good man show the impression which he left upon the men
Nilus,
d. 1005. of his age. Being visited by a nobleman of Calabria, Leo by name, attended by bishop and priests, he chose for Leo a book *On the Small Number of the Saved*. Not very courtly, thought the company. One of them asked whether Solomon was saved or not. Nilus replied, "What is that to us?" Knowing that the querist was living a profligate life, he added, "I should think it a more interesting object of inquiry for you to consider whether *you* shall be saved or not." Being called to visit Euphraxus, governor of Calabria, on his death-bed, and being implored to invest him with the monastic habit, he replied, "Repentance requires no new vows, but a change of heart and life." When Nilus in his latter days had been driven by the Saracens from Calabria, the Emperor Otho III. visited him and offered him assistance. "Ask what you please, I shall be happy to give it you." "The only thing I ask you," replied Nilus, "is that you would save your soul, for you must give an account to God as well as other men." We seem to be listening to some stern

old Puritan, regardless of worldly dignities, and anxious only to speak a word in season.

But a greater man than any of the foregoing, both in the greatness of his conceptions, the intensity of his insight into truth, and his care to instruct others, was the English King *Alfred the Great, King of England, 872—901.* Alfred. He appeared as the restorer of his realm after the destruction wrought by the Danes, and he saw that the deliverance from barbarism must be by the Christian education of the people. He may have known no other Church than the Roman, but he knew more than Rome could teach; and as we now see from the distance of ages, he was within a little of being a pioneer of reaction from the Papacy. But a period of darkness and superstition was yet to come. His highest purposes, educational and Christian, especially in the translation of Scripture into the vernacular, and in making English, not Latin, the medium of religious teaching, were for another generation to realize. Meanwhile we have this testimony for the past, quaintly expressed, but true.

"Alfred was a King of England that was both a king and a Saxon scholar; he loved well God's work; he was wise and *poet.* advised in his talk. He was the wisest man that was in all England. Thus said Alfred, England's comfort, 'O that you would now love and long after your Lord. He would govern you wisely, and suitably admonish thee, whether thou art poor or rich, that thou wholly reverence thy Lord Christ, love Him and delight in Him, for He is Lord of life. He is one God above all goodness. He is a bliss above all blessedness.'"

PART VI.

FROM THE SEPARATION OF THE
CHURCHES TO THE REMOVAL OF
THE PAPAL COURT TO AVIGNON.

AGE OF THE CRUSADES.
THE PAPACY AT ITS HEIGHT.

A.D. 1054—1308.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.

* * For the names of Emperors and Popes, see Chronological Tables.

	A.D.
Investiture disputes (till 1122) ...	1059
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury ...	1070
Emperor and Pope at Canossa ...	1077
Theophylact of Bulgaria : Commentator ...	1078
Bruno, founder of the Carthusian Order ...	1084
The First Crusade ...	1096
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1109) ...	1093
Robert of Molesme, founder of the Cistercian Order ...	1098
Bernard, founder of the Clairvaux Monastery (d. 1158) ...	1115
First Lateran Council (<i>Ninth General. W.</i>) ...	1123
Second Lateran Council (<i>Tenth General. W.</i>) ...	1139
Death of Abelard ...	1142
Arnold of Brescia teaches (d. 1154) ...	1143
The Second Crusade ...	1147
The Constitutions of Clarendon (abrogated 1172) ...	1164
Thomas Becket murdered ...	1170
Peter Waldo begins his Mission ...	1170
Third Lateran Council (<i>Eleventh General. W.</i>) ...	1179
The Third Crusade ...	1189
The Fourth Crusade ...	1202
Latin Empire at Constantinople ...	1204
Francis of Assisi founds his Order ...	1207
War against the Albigenses ...	1209
John of England does homage to the Pope ...	1213
Dominic de Guzman founds his Order ...	1215
Fourth Lateran Council (<i>Twelfth General. W.</i>) ...	1215
The Fifth Crusade ...	1217
The Sixth Crusade ...	1227
The Inquisition formally established ...	1232
First Council of Lyons (<i>Thirteenth General. W.</i>) ...	1245
The Seventh Crusade ...	1248
Constantinople recaptured by the Greeks ...	1261
The Eighth and last Crusade ...	1270
Second Council of Lyons (<i>Fourteenth General. W.</i>) ...	1274
Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura died ...	1274

CHAPTER I.

WESTERN EMPERORS AND THE HIERARCHY.

§ I. HILDEBRAND, HIS EARLY CAREER.

THE name of Pope Leo the Ninth has already occurred in the story of mutual excommunication by Pope and Patriarch, with the consequent severance of Eastern and Western Churches. A retrospective glance at this Pope's earlier career will fittingly introduce the record of personages and events that have left their impress upon the whole future of the Romish hierarchy.

When Pope Gratian (Gregory VI.), the least unworthy member of this trio deposed at Sutri in 1046, retired to Germany, he had in his train a young Tuscan monk, his former chaplain, named Hildebrand. Gratian died in 1047; Hildebrand went to Clugny; but we find him two years afterwards at Worms in close companionship with Bruno, bishop of Toul, the pope-designate, cousin to the Emperor Henry III. As Leo the Ninth, Bruno was about to proceed to Rome to be inaugurated with customary state. Hildebrand interfered, and boldly persuaded him to forego the Emperor's nomination until the consent of the Romans themselves had been obtained. The two friends accordingly, in pilgrim guise, made their way to the gates of Rome, the journey occupying two months; and on entering announced their errand. The cardinals and clergy, the priests and the people, whether apprised beforehand of Bruno's coming, or moved by his show of humility, welcomed him with one accord; the Emperor's choice was ratified, and Bruno ascended the papal chair, with Hildebrand as cardinal sub-deacon. The chief events of the pontificate thus begun have been already noted, especially

Bruno, afterwards Leo IX.

Bruno and Hildebrand.

the separation from the Eastern Church in 1054, and the controversy with Berengar on the Eucharist.

Hildebrand was now the leading spirit at the Roman court. *Hildebrand* Leo IX. died in 1055; and the all-powerful sub-deacon *in Rome.* nominated in succession the next two popes, who were elected by the cardinals and people, prior to imperial confirmation. The former of these pontiffs (Victor II.) was accepted by Henry III., who died soon after, leaving a son six years old with the child's mother Agnes as regent. Hildebrand was absent from Rome to secure the assent of the Empress-mother to the appointment of Victor's successor (Stephen IX., 1057) when the latter also died. "Do not make your choice," said Stephen, "until Hildebrand returns." But now troubles began. Disregarding Stephen's injunction, a faction in Rome nominated one Minucius of Velletri, known in history as the antipope Benedict X. Hildebrand had however already secured the assent of the Empress-mother to the nomination of another candidate, Gerard, archbishop of Florence (Nicolas II.). After a sharp conflict, in which the Normans, now, as has been related, possessing Southern Italy, and destined hereafter to play so large a part in Roman affairs, appeared on the side of Hildebrand, the antipope was captured and shut up in a monastery, where he lingered for twenty years.

It will be observed that in the recurrent conflicts of the next *The* hundred years the term "antipope" generally designates the imperialist choice, while the "pope" is the one elected by the cardinals and clergy. When the rival powers concurred, there was peace; but the ignoble strife was continually renewed.

§ 2. "HILDEBRAND'S POPES."

One of the earliest measures of Pope Nicolas, under the prompting of his great adviser, now cardinal, was to ordain that all future popes should be first nominated by the cardinals and Roman clergy, the imperial consent being afterwards obtained. The step was important as one of the many measures contrived

to place the ecclesiastical above the spiritual authority. Occasion soon arose for bringing the new arrangement to a test. On the death of Nicolas in 1061, the imperial party in Rome, with Agnes *Papal* and her son, nominated Cadalous of Parma (the *Elections.* antipope Honorius II.). But Hildebrand and his party, backed by the Norman forces, were too strong for them; and Anselm, bishop of Lucca (Alexander II.), was chosen, being recognized by councils, at Augsburg, 1062, and Mantua, 1064. A bitter contest ensued—really between Church and Empire. After a sanguinary but indecisive battle outside the gates of Rome, the two rivals retired, each to his own bishopric.

A startling event decided the issue—no less than the abduction *Kidnapping* of King Henry IV. The youth was sailing on the Rhine, *a king.* suspecting no evil, when Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, at the head of a party of anti-imperialists, carried him off by stratagem. Probably Hildebrand had more knowledge of this scheme than was allowed to appear. It is, however, to be hoped that he was free from complicity in the scheme that followed. Under the tutelage of Adalbert, Henry's newly-elected guardian under Hanno, the lad was allowed every indulgence, and his worst propensities were fostered, to his eventual ruin. Agnes, humiliated and disgusted, repaired to Rome, and entered a convent by advice or compulsion of Hildebrand; Cardinal Peter *Peter* *Damiani,* a brilliant scholar, ascetic monk, and wily ecclesi- *1007—1072.* astic, being her spiritual director. The council at Mantua above-noticed affirmed the appointment of Alexander II. as Pope; and he returned from Lucca to Rome. Cadalous, at Parma, protested but submitted, clinging for the rest of his life to the empty title that for awhile had dazzled his vacuous and uninstructed mind.

The chief personages of this brief eventful struggle passed away within a very few years. Godfrey of Lorraine, brother to *Hildebrand* Pope Stephen IX., and among the chief supporters of *Pope* the Hildebrand policy, died in 1069. Peter Damiani, *(Gregory* *VII.).* the learned and austere cardinal, whose force of

character and literary skill had yet more effectually upheld the hierarchy, died in 1072, and Alexander himself in 1073. The way was now open for the great "pope-maker" to become himself the Pope; and before Alexander was in his grave, Hildebrand was chosen by acclamation. Out of regard to his old patron he assumed the name of Gregory; and as Gregory the Seventh, for good or evil, he bears in history an imperishable name.

§ 3. HILDEBRAND AS GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

Supremacy was the keynote of Hildebrand's policy. First, that of the Pope over the clergy; then that of the Church over the State. To the knowledge or the thought of mankind he *Measures of Gregory.* made no contribution: he was masterful, politic, inexorable; that was all. That the Church might be strong, she must first be pure, as purity was then understood. Against two evils, accordingly, he waged unceasing war, simony *Against simony.* and licentiousness. At his first council in 1074 he dealt with both. (1) The sale and purchase of ecclesiastical dignities had become a scandal in the Church. For this unholy traffic the penalties now denounced were, to laymen, excommunication, to clerics, deprivation. (2) Licentiousness *Clerical celibacy.* of the clergy being regarded as concubinage, and sternly prohibited. Already, under Stephen IX., the married clergy, of whom there were very many, had been commanded to put away their wives: the injunction was now pitilessly enforced. All sacred offices performed by such clergy were declared invalid, and the laity receiving them were to be excommunicated. Against reluctant pastors force might be employed to compel divorce. Homes were desolated, hearts were broken; but the austere and haughty Churchman knew no mercy. A celibate priesthood was finally established as the law of the Latin Church, and if ecclesiastical domination were indeed

the one thing needful in human affairs, no engine of policy could have been more astutely devised.

The synod of the following year was mainly devoted to the relations of the Church with the secular government. In particular, the royal right of "investiture" as hitherto practised was distinctly repudiated. The edict, indeed, was yet wider in its scope. No prince or layman was to appoint to any ecclesiastical office, nor could any ecclesiastic receive his office from a layman; under penalty of deposition to the one, excommunication to the other. The secular, in fact, was to be absolutely subject to the spiritual.

Question concerning investiture.

§ 4. GREGORY VII. AND WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

As indicating the spirit of such enactments, a letter of Gregory to William I. of England ("the Conqueror") may here be quoted. Its date is uncertain, but its genuineness is undisputed.¹

"Like the two great luminaries fixed by the Creator in the firmament of the heaven to give light to His creatures, so also hath He ordained two great powers on earth by which all are to be governed and preserved from error. These powers are the pontifical and the royal; but the former is the greater, the latter the lesser light. Yet under both the religion of Christ is so ordered that, by God's assistance, the apostolical power shall govern the royal: and Scripture teacheth that the apostolical and pontifical dignity is ordained to be responsible for all Christian kings, nay, for all men before the divine tribunal; and to render an account to God for their sins. If, therefore, to be answerable before the judgment-seat, judge ye whether ye are not bound upon the peril of your soul, and as ye desire to possess your kingdom in peace, to yield unto me unconditional obedience, for that is no more than to prefer the honour of God to your own honour, and to love Him in a pure mind, with all your heart and with all your strength."

Many of the small kingdoms and principalities submitted to

¹ See Henderson's *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, Bohn's ed., 1896.

claims like these—not so France and England. Philip I. of France, a ruler of placid but obstinate disposition, simply ignored the claim. William of England replied to the Pope in characteristic fashion, consenting to the payment of tribute, but repudiating fealty. He writes briefly and to the point—

“To Gregory, the most noble Shepherd of the Holy Church, William, by the grace of God, renowned King of the English and Duke of the Normans, greeting with amity. Hubert, your Legate, holy Father, coming to me in your behalf, bade me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to think better in the matter of the money which my predecessors were wont to send to the Roman Church : the one point I agreed to, the other I did not agree to. I refused to do fealty, nor will I, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors. The money, for nearly three years, while I was in Gaul, has been carelessly collected ; but now that I am come back to my kingdom by God’s mercy, what has been collected is sent by the aforesaid legate ; and what remains shall be dispatched when opportunity serves, by the legate of Lanfranc, our faithful archbishop. Pray for us, and for the good estate of our realm, for we have loved your predecessors, and desire to love you sincerely, and to hear you obediently before all.”

§ 5. PROTESTS AGAINST PAPAL CLAIMS.

It must not be supposed that such arrogant claims were admitted without protest. In Rome itself the synod of 1075 was followed by an uprising of the imperial party under Cenci at the Christmas festival, and the Pope was for a short time imprisoned ; but the populace took the side of the pontiff, and the insurgent nobles were compelled to fly from the city.

Gregory, unperturbed, now sent a summons to the young king Henry IV., demanding his presence at a council in Rome, to answer for his misdeeds, thus addressing him : “ Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction, that is, if he be obedient to the apostolic chair as becomes a Christian king.” Five of Henry’s most trusted councillors had meantime been excommunicated for having attained office by simony. The

reply was a contemptuous refusal, followed by the royal summons of a council at Worms, attended by two archbishops and two-thirds of the bishops of Germany. By this council Gregory was formally deposed. Henry wrote to the Pope defiantly, addressing his letter: "To Hildebrand, at present not pope, but false monk,"

Henry IV. and adding, "Thou hast not shunned to rise up *defiant.* against the royal power conferred upon us by God, daring to threaten to divest us of it, as if we had received our kingdom from thee! Jesus Christ did call us to the kingdom, and did not call thee to the priesthood. I am subject to God alone. Descend, descend to be damned throughout the ages" (Jan. 24, 1076).

Gregory, in reply at a council in the following February, excommunicated the king and all who had supported him at Worms, absolved the subjects of Henry from their *Gregory's rejoinder.* allegiance, and declared the throne vacant.¹ The letter of the Pope to the monarch is unctuous, but imperative: "Even the mightiest of kings," he writes, "were not so great as many who were meek and lowly, the subjects of a kingdom of liberty and eternity."

§ 6. CANOSSA.

Thus, for the first time, was papal absolutism pitted against royal authority, and royal authority had to yield. It was not that the wayward young king cared particularly for the papal anathema, but that it alarmed and alienated his subjects. He *Humiliation of the King.* professed his willingness to yield to the Pope; but the Pope would be content with nothing less than unconditional submission. Gregory was at the time residing in the castle of Canossa, in the Apennines, with the widowed Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the greatest princess of Italy, and a devotee of the Papal See. There, having crossed the Alps in winter, Henry presented himself in penitential garb and sought admittance

¹ See the text of these mutual depositions in Henderson's *Historical Documents*, p. 373 seq.

to the pontiff. Gregory at first refused him an admittance; and for three days the king stood in the castle court, barefooted amid the snow, stiff with cold, faint with hunger, until on the fourth morning the proud prelate consented to receive him. The monarch, falling low at Gregory's feet in real or affected contrition, at length received the promise of forgiveness, although on bitterly humiliating terms.¹

§ 7. SEQUEL TO CANOSSA: DEATH OF GREGORY.

Gregory had for once overshot the mark. The young monarch, although after his humiliation he accepted the hospitalities of Canossa for a time, retired with rage and resentment in his heart. It soon appeared that Henry's party was stronger than the pontiff had supposed. True, the princes on Gregory's side had not been idle. In a very few weeks after the hollow reconciliation between

A rival Pope and king, a diet was convened at Forchheim in
King. Franconia, at which Duke Rudolf of Swabia, brother-in-law of Henry, was chosen king, at the same time, expressly renouncing the right of investiture. The Pope's legates were present at the diet, but Gregory himself for a while professed neutrality—receiving the ambassadors of Henry and Rudolf with equal graciousness. But many parts of the realm were desolated by civil contests, in which princes and ecclesiastics were alike furiously divided. At length challenged to decision by the contending kings, Gregory declared for Rudolf, again pronouncing upon Henry the sentence of excommunication and deposition. The bishops of Henry's part immediately met at Brixen, and in solemn form excommunicated the Pope; electing as his successor

¹ "The price of pardon was a promise to submit himself in the future to the judgment of the Apostolic See; to resign his crown if that judgment should be unfavourable to him; to abstain meanwhile from the enjoyment of any of his royal prerogatives or revenues; to acknowledge that his subjects had been lawfully

released from their allegiance; to banish his former friends and advisers; to govern his states, should he regain them, in obedience to the papal counsels; to enforce all papal decrees; and never to revenge his present humiliation."—SIR JAMES STEPHEN.

Guibert (the antipope Clement II.). A battle ensued at Merseburg on the Elser, October 1080, when Rudolf was mortally wounded. Henry advanced to Rome, investing the city at intervals during three years, while Gregory calmly sat within, issuing his ecclesiastical decrees and dictating, often to unheeding ears, the policy of Western Christendom. At length the besieging army

entered Rome. Henry was crowned Emperor by the antipope, Easter Day 1084. Gregory had retreated to the castle of St. Angelo, whence after a while he was delivered by the Norman leader Robert Guiscard. He found a refuge at Salerno, and died in the following year (May 24, 1085).

Hildebrand's last words. His last words are said to have been: "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

§ 8. THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY.¹

After the death of Gregory VII. the antipope Clement lingered yet fifteen years upon the scene, able at times to rally numerous partisans, who held possession of some of the most considerable Roman churches, and greatly harassed the Hildebrandian popes. But upon the whole, his personality may be disregarded. The successors of Gregory VII. were first Desiderius (Victor III.), a man of gentler mould who soon passed away; then Otto, the *fiery*, Urban II., prompter of the first crusade, who finally hunted the antipope out of Rome; followed by Paschal II., noticeable for his repeated but ineffectual excommunications of Henry IV.; until, changing his tactics, he stirred up the Emperor's second son Henry against his father, who was driven from his throne and perished miserably after a troubled reign of fifty years.

Still the Investiture controversy dragged on. Henry V. was as determined as his father had been to enforce imperial rights, and

¹ *Investiture*: an act sealing the grant of any estate or privilege by a king to his subjects, or a chief to his vassals, on condition of homage or service feudal.

in the end drove Paschal into banishment, where he died (1118). In the very next year we find the Pope (Calixtus II.) excommunicating this Emperor also, and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance. It was verily time that the weary and mischievous farce should come to a close. So a compromise was found, in the separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical investiture. Let the Pope surrender the former, the Emperor would yield the latter. By a council held at Worms, 1122, the compromise was formulated, and the Concordat was made binding by the next œcumenical council. Investiture of bishops and abbots with the sceptre was to be made by the Emperor, that with ring and crosier by the Pope. Inasmuch as the election was to be made by the spiritual authorities, the Emperor (personally or by commissioners) simply being present to ratify the act, or to decide any disputed election, the advantage was plainly on the ecclesiastical side.

An agreement similar to the Worms *Concordat* had already been made in England between Pope Paschal II. and King Henry I. (1106), but not without a sharp contest between the King and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

Popes and antipopes still appear upon the scene ; and under the Emperor Frederick I., second of the Hohenstaufen line, surnamed Barbarossa (Red-Beard), the contest became more decided, especially when the strong-willed Nicolas Breakspear (Hadrian IV.), the only Englishman who ever wore the tiara, was elected pope (1154). From the first, there was a measuring of strength between the two. It fell to Hadrian to crown the Emperor. Frederick, on proceeding to the ceremony, would have declined the function of holding the Pope's stirrup ; Hadrian on this declared that he would not proceed with the coronation. With an ill grace the Emperor yielded ; but the trivial incident was an index to the policy of both.

Hadrian is said to have been the first pope who added to his other demands that of the exclusive jurisdiction of the prelacy

over clerics in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical, a demand which was hereafter to have serious consequences in his native land. He also disputed with Barbarossa respecting the heritage of Matilda. That distinguished countess, in pursuance of a promise to Hildebrand, had left her vast estates on her death (1115) to the Roman See. Frederick seized upon them, and bestowed them on the Duke of Bavaria, whose young son Welf or Guelph, Matilda had married in her later days. For a time Hadrian ineffectually protested; but under a succeeding pope, Frederick had to yield. The contest between the Guelphs or papal party, and the Ghibellines, partisans of the Hohenstaufen, in its issues carried the power of the Papacy to its height.

§ 9. ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

A signal episode in the relations of these two strong rulers was in the case of Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of Abelard and a zealous reformer. He advocated the renunciation of all Church property, the support of the clergy by the freewill offerings of the people, and the entire separation between secular and ecclesiastical government. After preaching these doctrines in Northern Italy, he was charged with heresy and fled to France, where Bernard of Clairvaux attacked him with great animosity. He retreated to Switzerland, whence he was expelled at the instance of Bernard, and found a refuge at last in Rome. Here he directed his efforts to the restoration of the ancient form of government by senate and tribunes of the people. He was for a time successful, and a new constitution was actually framed, which Hadrian was asked to sanction. The Pope refused, and fled before the popular indignation to Orvieto. Here he laid an interdict upon the city, a step unprecedented. The Sacraments were refused, the ministrations of the Church suspended (except in the case of the dying), and the whole ecclesiastical system in Rome came to a standstill.

At this juncture Barbarossa, at the head of a great army,

approached the gates of Rome. The people were panic-stricken. Arnold was expelled, and the Pope returned. Soon afterwards

Surrender and death of Arnold. Arnold was surrendered to Barbarossa, who instead of welcoming the brave popular leader as an ally against the Papacy, meanly delivered him into the hands of Hadrian, by whose orders he was hanged, his body burned, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber.

This was in June 1155, the month in which Barbarossa was crowned. Dean Waddington has well said: "The name of Arnold has been the subject of splendid panegyric and scandalous calumny: with its claims to political celebrity we have no concern in this history; but in respect to his disputes with the Church

A precursor of reform. we may venture to rank Arnold of Brescia among those earnest but inconsiderate reformers, whose premature opposition to established abuses produced little immediate result, except their own discomfiture and destruction; but whose memory has become dear, as their example has been useful, to a happier and a wiser posterity; whom we celebrate as martyrs to the best of human principles, and whose very indiscretions we account to them for zeal and virtue."¹

§ 10. ALEXANDER III. AND BARBAROSSA; THOMAS BECKET.

When Hadrian died he was on the point of excommunicating Barbarossa, whom he found irreconcilable. The Emperor as usual appointed an antipope—or rather three in succession, against whom the successor of Hadrian, Alexander III., with difficulty maintained his ground. The contest between Alexander and Frederick continued for twenty years. Rome was captured by the Emperor in 1166, but his army was almost entirely destroyed

Emperor and Pope at Venice. by a pestilential fever, "like the host of Sennacherib," said the papal partisans; and Frederick retired. At length the enemies were induced to meet on the neutral ground of Venice, where in the porch of St. Mark's three slabs of red marble mark to this day the spot where the great

¹ *History of the Church*, ch. xvii,

Barbarossa knelt before Alexander, kissed his feet, and was raised by the Pope to receive the kiss of peace. This occurred in 1177, exactly a hundred years after the humiliation at Canossa.

Meantime another phase of the great conflict was seen in England. In 1164 the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, under Henry II., declared the equality of the clergy and the laity before the law.¹ Pope Alexander refused to ratify them. Thomas Becket, the primate, maintaining the Pope's decision, was compelled to flee the kingdom, and from his retreat in France pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all abettors of the Constitutions. Long and bitter controversies lasted for five years, at the end of which king and archbishop met near Touraine, and a formal reconciliation took place (July 1170). The story of Becket's return to England and of his murder at Christmas of the same year in the cathedral of Canterbury is familiar to all readers. The share of Henry in this crime will probably always remain among the unsolved problems of history. For a time the advantage seemed to lie with the Pope. England was laid under an interdict. In 1172 the Constitutions of Clarendon were repealed, and in 1174 Henry underwent humiliating penance at Becket's tomb.

§ 11. PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT THE THIRD.

Alexander was followed by a succession of immemorable popes, with the inevitable antipopes, until in 1198 Cardinal Lothario Conti ascended the papal chair as Innocent the Third. It would hardly be too much to call him the greatest of the popes. He crowned, so far as mortal could, the work which Gregory the First and Gregory the Seventh had begun. In the proud consciousness of his position, he designated himself as no pope before him had ventured to do, "the representative of God upon the earth."

¹ A conveniently-accessible copy of these *Constitutions*, as well as of other documents relating to the struggle, will be found in Henderson's *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (Bohn's Lib., 1896).

He had no real rival. The succession of imperialist antipopes was at an end, and he was himself the guardian of the infant king. Thus, in Church or State, there was none to dispute his power. And, happier than most of his predecessors, he had eight-and-twenty years in which to carry out his schemes. These were far-reaching, and for the time successful. He crowned, deposed, and excommunicated monarchs. In Spain he compelled Alfonso to forego an incestuous marriage with his niece. In France he made Philip Augustus take back his divorced wife. He even for a short time ruled Constantinople, as will be told in the story of the Crusades. But it is in his dealings with England that his *King John* policy was most conspicuously manifested. *King of England.* John had nominated an archbishop of Canterbury; several of the electors proposed another candidate. Both parties appealed to Rome. Innocent set both aside, designating and consecrating Stephen Langton to the primacy. John was exasperated, and threatened great things. Innocent replied by excommunicating John, releasing his subjects from their fealty, and putting the kingdom under an interdict, which continued for five years. It was the opportunity of the King of France, who was preparing to descend upon the kingdom, when John in abject terror surrendered his dominions to the Pope, to receive them back as a fief. The scene with the Pope's legate lives in history and in drama. Humiliated and indignant, the barons of England levied war upon their unworthy king, and on the condition of peace compelled the signature of *Magna Charta*. For once a pope, however indirectly and unintentionally, through the exercise of despotic power, wrought good service for the liberties of mankind.

In Rome, the most notable incident in Innocent's career was his holding of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. *The Fourth Lateran Council.* The chief decisions of this council will be noted in the chapter on Councils. Its memory is infamous for its persecuting edicts, too faithfully obeyed in days to come.

§ 12. INCREASING CLAIMS: BONIFACE VIII. AND PHILIP
OF FRANCE.

From the year 1216, when Innocent III. passed away, the annals of the Papacy are enriched with no great names. Strife between Pope and Emperor was from time to time renewed, but with no lasting issues. Extravagant claims were not wanting, often ludicrous in the very simplicity of their arrogance. Thus Innocent IV. (A.D. 1243—1254) maintained it to be the duty of all clerics to obey the Pope, even if he should command what they *Spiritual* knew to be wrong—unless heresy were involved. *despotism.* “Laymen need only to know that there is a God who rewards the good; and for the rest they are to believe implicitly what the Church believes.” “Bishops and pastors must know well the Apostles’ Creed: there their knowledge may stop, excepting that the Body of Christ is made in the Sacrament of the Altar.”

Religiously, the typical lay Churchman in the latter part of the thirteenth century was King Louis IX. of France, *St. Louis IX. of France.* crusader and devotee. More will be said about his history in the next chapter. It may suffice here to note that, according to the standard of his time, his character was pre-eminently saintly and pure. He was, moreover, a great supporter and champion of the Romish Church. All this renders his “Pragmatic Sanction”¹ the more noteworthy. In reply to *Pragmatic Sanction.* Pope Clement V. (1265—1268), who had claimed for the Roman See the right to dispose of all benefices, vacant or otherwise, according to his good pleasure, Louis asserts that “the Kingdom of France, recognizing no other superior or protector than God Almighty, is independent of all men, and consequently of the Pope.” Hence “Gallicanism” as opposed to “Ultramontanism.”

¹ *I. e.* Decree on Public affairs; generally applied to such as were held *fundamental*. The term is from the Greek of Byzantine law. For the decree see Gieseler iii., ch. i. § 62. Its authenticity has been called in question, but without sufficient reason.

It was, however, reserved for Pope Boniface VIII. (1294—
Boniface VIII. 1303) to advance the most audacious claims of the
 Papacy in their most uncompromising form. His
 arrogance, hitherto unparalleled even by the Gregories and
 Innocents, suggests that his brain was affected by his dignity.
 At his inauguration two kings held his stirrups. He proclaimed
 a Jubilee for the year 1300—the first of those celebrations which
First Papal Jubilee. have attracted crowds to Rome and brought much
 gain to the Popedom. It is credibly reported that in
 the course of the proceedings he appeared before the multitude
 on one day in his pontificals, on another with sword, crown, and
 sceptre, exclaiming, “*I am Cæsar! I am Emperor!*”

Two years afterwards, the French king, Philip the Fair, having
 imprisoned a papal legate, the Pope commanded his release, and
 summoned a synod at Rome to confirm the order. Philip forbade
 the French bishops to attend the synod; but several of them
 disobeyed his orders and went. On this Boniface issued his bull
Unam Sanctam,¹ in which, with marvellous exegesis, he quoted the
 words of the apostles, respecting the “two swords” (Luke xxii. 38).
 “Both swords,” writes the Pope, “the spiritual and the temporal,
 are in the power of the Church; the one by the hand of the
 priest, the other by the hand of kings and knights, but at the
 sufferance of the priest. One sword ought to be under the other,
 and the temporal authority to be subjected to the spiritual.”²

Philip replied by summoning the Three Estates of his realm,
 and challenging Boniface to call a General Council. The Pope,
 still proving intractable, was seized and imprisoned, but was soon
 released. He died broken-hearted in the following year, as will be
 related hereafter, having by his extravagant pretensions betrayed
 the decay that was already at work within.

¹ This Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, further explicitly declares that “there is one holy catholic and apostolic Church, outside of which there is neither salvation nor remission of sins. We declare, announce, and define that it is

altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.”

² Quoted in Kidd, *Principles of Western Civilization*.

Bertrand, archbishop of Bordeaux (Clement V.), his next successor but one, apprehended the position as regarded France, and made a secret agreement with Philip to annul the proceedings of Boniface.

An article in the compact was that the papal court should be removed to French soil, thus destroying the tradition *Clement at Avignon.* of ages. Avignon was fixed as the locality (1305); the "exile," as it was termed, endured for seventy years, and a new era in the history of Papacy began.

CHAPTER II.

THE CRUSADES.

§ I. ORIGIN OF THE ENTERPRISE. PETER THE HERMIT.

IT might be thought that, in the long ignoble struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical forces of the Empire, the spirit of enthusiasm would be well-nigh quenched. And, in fact, the play of mean ambitions might have paralyzed the Church, but for the opening of a new outlet for its energies, in which the finer impulses of Christian enterprise were made manifest amid baser motives, ignorant ill-considered plans, together with excesses of lawless force. The Crusades have never had, and, it is not too much to say, never can have their parallel in history. The mind of Christendom had for many generations been directed with eager longing to "those holy fields" which had been consecrated by the footsteps of the world's Redeemer; and the possession of His grave by infidel Saracens was often a bitter thought. Towards the close of the first Christian millennium, the belief that He would reappear in Jerusalem intensified the desire to liberate from Mohammedan rule the scene of the expected Advent. To this desire Pope Sylvester (999) had given expression, but vainly; and at a later period, when the expectation had passed away, an ineffectual attempt was made by Hildebrand to summon Christian forces to the rescue. Meanwhile the stream of pilgrims to Palestine was continuous, as it had been since the Caliph Omar conquered Jerusalem in the seventh century. Omar and his successors had indeed been mostly tolerant of what brought much prestige and wealth to the Holy City; but its capture by the fierce Seljukian Turks from Central Asia

*A new
enthusiasm.*

*Former
schemes.*

*Turks cap-
ture Jeru-
salem, 1076.*

introduced an era of cruel oppression which filled all Christendom with sorrow and indignation. The tales of returning pilgrims intensified this feeling, until the Hermit Peter of Amiens, on his return from Jerusalem, undertook with the blessing of Pope Urban II. to rouse his fellow-countrymen to an effort for deliverance. Strange and impressive is the picture of the hermit, old and dwarfish, bare-headed and barefoot, in his progress from place to place, riding upon an ass, and everywhere stirring the multitudes by his fiery eloquence. Meanwhile the Pope had summoned a council at Placenza, to which the Eastern Emperor Alexius Comnenus sent an embassy imploring assistance against the danger which threatened Constantinople. No fewer than two thousand bishops and clergy attended, and the plan of a Crusade took shape.

Yet more memorable was the subsequent gathering at Clermont, when the Pope, with the Eastern ambassadors and the Hermit by his side, addressed assembled thousands from the cathedral steps, the multitude responding to his impassioned appeal by the cry, *Dieu le veut*, "It is the will of God!" The red cross marked on the right shoulder was the badge, and was at once assumed by a great, if undisciplined, army. The enthusiasm was contagious, and both banks of the Rhine echoed the Crusaders' cry.

Hence began the series of expeditions, which, although they achieved no lasting successes in the East, nevertheless changed the face of Europe. The number of the Crusades is variously given, according to the character of the several wars. Generally they are reckoned as eight, but sometimes as seven, the fourth in the following list being omitted. Only the very briefest enumeration can here be given, the enterprise in its different forms extending through nearly two centuries.

§ 2. THE FIRST CRUSADE. JERUSALEM TAKEN.

1. The First Crusade was anticipated by the impatient zeal of the Hermit and his associate, Walter the Penniless, a military

adventurer. Before any regular warlike operations could be concerted, these leaders started with an eager but *An undisciplined army.* undisciplined multitude of sixty thousand men for Hungary and Bulgaria, on the way to Constantinople. It was no army, but a rabble. Thousands fell by the way from famine and disease, and from many a skirmish with suspicious or unfriendly *Its fate.* populations. In fact, they had to live upon their way by pillage, and the few thousands who reached Constantinople found but cold welcome. Nevertheless they crossed the Bosphorus to Asiatic soil, where they were falsely informed by emissaries of the crafty David, the Seljukian ruler, that his capital, Nicæa in Bithynia, was already in Christian hands. They pressed on, only to find themselves entrapped and miserably destroyed. Only a few escaped, among whom was the Hermit Peter.

But in August 1096, the first regular army began its march, under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke *Godfrey and his comrades.* of Lorraine. Associated with him were Tancred, the noble knight, nephew of Robert Guiscard the Norman, also Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror, who had mortgaged his Duchy for the purpose to his wily brother William Rufus, and other more or less distinguished leaders. It is observable that no kings had allied themselves with this Crusade. Eighty thousand men reached Constantinople, and passed over to Asia, with large reinforcements from the Eastern Empire. First, they mastered Nicæa, horrified and exasperated by the tokens of the preceding massacre. Thence they marched to Edessa, which they secured as an outpost of a Christian kingdom, descending upon Antioch, which they captured after a long and sanguinary struggle; and finally they passed to Jerusalem, which they took with great loss, July 15, 1099. Godfrey was elected king, but refused to be crowned with gold where the Master had been crowned with thorns. Peter the Hermit attended the inauguration ceremony, the assembled throng falling at his feet *Christian kings in Jerusalem.* and hailing him as deliverer. After that supreme moment he disappears from history. Godfrey died

in the next year, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who was crowned at Bethlehem. A Latin kingdom and patriarchate were established at Jerusalem, with archbishop and bishops; and the dream of a Christianized Palestine seemed about to be fulfilled.¹

§ 3. SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES: SALADIN.

2. The Second Crusade (1147) was occasioned by the recapture of Edessa, with other reverses, threatening the existence of the kingdom. Bernard of Clairvaux was the *Bernard preacher of the Crusade.* preacher and prophet of the enterprise, persuading the reluctant Emperor Conrad II. to undertake it, in companionship with Louis VII. of France. The expedition was disastrous from beginning to end, largely through the perfidy of the Greek Emperor Manuel. In the course of this Crusade, Damascus was besieged, but ineffectually, and this city was never taken. Many thousands of the crusaders fell; Conrad and Louis *Failure.* returned to their respective dominions, defeated and disheartened; and the discredited Bernard, who in the name of God had foretold success, had to find an explanation of the non-fulfilment of his prophecy in the unworthiness of the Christian combatants.

3. In 1187 Jerusalem was taken by the Moslem warrior Saladin, and in 1189 the Third Crusade was undertaken for its recapture. It was an enterprise of *Saladin appears on the scene.* kings, the chief leaders being Frederick Barbarossa, the aged Emperor, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard of England, Cœur-de-Lion. But near the outset of the expedition *Death of Barbarossa.* Barbarossa, who had advanced into Asia and taken Iconium (Cogni), was drowned while bathing in the Cilician river Kalycadnus; and not a tenth, it is said, of his

¹ Kings of Jerusalem: Godfrey, 1173; Baldwin V., 1183; George of Lusignan, 1186. In 1187 Jerusalem was captured by Saladin, but the empty title was borne by a succession of Western princes.

dispirited army arrived at Antioch. Acre, Jaffa, Ascalon, were, however, taken, and an important strip of coast thus for a time secured. But Richard and Philip quarrelled, and the latter returned to Europe. Richard, having secured from *A futile ending.* Saladin the right of Christian pilgrims to visit Jerusalem without molestation, left for England, but on his way he was captured and held to ransom by the Emperor Henry VI., the unworthy son of Barbarossa.

An abortive attempt was made in 1196 (sometimes reckoned as a Fourth Crusade)¹ by Henry VI. and Pope Celestin III. for *Feeble efforts.* the reconquest of Palestine. A great number of German barons and knights assumed the cross, but Henry died before any effective steps could be taken. Some slight advantages were gained, but were lost again through the bloodthirstiness of the crusaders provoking desperate resistance, as well as from their own disunion and misunderstandings. The whole was closed by a terrible massacre at Jaffa, which practically extirpated the crusading host.

§ 4. FOURTH CRUSADE: LATIN CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

4. The Fourth Crusade (1202) was prompted by Pope Innocent III., and preached with great zeal by Fulk of Neuilly, almost a second Bernard, also by other popular orators, under whose *Innocent III. and Fulk of Neuilly.* influence the cross was assumed by Theobald and Walter of Champagne, Louis of Blois, Simon de Montfort (hereafter to become notorious as the leader of the cruel war against the Albigenses), by Baldwin of Flanders, and others, under whom the expedition promised to become one of great moment. But strange difficulties befell it at *Preliminary difficulties.* the very outset. As the overland march was judged too hazardous, they sought convoy by sea to Venice. The exorbitant demands of the Venetians caused delay; the matter became complicated by emissaries from Constantinople, in

¹ Counting this, the number of properly speaking, it was only an Crusades would be *nine*. But, abortive endeavour.

whose disputes the crusaders became involved, and the end was that the "holy war" degenerated into a filibustering expedition—

Constanti Constantinople fell, amid scenes of cruelty and outrage
noble taken on which the Pope himself cried shame. The Byzantine
by the Latins, Empire was overthrown, and a Latin kingdom
1204. established in its stead under Baldwin of Flanders. This new imperial dynasty lasted until 1261, when the Greeks regained possession. Meantime the warriors of this Fourth Crusade neither reached Palestine nor struck a blow at the Mohammedan power, but only aggrandized the Papacy and intensified the antagonism of the Eastern and Western Churches.

It was also in the time of Innocent III. (1212) that the strangely mournful episode of the Children's Crusade illustrated the wild enthusiasm of the times. Some thirty thousand boys and girls, under the leadership of the boy Stephen, started for Marseilles, many being lost upon the way. At Marseilles they waited, believing that the waters would cleave before them to open a path. Wily merchants enticed some thousands of them on board their ships, promising to carry them "for the love of God and without charge" to Palestine; and the poor children were sold as slaves in Algiers and Alexandria. Another company of twenty thousand set out for Cologne under the guidance of the peasant lad Nicholas. Many made their way to Brindisi, set sail from that port for Palestine, and were never heard of more. About five thousand reached Genoa, and were pityingly taken in hand by the citizens, many acquiring wealth and rising to eminence.

§ 5. FIFTH AND SIXTH CRUSADES: TREATY WITH THE SULTAN.

5. The Fifth Crusade was also promoted by Innocent III., who at the Fourth Lateran Council declared his intention of personally accompanying the soldiers of the cross to the Holy Land.

Andrew, But for him it was too late. He died in 1216, and it
king of was not till the following year that Andrew, king of
Hungary. Hungary, set out upon this enterprise. The failure of

his first attempt (an attack upon a fortress on Mount Tabor) caused him to return home disgusted, but a German contingent of the forces proved more persevering. Joined by the Templars from Mount Carmel, and English and French reinforcements, they initiated a new policy. In endeavouring to reach Jerusalem by *Damietta* way of Egypt, they captured Damietta, where *captured and pestilence and slaughter wrought fearful havoc ; but, retaken.* unaccountably delaying to press their advantage, they were compelled to retire before the rising Nile, and had to surrender the stronghold. The expedition therefore was absolutely without result.

6. The Sixth Crusade was chiefly remarkable for the contest between two imperious wills—the aged pope Gregory IX. *Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II.* (Cardinal Ugolino) on the one side, and on the other, the proud young Emperor Frederick II., son of the unworthy Henry VI., and grandson of the great Barbarossa. In his very early days Frederick had promised to engage in the Crusade which had come to nought at Damietta. This was in 1214. But the years passed, the Crusade failed in other hands, and Frederick showed little intention to fulfil his vow. At length in 1227 he gathered a force and set sail from Brindisi. But a fever broke out on board his ships, and he was compelled to return to Italy. The Pope *Frederick II.* lost all patience, charged the Emperor with having wantonly exposed his troops to pestilence, and pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication. But Frederick continued his preparations and, having rallied his forces, sailed once more from Brindisi, in defiance of the papal command to remain in Italy until he had purged his offence. He proceeded to Palestine, followed by the papal anathema, which effectually prevented his welcome by any of the Latin clergy. But he proudly stood alone, and added yet further to his crimes by *Treaty with the Sultan.* negotiating with the Sultan and his followers instead of fighting them. At length a treaty was concluded, which restored to the Emperor the whole of Jerusalem excepting

the Mosque of Omar, also the towns of Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. On the conclusion of the treaty, Frederick with his wife Iolanthe proceeded in state to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, not a single ecclesiastic accompanying him, and with his own hand placed the crowns on his head and hers (1229). Elated by his bloodless victory, he returned to Europe, to find *Threefold ex-* the Pope to the last degree exasperated against him. *communicacion of the Emperor.* Thus it was the fate of this Emperor to undergo a threefold excommunication—first, for not going to Palestine; then, for going; and lastly, for winning a bloodless victory.

§ 6. SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CRUSADES: "SAINT" LOUIS OF FRANCE.

7. The compact made with Frederick II., after being several times broken, was renewed in 1240, the expeditions from France and England by which this renewal was effected being sometimes reckoned as a separate crusade. A few years afterwards, the irruption of Charizonian Turks from Central Asia (Khiva), who had been dispersed by Mongol invasions, occasioned much misery and bloodshed among the Christians in Palestine, who *Louis IX. deputed to undertake the Crusade.* allied themselves with the Syrians to expel the savage invaders. In 1245 a council at Lyons resolved to interpose, and Louis IX. of France was found enthusiastically willing to take the cross. In 1248 he sailed for Cyprus, and after wintering in that island, proceeded to Damietta. He early made himself master of the place; but in continuing his march to Cairo, whither the inhabitants had fled, he was defeated and taken *Louis captured and held to ransom.* prisoner at Mansourah. Ten thousand prisoners were captured with their sovereign, and were all put to death save those who renounced Christianity for Islam. Louis was at length ransomed, after many insults and indignities, at the cost of surrendering Damietta and the payment of a million

of byzants for his own ransom, and half a million French livres for his barons. The king, after a pilgrimage in sack-cloth to Nazareth, returned to Europe, saddened by failure, but with heart and hope still unabated. So terminated the Seventh Crusade.

8. The Eighth and last (1270) was also led by the King of France, who proceeded in the first instance to Tunis, the Moslem king of that province having, it was said, expressed a wish to embrace Christianity, and Louis thinking that this purpose would be encouraged by the presence of a large army. Edward of England, afterwards Edward I., proceeded to Acre, and with seven thousand men captured Nazareth, mercilessly slaying the Mussulman inhabitants. It was during this campaign that the attempt was made upon Edward's life, so familiar to all readers from the touching story of his Queen Eleanor.¹

He concluded a peace for ten years and returned. But the pious and heroic Louis IX. had been smitten down by pestilence before the walls of Tunis, his last words being, "I will enter Thy house, O Lord; I will worship in Thy sanctuary."

Thus ended the Crusades; every purpose unfulfilled with which they had so enthusiastically begun nearly two hundred years before, and to attain which probably three millions of lives had been sacrificed. Only one stronghold remained to the Christians—that of Acre. But this also passed into Moslem hands in 1291. Attempts from time to time were made to renew the conflict, but the old enthusiasm had too surely died away.

§ 7. GENERAL RESULT OF THE CRUSADES.

The effects of the Crusades upon European civilization and progress have been much discussed. Generally, it may be said that their immediate results were un-

¹ Eleanor nursed him into health, but the tale of her sucking the poison from the wound belongs to romance.

favourable, while their more distant and for the most part unforeseen influence was for the benefit of mankind.

1. They certainly tended at first to the aggrandizement of the *The Papacy* Papacy. Vast revenues flowed from many quarters *aggrandized.* into the coffers of the Church. Barons proceeding to the wars frequently bequeathed their property, in case they should fall in the enterprise, to the monastic or episcopal revenues. The impost called "Saladin's Tithe" (levied 1200) was continued long after the occasion for it had ceased, and brought enormous sums into the papal treasury.

2. Greater still was the enhancement of the Church's spiritual power. It was eagerly regarded as the dispenser of celestial *Plenary* favour to those who obeyed its summons to warfare. *Indulgences.* Remission of the most heinous sins was among its gifts to those who took part in the holy enterprise. Plenary Indulgences, if not now for the first time introduced, were largely employed as motives for obedience to the Church's behests.

3. The criminality of unbelief and heresy was more intensely felt in the campaign against the "infidel" hosts. *Deeper aver-* The word "miscreant," or unbeliever, gained currency *sion to un-* as the synonym of all crime. And it was but in *belief.* the natural order of things that a Simon de Montfort should pass *Persecution* from the crusade against the Mohammedans to the *authorized.* crusade against the Albigenses. Reaction, it is true, inevitably followed; but the time had not yet come for enslaved intellects to burst their chains.

4. On the other side of the question, it might be urged that the effect of these wars was to roll back the tide of *Moslem en-* Moslem invasion from Eastern Europe. Constanti- *croachments* nople, indeed, was destined to fall, but the catas- *stayed.* trophie was delayed. It was well to put great leaders like Saladin on their defence, or their onset might have been resistless; and what unimaginable horrors might have befallen the world had Christendom perished! Yet, the speculator on the ways of Providence well may ask, could not the destined home of

civilization and freedom have been protected at a less tremendous cost ?

5. The philosophic historian Guizot dwells upon the effect of the Crusades in uniting all classes for the first time in a common enterprise. They were "the first European Event." Never before had the nations been excited by one sentiment or acted in one cause. In fact, "*there had been no Europe.*" He dwells also upon the enlargement of mind and enfranchisement of thought which were the results of the great enterprise. This, he notes, is especially apparent in the very different views taken of Mohammedans at the beginning and the end of the Crusades. Those who bore a part in the several expeditions learned, like travellers generally, to take larger and more liberal views of both men and things.

6. We are on surer ground when we mark the indirect effects of the Crusades upon commerce and the whole structure of society. New channels for trade were opened up, the commodities of the East found their way to the West. Such imported words as *tariff, bazaar, muslin, damask, amulet, talisman, elixir*, are but symbols of the influence of Eastern ideas and industries made familiar to invaders from the West. The geographical horizon was widened in all directions. New knowledge was obtained of the languages of the world and the variety of human interests. But greatest of all was the effect upon European feudalism. Instead of being broken up into innumerable clans and lordships, the community became associated in common bonds. Private wars were discontinued. Baronial despotism declined. Nobles were impoverished by the costly expeditions. Great estates were broken up. Serfs became more independent, and there arose by degrees that great middle class which is the backbone of modern society. In the words of Gibbon, "The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave,

secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil."

CHAPTER III.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

§ I. DEGENERACY AND REVIVAL.

THE Monastic Orders during this period received a large accession, in numbers and influence. In the preceding era they had greatly degenerated. The Benedictine rule, as revived by the second Benedict, was carelessly observed or shamelessly violated. Even Clugny, in the possession of vast and growing wealth, had greatly relaxed its discipline. The annals

General disregard of Benedictine Rule.

of the time record constant, well-meaning endeavours to remedy defects and to correct abuses. But a system essentially unsound is of necessity doomed to failure.

Whatever the high ideals in which it may have originated, violated law asserts itself, and the reaction is certain. It is impossible to deny the high qualities of individual monks; and it would be an invidious task to disparage the good which they effected. When monasteries were at their best, they were the conservators of literature and learning, the promoters of theological and philosophical study, the fountain-head of

Certain benefits of the system.

missionary enterprise at home and abroad, the guardians of the poor and afflicted, the hospitable caravansaries for travellers; and, to many earnest

spirits, the only available refuge from a distracted and evil world. Added to all this, the monastic communities often afforded an example of industry in the cultivation of the soil; the ablest and greatest not disdaining to take their turn as labourers: through widely-extended tracts the peasantry under their control were at least better cared for than the serfs of secular lords; while many a village, town, and city grew up with the monastery as its centre.

Yet the deterioration was inevitable. A paragraph from Dean

Waddington¹ on the history of the monastic system suggests the cause. It consisted, he says, "in a continual succession of reformations. The foundation of every institution was laid, as it arose out of the corruption of its predecessor, in *Alternate deterioration and revival.* poverty, in the most rigid morality, in the duties of religion, of education, of charity. The practice first, and next the show, of these qualities, led in every instance to wealth; and wealth was surely followed, first, by the relaxation of discipline—next, by the contempt of decency. Then followed the necessity of reform; and the same system was regenerated under another, or perhaps under the same name, and passed through the same deteriorating process to a second corruption. Again, the Reformed Order was re-reformed and re-regenerated; and again it fell into decay and dissolution. The history of the monastic orders, when pursued into the details of the several establishments, presents to us an unvarying picture of vigour, prosperity, dissension, followed by new statutes and a stricter rule. A system, of which the foundations were not placed either in Scripture or in reason, was necessarily liable to perpetual change; nor was it capable of any other condition of existence than one of continual decay and reproduction."

Hence it came to pass that the superstition and ignorance, the indolence and licentiousness, the ambition and cruelty of monks *Scandals.* in mediæval times, furnished to the satirist his most tempting themes, and provoked the sorrowful concern of the few who attempted to restore the simplicity and purity of true religion.

A few prominent names and reforming movements are chronicled in the following sections, with some view of the general results.

§ 2. CARTHUSIANS AND CISTERCIANS: BRUNO AND BERNARD.

At the very beginning of the period Bruno, chancellor of the *Bruno at La Chartreuse.* chapter of Rheims, despairing alike of the Church and of the world, established in 1054 a monastic retreat

¹ *History of the Church*, ch. xix. § 6.

at La Chartreuse near Grenoble, whence the "Carthusian"¹ order. Bruno at one time had been a teacher of Urban II., the Pope of the First Crusade; and during his pontificate visited Rome with his brother hermits; but what influence they may have had in promoting the Crusade is unknown. Bruno died in Calabria, 1101. The rules of the order were confirmed by a later pope, Alexander III. They included invariable silence and solitary meals, one day in the week excepted; a spare diet, with the prohibition of animal food, and quiet employment in the transcription of manuscripts during the intervals of devotion. The Carthusians gradually spread. In 1137 there were four branch monasteries; in 1151, fourteen; and in 1258, fifty.

With a similar purpose of increased austerity, the Cistercian order was founded at Citeaux (Cistertium) in Burgundy, *Robert at Citeaux.* 1098, by Robert of Molesme, who, however, was soon compelled to retire through the jealousy of the neighbouring bishop. He was succeeded by Almeric, of whom nothing very special is recorded; then by an Englishman, Stephen Harding of Sherborne (1109), whose great distinction it was to have recognized *Bernard of Clairvaux.* the high qualities of Bernard, and who commissioned him at the age of twenty-three (1115) to form a branch monastery at Clairvaux, a wild woodland country between the upper waters of the Aube and the Seine. By force of character, intensity of conviction, rare intellectual power, and the gift of enthralling eloquence, united with an active and strenuous life, Bernard stands out as the leading figure of his time. His controversies with Abelard, and his preaching of the disastrous and ineffectual Second Crusade, are noted in their place. To the Christians of all churches he is best known through his hymns, *His hymns.* "Jesu, dulcis memoria" ("Jesu, the very thought of Thee"), and "Salve Caput cruentatum" ("O Sacred Head once wounded"), the latter being an extract from a long ode to the several parts of our Lord's Body. In theology, Bernard was one of the first and greatest of the Mystics, through whom all that

¹ In England, "Charterhouse." The Order has been expelled from France, 1903.

there was of true religion was kept alive in a dreary unspiritual era. That he professed to believe in his power to work miracles, and impressed that belief upon others, was a drawback to the simplicity of his character. The conspicuous failure of his prediction of success in the Second Crusade led *Bernard and the Second Crusade.* him to explanations that can only be regarded as disingenuous; and his explicit approval of the persecution of heretics proves that he was not, in this respect at least, before his time.

For a long time the Cistercians were in refreshing contrast with their brethren at Clugny. The earlier monastery had become wealthy and magnificent; at Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and the affiliated establishments, all was plain and simple. The crucifixes were of wood, the sacred vessels of iron and copper. A new view also *Clugny and Cîteaux.* was given of asceticism. Regarded as stern self-denial—a taking up of the Cross—to Bernard and his companions it became an enthusiasm, a delight. This passion for privation and suffering became attractive. “Within two years after the admission of St. Bernard, Abbot Stephen had to found four new monasteries, La Ferté, Pontigny and Morimond, besides Clairvaux. In 1119 the number of Cistercian abbeys had increased to thirteen; in 1151 to five hundred; by the middle of the thirteenth century to eighteen hundred.” Then followed, as in other instances, swift and sure decline.

§ 3. THE MENDICANT ORDERS. I. DOMINIC.

Next to Bernard, although at the distance of nearly a century, must be placed the founders of the two great mendicant orders, Dominic Guzman the Castilian (1170—1221) and Francis of Assisi (1182—1226).

Dominic first appears in attendance upon his diocesan, the *Dominic Guzman.* Bishop of Osma, on a mission to the South of France in 1204. The young ecclesiastic was deeply impressed by the growth of the Albigensian sect, and obtained permission from his superiors to travel and preach against it. For a time

he was associated with Cistercian missionaries in his task; but they soon withdrew, being discouraged by want of success. Dominic, though almost equally unsuccessful, maintained his ground, and with some followers settled in Toulouse; but at length, becoming impatient, they invoked the aid of Pope Innocent III. The subsequent history is narrated on another page in the account of the Albigenses. The brotherhood followed in the track of the invading army, and their information against the heretical formed the basis of the Inquisition. For a time the request of Dominic to be allowed to organize a distinct order was discouraged in Rome; but it was at last granted by Honorius III., successor to Innocent, the emblem of the order being a dog carrying a lighted torch. The Dominicans (*Domini canes*), by a play upon words, were named the Lord's watch-dogs, bearing also the torch of truth to illuminate mankind.

Many societies were now founded by preaching monks, and in 1220 the vows of poverty and mendicancy were superadded to the rule. Dominic died in the same year; but in 1225, when the plan of the Inquisition was shaped at Toulouse, and afterwards confirmed by the Lateran Council of 1232, it was intrusted to the Dominican monks to carry out. Hence Dominicans became inquisitors-in-chief, although the memory of Dominic himself is free from the disgrace of having originated the institution.

§ 4. THE MENDICANT ORDERS. II. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

Francis (Francesco) Bernadoni of Assisi was the son of a wealthy merchant in that town, and up to the age of twenty-five enjoyed life after the fashion of a handsome, rich, pleasure-loving young man, although, as it appears, without scandalous vice. A serious illness brought him to reflection, and on his recovery he set himself to attend to the diseased and wretched. He was led to the belief that the holding of property was a sin, and being cast

His conversion,
1207.

off by his father on account of the practical lengths to which he carried this view, he began to teach in public that in the renunciation of all earthly possessions was to be found the only safe way to heaven. This doctrine he enforced by the eloquence of consistent example, as shown in many incidents of his career.

Earthly possessions surrendered. Literally, he gave away all that he had; and the conditions on which he accepted followers were poverty, charity, and obedience, special stress being laid upon the first. The followers, who soon swelled to a great host, he termed "*Fraterculi*," "Little Brothers," whence their popular name of Minor Friars. Poverty he valued for *its own sake*, she was his bride; and his thought seems to have been that his adherents should earn by the labour of their hands enough, and only just enough, for subsistence. This, however, would not work, and in the natural course of things the Franciscans became mendicants. Accompanied by austerity and zeal, as well as by fanatical devoutness, mendicancy brought them not only adequate but copious supplies, and the order became very wealthy.

A Mendicant and Preaching Order. Pope Innocent looked upon it dubiously, in accordance with his policy of checking the multiplication of religious orders; but his successor Honorius confirmed its rules, and it was long a bulwark of the Papacy. Francis died at the age of forty-four, and was canonized by Gregory XI., only sixteen years afterwards—a rare distinction. It was said, and believed, that the *stigmata*, the five wounds of the Redeemer, were impressed upon his person.

There were interesting points of resemblance as well as of contrast between the Dominicans and Franciscans. Whether the two founders of these orders ever met is uncertain; but they acted upon each other in many ways. From the Franciscans, the Dominicans seem to have adopted the system of mendicancy; from the Dominicans, the Franciscans learned the power of preaching. Thus they laboured side by side, often indeed with mutual jealousy and opposition.

Franciscans and Dominicans compared. Dante in his *Paradiso* represents the Dominican

Aquinas as celebrating the praise of Francis. On earth, however, the two orders were often involved in controversy, the most remarkable being that between the Scotists and the Thomists—the followers of the great Franciscan Duns Scotus and those of Thomas Aquinas. But this will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. Members of both orders strove hard for a footing in the Universities, where they often became professors and lecturers, and gained immense influence.

In the course of his labours Francis had found that his efforts to induce renunciation of the world were often too successful. If all who were awakened by his preaching should embrace a monastic life or become mendicants, too few would be left to carry on the world's necessary work. He therefore, with great sagacity, instituted a "Tertiary" order, as it was termed, or an *Tertiary monks.* "Order of Penitence." Its members took no monastic vows, nor did they become mendicants, but mingled like ordinary people in human affairs, distinguished only "by plain dress and living, by abstinence from theatrical and other questionable amusements, by acts of self-denial and charity, and by the constant endeavour to promote the interests of the Franciscan order."¹ The association, soon and long afterwards, numbered several thousand members, including multitudes of women as well as men. The famous Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) belonged to it, although her young life, with its bright enthusiasms, was so sadly overclouded and shortened by the harshness of her fanatical and inhuman confessor, Conrad of Marburg.²

The Dominican Tertiary order, instituted afterwards, was upon similar lines. Of this association the most illustrious member was Catherine of Sienna (d. 1380). Other semi-monastic bodies had already been formed to promote the better training and fellowship of the "secular" or working clergy, among which the Præmonstransian order, deriving their name from a place in the

¹ See Keble's well-known lines:— *Tragedy*, especially Introduction (1848); Preface by F. D. Maurice; and Act iv. scenes 1, 3, 4.

² See Charles Kingsley, *The Saint's*

diocese of Laon, became eminent. It was established by Norbert (1119), who afterwards became archbishop of Magdeburg.

§ 5. THE MENDICANT ORDERS. III., IV., CARMELITES AND AUGUSTINIANS.

The Carmelites, a less distinguished order than either of the preceding, were also a mendicant order, having been established on Mount Carmel during the Crusades by a hermit from Calabria, who pleaded the command of the prophet Elijah.

Fraternity on Mount Carmel. The hallowed recollections of the locality, and the apparent conformity to the great prophet's example, rendered the Carmelites very popular, especially after the pretended revelation by the Virgin Mary to Simon Stock, its able general, at the time of their expulsion by the Saracens, that every one who wore a scapulary prescribed by her as the habit of the order would be delivered at once from the pains of purgatory. It was even asserted by zealous members of the brotherhood that the Virgin herself was a Carmelite nun! The monasteries of this mendicant brotherhood were speedily therefore established in every country of Europe.

Another order of begging friars was that of the Augustinians, formed out of many scattered societies into one congregation by Pope Alexander IV. At first it spread *Augustinian fraternities consolidated,* 1256. very rapidly, under the presumed sanction of the illustrious father's name; but it achieved no great distinction.

The popularity of the mendicant system at length aroused the jealousy of the ecclesiastical authorities. New societies were continually springing up, threatening by their rivalry the more *Ecclesiastical jealousies.* established institutions of the Church. In the time, therefore, of Pope Gregory X. (1274) the authorized mendicant orders were limited to the four above mentioned, whose record picturesquely survives in London, in the names derived from their respective habits: the Black-friars (Dominicans), the Grey-friars (Franciscans), the White-friars (Carmelites), and the Austin or Augustine Friars.

§ 6. COMMUNITIES FOR WOMEN. THE BEGUINES.

Communities for women, more or less separated from the world by vows, were very numerous. That of the Beguines, established at Liège about 1180, was rather a guild than a convent in the ordinary sense. A number of women lived together in separate houses opening into a common enclosure, and under *The Beguin-* monastic vows, which, however, they were at any *age system.* time at liberty to renounce. Many occupied themselves partly in prescribed exercises of devotion, partly in the education of girls, and in works of charity and helpfulness among the poor. The plan attracted many; foundations of a similar kind were established for noble ladies, and communities on a similar plan were organized for men under the appellation of *Beghards.* Beghards. Many of them were gradually merged in the Tertiary orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Eventually many abuses crept in among them; and decrees were issued in many synods for their regulation, and in some places for their suppression. "Beghards" and "Beguines" became in days long afterwards names for all kinds of irregular and fanatical societies, and were persecuted accordingly.

Stricter communities under lifelong vows were framed upon the Benedictine model, and afterwards on that of the mendicant *Conventual* orders. The most considerable of these was the *institutions.* order of the Nuns of St. Clara, a noble lady of Assisi, who was led through the preaching of Francis to abandon secular life, obeying his requirement to traverse the streets of the city in penitential garb, begging alms for the poor; afterwards, with her young sister and other maidens, taking possession of the church of St. Damiani under strict conventual rule. The order spread so widely that the congregation at length comprised two thousand convents, in which many a princess and noble lady, disenchanted *Franciscan* with worldly state, was glad to find a refuge. Similarly *and* the Dominican Nuns, whose first convent was estab- *Dominican* lished in France, 1206, and who afterwards had a more *Sisterhoods.*

imposing establishment at San Sisto in Rome under Honorius III., largely spread wherever the preachers of that order went.

§ 7. THE KNIGHTLY ORDERS. THE TEMPLARS.

The Knightly orders were as much secular as spiritual. They owed their origin to the Crusades. Chief among them was the order of the Knights Templars, whose rule was drawn up by Bernard himself. Their first home was in Jerusalem, where King Baldwin II. assigned them a residence on the site of Solomon's Temple. They took part in many military enterprises, and conferred a kind of religious sanction upon deeds of arms. When Jerusalem was recaptured by Saladin, they made Acre their headquarters; and when that stronghold fell in 1291, many of them settled in Cyprus, others removing to France, where their principal seat was in Paris. But meanwhile they had greatly degenerated. By commercial speculations, banking transactions, and the financing of military expeditions, they had acquired immense wealth, and their independence and power were a threatening to the state. So early as the days of Innocent III. they had been accused of many credible and some incredible vices, among which apostasy to Mohammedanism was among the least enormous. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the order was suppressed, as will be hereafter shown, by a *coup d'état* of King Philip IV., whose action was endorsed by the following œcumenical council of Vienne.

The Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, established at Jerusalem under Raymond de Puy, devoted themselves chiefly to the reception of pilgrims and the nursing of the sick, their headquarters being in the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. They were also on occasion a fighting community. On the fall of Jerusalem they were dispersed, eventually settling in Rhodes (1310) and Malta (sixteenth century), whence their later appellation, "The Knights of Malta." Among these military brotherhoods must also be mentioned the Teutonic

Knights, founded at Acre (1120), the Knights of the Cross, or the Order of Bethlehem, still existing in Bohemia ; and especially the Bridge Brothers (1189), who devoted themselves to the useful work of building bridges for pilgrims, and hospices for their reception by the river fords ; also the Mercedarians, who devoted their property to the ransom of Christian captives. Other minor military orders might be mentioned which rendered useful service in their day.¹

¹ See Kurtz, *Kirchengeschichte*, II. 2. § 99.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOLASTICISM.

§ I. SCHOLASTICISM AND ITS BASIS.

THIS period of the Church's history was especially distinguished by the rise of a class of thinkers and teachers whose great aim it was to discover the foundations of Theology in the dictates of Reason. Unlike the rationalists of modern days, they never ventured to deduce their religious doctrines from their intellectual conclusions; but assuming the truth of the doctrines as beyond discussion, they devoted all their knowledge and skill to discover their ground in the principles of things. Faith, they held, was before reason. Hence, the use of reason was not to determine belief, but to ascertain the ground on which existing belief might rest. The method led to much subtilty of distinction, and enriched the language of theology with many definitions and words implying definitions; but it was vitiated by its standpoint; and in the end it resolved itself into the discussion of futile and insoluble questions, as will be shown under the next period.

For the present, the ancient philosophies furnished the basis of reasoning. The abstractions of Plato were discussed in the dialectics of Aristotle, and were applied to the establishment of foregone "catholic" conclusions. First, the old dispute between Nominalists and Realists was revived, with theological applications. Roscelin, a canon at Compiègne, a Nominalist, argued against the Church doctrine of the Trinity on the ground that three Persons implied three separate Beings. Anselm, then Prior of Bec, replied to him, and the Tritheism of Roscelin was condemned at a council in Soissons (1092). The controversy was afterwards

*Foundation of
Scholastic
Teaching.*

*Its service to
Theology.*

*Plato and
Aristotle.*

*Nominalism
and
Realism.*

removed to England, where Anselm had become archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop's tract *De Fide Trinitatis* was judged to have settled the matter, and the Nominalists fell into disfavour until the revival of the controversy in the fourteenth century. Anselm has been called "the first of the *Anselm of Canterbury* schoolmen." His argument for the being of God from the idea of perfection contained in man's reason occasioned much discussion. But a greater contribution to Christian thought and belief was made in his treatise, *Cur Deus Homo?* in which he confuted the old idea of atonement as a ransom paid to Satan, and maintained with great subtlety and power the doctrine of satisfaction to Divine Justice. Anselm was an ardent advocate of Church authority. He adopted as his motto the Augustinian phrase, *Credo ut intelligam*, "I believe in order to understand."

§ 2. DISTINGUISHED EARLY SCHOOLMEN.

William of Champeaux, a younger contemporary of Anselm, was a great advocate of Realism. For many years he was head of the Cathedral school at Paris, and afterwards Bishop of Châlons.

William of Champeaux,
1070—1121.

Among the disciples of this William and of Roscelin was Peter Abelard, the great rationalist of the age. He endeavoured to mediate between the realism of the former and the nominalism of the other, anticipating the "conceptualism" of a later time. The story of Abelard's relations with his pupil Héloïse, whom he basely seduced and afterwards married, is well known: but hardly belongs to Church History. He was as brilliant in eloquence as he was lax in conduct; but his repentance appears to have been sincere. His great opponent was Bernard of Clairvaux, who said that Abelard savoured of Arius when he spoke of the Trinity, of Pelagius when he spoke of Grace, and of Nestorius when he spoke of the Person of Christ; also that "while labouring to prove Plato a Christian he showed himself a heathen." He was excommunicated by Pope Innocent II., and condemned to imprison-

Abelard,
1079—1142.

Opposed by Bernard.

ment in a monastery; but the ban was afterwards removed, and his last days were spent in peace, first at Clugny and afterwards at Châlons, where, it is related, Héloïse herself laid the Pope's letter of absolution upon his coffin.

Other great names in connection with Scholasticism are those of Peter the Lombard, bishop of Paris, a scholar of Peter Lombard, Abelard, but without the rationalism of his master. This Lombard gathered and arranged the theological opinions of the Fathers in four books of *Sentences*, which for some centuries formed a text-book for students.

Two monks of the Augustinian monastery of St. Victor in Paris, Hugh, a canon (d. 1140), and Richard, prior (d. 1173), gained great repute as exponents of the faith from a mystical point of view. Their influence was important in checking tendency to rely upon dialectics as a key to truth. Their warmth and earnestness bring them nearer perhaps to an evangelical theology than any others among the scholastic teachers of the period.

§ 3. FRANCISCAN SCHOOLMEN.

The Franciscan and Dominican friars, by the end of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth, were many of them men of learning and intellectual power. They gained access to the Universities, and exerted great influence. Among the Franciscans were Alexander Hales, an Englishman, teacher of theology in Paris, and his celebrated pupil John di Fidenza, better known as Bonaventura, teacher in Paris, General of the Franciscan order, eventually cardinal. The former (*Doctor irrefragabilis*) was surnamed by his admiring contemporaries the monarch of theologians. The Arabic translations of Aristotle's works, then newly brought to Europe with copious commentaries, largely influenced his thoughts and teachings. In his doctrinal views he was very definite and decided, insisting upon the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; and arguing for the administration of the Eucharist in one kind

on the ground that "the Body contains the Blood." He is also noted for having first clearly drawn the distinction between *attrition* and *contrition*, the former indicating sorrow for sin proceeding from fear of punishment, the latter sorrow for sin proceeding from love to God in connection with repentance. His great work was the *Summa Theologiæ*, a model of lucid, if somewhat formal arrangement. Bonaventura was a man of deep emotional piety, more of a Platonist than an Aristotelian. He wrote a famous *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*. As a theologian, he is more concerned to show how Christian doctrine is in accord with right reason than to rest it upon Church authority.

Among the Franciscans must also be reckoned John Duns Scotus, Scotus at the close of the century. He was an *alumnus* of Oxford, but at an early period in his career was removed by the authorities of his order to Paris, to undertake the defence of the Immaculate Conception. The manner of his performance of this task placed him, according to his admirers, at the head of all theologians. His name is inseparably connected with the series of controversies between Franciscan (Scotist) and Dominican (Thomist) metaphysicians. Their main differences arose from their respective views as to the foundations of belief. Aquinas "maintained that reason and revelation were two independent sources of knowledge; Duns Scotus that there was no true knowledge apart from theology as based upon revelation."¹

Roger Bacon, the great Englishman, was also a Franciscan monk, but of an independent spirit which brought him into frequent conflict with Bonaventura and the authorities of the Order. His greatness was rather in the department of physics than in that of theology, although the latest work

¹ It is a remarkable fact in the history of words that the appellation *Dunce* should have arisen from the name of this great thinker. At the period of the Reformation, when the scholastic philosophy had fallen into disrepute, this truly representative schoolman was, to many, the type of intellectual fatuity.

of his life was a *Theological Compendium*. He was emphatically before his time, and was certainly out of place as a Franciscan monk. Twenty-four years of his life were spent in prison, on charges of sorcery as well as heterodoxy—ten in Paris, and, after an interval, fourteen in Oxford.

Among the most distinguished of Franciscan scholars was *Raymond Lully*, a native of Majorca. His father had been ennobled for his services in expelling the Saracens from the island; and Raymond from his youth had dwelt upon the design of converting the Mohammedans, as by a new and more effective crusade. He purchased a Saracen slave, from whom he learned Arabic; and by degrees he elaborated an intellectual system (*Ars Magna*) which he regarded as demonstrative, and irrefragable as against all forms of error. In seeking to convince the Saracens, he would cover the whole field of knowledge. Having in vain striven to interest popes and cardinals and even kings in his enterprise, he travelled alone to Tunis, argued with the dervishes, and was banished. He travelled again into Mohammedan lands, spent some time in a Saracen prison, returned home again, and finally visited North Africa once more in his old age, when he was stoned to death.

§ 4. DOMINICAN SCHOOLMEN. AQUINAS.

If the Franciscans thus claim great names among the Scholastic teachers, the Dominicans can claim yet greater. Albertus Magnus seems to have taken all knowledge as his province. He was made General of the Dominican Order in Germany, 1254, and afterwards Bishop of Regensburg; but he soon resigned the latter office for the sake of his beloved studies, and spent the last eighteen years of his life at Cologne. His chief work was the reproduction, from the Arabic version, with extended notes and comments, of Aristotle's chief treatises. He also wrote treatises on Natural History, a Commentary on the *Sentences*, as well as Expositions on many parts of Scripture and a *Summa Theologiæ*, with several minor

works. Albert's great pupil at Cologne was Thomas, the son of Thomas Aquinas, a count of Aquino in Calabria (hence Thomas Aquinas), an intimate friend of Bonaventura at Paris, 1224—1274. where the two friends, Dominican and Franciscan, together obtained the Doctor's degree in 1257. Under papal sanction he became a teacher, successively in Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and Naples. His theological works are, in intellectual force, the greatest outcome of the scholastic period. To him theology was the queen of all the sciences, and his *Summa Theologiæ* is still the chief Roman Catholic text-book. Besides this great work, he also wrote a Commentary on the *Sentences*; and a *Catena Aurea* of comments from the Fathers on the Gospels and Pauline Epistles. He was great in the knowledge of Scripture; but he employed it chiefly for the confirmation of ecclesiastical dogmas. With Dominicans generally, he opposed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as held by the Franciscans. Philosophically, he was a moderate realist, rejecting as absurd the Platonic doctrine of ideas existing as substantial entities in the Divine mind apart from individual things, but holding that everything existed in the Divine thought before it came into separate existence. Aquinas was canonized by Pope John XXII. in 1323.

CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND WORSHIP.

I. PUBLIC WORSHIP : SERMONS.

PUBLIC worship, with its accessories, remained much as in the preceding centuries, although often with added formality and splendour. The language of the service was Latin, everywhere and always. In general the Roman Missal *the Mass.* was used, with modifications. But the Mozarabic¹ Liturgy in Spain and the closely corresponding Gallican Liturgy in France for a long time held their ground.

Sermons were generally introduced, but often not to much profit, consisting of allegorical interpretations of Scripture, recital *Preaching.* of legends from the lives of Saints, or translations of ancient homilies. Scripture quotations in sermons were made in Latin, out of respect to the Vulgate—the only “original” with which the priests in general were acquainted: but the passages were afterwards translated into the vernacular for the sake of the hearers. Sermons to the clergy, as episcopal charges and the like, also discourses addressed to academic audiences, were always in Latin. The power of preaching, however, as a means of great popular impression, was proved by the Franciscan and Dominican friars. Thousands would gather to listen to their discourses, and the multitudes were moved to tears, to penitential outcries, to the confession of sins, and to, at least temporary, amendment of life. The names of great mediæval preachers, besides the founders of *Berthold,* the two above-mentioned orders, have come down to *Franciscan* us. Of these the greatest was Berthold of Regensburg, *preacher,* *d. 1272.* a Franciscan. He travelled from town to town and

¹ *Mozarabic,* from the participle of an Arabian verb meaning “to adopt the Arab mode.”

preached to immense gatherings, of the grace of God in Christ, on the futility of putting trust in saints, against the value of indulgences and the merit of pilgrimages, etc. There was, in fact, much in common between this German follower of Francis of Assisi and the Provençal followers of Peter Waldo.

§ 2. THE SACRAMENTS.

The doctrine of the Sacraments was carefully formulated in this period by the Schoolmen. New discussions arose, new definitions were given, and the indefinite views of sacramental efficacy with which people had in former days been content were

Number of the Sacraments. replaced by authoritative pronouncements. The question as to the *number* of the sacraments was not at once decided. Cardinal Damiani enumerates twelve; Hugh of St. Victor regards the number as indefinite, but with a threefold division—those necessary to salvation (Baptism with Confirmation, and the Eucharist), those helpful but not essential (Confession, sprinkling with holy water, extreme unction, etc.), and those appropriate to special callings in the Church (as orders and sacred vestments). But the final division into seven was made by Peter Lombard, confirmed by Thomas Aquinas, and has

Peter Lombard's "Seven." since been the rule in the Roman Church, viz.—Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Marriage and Orders.

It was the general doctrine of the Schoolmen that the intention of the administrator, not his character, made the sacrament valid: hence an unworthy, or even unbelieving priest might convey the sacramental grace. A technical phrase of the scholastic writers,

Ex opere operato. "ex opere operato," conveyed the notion that the sacramental act, apart from the faith of the recipient, unless he were in mortal sin, was the true channel of the Divine gift. The withholding of the cup from the laity, a custom which, as we have seen,¹ had grown up gradually in the Church, and was often keenly debated, was now defended by the Schoolmen on abstract

¹ Compare pp. 161, 351, 402, 495.

grounds, especially by Alexander of Hales, on the doctrine of *concomitance*, i. e. that as the body contains the blood, so under the species of Bread alone the substance of both was conveyed to the communicant.¹ Anselm in like manner speaks of the Sacrament as complete "in utraque specie," under either species. In the Eastern Church the bread is dipped in the wine (excepting in the case of infant communion), so that both the elements are received in one and the same act.

*Doctrine
of Con-
comitance.*

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in the wine (excepting in the case of infant com-

munion), so that both the elements are received in one and the same act.

§ 3. FESTIVALS.

Sunday was strictly observed, the tendency being to increased *Sunday* rigidity. Markets on the day were forbidden, also the sale of anything but necessary food and drink to travellers; and in this latter case it was urged by teachers of the Church, one-fourth of the price must be devoted to pious and charitable uses.² Every Lord's day the faithful were to attend divine worship, also on the greater festivals of the Church. To these festivals others were added, especially Trinity Sunday, "differing from the rest in character, inasmuch as it was not the commemoration of any act, but was consecrated to a doctrine." In England this festival was

*Trinity
Sunday and
Corpus
Christi.*

established by Becket, in remembrance of his consecration on that day, A.D. 1162. The Festival of Corpus Christi was of later origin, being decreed by

Pope Urban IV. in 1264,³ and made binding by Clement V. by a Bull of 1311.

The Festival of the Birth of Mary was appointed for the 8th

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 27, "or drink the cup of the Lord." Vulgate *vel*. This is probably the true reading, although some early MSS. have *kal*, and. But in any case the inferred concomitance is a manifest fallacy.

² So the Abbot Eustace (Robertson, *Hist. of the Church*, iii. 263). The Abbot's preaching was sustained by the story of a letter from our Lord having been found by the crusaders (1199) in the church of the Holy

Sepulchre, denouncing heavy judgments for the profanation of His day.

³ A nun's vision at Liège (a full moon with a small portion in darkness, signifying the Church's glory abated by the lack of *one* festival), and a miracle at Bolsena (in which a drop of the consecrated wine falling on the priest's napkin presented the appearance of blood) were quoted as leading to the institution of this festival. See Robertson, iii. pp. 604, 606.

of September; and in the South of France the Feast of the *The Immaculate Conception.* Immaculate Conception was instituted in the twelfth century for the 8th of December. In the Eastern Church it was observed (December 9th) at least as early as the reign of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. But in Lyons and the West both the festival and the doctrine were opposed by Bernard, who maintained that Mary was conceived in sin like others, although sanctified before her birth. Hence a long and unprofitable controversy, in which scholastic doctors displayed their subtlest ingenuity. Generally, it may be said, the Dominicans espoused the side of Bernard, while the Franciscans became the chief advocates of the Immaculate Conception. It was reserved to modern times¹ for the Pope to pronounce this strange unscriptural doctrine an article of the Catholic Faith.

Considerable additions were made to the Calendar or "Canon" of Saints. *Calendar of Saints.* The right of canonization was for the first time declared the prerogative of the Roman See by Pope Alexander III. (1161). Evidence of miracles wrought by proposed saints, as well as of their orthodoxy of opinion and holiness of life, was judged essential. In a time like that of the Crusades, it will readily be imagined, many a prodigy was reported from the wonder-loving East. *Relics.* Relics also were multiplied, miraculous powers were ascribed to them; they were superstitiously venerated, and often sold for enormous prices. The imposture connected with this traffic moved the often unheeded protest of the sober-minded.

§ 4. ARCHITECTURE AND HYMNODY.

Ecclesiastical architecture, from an æsthetic point of view, was at its highest during this period, travelling guilds headed by Benedictine monks being formed for its promotion. The Cathedral of Cologne was founded in 1248, that of Strassburg in 1275, Salisbury Cathedral in 1220. *Art as the handmaid of worship.* The art of staining glass reached a perfection with which

¹ December 8, 1854.

of the heart ("attrition," or penitence from fear of punishment; *Definitions* "contrition," or penitence from desire after God); *of penance.* (2) the confession of the mouth; and (3) satisfaction, whether by the endurance of penalty or the performance of work. Here the central point was "confession"; on receiving which, it was for the priest to enjoin the requisite "satisfaction," and to pronounce absolution. This absolution was held, for more than the first thousand years of the Christian era, to be *precatory*. Thus William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris (d. 1249), writes that "the confessor does not, like a secular judge, say, 'We absolve

Absolution. thee,' but he prays over the penitent for God's forgiveness and grace."¹ But in the era that we are considering, the form became *declaratory*; and chiefly through the authority of *Function* Thomas Aquinas became universally so recognized. *of Priests* To receive confession and to bestow absolution was *assumed by* according to the ecclesiastical order, the work of the *Friars.* parish priest, but after a time the mendicant friars, especially the Franciscans, took the function upon themselves, and their interference with the regular clergy was the cause of many heart-burnings and complaints.² As, again, they heard in confession many details which penitents shrank from disclosing even to their own pastors, they became masters of many personal and family secrets, to the great augmentation of their power.

Indulgences, or the remission of ecclesiastical penalties on con- *Indul-* dition of works of piety, or of pecuniary gifts, became *gences.* very common about the era of the Crusades. These indulgences were in multitudes of cases "plenary." Thus Pope Urban II. offered to those who entered upon the First Crusade, a full absolution of all sins hitherto committed by them; and the like inducement was held out afterwards with great effect. Pilgrimages were a favourite means of obtaining the benefit. Church building was especially promoted by this means. And as

¹ Quoted by Robertson, *Church History*, iii. 612.

² It is urged, among other things,

that these roving confessors deprived the parish clergy of a large portion of their fees.

the remission of penalty extended into the future world, delivering from purgatorial pains, the offer was most seductive. *Conditions of obtaining them.* No doubt, further conditions were annexed. Repentance and amendment were declared necessary to accompany the gift or the outward act. But, as a rule, these conditions were disregarded, and practically the indulgence became a licence to sin. More will be said on this subject in the next division of the present work. The theory of indulgences was formulated by the Schoolmen long after the practice had become general. The merits, good works, and unmerited sufferings of the saints, it was taught by Thomas Aquinas and Alexander of Hales, were far more than sufficient for their own salvation ; *Thesaurus of the Saints' merits.* the remaining balance being transferred to a treasury, of which the Church held the key, and which could be drawn upon for the benefit of imperfect Christians. The large sums of money paid over to the Church in payment *Application of the purchase-money.* for these supposed benefits would almost exceed belief, were not the great cathedrals in Europe to this day among the many witnesses to the fact.

The consequences of sin might be escaped by the penitent *Penitential inflictions.* in other ways, especially by enduring the infliction of suffering in various forms. Hence the severities which were often accompaniments of penance. The most pathetically curious among these inflictions was that of self-scourging, as inculcated by Peter Damiani, and first practised, as it would appear, upon a large scale at Perugia about 1260. But the fanatical practice reached its climax in a succeeding stage of the Church's history.

§ 6. POPULAR EDUCATION : UNIVERSITIES.

Certain provisions were made for popular education, always from an ecclesiastical standpoint.¹ It was repeatedly ordained

¹ An amusing anecdote in the life of Lanfranc well illustrates the subordination of the scholarly to the ecclesiastical. One day in his early life, reading at table, he came upon the word *docere*, which he of course pronounced rightly. The Prior corrected him, telling him to say *docēre*. The

that the clergy should require from their people a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, in "the mother (Latin) tongue." Schools were established in many places for the elementary instruction of the young, generally by monks and nuns. *Religious training of the people.* The Hohenstaufen emperors endeavoured, unsuccessfully, after the example of Charlemagne, to institute a public school system and compulsory education. The Scriptures in the vernacular languages in whole or in part, even in countries where they existed, being inaccessible to the commonalty, *Bible knowledge.* rhyming summaries of the Bible history were prepared, often very curious. The Miracle Plays and Mysteries, to which the people eagerly resorted, conveyed in a distorted form considerable knowledge of Scripture personages and events, often mixed up with legends of the saints. The popular literature of the period was to a large extent occupied with these legends, although *Popular literature.* in many countries there were authors, especially poets, who treated of secular themes, often in a gay free-thinking spirit, as the troubadours in Southern France. For the higher education, universities were founded in several countries; *Educational institutions.* those of Paris and Bologna being the most distinguished in continental Europe, while those of Oxford and Cambridge were already famous. The celebrated school of the Sorbonne in Paris was founded in 1250 by Robert (who gave it the name of his own native district, Sorbonne in Champagne), a chaplain of Louis IX.

young scholar hereupon considering that "he owed obedience rather to Christ than to the grammarians," meekly obeyed the Prior without remonstrance, considering that "to make

a short syllable long, or a long one short, was no deadly sin; but to disobey one set over him in God's behalf was no light transgression."

CHAPTER VI.

PROTESTS AGAINST ROMAN DOCTRINE.

§ I. THE ALBIGENSES.

THE Albigenses, so called from the town of Alby in Languedoc, forty-one miles south of Toulouse, seem in their origin to have been a concentration of several little communities, alike opposed to the doctrines of Rome, members of which had made their way from the East. They show affinities in many respects with the Paulicians already described, also with the Cathari—that wide-spread but ill-defined society of Puritans,—also with the older Euchites or Messalians, and with the Patarenes, “Rag-collectors,” so named from a suburb of Milan, where an anti-Romish congregation had been gathered among the followers of that unsavoury calling. A bold and fervid preacher, Peter de Bruys, a pupil of Abelard, had appeared in Languedoc about 1110, preaching against infant baptism, the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the use of the crucifix, and prayers and oblations for the dead. He found many prepared to receive his doctrine, and his adherents were termed Petrobrussians. His labours continued for twenty years, at the end of which he was arrested and burned at St. Gilles. His colleague, Henry the Deacon, a monk of Clugny, continued de Bruys’ labours for some years, his adherents being known as Henricians, but he was seized and imprisoned about 1148. Practically the several appellations of the various dissentient bodies were merged in the common name of Albigenses. They were, by the middle of the twelfth century, a numerous and formidable sect throughout the South of France. Of their positive doctrines no trustworthy account survives. Their opposition

to Roman teachings was no doubt akin to that of Peter de Bruys ;
Suspicious but the charges of Manichæism, of docetism, of oppo-
charges. sition to marriage, of rejection of the Old Testament
 and the like, must be regarded with suspicion as the allegations
 of prejudiced opponents.

By successive councils they were anathematized as heretics—
 in 1139 (2nd Lateran), 1179 (3rd Lateran), besides provincial
 synods at Toulouse and elsewhere. But at first the Church
 authorities were content with sending out preaching missions for
 their reclamation. No less a personage than Bernard
Bernard a of Clairvaux, followed by Dominic, undertook the
Mission task, for the most part fruitlessly. At length Pope
preacher. Innocent III., on his accession in 1198, determined to resort to
 force. A papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, was commissioned
 with a military force, and ordered to suppress the “heresy” by
 any means. The work was carried on with cruel rigour, intensified
 when Peter was assassinated by an unknown hand. Arnold,
 abbot of Citeaux, was sent out as the new legate ; and Simon de
 Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was charged with the military opera-
 tions with orders not to spare. Count Raymond VI. of Toulouse,
 though not himself an adherent of the Albigenses,
The had hitherto protected them ; he was now subjected
Albigensian to humiliating penance, and compelled to take up
Crusade. arms against them. The first stronghold captured was that of
 Beziers, a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants, and when
 the General asked of the legate what was to be done with the
 conquered population, Arnold made the infamous reply, by which
 his name will live in history, “Kill them all ! God will know His
 own !” Cities, towns, and villages fell before the army—largely
 composed, as a Romanist authority records, “of desperadoes,
 mercenary soldiers, and adventurers of every description, whose
 sole object was plunder.” Such was the Albigensian Crusade.
 “Dominic and his brotherhood followed in the wake of the terrible
 army as a kind of court of inquiry. All suspicious or suspected
 persons were brought before this court ; and, having been convicted

of heresy, they were passed on to the stake." From such beginnings sprang the Inquisition, authorized and fully established in 1229 by a council at Toulouse, confirmed in 1232 by Pope Gregory IX., after which time the Albigenses, as a sect, finally disappear from history.

But the Inquisition remained in the hands of the Dominicans. Pope Gregory IX. and these monks soon developed a most cruel fanaticism. More will have to be said in the next chapter about

Working of the Inquisition. this truly diabolical institution. For a time its operations were limited, but it was already spreading beyond the province where it had its cradle. The

attempt was almost immediately made to introduce it into Germany; Conrad of Marburg, the stern fanatical confessor of Elizabeth of Hungary, being the first Inquisitor. His methods were peculiar. A person charged with heresy must either confess or deny the imputation. If he confessed, he was punished, being condemned out of his own mouth; if he denied, he was punished for presumed falsehood: so that, either way, escape was impossible. Rules of evidence were ignored; hearsay, private information, mere suspicion, were made grounds of procedure, and the accused were left in ignorance of the precise charges brought against them. All this became intolerable; and a nobleman

Conrad in Germany. whom Conrad had accused of heresy rose against the fanatical Dominican and put him to death (1233).

For more than a hundred years afterwards we hear no more of the Inquisition in Germany.

§ 2. THE WALDENSES.

The Waldenses, or Vaudois, although often classed with the Albigenses, and in many points resembling them, were in their origin entirely distinct. Peter Waldo, a wealthy and

Peter Waldo of Lyons. devout merchant in Lyons, about the year 1170,

wishful to become acquainted with the truth at its very source, commissioned a translation of the New Testament

Translation of the N. Testament. from the Vulgate into the Provençal language. In reading it, he was struck with the incongruity in many

respects between the teachings of the Master and the religion of the day. To his simple mind the path of obedience seemed plain. He must sell all his goods and give the proceeds to the poor. Upon this conviction he acted, and gathered around him a company of earnest men, whom he persuaded to do likewise, and to accompany him on an evangelistic mission. From the first, the "Poor Men of Lyons," as they were called, asserted and exercised the right to preach the Gospel. After a while they advanced yet further. "Every good man," they held, "is empowered, without any imposition of human hands, to perform all priestly offices, even to administer the Lord's Supper." They went forth two and two—many in the guise of pedlars—and while exercising humble vocations, sought to introduce the word of life.

They rejected the doctrine of purgatory, with its accompaniments of prayers and masses for the dead; they forbade oaths, and even denied the right of governments to inflict capital punishment. As a preaching order, itinerant, and largely dependent upon alms, they somewhat resembled the Franciscans. The difference, says Bishop Creighton, was mainly that "the Waldenses preached the doctrine of Christ, while the Franciscans preached the person of Christ. Waldo reformed the Church's teaching, Francis kindled love." It might be nearer the mark to say that while the Franciscans rested on sentiment and Church authority, the Waldenses were strong in the maintenance of evangelical truth, learned directly from the New Testament. Here was the secret, both of their immediate usefulness and of their perpetuity.

Such teachings could not but arouse opposition, especially in connection with the Waldensian tenet that obedience was not due to unworthy priests. Pope Alexander III. took the first step, in the prohibition of Waldo and his associates from preaching (1179). Waldo replied, "We ought to obey God rather than men." By the next Pope, Lucius III., they were formally excommunicated, the condemnation being emphatically

repeated under Innocent III. at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). But more significantly still, the Council of Toulouse (1229)—the same that established the Inquisition—struck at the root of the whole matter by an edict forbidding laymen to read the Scriptures, whether in the Latin or the vernacular.¹

Decree against Bible-reading. In 1234 a synod at Tarragona extended the prohibition of the Scriptures in the vernacular to the clergy.

Meanwhile the founder of the movement had long passed away : Peter Waldo died in Bohemia about 1197. A persecution was instituted against the Waldenses by the Dominican inquisitors of Languedoc, and in 1312 one was burned at the stake. By degrees they were driven to the

Persecution of the Waldenses.

Their refuge in Alpine valleys.

Piedmontese valleys of the Alps, where they long maintained their testimony to the simplicity of the Gospel, and whence in happier times they descended

to become among the chief evangelists of Italy.

§ 3. OTHER PROTESTERS.

Besides these principal sects, there were other forms of divergence from the Roman doctrine which brought upon their authors the condemnation of popes and synods with severer modes of punishment. Reference has been made in a previous chapter to Arnold of Brescia, whose protests against the established order of

Amalric of Narbonne, d. 1225.

things were rather political than theological. Early in the thirteenth century a bold innovator, Amalric, had taught in Paris a species of pantheism : "Christ is in

Ovid as well as in Augustine, and the body of Christ is in common bread as well as in the consecrated wafer on the altar." By an early death he escaped the doom of heresy, but his bones were

¹ The great significance of this prohibition, as well as its evasion by many Roman Catholic apologists, makes it worth while to give the edict in the original : "Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere ; nisi forte

Psalterium, vel Breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas B. Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit, Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translato, arctissime inhibeamus." Quoted by Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, III. vii. § 90.

dug from the grave and scattered over an open field. Several of his followers ("Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit") were sentenced to imprisonment or death. It is remarkable that the authorities in Paris, regarding the *Physics* of Aristotle to be the source of the heresy, condemned *him* also, forbidding professors to lecture upon his works. But of course the prohibition was soon relaxed.

A very different form of heresy was that of the Joachites, an imperial party (Ghibelline) formed among the Fran-
The Abbot ciscans, who followed the traditional teachings of the
Joachim, abbot Joachim, a Cistercian monk. These teachings,
 1130—1202. so far as can be known, were partly based upon tritheistic theories of the Godhead, partly upon fanciful interpretations of the Apocalypse. There were to be three ages in all in the world's history, that of the Father (the Old Testament Church), of the Son (the Church of the New Testament), and lastly of the Spirit, to
Prophetic begin A.D. 1260 (Rev. xi. 2, 3) after a short reign
speculations. of Antichrist. It is evident that speculations need not now be regarded. Only when the year 1260 was past, the remaining Joachites, still interpreting the Apocalypse, found in the beast rising out of the sea (Rev. xiii.) a prophetic picture of the Papacy. Innocent IV. was represented as Antichrist, and the Emperor Frederick II. as the executioner of the Divine vengeance. But with the Emperor's death the whole fabric of interpretation came to naught (as others have done before and since) and the Joachites disappeared.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL COUNCILS.

THE SIX General Councils of the Western Church held during this period usefully mark the successive questions which occupied ecclesiastical minds. These were the first *Councils as a compendium of information.* councils of the kind held since the rival assemblies of 869-79, already described in the account of the patriarch Photius,¹ an interval of nearly two centuries and a half. They are held as "œcumenical" only in the West.

Four out of the six councils were held in the church of St. John Lateran, Rome, and the remaining two at Lyons.

§ I. THE FOUR LATERAN COUNCILS.

1. The First Lateran or Ninth General Council was convened by Pope Calixtus II., 1123. The chief business of this council was to affirm the *Concordat respecting investiture.* Concordat of Worms, described in the chapter on the Hierarchy,² thus closing the series of disputes respecting investiture.

2. The Second Lateran (Tenth General) was held under Pope Innocent II., 1139. The importance attached to the issues involved was shown by the large attendance, more *Rejection of an antipope.* than a thousand ecclesiastics being present. The election of Innocent II. was recognized, as against the claim of the "antipope," Anacletus II. All the decrees and other public acts of Anacletus were annulled, the bishops ordained by him contumeliously deposed, and Roger, king of Sicily, excommunicated for taking his part. *Arnold of Brescia.* Arnold of Brescia was banished from his native city, and forbidden to preach. The Truce of God, a remarkable usage which had been

¹ See Part V. p. 420.

² See p. 462.

gradually adopted by agreement to mitigate the severities of private warfare, was solemnly confirmed. "War, violence, and all demands of reparation were to be suspended during Advent, Lent, and certain festival seasons, and also from the Wednesday in each week to the dawn of the following Monday, a time which included the whole interval from the Saviour's betrayal to His resurrection."¹

3. The Third Lateran (Eleventh General) under Pope Alexander III., 1179, was mainly occupied with the subject of papal elections. A majority of two-thirds (cardinals and official clergy) was declared essential to the validity of such elections. For the first time, a crusade against heretics was sanctioned, a principle being laid down which, as we shall see, was explicitly affirmed by the next general council.

4. The Fourth Lateran (Twelfth General) under Innocent III., 1215, was by far the most important of the series. "There were present at it the two claimants of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, the titular Patriarch of Jerusalem, 77 primates and metropolitans, 412 bishops, and more than 800 abbots, with ambassadors from Christian powers, and a vast number of deputies from bishops, chapters, and monasteries: the whole number of persons entitled to attend the sittings is reckoned at 2283." Its main purposes were declared to be, first, the promotion of a new crusade (which, however, came to nothing), and secondly, the reform of abuses in the Church. Auricular confession was made compulsory once at least in every year; yearly communion was also enjoined, on pain of excommunication. The formation of new monastic orders, now springing up on every side, was forbidden; this last prohibition, however, being so far disregarded by the Pope himself that in the course of the same year the Dominican order was instituted with his consent. To excuse the inconsistency, it was

¹ Robertson, *Hist.*, 3rd ed., ii. p. 565.

said that Innocent had a special vision to authorize the procedure.

Trinitarian definition. The Council also meddled with theology, denouncing the tritheistic theory of the Abbot Joachim, and declaring anew that each of the Three Persons was identical with the One Divine Substance.

But, practically, by far the most important act of this Fourth Lateran Council, and that by which it is chiefly known in the history of Religion, was its explicit affirmation of the Real Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist. The opinion¹ thus became in the Roman Catholic Church an article of faith. There was no more room within its pale for debates such as that with Berengar, or for teaching such as those of the Albigenses. As if to clinch the matter irrevocably, the word Transubstantiation was rendered current by this council in the vocabulary of the Church.²

From this council also an injunction was issued to all rulers, "as they would be faithful, to swear a public oath that they would labour earnestly, and to the full extent of their power, to exterminate from their dominions all those who were branded as heretics by the Church."³

§ 2. THE TWO LYONS COUNCILS.

1. The Thirteenth General Council (1245) was held in the Cathedral of Lyons under the presidency of Pope Innocent IV., who had been driven from Rome by the excommunicated and intractable grandson of Barbarossa, the Emperor Frederick II. Invited to attend in person, the Emperor refused, but sent envoys

¹ It first occurs in writings attributed to Peter Damiani, a hundred years before this council.

² *Cujus Corpus et Sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate Domini.*" Canon 1.

³ *History of Rationalism in Europe,*

vol. ii. p. 33. Mr. Lecky, after quoting this edict of the Lateran, takes occasion to remark: "That the Church of Rome has shed more innocent blood than any other institution that has ever existed among mankind will be questioned by no Protestant who has a competent knowledge of history."

to represent him. His conduct and character were hotly debated, and notwithstanding the intercession of the English and French envoys, the sentences of excommunication and deposition were solemnly pronounced; his subjects released from their allegiance, and the German princes requested to elect another king. Frederick, however, retained his throne, the contest with the Papacy continuing until his death. At this Lyons Council the Pope announced a plenary indulgence to all who at their own cost accompanied Louis IX. to the newly-projected crusade, provided they were penitent for their sins.

2. The Second Council of Lyons (Fourteenth General) was convened by Pope Gregory X., 1274, in his desire to reconcile the Greek and Latin Churches, and was very largely attended. Michael Palæologus, the Eastern Emperor, had been persuaded to acknowledge the primacy of the Pope, but the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph I., had indignantly resigned. A more compliant prelate, John Beccus, was chosen in his room, and the negotiations for reunion proceeded hopefully. With regard to the main theological point in dispute, the council thought to settle the question by declaring that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, yet "as from one Principle and by a single Spiration."¹ It was not the first time, nor the last, in which a theological difficulty has been evaded by a compromise expressed in unintelligible language. But for the time it sufficed. The Greek and Roman prelates together chanted the Nicene Creed in their respective languages, with the article of the Double Procession (the *Filioque*); and the council broke up amid mutual congratulations. But the reconciliation on such grounds endured, as might have been expected, only for a short time; and the Churches speedily fell asunder again (1277).

¹ "Non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio; non duabus spirationibus, sed una spiratione." *Act. Conc.* art. 1.

At this council, also, a subsidy for renewed operations in the Holy Land was resolved upon, amid much indifference and even opposition. Crusading enthusiasm no longer existed, and the marvellous phase of human history which had begun at Clermont in 1095 under the spell of Pope Urban's eloquence had really closed in 1270, before the walls of Tunis, on the death of Louis IX.

New and more definite regulations in regard to papal elections—rules for the Conclave, its seclusion, and the avoidance of delay in its work, being very stringently laid down, substantially as have been ever since observed.

It is noteworthy that this Lyons Council witnessed the death of the two most illustrious churchmen of the age. Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican, died on his way to attend it, and Bonaventura, the great Franciscan, in the course of its sittings. They had both been summoned as champions of Western theology, in the event of discussion arising with the Greeks.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EASTERN CHURCH.

§ I. A PERIOD OF STAGNATION.

THE energy and vitality of the Western Churches during this whole period were in strange contrast with the immobility and torpor of the East. The theology of the Greek Church had been systematized once for all by John of Damascus ; and the priesthood was for the most part content with the boast of orthodoxy, and with a routine of formal observances, from which it was dangerous to deviate. Monasticism was of the old fixed type ; or, so far as developed, tended to new forms of ostentatious self-mortification. "Some monks passed their lives on high trees ; others on pillars, either in the open air or in cells erected on lofty scaffolding ; others in subterranean caves or catacombs ; while others encased themselves in iron coats of mail. Forms of mock-holiness, affected severity of living, merely as a mask and outside show for the purpose of winning high veneration and bountiful gifts from the multitude, pretended miracles, and tales of marvellous visions, attracted the multitude and opened a profitable source of gain. Vast numbers of the lowest classes withdrew to the monasteries for the sole purpose of gaining subsistence without toil, and culprits fled to them to escape the punishment of their crimes."¹

The general intelligence of the Christian community was correspondingly depressed. There was little or no religious inquiry. Even the comparatively well-educated took the doctrines and usages of the Church for granted ; there were no schoolmen, as in the West, to lay a

¹ Stanley : *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, Lect. III. 6.

rational basis for dogma and ritual. Hence there was a general indefiniteness of teaching. Dean Stanley, in speaking of the Eastern Church as it still exists, has well characterized the forms into which its doctrines became crystallized in mediæval times. "Prayers for the dead exist, but no elaborate hierarchical system has been built upon their performance. A general *Eastern theology.* expectation prevails that by some unknown process the souls of the sinful will be purified before they pass into the Divine presence; but this has never been consolidated into the doctrine of Purgatory. The mother of our Lord is regarded with a veneration which, in elevation of sentiment, equals any of the doctrines addressed to her in the West, but the reverence for her sanctity has never crystallized with the modern dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The boundary between the rhetorical poetical addresses to the saints in the Eastern worship, and the actual invocation of their aid, has never been laid down with precision. 'Transubstantiation,' if used at all as a theological term, is merely one amongst many to express the reverential awe with which the Eucharist is approached."

§ 2. THE CHURCH AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

The contests for supremacy between the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities, which fill so large a place in the history of Roman Christianity, had scarcely any place in the East. Here, without question, the imperial power was supreme. The patriarchs were mostly the creatures of the court, and prelates and clergy followed suit. Controversies are soon settled, when one of the disputants is able to depose, imprison, or banish the other, for venturing to differ in opinion!

It is true that many of the Byzantine emperors of this period, rugged and uncultured warriors, forbore to meddle with theological questions. But there were notable exceptions. The Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143—1180) stirred up controversies which recall the old Nicene debates. Thus *A theologically-minded Emperor.* he required that our Lord's assertion, "*My Father is*

greater than I," should be interpreted, not of His divine nature nor of His human, but of both at the same time ; and the bishops who would not accept this form of declaration were threatened with deposition, the confiscation of their goods, or banishment. Again, he required the adoption of the formula that in the sacrifice of Christ, "the Incarnate God was at once the Offerer and the Victim," and those ecclesiastics who for any reason declined to express their belief in that were instantly deposed. Another question arose respecting an old Greek Church formula, pronouncing an anathema upon "Mohammed's God, who neither begat nor was begotten." This, the Emperor maintained, was blasphemy against God Himself. It was replied that Mohammed's God was not the true God ; and after keen and angry debate, a compromise was agreed upon, the anathema being understood as applying to Mohammed, to his doctrine, and to everything connected therewith. At the same time a ridiculous allegation against the Mohammedan view of the Divine Being as *spherical* was removed from the catechism of the Greek Church, although not without bitter opposition. The fact was that the compilers of the catechism were not strong in their Arabic, where the word that etymologically means "spherical" also signifies *eternal!*

§ 3. THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES : ARSENIAN SCHISM.

The abortive efforts for reunion with Rome have been noticed in a previous chapter. It might have been thought that the Crusades would have tended to bring about a certain degree of *Effect of the* fellowship between the two Churches. And, at first, *Crusades.* both seemed united against a common foe. It was partly, as we have seen, through an appeal from the Emperor Alexius Comnenus that the First Crusade was undertaken by the Frankish and German hosts. But the progress of events soon disabused the Greeks, and the wild licence of the crusaders entailed greater disasters upon the East even than the aggressions of Islam. Nor was it only the violence of the crusading soldiers

that was feared. The ecclesiastical rulers of Rome, at an early period of the enterprise, perceived the advantages to be gained from it, and, as it has been said, "the banner of the Cross was converted into a badge of papal subservience." This was finally and conclusively shown by the results of what has been termed the Fourth Crusade, but which was in reality aimed at Constantinople. The city was besieged and captured; and the Eastern Church became subject to the Roman See, Pope Innocent III. observing, in a rescript circulated on the occasion, that "Divine Providence had transferred the sceptre from the proud, superstitious, and rebellious Greeks to the honourable, Catholic, and obedient Latins, to the end that Holy Church might be consoled by the restoration of the schismatics."

The Greek emperors, patriarchs, and prelates found refuge in Nicæa; and until the year 1261, when Constantinople was retaken by Michael Palæologus, a succession of Latins held authority in Church and State at Constantinople to the advantage of neither. The animosity between the Churches was naturally deepened by the whole series of transactions, and when the Emperor, for politic reasons, endeavoured to bring about reunion by professing to recognize the primacy of the Pope, he only prepared the way for a more bitter and inveterate alienation. The first-fruits of this appeared when Andronicus II. succeeded his father Michael in 1282. The old patriarch Joseph, who had opposed the union of the Churches, was reinstated, Beccus being sent into exile. The walls of the churches and the sacred recesses were cleansed as from desecration, and all who had in any way promoted the union were subjected to fines and other penalties. Another party, that of the Arsenians, adherents of a former patriarch who had been deposed for his faithful dealing with the Emperor Michael, now came to the front as opponents of the much-troubled and venerable Joseph, who died in 1283. Between his successor,

Constantinople taken by the Latins, 1204.

Latin Emperor and Patriarchs.

Antipathies deepened.

The Arsenian Schism.

Gregory II., and the Arsenians, the Emperor directed a trial by *Ordeal by fire* to be instituted. Each party was to write a summary of its doctrines, and the two papers were on Palm Sunday to be solemnly cast into a fire lighted in a silver vase. The party whose document should remain uninjured was to be regarded as in the right. Should both documents be consumed, this was to be a sign that the opponents must conclude a peace with each other. The Emperor, at the head of a great assembly, stood to watch the ordeal. Both papers were cast into the vase, and, as might have been expected, both were instantly burnt to ashes. The two parties accepted the omen; and the Emperor led them, now ostensibly reconciled, through the ice and snow of an inclement evening (as is graphically related) to the patriarch to receive his blessing. It were well, remarks the historian, if all Church schisms could be settled in so facile a way!

§ 4. WRITERS AND THEOLOGIANS; EUSTATHIUS.

It is not wonderful that in such a community the list of *Theophylact*, distinguished teachers and writers should be but scanty. *Theophylact of Bulgaria*, the renowned commentator on Scripture, belongs in part to the preceding age. So does *Michael Psellus*, mathematician, natural philosopher, grammarian, and jurist, the tutor of princes.

An author who ranks among memorable Bible expositors and Christian apologists was *Euthymius Zigabenus* (or *Zygadenus*), a monk of Constantinople, who wrote on the Psalms and the New Testament; also a book somewhat after the fashion of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, called *The Dogmatic Panoply*, a refutation of all forms of unbelief and heresy. *Nicetas Acominatus*, of Chonæ (Colossæ), Byzantine historian, produced at Nicæa, near the end of his life, a *Thesaurus of the Orthodox Faith* in twenty-seven books: and *Beccus*, the patriarch, whose stormy

life has been already noticed, wrote eloquently in defence of his conduct in the Latin controversy of the thirteenth century.

But by far the ablest and most famous writer of the period was *Eustathius*, EUSTATHIUS, archbishop of Thessalonica, the most learned man of his age. His *Commentaries on Homer* are prized by students to this day as a vast repertory of opinion and information concerning the poet. But as a theologian, as well as a practical administrator, he was great. "He appears to us," says Neander, "as the Chrysostom of his times, in contending against its superstition, mock-holiness, and indecorous frivolity." Against monastic corruption he is particularly severe, "complaining of those monks who boast of knowing no other trinity than devotion in the church, in the cell, and at the table." "Not so much," he says in one of his sermons, "depends on the frequent bowing of the knee, but a great deal upon what is signified by that outward sign, prostration of the spirit, humility of heart before God. To stand erect is not less acceptable to God than to bow the knee; nay, it is more in harmony with nature, more consonant with activity."¹ We may detect a note of sarcasm in his description of this ideal monk and "stylite." He speaks with emphasis of the monastery as a place for the religious and moral education of the community. Of the stylites, again, to whom the people flocked for knowledge and advice on matters pertaining to salvation, he says significantly:—"With all these, the stylite still maintains truly apostolic intercourse. He will not improperly flatter, lest he falsify the truth; nor will he be unduly violent, lest he be accused of rudeness and arrogance. And if offerings are brought to him by his votaries, he will be only a channel by which they may be communicated to the poor."

Nor did this good bishop confine himself to brave words. When Thessalonica was captured by the Normans under William II. of Sicily, 1185, Eustathius nobly refused to desert his flock, interposing at peril of his life between them and a fanatical,

¹ φυσικώτερον και ενεργέστερον και πρακτικώτερον.

passionate soldiery. He was, says Neander, "a protecting angel in the midst of his people." Gibbon records the fact—"for the honour of learning," as he puts it, discerning in Eustathius only the commentator on Homer. A deeper view will recognize the heroism, not without many a parallel in history, of the faithful and intrepid Christian pastor.

It is humiliating to have to record that the Thessalonians, irritated by his plainness of speech, and forgetful of his many services, banished him for awhile from their city. Soon, however, they realized the greatness of their loss, and recalled him, to end his days among them in greater honour than ever.

The name of an accomplished lady, Anna Comnena, daughter
Anna of the Emperor Alexius, holds a distinguished place
Comnena. in the literary records of the age. She wrote the life of her father, from which all future biographers have drawn their materials.

PART VII.

FROM THE REMOVAL OF THE
PAPAL COURT TO AVIGNON TO
THE BIRTH OF MARTIN LUTHER.

ERA OF THE "REFORMING COUNCILS."

A.D. 1305—1483.

LANDMARKS OF THE PERIOD.

	A. D.
Duns Scotus died	1308
Proceedings against Templars in Paris	1310
Council at Vienne (<i>Fifteenth General. W.</i>)	1311
Renewed strife between Emperor and Pope	1322
Flagellants in Italy	1334
Greek and Hebrew studies promoted	1340
The <i>Fratricelli</i> . Inquisition busy	1341
Statute in England against "Provisions"	1343
Battle of Créçy	1346
The Black Death at its height	1347—1350
Second Jubilee in Rome	1350
Rise of the Mystics	from 1350
"Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit"	1350
Statute of Præmunire in England	1352
The "Golden Bull" respecting Imperial Elections	1356
John Wyclif teaches at Oxford	from 1360
Birth of John Huss	1373
"Brethren of the Common Life"	1375
Wyclif, rector of Lutterworth	1376
The Papal Court leaves Avignon	1377
The Great Western Schism begins	1378
Wyclif undertakes his Translation of the Bible	1380
Death of Wyclif	1384
The Third Roman Jubilee	1390
Statute in England "for the burning of heretics"	1400
John Gerson urges reform	1401
Huss and Jerome of Prague preach reforming doctrines	1402
Council at Pisa; deposition and election of popes	1409
Huss excommunicated by John XXIII.	1411
Council of Constance (<i>Sixteenth General. W.</i>)	1414
John Huss burned	1415
End of the "Great Schism"	1418
Seven Years' War of the Hussites begins	1419
Council of Basle (<i>Seventeenth General. W.</i>)	1431
Council at Florence and Ferrara (<i>Eighteenth General. ? W.</i>)	1439
Invention of the Art of Printing	about 1440
Fall of Constantinople: end of the Greek Empire	1453
Church of the United Brethren formed	1457
Birth of Martin Luther	1483

CHAPTER I.

THE HIERARCHY AND THE STATE.

§ I. GENERAL VIEW.

THE period upon which the history now enters, including the greater part of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was characterized by three signal and connected events, or series of events :

First, the removal of the seat of the Papacy to Avignon, with the consequent ascendancy of France, denominated *Three distinct eras in the West.* by the Italians the "Seventy Years' Captivity" (A.D. 1308—1378).

Secondly, the "Western Schism," arising in the first instance from the determination of the Italian section to return to Rome, and issuing in a double line of popes (1378—1418).

Thirdly, the era of attempted reforms on Roman lines, leading to the Councils of Constance, Basle, and Florence ; with depositions and elections of popes, and attempts to secure a stricter discipline in the Church (1418—1500).

During the second and third of these eras, there arose individual reformers who attacked the system itself, and were thus precursors of a true and lasting Reformation ; with others, chiefly Mystics, who formed societies and associations, often stigmatized as heretical, although not explicitly rejecting the Church's doctrine.

1. It was in this period, also, that pagan idolatry finally vanished from Europe. Lithuania, with its heathen grand-duke, Jagello, was the last to receive Christianity. The instruments of *Conversion of Lithuania.* this conversion do not appear to have been Christian missionaries. Jagello aspired to the hand of Hedwig, the youthful heiress to the crown of Poland. The condition made was that he should embrace the Christian faith. Accordingly, he

was baptized at Cracow (1386) by the name of Vladislaus, and his subjects followed his example in such numbers that whole crowds were aspersed at once with the baptismal waters, every one in a group receiving the same Christian name, Paul, Peter or John, as the case might be. The prince made no delay in constituting a "Christian Kingdom" with its episcopal sees, the chief of which was Wilna (founded 1387); and out of the sudden and nominal conversion there seems to have been evolved, in no long time, a genuine Christian faith.

2. Missions to Tartary and China were also sent from the West to fields where the Nestorians had formerly laboured; and *Missions in China.* in the year 1303 Cambalu (Pekin) was made the seat of an archbishopric. The most noted names among the missionaries were those of John de Corvin, a Frenchman, and Arnold, a German Franciscan.¹ John seems to have been a true evangelist. He translated the New Testament and the Book of Psalms, instituted schools, and laboured zealously for the propagation of the Gospel among the Mongols; but he died in 1330. His work was much hindered by Nestorian jealousies; and in 1369, when the Chinese drove out the Mongols, and adopted a policy of excluding foreigners, Christianity in China became to all appearance extinct.

3. During this whole period the Eastern Church remained for *The Eastern Church.* the most part stagnant and inert, clinging to old beliefs and formulas from which the life had departed. A few distinguished names appear in Byzantine literature, but their chief work was that of compilation. Nicephorus Gregoras wrote a *History*, reaching from the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204) to the year 1341. Theophanes, archbishop of *Principal writers.* Nicæa (1347), wrote a treatise *Against the Jews*, and a *Harmony of the Old and New Testaments*. In the next century, Mark of Ephesus appeared as the chief defender of the Greek Church against the Latin, while George of Trebizond (d. 1481) endeavoured to convince his Greek co-religionists of

¹ Neander, *Church History*, vol. vii. p. 77.

the truth of the *Filioque*. The latter also translated the works of the principal Greek Fathers into Latin, and composed a treatise on the *Truth of the Christian Religion*, of some account in its time. But the chief questions of interest debated in the Greek Church arose from the appearance of a Quietist community, resembling in some degree the Mystics of Germany, but with special characteristics, as will be noted hereafter. In the controversies thus arising, the monk Barlaam and Gregory Palamas took the principal part.

The question of the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches was still occasionally debated, and, as will be seen, a final effort to this end was frustrated at the very time of its apparent fruition.

A few years afterwards (1453) Constantinople was captured by the Turkish forces under Mohammed II., and with the fall of the Greek Empire the historic patriarchate came to an end.

4. The history of doctrines and the significant course of ecclesiastical discussion in the West will be briefly traced in the following pages. Generally speaking, theology had become a matter of arid scholastic disputation, the questions debated being often most trifling and absurd. Nominalism, which had been almost dormant since the great discussions of the thirteenth century, was aroused to new life by William of Occam, and became general in the schools of Germany; the former acrimony of debate with the Realists being more than renewed.¹

Old enthusiasms had died out; it was no longer possible to raise a crusade, not because the Churches were wiser, but because they were colder. It is pathetic to read of repeated efforts to arouse the faithful against the aggressions of "the infidel." Pope after pope tried the experiment, and failed. The controversies of the hour no longer embraced great religious questions; on the Eucharist itself the main point in dispute had come to be that

¹ It was counted by many an unpardonable offence in John Huss that he was a Realist.

of the participation of the Cup by the laity. If there was any enthusiasm, it was evoked by the half-sensuous adoration of the Virgin Mary. The "Immaculate Conception" was held by all but the Dominicans, and the festival in its honour was celebrated with growing pomp. Two additional festivals were instituted to complete the round of observance, that of Mary's "Visitation" to Elisabeth, and that of her (presumed) "Dedication" by her parents in the Temple. Invocation of the saints was fervent and unceasing, the imputation of their merits being asserted with greater zeal than ever, and the celebration of masses at their shrines being an important source of revenue. Saints' days were so often made scenes of idleness and revelry, that it at length became necessary to ordain that men must work on these holidays after the customary rites of worship had been observed.

The granting of indulgences, either as a sequel to penance, or as a reward for meritorious acts, became the great scandal of the time. There was scarcely an act of piety which had not its indulgence attached. Pilgrimages to the Roman jubilees were especially thus honoured; and the crowds of penitents who journeyed to the city and paid their devotions at its shrines, brought vast increase to the pontifical revenues. Even in ordinary life the blessing became always attainable for a consideration. "Quæstionaries" travelled through different countries to inquire where an indulgence was needed, and to offer it at every man's door. "Pardoners" were constantly to be found to carry on the traffic. It was in vain that the moderate and sober-minded protested against the abuses of the system: its promises were too alluring and its conditions too easy to be surrendered. One question, indeed, was repeatedly debated, and was held to be of great importance—whether the temporal remission of the penalties of sin belonged only to the present state or extended into the future world. The point was decided by Pope Sixtus IV. (1477) and Innocent VIII. (1490), after whose time it was universally held that the benefit was also for souls departed.

5. The general standard of Christian morals could not but be vitiated by such beliefs and influences. If we may trust the *State of records of the time, or judge from the enactments morals.* of synods and councils, the secular clergy and the monks very widely set an example of loose living. Especially was sexual immorality prevalent amongst them. The resolute attempt, unhappily a failure, made at the Council of Basle to repeal the law of clerical celibacy sheds a lurid light upon the condition of things. It was in the recoil from hypocrisy and impurity that many found a refuge in mysticism, and some in strange fanatic beliefs and deeds. The history of the Flagellants is full of impressive teaching.

6. The progress of education and of general intelligence marked in these two centuries, may be thought favourable to enlightened piety. It must be remembered, however, that *Education education was still chiefly in the hands of the monastic and free- orders, and that the culture of the intellect does not thinking.* always carry with it moral renovation. With mental growth there was much freethinking; and, even in the face of remorseless spiritual despotism, many were bold enough to question the very foundations of the faith. The great names associated with the revival of letters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, with their successors in Italy and Spain, France and England—certainly do not suggest a servile adherence to conventional beliefs or perverted morals.

7. A marked characteristic, however, of the period was the increased rigour and cruelty employed for the suppression of “heresy.” It was held that unbelief and misbelief in religious matters were greater crimes than ordinary moral offences. They were regarded as rebellion against constituted authority; and authority, therefore, was prompt to punish. The voice of the Church, expressed through its rulers, it was pleaded, is really the *Persecution voice of God; and to deny His Word is an even of opinion.* greater sin than to break His commandments. The

chief Divine condemnation is reserved for unbelief; the earthly tribunal, inflicting the sharpest punishment upon the body of the transgressor, does but anticipate the dealings of the Eternal with his soul. Such conceptions pervade every part of the Church's system. Thus, when it was laid down that the unworthiness of the administrator did not invalidate the efficacy of a Sacrament, the proviso was added "except he be in heresy." At Constance, the infamous John XXIII. was only deposed and imprisoned, while John Huss was burned; and, by and by, the discrowned Pope came forth again as a cardinal-bishop. Whatever his offences, he had never been a heretic!

Such views regarding religious errors and its treatment find abundant illustration throughout the history. No doubt the proceedings of the Inquisition, whenever it secured a foothold, were the most conspicuous example; but the same principle was exhibited in acts of synods, in the proceedings of secular courts, in the ferocity of religious wars, in the English statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, and even in the concessions of the accused.¹ And in all fairness it must be added, that among the persecutors of opinion there were many who acted from conviction of duty. They thought, honestly, that they did God service. Characters otherwise illustrious were tarnished by this one foul stain. Cardinal Ximenes, the generous projector of the great Complutensian Polyglot, was the ruling spirit of the Spanish Inquisition.

One early and illustrious exception to this now prevalent doctrine of persecution may here be noted. Wazo, the bishop of Liège, who died in 1048, being consulted as to the treatment of heretics charged with Manichæism, replied, quite in a modern spirit, "that forcible measures are inconsistent with our Lord's parable of the tares; that bishops do not at their ordination receive the sword; that their power is not that of killing but of

¹ John Huss on one occasion challenged his opponents to a discussion of their points of difference, on condition that the defeated party should be burned at the stake. The challenge was not accepted.

making alive; that they ought to content themselves with excluding those who are in error from the Church, and preventing them from spreading the infection.”¹ It would have been well if ecclesiastics had laid such words as these to heart.

An early protest: Wazo of Liège, eleventh century.

§ 2. THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

At the beginning of the period, Pope Boniface VIII. had closed his career of haughty assumption amid the most cruel humiliations inflicted upon him at the instance of Philip IV. (“the Fair”), king of France, by that sovereign’s emissary, William of Nogaret, in an attack upon the pontifical palace at *Pope Clement* Anagni. The aged pontiff, deserted by his cardinals, *V.*, 1305. fled broken-hearted to Rome, and died in a few days. His faithful adherent and immediate successor, Benedict XI., soon passed away; and the conclave, under the influence of Philip, elected the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who assumed the name of Clement V. He took up his abode at Avignon and never crossed the Alps. It had been a great surprise to the cardinals to be summoned to Lyons for the Pope’s coronation. But there was no help for it, and the ceremony had proceeded with due formality, the king leading the Pope’s steed, according to old custom.

Philip, it is said, made six conditions with the new Pope.

1. The excommunication of the king by Boniface to be annulled.
2. Nogaret and his confederates to be absolved.
3. A tithe of all clerical incomes to be paid for five years to Philip.
4. The memory of Boniface to be condemned.
5. Two cardinals of the Colonna family, excommunicated by Boniface, to be restored.
6. A secret condition, never disclosed; but probably the extermination of the Knights Templars, which was soon afterwards effected with ruthless cruelty.

¹ Pertz, *Monumenta Germanice Historica*, ii. *Historica*, vol. viii.; Robertson, 470.

The "Order of the Knights of the Temple in Jerusalem" had become very numerous and immensely wealthy. *Proceedings against the Templars.* After their return from Palestine and Cyprus, the knights had settled, with attendant clergy and multitudes of retainers, in their castles and estates, principally in France, with Paris as their centre; but also in other countries. Their riches and independence made them undoubtedly formidable; and charges of licentiousness, with other abuses of their power, were frequently urged against them. Philip, who had persuaded or compelled the Pope into subservience to his designs, resolved to strike a decisive blow at the order. A series of extraordinary and incredible accusations against the Templars¹ furnished the pretext; the Grand Inquisitor for France, the Dominican Imbert, followed these up by visitations of the different provinces, with all the accompaniments of torture. Many under this horrible stress confessed; what the confession was worth it is easy to understand. Clement himself was staggered at the atrocities committed upon the knights, and suspended the Inquisitor. But he was induced to grant a papal commission of inquiry, before which many of the accused retracted their confessions. These were accordingly treated as *General Council, 15th.* "relapsed heretics." Fifty-four were burned alive in Paris at one time. Others followed, and the whole number who suffered, refusing to purchase deliverance by confession, amounted to one hundred and thirteen. A General Council was now convened at Vienne on the Rhone, October 1311; one of the questions remitted to it being that of the Templars. The Council proved unexpectedly refractory, and its

¹ As, that the candidates for knighthood were compelled to deny Christ and to spit upon the Cross. That in their association with Mohammedans in Palestine they habitually betrayed the Christian cause. That they worshipped an idol "Baphomet" (evidently a corruption of the name "Mahomet") in

the semblance of a black cat. That in their services they omitted parts of the Mass. That, although laymen, their Grand Master and other officers presumed to give absolution; that they practised unnatural crimes; and so forth. Where there is a market for such "evidence" it is sure to be produced in any amount.

debate continued for many months. At last the order was dissolved "as a matter of expediency," the act of dissolution being read, April 3, 1312, in the presence of the king. Meanwhile the heads of the order were languishing in prison; among them the Grand Master de Molay, who two years afterwards, with one of his officers, was cruelly burned, March 11, 1314.¹ The Templars in different countries were scattered. Some entered the company of the Knights of St. John, others found a refuge in monasteries; many resumed the pursuits of ordinary life. What became of the accumulated *Death of King and Pope, 1314.* treasures of the knights, Philip and Clement could best have told. They did not enjoy them long. The Pope died the very next month at the age of fifty, leaving a character not only for rapacity but for open profligacy. Philip also died before the year's close, at the age of forty-six.

The conclave that met to elect Clement's successor became famous through a letter from no less a personage than *Letter from Dante.* Dante. There is not indeed much cogency in the poet's arguments. They show only how his heart was set on the return to Rome. "You," he says, "the chiefs of the Church militant, have neglected to guide the chariot of the Bride of the Crucified along the path so clearly marked out to her. One only remedy now remains. You who have been the authors of the confusion must go forth manfully, with one heart and one mind, unto the fray in defence of the Bride of Christ, whose seat is in Rome. You must work to the disgrace of the covetous Gascons, seeking to rob the Latins of their name." The cardinals who met at Lyons spent two years in making up their minds to fill the vacancy, and then acted only by compulsion of the King (Philip *Pope John XXII.* V.). They chose a Frenchman, who took the name of John XXII. It is said that he conciliated the Italian cardinals by promising that he never would bestride a

¹ It was reported that De Molay in his last agonies summoned the Pope to meet him in forty days, and the king in eight months. Such tales are always to be received with suspicion. This one was doubtless invented to correspond with the facts,

steed until he mounted one that could carry him to Rome. He kept his promise; for he took ship down the Rhone to Avignon, and remained there as long as he lived. At his appointment he was over seventy years of age, and he held the pontificate for nearly twenty years. His predominant passion was avarice, and he accumulated wealth, which put that of his predecessor Clement, hitherto the richest of the popes, quite into the shade. When John died in 1334, eighteen millions of gold florins, and seven millions worth of plate and jewels, were found in the papal coffers.

But John had lived for other ends than to accumulate riches.

The Emperor He was an astute ecclesiastical politician, as his
Louis and the dispute with Louis of Bavaria proved. The old days
Pope. of Hildebrand and Innocent III. seemed for a while to have come again. Louis had a rival in the contest for the imperial crown, Frederick of Austria, in favour of whose claims John had pronounced. This decision Louis and his party disregarded. The excommunication of the king and the counter-deposition of the Pope, with the actual appointment of an antipope, recalled the strife of mightier combatants. But the ancient fires burned low; there was but the faint reflection of the past; and the antipope (Nicholas V.) was soon at the feet of his aged rival, humbly begging his forgiveness and thankfully accepting the grant of an apartment in the palace of Avignon.

A remarkable treatise, anonymous and probably of joint authorship,¹ entitled *Defensor Pacis*, published about this time, aroused great attention throughout Europe. In the strongest terms it combated the papal claim to supremacy. The ultimate
Defensor power, it was contended, lay in General Councils, not
Pacis. in the Pope, and such councils must be summoned by the Emperor. "The necessity of an earthly head for the Church, the Roman bishop's claim to judicial power, the Pope's pretension to unfailing faithfulness, are controverted," and the

¹ The treatise was probably by Marsilius Ramondini, a physician of John of Jaudun in Champagne and Padua.

current notions as to the superiority of "spiritual" to "secular" power in national affairs are unsparingly exposed.

An excursion of John XXII. into the realm of speculative theology is in its way significant.

The question which, in one of his sermons, the Pope had undertaken to solve, was one of those in which the impossibility of a definite answer seems to intensify the acrimony of debate. It was, whether souls in glory are permitted to behold the Beatific Vision before the Day of Judgment. John had preached that it is not yet possible, even in heaven, to see God as He is; but that the vision vouchsafed to the saints is that of the God-Man, Christ Jesus, in His glorified humanity. All Europe rang with the amazing controversy. King Philip was particularly keen in denouncing the Pope as a heretic; resting his argument on the doctrine of the saints' intercession. "How," he demanded, "can the saints plead for us with God, unless they see Him 'face to face'?" The

The Pope as theologian. University of Paris, to which the question was referred, on the whole sided with the king. The *Debate on the Beatific Vision.* Pope, harassed on all sides, at length appointed a commission to investigate the subject, but died before it could set to work. It was said that on his death-bed he withdrew his former dogmatic utterance, admitting that "saints in heaven behold God *so far as separate souls can do,*" a qualifying clause which seemed to put an end to the controversy. His successor, Jacques Fournier, a Cistercian monk (Benedict XII.), expressed the same view in a formal decree.

This Benedict seems to have owed his majority in the *Pope Benedict XII.* conclave to an accident, such as often happens in an assembly of scheming and intriguing voters. When it was announced that the election had fallen upon him—the Cistercian, Jacques Fournier—he naïvely exclaimed, "Brethren, you have chosen an ass!" Perhaps he had too low an estimate of himself; certainly his administration was unmarked by any great events. He was free from ambition and nepotism,

and lived a peaceful undistinguished life, being at peace even with the Emperor Louis. Only it was alleged against him that he was too much given to the pleasures of the table; in fact, a mediæval saying, "as drunk as a pope," seems to have originated in his time. But under the next pope, Peter Roger (Clement VI.), the old strife broke out. Louis was repeatedly excommunicated; but, although apparently troubled, he would not yield. The Pope at length persuaded the electors to supersede that emperor by Charles of Luxemburg (Charles IV.); and civil war seemed imminent, when Louis died (1347) from an accident in the hunting-field, and the way was made clear for Charles.

It was in the pontificate of Clement VI. that the terrible *The Black Death* visitation known as "the Black Death" invaded Europe as a plague cloud from the East. It was by far the most fatal pestilence that the Western world has ever known. Twenty-five millions of persons, it is calculated, were cut off by it; and, granting this to be an exaggeration, the attainable statistics of the years between 1347 and 1350 are sufficiently appalling. In England the deaths amounted to about two millions, a hundred thousand in London alone. In Avignon, about sixty thousand were smitten down; and, as proper burial was impracticable during the height of the plague, Clement consecrated the river Rhone as a place of sepulture. The Pope and the Franciscan friars showed much energy and humanity in dealing with the calamity; and Clement especially had to deal with the accusation, by a superstitious clergy and a people maddened by terror, to the effect that the Jews had caused the plague by poisoning the wells. Thousands of these unhappy people perished or were tortured; multitudes sought the protection of Casimir, the enlightened King of Poland; and the great community of Polish Jews has perpetuated the memory of that most awful time.

As the pestilence abated, the minds of men were turned to sober reflection; and the Jubilee of 1350 was attended by a million and a half of pilgrims. We do not read of any fresh outbreak

of the plague in Rome, which seems rather surprising in so great a crowd; but it is recorded that in the multitudes which thronged the churches, many were crushed to death. Charles IV. and the Pope continued to be good friends, and one of the measures concerted by them has been very useful in imperial elections. This was set forth in the “Golden Bull” of 1356.¹ The electoral College, or Diet, it was arranged, should comprise three ecclesiastics and four secular members; on the one hand the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne; on the other, the representatives of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate.

§ 3. THE WESTERN SCHISM.

The “Seventy Years’ Captivity,” as the residence in France was called, came to an end in 1378 with the death of Gregory XI. By this time the demand from the Italian side for a native pope had grown too strong to be resisted. The city of Rome was in a deplorable state, and utter ruin seemed inevitable but for some strong restorer’s hand. The cardinals met in conclave, tumult and violence raging without; they were mostly French, but dared not resist the popular clamour, and accordingly selected the Archbishop of Bari (Urban VI.), held in repute as a quiet, business-like, if somewhat dull ecclesiastic. But office and power often bring to light unsuspected elements of character; and Urban became almost at once so bitter and violent in his invectives against the vices of the cardinals, that they retreated in dismay from Rome and elected a French pope, the warlike Count of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII. He took up his residence in Avignon; and now began the schism which for a time distracted Western Christendom. Kingdoms and churches were divided. As it has been caustically said, “France declared for Clement, and of course England then took sides with Urban. Italy stuck to her own son; Germany, sick of French popes, was

¹ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. xiv.

all for Urban. If England was for Urban, why of course Scotland was for Clement. Spain was engineered into the Clementine ranks, but since France was that way, why Flanders must be the other way and shout for Urban. Even now it is hard to tell which pope deserved obedience, and Roman Catholic writers do not always agree."¹ With Protestants, the question is not worth discussion; they may very well leave it to those to whom it seems important to decide whether infallibility resided for the time in Italy or France. What is mournfully certain is, that party spirit ran high, in its hardest and most cruel form. On both sides this was aggravated by the want of money, and resource was had to unblushing simony and venality to replenish the papal coffers, as well as to a renewed traffic in indulgences; while Boniface IX., the successor of Urban, had the advantage of the Jubilee in 1400. He died in 1404; and when asked on his death-bed how he was, replied, "If I had more money, I should be well enough." His successor, Innocent VII., a mild inoffensive man, soon disappeared from the scene, and was succeeded by Gregory XII., a man of pacific speech and arrogant spirit. "His one desire was for unity, and this he communicated to the French pope who had succeeded Clement, Benedict XIII. Benedict entirely agreed with him." Each longed for the healing of the schism, only he must be at the head!

In this juncture the ablest man of affairs was John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. He saw that the true way out of the difficulty was to summon a General Council, which he urged was superior to the Pope himself—a suggestion destined to bear much fruit. An assembly was at length convened at Pisa in 1409. Cardinals from Rome and from Avignon were present, with a great array of ecclesiastics and ambassadors from the principal states and kingdoms of the Empire. The rival popes refused to appear, excepting so far as represented by their respective companies of cardinals. These,

¹ Clinton Locke, D.D., of Chicago, *The Great Western Schism*.

after much discussion, both withdrew the claims of their masters. Gregory and Clement were together deposed as "schismatical heretics and perjurers," and even excommunicated. But as the appointment of a strong pope might tend to further embroilment, the aged and feeble Archbishop of Milan was elected as successor to both. His title was Alexander V. He soon succumbed to the troubles of the time, and the conclave unfortunately elected the worthless and wicked Balthasar Cossa, who took the title of *Pope John XXIII.* He was the last "Johannes" in the *XXIII.* series, as no subsequent pope has cared to revive the memory of such a person by assuming the name.

There were now three rivals for the papal dignity, since both Gregory and Clement retained many partisans, and refused to *Trio of rival Popes.* acknowledge the decree of Pisa. John had the powerful support of the Emperor Sigismund; and notwithstanding his well-known character for tyranny and cruelty, deceitfulness and lust, for a time he held the field, while the deposed pontiffs hurled at him their empty anathemas—Gregory from Lucca and Benedict from Aragon.

CHAPTER II.

REFORMING MOVEMENTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE reaction against prevailing Church systems assumed during this period many forms. Associations of would-be Reformers were originated, the records of which have in great measure perished. By the ecclesiastical authorities a policy of ruthless suppression was maintained, and it is never safe to rely upon the accounts of enemies; nor is it easy to disentangle the various motives which actuated the dissentients. The recoil from superstition and formalism became, by natural transition, a revolt from authority; the efforts to satisfy conscience led to fanatical self-inflictions; and the search for a sufficient basis for the religious life too often ended in the dreams of a misdirected enthusiasm.

§ I. FRATICELLI AND "FRIENDS OF GOD."

It was from the Franciscan order that many of these associations sprang; and as they mostly sought to carry out their protest against the evils of the age by increased strictness along their own lines, they conspicuously failed. The Fraticelli found *The Fraticelli.* a panacea for all evils in the rigid enforcement of their rule of poverty. The "Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit," in the stress laid upon the Pauline principle of freedom from the Law, fell into antinomianism. The "Beghards," a name applied almost indiscriminately to communities of separatists,¹ founded their religion upon a vague pantheism. The "Turlupins" in Paris for awhile carried the notion of freedom in following nature to the wildest excess. The effect of the Black Death, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, was greatly to intensify the spirit of *Flagellants.* fanaticism. In many districts the practice of the Flagellants was revived. Crowds of people perambulated the

¹ See p. 490.

streets of towns and cities, bare to the waist, scourging themselves and singing penitential hymns. The practice became at length a public danger, and was suppressed by force ; many were even put to death.

Very different were the associations denominated "Friends of God," which sprang up along the Rhine and in Switzerland. Their founder was one Nicolas of Basle, a layman ; their rule was not monastic, they remained for the most part in the avocations of ordinary life, while certain persons, called to superior sanctity, gave themselves up to contemplation, and spiritually ruled the community in God's stead. "Nicolas visited Pope Gregory XI. at Rome ; he reprov'd the Pope's inertness and sins. Gregory, at first indignant, was overawed by the commanding holiness of Nicolas. In 1378 Nicolas with his followers prayed together from the 17th to the 25th of March to God to dispel the *Friends of* dark weather which overhang the Church. They were *God.* directed 'to wait.' The time of 'waiting' lasted to March 25, 1383. In the meantime they scrupled not to speak with the utmost freedom of the Pope and the clergy. They disclaimed both popes. Many awful visions were seen by many believers ; many terrible prophecies were sent abroad. At length Nicolas and some of his chief followers set out as preachers of repentance." ¹

Their principle was that of entire submission to the will of God, not from desire of heaven or fear of hell, but from a yearning of soul after God alone. A doctrine much insisted on in this community was the duty of preferring the salvation of others to our own. Dean Milman thus summarizes a modern account of this community :—

"They were Mystics to the height of Mysticism ; each member was in direct union with God, with the Trinity, not the Holy Ghost alone. They were not Waldensians. They were faithful *Mystical* to the whole mediæval imaginative creed, Transsub-
*beliefs.*stantiation, worship of the Virgin and Saints, Purga-

¹ Milman, *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Book xiv. ch. vii.

tory. Their union with the Deity was not that of pantheism or of passionate love ; it was rather through the phantasy. They had wonders, visions, special revelations, prophecies. Their peculiar heresy was the denial of all special prerogative to the clergy, except the celebration of the Sacraments ; the layman had equal sanctity, equal communion with the Deity, saw visions, uttered prophecies. Their only sympathy with the Waldensians was anti-Sacerdotalism. Neither were they Biblical Christians ; they honoured, loved the Bible, but sought and obtained revelation beyond it. They rejected one clause of the Lord's Prayer ; temptations were marks of God's favour not to be deprecated. But though suffering was a sign of the Divine love, it was not self-inflicted suffering. They disclaimed asceticism, self-maceration, self-torture. All things to the beloved were of God ; all therefore indifferent."

Nicolas was burned at Vienne in France, 1393, on the charge of being a " Beghard." The distinguished preacher, John Tauler, was his disciple ; the account of the first meeting of the two men is most interesting. Tauler, then a Dominican monk, was preaching at Strassburg, on a day when among his hearers there *John Tauler,*
c. 1294— was a stranger, a layman, who expressed a desire to
 1361. confess to him. Tauler received his confession and gave him absolution. Nicolas, for it was he, then, to the surprise of the preacher, requested him to take as the topic of a sermon the means of attaining the highest perfection possible in this life. Tauler complied, and preached on renunciation of self and self-will. Nicolas, in criticizing the sermon, candidly described Tauler as a man of books, a mere Pharisee, and urged him to shut himself up for two years in his cell, giving himself to self-communion and prayer. Tauler complied, and came forth at the end of the time to resume preaching. At first he broke down. Nicolas ascribed his failure to self-love not yet fully overcome, and enjoined a further period of silence, after which Tauler began to preach with such fervour, especially at Cologne and Strassburg, that great crowds were gathered, and multitudes brought to a new

life. He died in 1361, just twenty-one years after the interview with Nicolas. His monument, still to be seen in Strassburg, represents him as pointing to the Lamb of God. Luther himself learned much from Tauler, who in his own communion received, not inappropriately, the title of *doctor sublimis et illuminatus*.

§ 2. TAULER AND THE GERMAN MYSTICS.

Tauler is often denominated a mystic—a name of somewhat undefined application to those who depended for their religious *Mysticism* knowledge more upon immediate communion with *defined.* God as the source of all truth than on any processes of the reason. In one view, therefore, mysticism was a reaction from the scholastic philosophy, which in the days of its decline had become a system of arid and useless speculations about things impossible to be known. “If such are the results of reason,” it was fairly argued, “we may well turn to intuition and faith. The heart, it may be, is wiser than the head.” No doubt there was here a subtle danger. Those who interpret their intuitions as heavenly revelations, and discern in their own experiences the movement of the Divine Spirit, need above all things humility and soberness. Some of the early mystics, in the identification of their own thoughts with the thoughts of God, were led to the idea of a personal identification—not now, but hereafter; or, as it was termed, absorption unto the Divine Essence. It would seem that one of the greatest of mystical teachers, to whom Tauler himself owed much, Master Eckhardt of Cologne, was led into forms of speculation hardly distinguishable from pantheism. “All things,” he would say with the Neo-Platonists, “are in God, and all things are God.” Hence the con- *Eckhardt of Cologne,* *d. 1329.* demnation by Pope John XXII. of no fewer than twenty-eight heterodox propositions as held by Eckhardt. It is certain, however, that he exhibited in a marked degree the practical character of the Christian faith—in the fervour of his preaching and his ardent desire for the salvation of souls.

“Tauler,” in the words of Dean Milman, “was thus only one

of the voices, if the most powerful and influential, which, as it were, appealed directly to God from the Pope and the hierarchy; which asserted a higher religion than that of the Church; which made salvation dependent on personal belief and holiness, not on obedience to the priest; which endeavoured to renew the long-dissolved wedlock between Christian faith and Christian morality; and tacitly at least, if not inferentially, admitted the great Wycliffite doctrine, that the bad pope, the bad bishop, the bad priest, was neither pope, bishop, nor priest. It was an appeal to God, and also to the moral sense of man; and throughout this period of nearly two centuries which elapsed before the appearance of Luther, this inextinguishable torch passed from hand to hand, from generation to generation."¹

A contemporary of Tauler was John Ruysbroek (*Doctor ecstaticus*), prior of the monastery of Groenendal, near Brussels, who followed Eckhardt in his teaching, professing that he never wrote a word except by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and in the especial presence of the Divine Trinity. In the same line was the anonymous author of the *Theologia Germanica*, a book afterwards edited by Luther himself, ascribed by him to "a German gentleman, a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic order at Frankfort." All that can certainly be known of this author is that he belonged to the society of "Friends of God," and came, like Tauler, under the personal influence of the martyr Nicolas of Basle. Of this most notable book, made accessible to English readers by Miss C. Winkworth, Dean Milman well remarks, "It was not so much what it taught as 'German Theology,' but what it threw aside as no part of the Christian faith, that made it remarkable."

A mystic of the same school was Henry von Berg, commonly called Suso, a Dominican of Constance. He records his experience of asceticism and self-inflicted tortures, carried on until he was told by an angel in a vision

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, ix. 266.

that such things belonged to the lower form of the Christian life, that he must henceforth leave them alone, as he was sure to suffer quite enough from men and devils without tormenting himself, and that he must simply surrender self to the Divine will in imitation of Christ's example. This self-abandonment may be described as the note of German mysticism; and every reader will recognize the forms in which it has been expressed in modern times.¹

§ 3. GROWTH OF BIBLICAL STUDIES.

The intelligent study of Scripture was a great though silent *Biblical studies.* means of promoting reformation. It is true that the critics and commentators of this age were mostly supporters of the papal system, but they were unconsciously undermining its foundations. Bible translations into the vernacular began to appear—of course from the Latin Vulgate, and partial and imperfect—but they amounted to a tacit repeal of the anti-Waldensian decree of the preceding century.

The expositors whose names and works have survived were few but notable. Pre-eminent among them was *Nicolas de Lyra,* Nicolas de Lyra, the great pioneer of Hebrew studies c. 1270—1340. in modern times. By birth he is said to have been a Jew. He entered the Franciscan order, and lectured at Paris on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; afterwards collecting his expositions under the title of *Postils* and *Commentaries*.² He held that in Holy Scripture there are four senses—the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical; that the literal sense is presupposed in the others, and must be the foundation of them; that from it alone proofs should be drawn, and that any mystical interpretation which is inconsistent with the letter is unbecoming and worthless; while he strongly blames those expositors who smothered the literal sense under figurative

¹ See, e.g., such popular hymns as "Oh, to be nothing, nothing!" and especially Monod's "O the bitter shame and sorrow."

² *Postilla Perpetua: Brevia Commentaria in Universa Biblia*; libris lxxxv.

interpretations. Such principles were far in advance of the age, and heralded that larger study of Scripture which inspired the Reformation. It must be remembered that De Lyra preceded Wyclif by nearly half a century, and Luther by about two hundred years. Luther, in fact, was greatly indebted to the *Postils* for his views of Scripture.¹ De Lyra was termed by his disciples *Doctor planus et utilis*.

§ 4. JOHN WYCLIF.

The name and the history of John Wyclif, the "Morning Star of the Reformation," are too familiar to English readers to need much detail here.² First known as the supporter of Edward III. in his refusal of tribute to Pope Innocent, he became at Oxford a public teacher of Theology, in its practical as well as theoretical aspects. "I say this for certain," are his words, "that though thou have priests and friars to say for thee, and though thou each day hear many masses, and found chauntries and colleges, and go on pilgrimages all thy life, and give all thy goods to pardoners:—all this shall not bring thy soul to heaven; while, if the commandments of God are revered to the end, though neither penny nor halfpenny be possessed, there shall be everlasting pardon and the bliss of heaven." His attacks upon the friars followed, with his memorable arraignment before Convocation in London, 1377-8; after which, and his removal from Oxford to Lutterworth, he began the great work of his life, the translation of the Scriptures into English. In this magnificent achievement, he not only first gave the whole Bible to the English people, but incidentally, more than all other literary influences of the age, imparted form and fixedness to our language.

¹ A punning rhyme of the Reformation period expresses this indebtedness in a homely way: "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset."

² See especially *Wyclif and his English Precursors*, by Professor Lechler of Leipsic, translated by Dr. Lorimer (R. T. S. edition); also the

valuable *Lectures on Wyclif's Place in History*, by Professor Montagu Burrows (1882), and the *Lives*, by J. Lewis, C. N. Le Bas, and Dr. Vaughan; also Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. vi., and J. R. Green's *History of the English People*, vol. i.

How this translated Bible appeared to Romish eyes appears from the words of the historian Knighton : "This Master John Wyclif translated the Scriptures out of the Latin into the Anglican—not Angelic—tongue, and thus laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them that had the best understanding. And in this way the Gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine ; that which was before precious both to clergy and laity is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the common sport of the people ; and what was hitherto the high talent (*talentum supernum*) of the clergy and divines, is made for ever common to the laity." Better testimony to the value of Wyclif's labours could hardly be given.

His attacks upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation began about 1381. For the task he was well equipped, both by his intimate knowledge of Scripture, and by his familiarity with the scholastic philosophy. His *Confession on the Eucharist*, delivered to the Delegates at Oxford, 1382, would undoubtedly in later times have brought him to the stake ; but it must be remembered that the law *De Heretico Comburendo* had not yet disgraced the statute book of England. It was passed in 1400, sixteen years after Wyclif's death.

His organization of "Poor Priests," and their preaching mission throughout the land, illustrated his practical sagacity as well as his earnestness and zeal. Their work continued after his death. With Wyclif's version of the Bible in their hands, and the Reformer's sermons, multiplied by transcription, as their manual of theology, these Primitive Methodists traversed the country, preaching everywhere, and winning many souls. The memory of Wyclif sustained them, and they were supported by several persons of rank, as well as by merchants and wealthy citizens. "If you meet two persons," cries an adversary in despair, "one of them is sure to be a

Wycliffite." Within ten years of Wyclif's death, the Lollards had become a power in the State.

The words of John Milton are not too strong: "Had it not been for the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the *Milton on* divine and admirable Wicklef, to suppress him as a *Wyclif.* schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had ever been known. The glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours."¹

§ 5. JOHN HUSS.

From England to Bohemia is a long step. Nevertheless, it is certain that the spirit of Wyclif animated the reformer John Huss more fully than any other religious teacher of the age. Nor was the impulse derived from Wyclif only; Bohemia had already witnessed a succession of teachers who, amid much opposition, had maintained evangelical doctrine, and had boldly testified against the corruptions of the priesthood. The pioneer in this work was John Milicz, canon and chief preacher in the *John Milicz,* cathedral of Prague. He resigned his ecclesiastical *d. 1374.* appointments to become a preacher to the poor, and laboured with great success—even proceeding to Rome (1367) and endeavouring to convert Pope Urban V. to the belief that antichrist had already come, and that the end of the world was near. He was seized and imprisoned by the Inquisition before the Pope's arrival from Avignon. The Pope, who had recently made a triumphal entry into Rome, and was rejoicing in the hope of a new era, was naturally unconvinced, and the prophet was dismissed, only to be summoned to Avignon some years afterwards to answer for his "heresies" before Pope Gregory XI. But before he could have a hearing Milicz died in that city. *Matthias of* In Prague he was succeeded by a kindred spirit, *Janow.* Matthias of Janow, an eloquent preacher against the vices of the clergy, monks, and laity, as well as against the worship

¹ *Areopagitica.*

of images and relics. His work, still in MS., *On the Rules of the Old and New Testaments*, shows him to have been in many respects a precursor of Luther; while in the tone of his expositions and appeals he recalls the mystics of a preceding generation, but with more outspoken and definite doctrinal views.¹ Of the Church he says, "It is Jesus Christ Himself, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit ever dwells in His Church, and in each, even most insignificant portion of it, holding together, sustaining and vitalizing all the parts directly and from within, giving growth outwardly to the whole and to each, even the most insignificant part." "Every Christian," he adds, "is already an anointed man, and a priest." Again, "All holy Scripture, all Christian faith, proclaims, preaches, and confesses, that Jesus Christ the Crucified is the one Saviour, and the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth; that He alone is all power, all wisdom for every Christian; He Himself the Alpha, the beginning and the end; and that every one who is longing and striving to be a just and virtuous man, must first of all and immediately put on Christ Himself and His Spirit, because He is Himself the Way, the Truth and the Life."

Such was the teacher, predecessor, and friend of John Huss. In 1401 Huss, already Professor of Philosophy at Prague, succeeded Janow as preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel of that city, founded by a merchant named *Huss* *succeeds* *Matthias*. Creutz "for the ministry of the bread of life in the native Bohemian tongue." The influence was reinforced by the diligent study of Wyclif's teachings, chiefly as *Wyclif and Huss*. brought before him by Jerome, who had returned from Oxford in 1398 full of enthusiasm for the great reformer. "Hitherto," said Jerome, "we have had only the shell of knowledge, but Wyclif has disclosed the kernel."²

The impassioned appeals of Huss became so attractive and

¹ See a long and elaborate analysis of Janow's teaching in Neander's *History of the Church*, vol. ix. pp. 261, 319.

² See Dr. Loserth's *Huss and Wyclif* (Prague 1884), tr. by M. J. Evans.

popular that a Chapter was convened at Prague, at which Wyclif's doctrines were formally condemned. Huss was reported to the archbishop as having preached the heresies of the English reformer, and replied, in words that were afterwards used against him: "I wish that my soul may come at last where Wyclif is."

Huss inhibited. He was inhibited from preaching at Bethlehem Chapel, and the conflict was fairly begun. Wenzel (Wenceslaus), king of Bohemia, to whose queen Huss was confessor, fruitlessly appealed to Pope John XXIII. to "allow Master Huss, the loyal, devout and beloved, to preach the Word of God in peace." John was at the time offering an indulgence to all who would join him in his war with the King of Naples, and indulgences were what Huss especially denounced. The whole city was moved. Three students were condemned and executed for having, in the midst of a great concourse, taken part with the Reformer; Prague was laid under an interdict; Huss retired into the country, where he wrote a book *On the Church*, maintaining that the true Church was the whole body of Christian believers, "of whom Christ is the all-sufficient, only Head; that the headship of the Pope was hurtful to the spirituality of the body, and that should no Pope exist till the Day of Judgment, Christ is able to govern the Church in the best way through His faithful presbyters." The sequel of his history belongs to the record of the Council of Constance.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMING COUNCILS.

THE conviction was now gathering strength among the most far-seeing Romanists, that the ultimate power of the Church must reside, not in the Pope, but in the councils. Hence the urgency of the demand, from laity and clergy alike, for the convocation of such assemblies; hence, too, the covert opposition, the reluctant consent, and the multiplied delays, of the popes and their advisers. The Council of Pisa and its proceedings have been already noted. Three years afterwards John XXIII., according to a pledge he had given, summoned a General Council to Rome (1412), but it is said that he set bandits along the road to intercept the travellers. Few, for this or some other reason, attended its sittings, and the council came to nought.

§ I. SUMMONS TO CONSTANCE: NEW POPE ELECTED.

The recently-appointed Emperor Sigismund, however, was not to be trifled with. He resolved that a council should be held, and that the place of meeting should be north of the Alps. Constance, then an imperial city, was selected for the meeting, and accordingly, in 1414, such an assembly of prelates, clergy, and nobles as Christendom had never seen was gathered upon the shores of the fair lake. Sigismund himself and John the Pope were present, and the number of clergy from all parts of the Empire amounted to eighteen thousand. A vast and motley concourse was attracted from various motives to witness the proceedings—merchants, artisans, showmen, players of every sort, “together with 700 prostitutes.” The Popes deposed at Pisa were invited to attend, and Gregory XII. was represented by a legate; Benedict XIII.

refused to appear, and shut himself up in his Spanish castle ; John, it seems, had hoped to gain a majority in the council by securing the attendance of Italian clergy in overwhelming numbers, but the plan was thwarted by causing the vote to be taken by nations, Italian, German, French, and English.

After a solemn service held at the opening of the council on November 5, certain preliminary matters were attended to, and the more important proceedings began at Christmas, when the Emperor Sigismund assisted the Pope at high mass, reading the Gospel for the day. The words "There went out a decree from

Opening of the Council. Cæsar Augustus" rang through the church, and were regarded by many as ominous. At a subsequent service, Cardinal Peter d'Ailly, a master-spirit in the discussions, preached before the Emperor and council from the words, "There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars." In the current style of exegesis, he interpreted the sun as the Papacy, the moon as the imperial power, and the stars as the prelates and priesthood. Plainly, there could not be *three* suns—a reference to the great question of the hour ; and if the Pope disgraced his office by evil living, he was no true sun—another hint to be applied by the council as it might think fit. In the tension of the hour every word was significant.

Early in the year a series of charges of the gravest character so terrified the Pope that he fled from the city in disguise. He was, however, pursued and overtaken, the accusations against

John XXIII. him were heard ; he was deposed and condemned to imprisonment for life. In a year 'or two he purchased his ransom for a large sum, and was appointed cardinal-bishop of Tusculum. He died at Florence in 1419. The

Gregory XII. aged and comparatively blameless Gregory XII. placed his resignation in the hands of the council, and was appointed cardinal-bishop of Porto, where he died in

Benedict XIII. 1417. Benedict XIII. was still impracticable, but even his Spanish adherents abandoned him, and the old man continued to thunder forth empty anathemas from his

ancestral castle at Perpignan. "Here," he exclaimed, "is the only true Church." He died in 1424; and the cardinals who still adhered to him went through the form of electing a successor, Clement VIII., who soon, however, gave way, and received in 1429 the bishopric of Majorca.

The three Popes having been thus disposed of, the cardinals in conclave elected Otho Colonna, who became Pope under the title of Martin V. in 1417. As ruler of the Church he showed himself cautious and slow to move. Sigismund bitterly said, "We urged that reform should precede the choice of a Pope; but you insisted on having the Pope first. Now, as you have a Pope, implore him to reform. Before he was chosen, I had some power—now I have none." But the utmost that such an appeal could effect was the appointment of committees to investigate various parts of the ecclesiastical system, and to suggest remedies for proved abuses; the Pope promising to convene another General Council in four years. So the Council at Constance broke up in 1418, with doubtful reforms still looming in the distance.

§ 2. THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE ON WYCLIF, HUSS, AND
JEROME.

But this great council lives in the memory of men, not so much for its deposition and election of popes, or for its half-hearted and ineffectual reforms, as for its dealings with the great teachers who had striven to arouse the Church to a worthier life. Thus, through the irony of events, the "Reformation-Council," as it was called, only succeeded in giving an example to all time of the bigotry and perfidy of the dominant ecclesiasticism. At the outset of its proceedings, the case of John Huss was taken in hand by Sigismund, who requested his brother, King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, to send the excommunicated reformer to Constance, under protection of a safe-conduct. Huss desired nothing better than the opportunity of appealing to a general council, and went to Constance under the escort of three

Bohemian knights, of whom the chief was his faithful adherent John of Chlum. He held also certificates of orthodoxy from King Wenceslaus, from the Archbishop of Prague, and from the papal inquisitor for the kingdom; arriving at Constance November *The Imperial* 1414. The Emperor had not yet reached the city, *safe-conduct.* but Huss had received the safe-conduct in October. The Pope (John XXIII.) received him with seeming cordiality, and is reported to have said, "If John Huss had slain my own brother, I would use all my power to protect him from harm, so long as he remained in Constance." With such assurances, Huss feared no evil, and even celebrated mass every day in his own house. But before the end of the month the Pope sent for him, and in the presence of a group of cardinals charged him with heresy on three points: (1) that it was necessary to receive the Eucharist in both kinds, (2) that the validity of the sacraments depended on the character of the priest, and (3) that the Church must be governed only by the elect and sanctified. At the end of the discussion, notwithstanding the indignant protests of John *Huss im-* of Chlum, who had accompanied him to the papal *prisoned.* lodgings, Huss was forcibly detained and cast into prison. Appeal was made to Sigismund, now on his way to the city. The Emperor was furious, and threatened to retire from the council altogether. Unhappily, however, he was talked over by the bishops, on the ground that no one had any right to give a safe-conduct to a heretic, and that therefore the promise to Huss was invalid. Huss remained in prison, and in the following spring, when the Pope, as we have seen, fled from Constance, was transferred to the custody of the Bishop of Constance, by whom he was kept in chains. During his imprisonment (May 4, 1415) the council set itself to consider the opinions of Wyclif, which it condemned under forty-five heads, pronouncing the memorable decree that Wyclif's body and bones, "if distinguished from the remains of the faithful, shall be taken from the ground and thrown far away from the burial of any church." It was not until thirteen years after-

Decree re-
garding
Wyclif.

wards that this stupid and malignant resolution was carried into effect by order of Pope Martin V. The remains of the reformer were disinterred and burned at Lutterworth, and the ashes cast into the adjoining stream ; so that, in the often-quoted words of Thomas Fuller, "the brook did convey his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

The matter of Wyclif having been settled, the case of Huss came on for hearing in June. His trial lasted three days. On the first, the reformer could not obtain a hearing through the *Trial of* clamour that prevailed ; but on the second (June 7) *Huss.* Sigismund presided, and, although with difficulty, maintained order. The heads of accusation were strangely diverse. Some of them were taken from the reformer's own avowals ; others were misinterpretations, wilful or ignorant, of what he had said ; others, again, were merely trivial. A great grievance was that he had imported into Bohemia the teachings of Wyclif—those *English* doctrines ! He had even expressed a wish that his soul might be with Wyclif's in the eternal world ! He had followed the doctrines of the Waldenses, which the Church had again and again condemned. The priesthood, also, he had disparaged, teaching that the Sacraments of the Church are vain when dispensed by the unworthy : "No man being in mortal sin," he had taught after Wyclif, "is qualified for any dignity, secular or sacred." "What, then, of the Emperor ?" exclaimed Sigismund, "for all of us are sinners." The payment of tithes, Huss had maintained, ought to be strictly voluntary, compulsion being contrary to the precepts of Christianity. In the Eucharist he had earnestly repudiated the denial of the cup to the laity—a point in his teaching that was especially offensive to the priesthood of his day. He was also accused of rejecting the invocation of saints, the doctrine of purgatory, prayers for the dead, and indulgences ; of immoderate invectives against monks, friars, and clergy, and of disloyalty to the Pope, maintaining that

he was on a level with other bishops—in fact, that all priests are equal.

It is remarkable that Huss was not charged with holding Wyclif's views regarding transubstantiation, although *Views of Huss on the Eucharist.* efforts were made to entangle him in the metaphysical controversy as to substance and accident in the Eucharist. The fact is, that Huss did hold a doctrine of the Real Presence, although avoiding definition; and it is probable that, at close quarters, he would have avowed an opinion nearly akin to the "consubstantiation" afterwards maintained by Luther. But the views above enumerated were sufficient for his condemnation, especially those relating to the character and claims of the clergy. It is remarkable that among *Gerson and Huss.* the most strenuous opponents of Huss was the reformer Gerson.

At the close of the three days' examination, Huss was remitted to prison, where he was visited by many members of the council, among others by emissaries of the Emperor, urging him to save his life by recantation. But he steadily refused, and after a month thus spent was brought up again (July 6) for final condemnation. On this occasion he *Condemnation of Huss.* *Sigismund's Blush.* said, with great dignity, that "he had come to Constance freely, in order to give an account of his faith, and under the protection of the imperial safe-conduct." As he spoke he looked at the Emperor, whose face became suffused with a vivid blush. That "blush of Sigismund" has become historical: a later Emperor, Charles V., remembered it when urged to break a similar pledge to Luther, and roughly replied, "We must keep our word."¹

¹ As the conditions of Sigismund's safe-conduct, so atrociously violated, have sometimes been questioned by Romanist advocates, its exact terms may here be given: "Honorabilem magistrum Joannem Huss, S. T. Baccalaureum, etc.—de regno Boemiæ in Concilium General. transeuntem. in nostram et sacri Imperii protectionem

recepimus et tutelam; et vobis omnibus, et vestrum cuilibet, pleno commendamus affectu, desiderantes quatenus ipsum, cum ad vos pervenerit, grate suscipere, omnique prorsus impedimento remoto, transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis, sibi et suis, cum opus fuerit, de securo et salvo velit et debeatis pro-

The sentence now pronounced contained, as its most significant item, the charge "that John Huss has appealed to Jesus Christ as Sovereign Judge, to the contempt of the ordinary judges of the Church, and that such an appeal was injurious, scandalous, and made in derision of ecclesiastical authority." These words let us into the real secret of his condemnation. It was not so much for any presumed theological errors as for his rejection of ecclesiastical claims. He was deposed from his orders with the customary formalities, half grotesque, half horrible. Falling on *Huss' Mar-* his knees, he prayed for his enemies, amid the mock-
tyrdom. ing laughter of several in the council. Then, in the cant phrase of ecclesiastical persecutors, he was "handed over to the secular arm," and Sigismund himself commanded his immediate execution. The martyr faced the torments of the stake with firmness and dignity.¹ He died calling upon Christ. When all was over, his ashes were collected, and cast into the Lake of Constance, "that the earth might not be polluted by receiving his remains."

But ecclesiastical rancour claimed yet another victim. Jerome *Jerome of* of Prague, the disciple and friend of Huss, was a lay-
Prague. man, master of theology in the University of that city, a man of distinguished learning and eloquence. Summoned to Constance, he appeared before the council on May 23,² but was remanded until July 19, the burning of Huss having taken place only thirteen days before. Appalled by that cruel scene, he hesitated; and on his third hearing, September 11, gave in a

videre conducti ad honorem et reverentiam nostræ Majestatis." Nothing could be more explicit. The freedom of journeying both ways, and of unfettered residence in the city, is guaranteed in the plainest language.

¹ Some traditions of the scene have been preserved. On the martyr's way to execution he saw a pile of his books burning, and smiled to think how the truth that was in them would

survive the perishable records. When bound to the stake, he observed a bystander (some accounts say a peasant, others, an aged woman) eagerly casting a faggot on the pile. Huss on this remarked, "*O sancta simplicitas*"—"O holy simplicity!"

² He too had a safe-conduct from the Emperor, but it differed from that given to Huss, by the insertion of the proviso, *salva semper justitia*,

formal recantation. He anathematized all heresies, and especially that of Wyclif and Huss, with which he had been previously *Recantation.* infected: he assented to the articles which expressed it as "blasphemous, erroneous, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, rash and seditious," and professed his absolute adhesion to all the tenets of the Roman Church.

But the council was dissatisfied. Jerome was kept in prison, and the Chancellor Gerson wrote an essay on the suspiciousness of such "protestations and revocations." Fresh charges were formulated against him. His courage rose amid the meditations of the winter; on May 23, 1416, having entreated a *Renewed firmness and martyrdom.* hearing from the council, he retracted his former admissions. A week afterwards he was condemned and burned. He suffered with heroic constancy. Poggio, a Florentine writer of the Renaissance, who cared nothing or little for the religious questions involved, remarks that "Socrates drank the poison with less firmness and spontaneousness than Jerome presented his body to the torture of the stake."

The council, after these exciting scenes, was now at leisure to continue its work of Church reform. Amongst its other acts, it definitely decreed the restriction of the Cup in Holy *End of the Council, May 16, 1418.* Communion to the celebrant, as against the teachings of Huss and Jerome. This was afterwards reaffirmed at Basle. As we have seen, this council broke up about two years after the death of Jerome, with the new Pope to regulate affairs in his own deliberate way, and the prospect of another council to complete the task which had been so inauspiciously begun. It is observable that, three years after the Constance gathering, Pope Martin issued a Bull distinctly forbidding faith to be kept with heretics.¹

¹ Bull issued to the Duke of Lithuania, 1421. The words are: "Quod si tu, aliquo modo inductus, defensionem eorum suscipere promisisti; scito te dare fidem hæreticis, violatoribus Fidei Sanctæ, non potuisse, et idcirco

peccare mortaliter, si servabis quia fideli ad infidelem non potest ulla communio" (quoted by Dean Waddington from Cochlæus (1479-1552), a passionate adherent of the Papacy and enemy of the Reformation).

§ 3. HUSSITE WAR IN BOHEMIA.

The council, which Pope Martin had promised in five years' time, was opened at Pavia in 1423, but it was soon apparent that there was no intention of real work; it was transferred to Sienna, and dissolved after the transaction of some unimportant business under the presidency of a papal legate; but after thirteen years, in the very year of the Pope's death (1431), its first place of meeting was Basle. Before entering upon its history, it is necessary to refer to affairs in Bohemia after the death of Huss and Jerome.

The Hussites were now a large and important body, and the proceedings at Constance had naturally excited the most furious indignation. The atrocious violation of the imperial safe-conduct had made the enmity on both sides irreconcilable, and the most deplorable consequences ensued. The movement of the Hussites was prefaced by a great demonstration. The critical question selected by them was that of the administration of the Cup to the laity. Many thousands of them went out from Prague and other parts of Bohemia under Nicolaſ of Hussinetz, as political chief and adviser, and John of Trocznow, surnamed Ziska, as military leader, to a high tableland about fifty miles south of Prague, to which they gave the name of Tabor—it is said from the tents or "tabernacles" erected by them on the spot. They afterwards built a town and fortress on the hill. At Tabor they celebrated in the open air a great Communion on "Mount Tabor," July 22, 1419. Service at three hundred tables bare of covering, after a day spent in preaching to congregations of men and of women with children apart, the officiating ministers, among whom the principal was Jacobellus, an intimate associate of Huss, wearing no distinctive vestments; and the cups (of which all of course partook) being of wood, as well as the platters.¹

¹ See Gieseler (ch. v. 151, and p. 129 note) for a vivid and impressive description of the scene. Forty-two thousand persons—men, women, and children—are said to have communicated.

After this was a love-feast, in which all the communicants, richer or poorer, shared alike. It was, as be seemed the occasion, a sober festivity; no drinking or dancing, gaming or music, being allowed. The whole was closed with a great procession, singing joyous psalms. We seem to be reading the description of a Covenanters' Communion in the Scotland of later days. From their place of meeting, the community received the name of Taborites; while the fact of their receiving the communion in both kinds (sub utrâque specie) led to their being called Utraquists; and, as partakers of the chalice (calix), they received the name of Calixtines. These several names, however, too soon became the designations of opposing parties among the Hussites.

It would have been well had this great Communion Service remained the chief manifestation of their opposition to the prevalent ecclesiasticism, or even had they been content to stand on the defensive. But they knew that they had embarked on a life-and-death struggle. Already they had an earnest of what they might expect, in the mission to Bohemia of the papal legate, Cardinal John of Ragusa, immediately after the Council of Constance. The cardinal had begun his work by burning a priest and layman who opposed him. The hunted animal will turn upon its pursuers, and if the Hussites appear foremost in aggression, the worst that can be said against them is that they would not wait to be destroyed. The fact, however regrettable, is that they marched from their hilltop on Tabor after those days of earnest devotion into fields of strife. They entered Prague, attacked and plundered convents, proceeded to the town hall, where the affrighted magistrates had assembled, and put them to flight, throwing from the windows those who hesitated. King Wenceslaus, terror-stricken, was seized with apoplexy, and died in a few days. This brought fresh complications. Wenceslaus had been always inclined to tolerate the Hussites; in fact, as an easy-tempered voluptuary, he was indifferent to religious questions; and his queen

*Riotous
proceedings
in Prague.*

had favoured Huss, her spiritual director. But his successor by inheritance was his brother, the hated Emperor Sigismund. His treachery to Huss could never be forgotten, and his accession was

Civil War: the signal for fresh and more violent outbreaks. A *Ziska.* civil war ensued, conducted on both sides with a ferocity seldom equalled even in such conflicts. John of Ziska developed consummate qualities as a general, and, it is said, never lost a battle. In the second year of the war he became totally blind,¹ yet he directed the operations of his army with a skill which seemed to his enemies magical, and with a ruthlessness which stains his memory. Sigismund in vain hurled his forces against the irresistible Taborites. But Ziska died in 1424, from an attack of pestilence, leaving the conduct of the war to the two Procopii, the Great and the Little.

Meanwhile the Hussites had separated into two well-defined parties, not counting the fanatic sects which sprang *Divisions among the Hussites.* up on the outskirts of the great popular movement. The Utraquists, or Calixtines, on the one side, declared that they would be satisfied by the concession of four points—(1) Communion under both kinds; (2) permission to preach in the vernacular; (3) strict discipline among the clergy; and (4) renunciation by the clergy of secular lordship and temporalities.

The Taborites, however, insisted upon more rigid terms, demanding among other things the confiscation of Church property for the common benefit, the establishment of the Divine law as the only rule of government and justice, the destruction of altars, images, rich vestments, church plate, “and the whole idolatrous plantation of Antichrist.” In the debates that ensued, a prominent part was taken by an Englishman, *Peter Payne.* Peter Payne, who, with strong Taborite proclivities, endeavoured to mediate between the two parties.² Sigismund himself

¹ He was one-eyed at first (as his name is thought by some to signify), and he lost the sight of the remaining eye by a splinter which had been knocked off a tree by a cannon-ball.

² See *A Forgotten Great Englishman*, by James Baker, R. T. S.

appears not to have been disinclined to concessions; but the war continued, both sections of the Hussites being for a time united against the common enemy. In 1426 a great defeat *Hussite victory.* was sustained at Anseig by the German forces which had been levied against them.¹ The next year, at the counsel of the papal legate Cardinal Beaufort, despatched from England to aid the Romanist cause, four armies, amounting to 200,000 men, were raised against the Hussites. "The latter were able to bring only 15,000 cavalry and 16,000 foot into the field, but in advancing to the contest at Mies the hosts of Sigismund and the cardinal were seized with unaccountable panic and fled—Beaufort himself being carried away by the multitude. In this flight the Germans lost 10,000 men.

It was no wonder that negotiations followed with the weary and depressed Emperor. But the terms were regarded as inadmissible. The cardinal legate was withdrawn, to take part in the transactions in France which followed the appearance of Joan of Arc. Discussions between the two Hussite parties continued, the Taborites and Calixtines being further troubled by the appearance of a third uncompromising section calling themselves the "Orphans," as having been bereaved of their leader John Ziska. Matters were in this undetermined state, when the death of Pope Martin in 1431, and the summoning of the General Council at Basle, put a new face on the proceedings.

§ 4. COUNCIL AT BASLE, 1431.

Great things were hoped from the Council of Basle. The Bohemian question was to be settled, not without *Questions for the Council.* concession on the papal side; for it was by this time clear that the followers of Huss were not to be suppressed by

¹ It is said that in this battle of Anseig the enemy lost from 9000 to 15,000 men, the Bohemians only 50! "After the defeats sustained, the generals of Sigismund suspected that there was something in the Hussite system which led to their superiority.

They therefore copied the plans of the Hussites so far as to prohibit drunkenness, gaming, and other forms of loose living in the camp, binding down the soldiers to strictness of life. The experiment failed, as might have been expected."

force. The Church was to be restored to unity by the reconciliation of the Roman and Greek communions. The reformation of the clergy—a phrase as ambiguous as it was comprehensive—was again to be taken in hand; and there was the perpetual dream of a new crusade against the Mohammedans. But the council on which these grave issues depended was very slow in assembling. Formally it was opened in July, but the appointed president, the Cardinal Cesarini, did not make his appearance until September, when he had hard work to rally the members. Meanwhile the independent spirit displayed by those who had assembled seems to have alarmed Pope Eugenius, and he wrote to Cesarini to urge an adjournment to the Italian side, promising that after an interval of eighteen months the council should reassemble at Bologna. Accordingly he issued a bull dissolving the Basle assembly; Cesarini replied by a letter of caustic protest, and the council, disregarding the papal mandate, began business in December. The Pope, by Sigismund's advice, was summoned to attend, but he replied that they were a synagogue of Satan, and sent them his hearty and harmless curse. The council had declared itself, as at Constance, the supreme authority, and, in the course of its lengthened and interrupted conferences, adopted some useful measures. Of these the chief related to the Bohemian uprising. Assuredly the most picturesque and impressive part of the Basle proceedings was when, on a January day (1433), a deputation of fifteen grave, rugged Puritanic personages entered the little city, and to the honour of the assembly were courteously received and invited to state their case. Fifty days were spent in discussions between the Hussites and the council. There was strong speaking, but no quarrel; long correspondence followed, in the course of which a deputation from the council visited Prague, but reported that the Bohemians so differed among themselves as to shut out any hope of a harmonious settlement. It was November before the council could come to any decision; but at last a compromise was effected on the following terms:—

(1) Communion in both kinds permitted to those who desired it, but the clergy to explain that the presence of Christ was complete in either. (2) The clergy alone to have *compromise.* authority over crimes committed by clerical persons. (3) Preachers required to have authority from bishops and deans. (4) Individual clerics might possess property and the Church might hold temporalities, on condition that the possessions were faithfully administered. The Bohemians in general accepted this *concordat* as the way out of harassing controversy; a large party of Taborites and Orphans, however, dissented, and rallied for *Hussites* another fight, but were decisively defeated at the *defeated,* battle of Lepan (May 30, 1434), when the Procopii *May 30,* both fell, and the questions which had caused the *1434.* protracted and melancholy strife were practically settled.

Among the decisions of this long and distracted council was the superiority of a General Council to the Pope, a stern limitation of compulsory tribute heretofore claimed by the Papacy, and in general, a series of protests against papal encroachments afterwards embodied, so far as regarded France, in the celebrated "Pragmatic Sanction" of Bourges, 1438, in which King Charles VII., with the prelates and nobles of the kingdom, declared the Gallican Church to be, in many important matters, virtually independent of the papal see. Strong measures were also adopted by the council against the immorality of the clergy. The Emperor *Question of* Sigismund himself caused the question of clerical *clerical* celibacy to be raised, the mischiefs and scandals of the system being forcibly presented to the council; but the violent opposition of the monks prevented any reform. Before the close of the proceedings, the president Cesarini resigned, in hopelessness of being enabled to carry any substantial reforms; and Cardinal D'Allemand, chosen in his place (1438), found himself unable to control the turbulence of the assembly.

Before the dissolution of the council, a resolution was adopted to depose the Pope (1439); and Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was chosen with the title of Felix V. Amadeus was installed with

great pomp, but little came of the election, except the doubtful honour of being the last of the anti-popes. The two *Rival Popes* *once more.* pontiffs continued to anathematize each other, but the rivalry excited little interest, and Eugenius maintained his position until his death in 1447, when he was succeeded by Nicolas V., one of the most accomplished and moderate of the popes, remembered especially for the founding of the great Vatican Library. Felix resigned his dubious dignity in 1449.

The last sitting of the Basle Council was in June 1443, nearly twelve years from its commencement. Its leading spirit during its later period was Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, the most learned man of his time, who had been a great opponent of papal *Æneas* *Silvius Pope.* usurpations until he himself became Pope in 1458, under the title of Pius II. (doubtless with some reminiscence of Virgil's pious Æneas). As Pope, there was not a more strenuous asserter of his prerogatives than this professed reformer of earlier days.¹

§ 5. RIVAL ASSEMBLY: FERRARA AND FLORENCE.

While the council was sitting at Basle, a rival assembly of Italian ecclesiastics had been convened at Ferrara, February 1438, and transferred to Florence the year afterwards. The importance of this assembly arose entirely from the opportunity taken by Pope Eugenius to invite the representatives of the Greek Church once more to a conference with a view to union. The preliminaries were sufficiently imposing. Not only the Greek Patriarch, Joseph, but the Greek Emperor, John VII. Palæologus, came from Constantinople with a great train of bishops, priests, and nobles. There was a skirmish at the outset between Pope and Patriarch. Joseph would not kiss the foot of Eugenius, nor would he take a seat below him among the cardinals. But these matters having been satisfactorily adjusted, the discussion began amicably on both sides,

¹ For a remarkable estimate of this see a sketch by Bishop Creighton in *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 1902. clever, cultivated, unscrupulous prelate,

first at Ferrara, afterwards at Florence. The points in debate

The Union were limited to four. (1) The Procession of the *question re-* Holy Spirit: the *Filioque*; (2) Purgatory, whether *opened.* its pains were wholly spiritual (Greek), or partly material (Latin); (3) the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist; and (4) the supremacy of the Pope. The conclusions eventually reached were somewhat of a compromise. As to (1), the Greeks explained that in speaking of the Spirit as proceeding from the Father, it was not intended to exclude the agency of the Son, but only to guard against the idea that the Spirit proceeded from two principles, which the Latins also repudiated. The Greeks admitted the formula, "through (διά) the Son," the Latins preferred to say "from (ἐκ) the Son," and the two, it was con-
Theological cluded, really meant the same thing. (2) As to *compromise.* Purgatory, souls that departed this life with sins unforgiven would be purified by "purgatorial fires"—the nature of these fires being left an open question. (3) The Communion might be celebrated with leavened or unleavened bread, according to the custom of each Church. (4) The Pope is recognized as Sovereign Pontiff, Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ, Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians, and Ruler of the Church of God, "saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East."¹

These conclusions having been formulated and accepted on both sides, a solemn service was held in the Cathedral of Florence to celebrate the union between the Churches (July 6, 1439). The Patriarch had suddenly died some weeks before. The Pope presided, the Eastern Emperor attended in state, and the Greek bishops assisted in their splendid vestments; the Creed was sung with the *Filioque*; and there was enthusiastic mutual congratulation that the schism of centuries was past.

Unfortunately, the envoys from Constantinople had reckoned without their constituency. Instead of a welcome, they were received, on their return, with indignant repudiation. The

¹ Compare the somewhat more abstractly-worded solution reached at Lyons in 1274. (See p. 516.)

Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, with the whole Church in Russia, declared against the compromise ;
The compromise rejected. the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes, who had assented to it, was compelled to abdicate ; and the scheme vanished into empty air. One of the consequences of this great disappointment was that the promises of the Italians to support the Greek Empire against the threatening Turkish power came to nothing ; Constantinople, left comparatively defenceless, was captured by the Mohammedan forces in 1453, and the Eastern Empire came to an end. The catastrophe was tremendous ; but in the dispersion throughout Europe of Greek scholars, and of the great libraries of Constantinople, it was overruled for the dissemination of literature and the advancement of civilization.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIVIDUAL PRECURSORS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE distinguished succession of Reformers before the Reformation continued through the fifteenth century, and it is only as we study their history that we understand the extent and earnestness of the popular response to Luther's appeal a hundred years afterwards. As before, the testimony was in part direct; the declaration of evangelical truth, however mingled with professions of adherence to Church doctrines, being accompanied by bold denunciation of prevailing abuses. This has already been illustrated in the case of Huss and the Bohemians. But other important influences were indirect. The great principles of the spiritual life were so affirmed as to strike at the very roots of religious formalism and priestly claims. It is true that the teachers who thus endeavoured to bring the soul into immediate communion with God were often unaware of the tendency of their own doctrines. They thought to fit their larger, grander views of truth and duty into customary channels, unconscious that they were evoking spiritual forces that would soon burst every barrier. Protestantism, in its deepest meaning, was already begun, even where the Papacy seemed to have its most ardent devotees.

*Influences,
direct and
indirect.*

§ I. BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Few contributions of any note were made during the greater part of the fifteenth century to the exposition of Scripture or to the development of a truly Biblical theology. The old traditions, old methods of interpretation, still held sway. Perhaps the only

name worthy of mention is that of the Roman Laurentius *Laurentius* Valla, a great philologist, and chief restorer of Latin *Valla,* learning. He also wrote voluminous *Annotations on* *d. 1457.* *the (Vulgate) New Testament.* He was a keen critic of ecclesiastical legend and assumption. His exposure of the pretended Donation of Constantine, and of the forged decretals, was masterly and conclusive.

He also showed the apocryphal character of the alleged correspondence between our Lord and King Abgarus, and of the composition of the Apostles' Creed by the Twelve in turn. Valla's treatises on these subjects, written at Naples, whither he had secretly withdrawn from Rome for greater safety, brought him within the grasp of the Inquisition, and he narrowly escaped burning; but afterwards Nicolas V., most literary and enlightened of the popes, befriended him and made him his secretary. His *Annotations* were much esteemed by Erasmus, who edited them in 1505.

The great names of Reuchlin (1454—1522) and of Erasmus (1467—1536) belong to a subsequent period, when the exposition of the New Testament was for the first time based upon the *Reuchlin* Greek text; while that of the Old, by Reuchlin *and* especially, the true successor of Nicolas de Lyra,¹ *Erasmus.* was derived from the Hebrew original. The anonymous *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, one of the most brilliant and telling satires of any age, was suggested by Reuchlin's criticism of the Cologne priests and doctors. But it is in the German Reformation of the sixteenth century that the results of such work were fully seen. The movements towards a higher truth and life which characterized the preliminary period were chiefly in the direction of a revived mysticism.

§ 2. BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE: "THE IMITATIO CHRISTI."

The "Society of Brethren of the Common Life," formed by Gerhard Groot of Deventer in Holland about the middle of the

¹ See p. 547.

fourteenth century, was one of those communities which, for swearing monasticism, made it their aim to seek perfection by imitating Christ. The Society became famous mainly for two things: first, for raising the question, submitted by it to the Council of Constance, "whether the duties of obedience, poverty, and chastity could be fulfilled worthily and acceptably to God by any but regular monks and nuns? The committee of theologians to whom the question was referred decided that "laymen were as able without vows to strive after perfection as any monks were." So distinct a check to monastic assumption was at that time very significant.

But the fact which, more than any other, has immortalized the Society of Gerhard Groot was, that one of its members was Thomas Hammerlein of Kempen in the Duchy of Cleves, commonly known as Thomas à Kempis, the reputed author of the *Imitatio Christi*, a devotional treatise which has been translated into more languages and has attained a larger circulation than any other human composition. In modern times the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan supplies the nearest parallel. The *Imitatio*, writes Canon Robertson, "is strongly mystical, yet no less practical—setting forth religious practice as the way to insight into Divine things. It is full of wise guidance for the soul in the ways of humility, purity, and self-renunciation." And yet, as the Canon admits, "the religion which it inculcates is too exclusively directed towards the perfecting of the individual in himself, too little solicitous for his relations with the brotherhood of mankind." The criticism of Dean Milman on these points is so valuable and suggestive that it may be inserted here.

"Never was misnomer so glaring, if justly considered, as the title of the book, *The Imitation of Christ*. That which distinguishes Christ, that which distinguishes Christ's Apostles, that which distinguishes Christ's religion—the Love of Man—is entirely and absolutely left out. Had this been the whole of Christianity, our Lord Himself (with

Dean
Milman on
the "*Imitatio
Christi*."

reverence be it said) had lived, like an Essene, working out or displaying His own sinless perfection by the Dead Sea : neither on the Mount, nor in the Temple, nor even on the Cross. The Apostles had dwelt entirely on the internal emotions of their own souls, each by himself—St. Peter still by the Lake of Gennesaret, St. Paul in the desert of Arabia, St. John in Patmos. Christianity had been without any exquisite precept for the purity, the happiness, of social or domestic life ; without self-sacrifice for the good of others ; without the higher Christian patriotism, devotion on evangelical principles to the public weal ; without even the devotion of the missionary for the dissemination of Gospel truth ; without the humbler and gentler self-sacrifice for relatives, for the wife, the parent, the child. Christianity had never soared to be the civilizer of the world. 'Let the world perish, so the single soul can escape on its solitary plank from the general wreck'—such had been its final axiom. The *Imitation of Christ* begins in self, terminates in self. The simple exemplary sentence, 'He went about doing good,' is wanting in the monastic gospel of this pious zealot. Of feeding the hungry, of clothing the naked, of visiting the prisoner, even of preaching, there is profound, total silence. The world is dead to the votary of the *Imitation*, and he is dead to the world, dead in a sense absolutely repudiated by the first vital principles of the Christian faith. Christianity, to be herself again, must not merely shake off indignantly the barbarism, the vices, but even the virtues of the Mediæval, of Monastic, of Latin Christianity."¹

§ 3. MYSTICAL TEACHERS.

Among mystical theologians the Chancellor Gerson, whom we have already seen at the Council of Constance, has often been classed. In fact, the *Imitatio* was credited to him in an uncritical age. His conduct towards Huss was that of an intolerant dogmatist, but he possessed other traits of character, and especially deserves the credit of seeking to

*Gerson,
problem of
his char-
acter.*

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, Book XIV. ch. iii.

place the principles of intuitive religion upon a sound intellectual basis. His contemporaries termed him *Doctor Christianissimus*, fascinated by his thought of the "Universal Church without error, schism, or sin"—essentially different from the existing Church of Rome. Gerson was not the only thinker who has presented a different aspect when dwelling in the realms of the ideal, and when confronted with the rough reality. Nor was he the first nor the last to be at once mystic and persecutor. As it was, while his theories would have found an echo among the "Brethren of the Common Life," he lived and died among his fellow churchmen in the odour of sanctity, although, for reasons unconnected with his religious opinions, he remained during his later life a voluntary exile from Paris.

It is only with a certain latitude that the name of Girolamo *Savonarola*. Savonarola, the great Florentine Dominican preacher, can be included among the mystics. He appears before us chiefly as an enthusiastic moral reformer; yet he sustained his earlier appeals by reputed visions of angels, and blended apocalyptic prophecies of judgment with his calls to repentance. His outspoken descriptions of priestly vice and monastic corruption could not but arouse enmity. The Franciscans especially were exasperated by the popularity of the eloquent Dominican, as well as by his influence in reforming his own monastery of St. Mark. His enmity to the Medicean ruling family, with its refined paganism, aroused against him the virulence of aristocratic hatred. On the other hand, the multitudes crowded around him; the very boys and girls of the city became his helpers and eager missionaries. A huge bonfire of costly ornaments, meretricious pictures, and other gay superfluities attested the enthusiasm of renunciation.¹ The whole city was stirred. Savonarola was tempted in vain to try the ordeal by fire. Rome fulminated against him; at last he was seized by the authorities, and without any charge of heresy brought against him, he was condemned,

¹ The description of these proceedings by George Eliot in *Romola* is as historically correct as it is brilliant (Book iii. ch. 8).

strangled, and burned. Luther, not unjustly, regarded him as a pioneer of the Reformation.

A true precursor of the Reformation was John Wessel, a pupil of Thomas à Kempis, and Professor of Philosophy at Cologne, Paris, and Basle. He endeavoured, more successfully than others of the same school, to place the conclusions of mystic religionists upon solid foundations of reason and Scripture. The dictates of Christian love, he taught, coincide with the conclusions of theological science. The papal supremacy he rejected, with the whole doctrine of indulgences; and in his view of justification, as well as of penance and purgatory, even of the Eucharist, he virtually anticipated Luther.¹ Expelled from the University of Paris on account of his teachings, he found a refuge in his native Groningen; and being protected by the Archbishop of Utrecht, he escaped the Inquisition, and died in peace. Wessel was termed by his admiring disciples a "Light of the World" (*Lux Mundi*).

John Wessel is sometimes confounded with a very different but equally liberal and devout thinker, Dr. John Burchard, of Wesel, generally called Wesel or Wesalia from his birthplace, who, with less learning and eloquence than Wessel, preached at Erfurt and Worms against indulgences, pilgrimages, and fasts, pointing to Scripture as the only source of faith. He was indicted at Mayence in his old age as a follower of Huss, and compelled to recant;² his books were burned, and he closed his life in prison.

Turning to the Eastern Church, we find a much earlier school of mystics among the monks of Mount Athos, who taught that Christians may attain, through meditation and prayer, to a state of tranquillity untroubled by earthly excite-

¹ See Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*; also the extracts from Wessel given by Gieseler, v. 153. On the Eucharist Wessel says, in reversal of the generally-accepted doctrine of his day, "Those who 'eat the flesh'

of Christ are those who believe in Him."

² One thing alleged against him was his having said that if Peter instituted fasting, it was only to get a better market for his fish!

ments, doubt, or fear, and that in the possession of this rest they may, in some literal way, see God Himself, as the disciples beheld the glory in the Transfiguration. From a Greek word signifying *rest*, these mystics were termed Hesychiasts¹ or Quietists. Their great antagonist was Barlaam, a monk of the order of St. Basil; and a controversy arose on the nature of that light upon Mount Tabor. Certain councils at Constantinople, about the middle of the fourteenth century, favoured the Quietists, where-
Barlaam,
Anti-mystic,
d. c. 1348.
 upon Barlaam seceded from the Eastern Church, of which he had hitherto been a staunch defender against the Western, and joined the Latin community, becoming bishop of a town in Calabria. The Quietists had many literary supporters, the most famous of whom was Nicolas Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica (c. 1350).

§ 4. REVIVAL OF LITERATURE: INVENTION OF PRINTING.

The revival of literature in the fifteenth century, associated with such names as those of Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, and
Invention of
Printing,
c. 1440.
 Chaucer, had a large if indirect effect on the religion of the era. But the crowning event was the invention of printing from movable types by Gutenberg of Mayence. The first complete printed book was the Latin Bible, produced by Gutenberg with his associate Schoeffer in 1455. The art rapidly spread, and before the close of the century the Hebrew Scriptures were printed at Soncino in Lombardy, some years afterwards in Venice. The Greek Testament of Erasmus first appeared in 1516, and that in the Complutensian Polyglot edited by Cardinal Ximenes in 1522.² But the record of these
Vernacular
translations
of the
Scriptures.
 works and their influence belongs to a subsequent period of the history. In Germany, France, Italy, and Bohemia, vernacular translations of the Scriptures

¹ Sometimes *Omphalopsychic* or *Umbilicani*, from their alleged habit of gazing at the pit of their own stomachs when engaged in heavenly contemplation.

² This was really finished before the edition of Erasmus, but the delay of papal authorization prevented its issue for some years.

were printed before the close of the fifteenth century, derived, of course, from the Latin Vulgate. Wyclif's great English version remained in manuscript for many years, although copies were multiplied.

It was inevitable that with the extension of the art of printing there should arise the attempt to control the Press by censorship. As early as 1486 the alarmed Archbishop of Mayence forbade the printing and sale of books without a licence; and he especially complained of the publication of Church formularies in German. He was a wise man in his generation, well foreseeing this new power given to mankind would, unless sternly restricted, prove fatal to ecclesiastical assumptions.¹

§ 5. BIRTH OF LUTHER: CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Martin Luther was born in 1483. The years that intervened between this date and the close of the fifteenth century contained in them the seeds of great events. The world was on the *The world's* eve of changes that would affect all future history. *changes.* Voices innumerable seemed to echo the Divine declaration, "Behold, I make all things new!"

Luther was nine years old when Christopher Columbus discovered America; and six years afterwards Vasco de Gama made his way round the Cape of Good Hope to India. Of these *Discoveries.* transcendent achievements, Spain and Portugal first received the profit, as well as the renown; and the greatness of Spain was still further enhanced by the expulsion of the Saracens from the country, under Ferdinand and Isabella, almost contemporaneously with the enterprise of Columbus. But the canker was already at the root of Spanish greatness; for in the very year of Luther's birth the callous fanatic Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-General of Castile and Aragon.

Ecclesiastically, the atmosphere was full of portents. In 1492 *Persecutions.* the Spanish Cardinal Roderick Borgia (Alexander VI.) was raised to the papal chair, and to the horrified observers of

¹ It was Pope Paul IV. who originated the *Index Expurgatorius* in 1559.

his career it appeared that Antichrist was at length revealed. Six years afterwards Savonarola was burned at Florence.

Among the notable personages who first saw the light during these eventful years were Zwingli (1484) and Philip *Births of* Melanchthon (1497); while in the eighth year of *great men.* Luther's life was born the one man destined more than any other to counteract his work, the Spanish Don Inigo de Loyola. Nor is it without some bearing on the religious life of the world that we note the birth-years of great artists—Raffaelle was born in the same year with Luther, Andrea del Sarto in 1488, and Benvenuto Cellini in 1500.

Thus was heralded the dawn of a momentous age. In the first year of the new century, the youthful Martin Luther entered the University of Erfurt, and the great experiences of his life began.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

PART I. TO THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

A.D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.	EVENTS, PERSONAGES; NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS.	PAGE
30	Tiberius (16th year).	Pontius Pilate (4th year).	Pentecost, May 26. "Birthday of the Church."	5
38			(or 35). Martyrdom of STEPHEN. Conversion of SAUL. <i>The chronology of these early years is uncertain. Some critics place Stephen's martyrdom and Saul's conversion 2 years earlier.</i>	11
37	Caligula.		First visit of Paul to Jerusalem.	13
38			<i>For chronology of his life, see pp. 13, 14.</i>	
41	Claudius.		HEROD AGRIPPA I., King of Judæa and Samaria.	15
43			CORNELIUS and his household embrace Christianity.	10
44		Cuspius Fadus.	Paul, after long retirement, brought by BARNABAS to Antioch. Martyrdom of JAMES, son of Zebedee.	14 15
46		Tiberius Alexander.	Imprisonment and deliverance of PETER. Death of Herod Agrippa, at Cæsarea.	15 16
47			Famine: Mission of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem.	
48		Ventidius Cumanus.	Paul's First Missionary Journey, with Barnabas.	13
49			Council at Jerusalem on the Gentile Question.	15

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.	EVENTS, PERSONAGES; NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS.	PAGE
49			Paul's Second Missionary Journey, with SILAS, to 53 (<i>Epistles to the Thessalonians</i> , from Corinth, 52, 53).	13
50			AGRIPPA II., King.	
51		Felix	Expulsion of Jews from Rome.	
53			Paul at Jerusalem and Antioch (? <i>Epistle to the Galatians</i>).	
54	Nero.		Paul's Third Missionary Journey (1 <i>Corinthians</i> from Ephesus, 55; 2 <i>Corinthians</i> from Macedonia, 56; <i>Romans</i> from Corinth, 56)	13
56			Paul in Jerusalem: arrested in the Temple: sent to Cæsarea.	17
58		Porcius Festus.		
59			Paul sails for Rome: Shipwreck off Malta.	16
61			Paul reaches Rome in the spring.	13
61			<i>Acts of the Apostles</i> ends.	17
61			Epistles from Rome; to the <i>Colossians</i> and <i>Philemon</i> ; the " <i>Ephesians</i> " probably a circular letter; the <i>Philippians</i> .	
63		Albinus.	Paul tried and acquitted	17
63			<i>Epistle of JAMES</i> "the Lord's Brother" from Jerusalem.	18n
63			Paul's journeys to Macedonia, Asia Minor, Spain (?) (1 <i>Timothy</i> , <i>Titus</i>).	17
63			<i>Epistle to the Hebrews</i> (anonymous)?	
64		Gessius Florus.	Fire of Rome. Outbreak of Persecution.	
64			<i>First Epistle of PETER</i> .	
64			Martyrdom of James, at Jerusalem.	18
65			Paul at Nicopolis; arrested and sent to Rome (2 <i>Timothy</i>).	18

A.D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	PROCURATORS OF JUDÆA.	EVENTS, PERSONAGES; NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS.	PAGE
68			Paul's Second Trial at Rome, and martyrdom. Peter's martyrdom at Rome.	18
68	Galba.			
69	Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.		<i>Apocalypse</i> of JOHN (?). (See A.D. 96.)	19
70			Destruction of Jerusalem. <i>The composition of the Synoptic Gospels most probably belongs to the preceding decade, Mark being the first.</i>	21
79	Titus.			
81	Domitian.			
90			<i>Apocalypse</i> of John, from Patmos (?). See 68. <i>Gospel and Epistles of John from Ephesus.</i>	20 40
96	Nerva.			
97			<i>First Epistle of CLEMENT</i> (?).	41
98	Trajan.			
100			Death of JOSEPHUS, Jewish Historian. c Death of the Apostle John.	16

* * *Traditional Dates of Roman Bishops*: LINUS, 67; ANENCLETUS, 68; CLEMENT, 91 or 93.

PART II. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND CENTURY
TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE.

A. D.	EMPERORS.	BISHOPS OF ROME.	CHIEF PERSONAGES AND EVENTS.	PAGE
101	Trajan, 3rd year.	Evaristus.	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i> (?)	114
103			The "Third Persecution": to 117.	65
107		Alexander I.	SYMEON, B. of Jerusalem, martyred.	57
			<i>Epistles</i> of IGNATIUS: his martyrdom (or 116).	119
110			Persecution in Bithynia.	
111			Correspondence between PLINY and TRAJAN.	65
117	Hadrian.			57
119		Sixtus (Xystus) I.		
120			<i>Teaching of the Twelve Apostles</i> (Didaché), <i>cir.</i>	41
			BASILIDES of Egypt, Gnostic.	173
			SATURNINUS of Antioch, Gnostic.	172
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128		Telesphorus.		
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			PAPIAS, B. of Hierapolis: his <i>Oracles of the Lord</i> (<i>d. c.</i> 109).	137
132			Insurrection of BAR-COCHAB.	57
			<i>c.</i> CARPOCRATES, Gnostic.	174
135			Jerusalem rebuilt (<i>Aelia Capitolina</i>) and a Gentile (Marcus) made bishop of the city.	53
138	Antoninus Pius.	Hyginus.	Persecution recommenced.	70
140			The (so-called) <i>Second Epistle of Clement</i> .	117
			<i>c.</i> <i>Apology of Aristo</i> .	104
			<i>First Apology</i> of JUSTIN MARTYR.	101, 147
142		Pius I.	VALENTINUS of Egypt, Gnostic: teacher in Rome.	174

A. D.	EMPERORS.	BISHOPS OF ROME.	CHIEF PERSONAGES AND EVENTS.	PAGE
145			c. The <i>Shepherd</i> of HERMAS.	123
150			Gnosticism at its height.	171
			MONTANUS of Phrygia, mystic.	177
			Synods against Montanism (to 170).	177
154			<i>Epistle to Diognetus</i> .	106
			Martyrdom of POLYCARP (according to some), see 167.	71
155			Spread of Montanism.	177
158		Anicetus.		
157			The <i>Pseudo-Clementines</i> (or later).	117
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¹ The name is, of course, the same with that of the great Bishop of Hippo; but it is convenient to mark the distinction in transliteration.

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787					Council at Nicæa, reactionary. Seventh Œcumenical.	394
790					The <i>Libri Carolini</i> published.	396
794					Council at Frankfort under Charlemagne (Iconoclastic).	396
795			Leo III.			
800		Charlemagne, <i>Emp.</i>			(Christmas Day) Charlemagne crowned Emperor.	401

PART V. CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE SEVERANCE
OF THE CHURCHES.

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802	Nicephorus.					
804					The Saxons finally subdued: profess Christianity.	401
806				Nicephorus.		
811	Stauracius, Michael I.					
813	Leo V., the Armenian.	Louis I., <i>le D&ouml;bonnaire.</i>				
814				Theodore.		
815						
816			Stephen V.			
817		Lothair I. (jointly).	Paschal I.			
820	Michael II., <i>Balbus.</i>					
821				Antonius I.	BENEDICT of Aniane: monastic reformer.	445
823					EBBO, missionary to Denmark.	434
824			Eugenius II.			
826					THEODORE of the Studium, <i>d.</i>	
827			Valentine.		ANSKAR, missionary to Denmark and Sweden.	434
			Gregory IV.		c. PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, on the Eucharist.	428
829	Theophilus.				Renewed iconoclastic edicts at Constantinople.	395
832				John VII.	(c.) Pseudo-Isidorian Decretal.	410
833					AGOBARD of Lyons and CLAUDE of Turin, <i>d.</i>	446
840		Lothair I. (alone).			THEODORA restores image-worship in the East.	395
842	Michael III.			Methodius I.	Eucharistic controversies (PASCHASIUS and RATRAMNUS).	428
844			Sergius II.			
845					HINCMAR, archbishop of Rheims (<i>d.</i> in exile, 882).	426
846				Ignatius.		
847			Leo IV.		Predestinarian controversy (GOTTSCALK and HINC-MAR).	426

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855		Louis II. (alone).	Benedict III., <i>Anastasius.</i>			
857				Photius.		
858			Nicolas I., <i>the Great.</i>			
860					Hincmar, <i>On Predestination.</i>	426
861					BOGORIS, K. of Bulgaria, embraces Christianity.	438
863					CYRIL and METHODIUS, apostles of Bavaria	
867	Basil I.		Hadrian II.	Ignatius <i>rest.</i>	Mutual excommunications; pope and patriarch.	437
869					Council at Constantinople (Eighth Œcumenical, Roman).	419
871					Alfred the Great, K. of England.	420
872			John VIII.		Bulgaria united to the Eastern Church.	450
873					Paulicianism finally defeated.	439
875		Charles II., <i>the Bald.</i>				424
877				Photius <i>rest.</i>		
879					Council at Constantinople (Eighth Œcumenical, Greek).	420
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884		Charles III., <i>the Fat.</i>	Hadrian III.		The Carolingian line of Emperors becomes extinct.	407
885			Stephen VI.			
886	Leo VI., <i>the Philosopher.</i>			Stephen I.	PHOTIUS finally deposed (<i>d.</i> 891).	420
891		<i>Guido.</i> ¹	Formosus.			
893		<i>Lambert.</i>		Antonius II.		
894						
895		<i>Arnulf.</i>		Nicolas I.		
896			Boniface VI.			
897			Stephen VII. Romanus.			
898			Theodore II.			
899		<i>Louis the Child.</i>	John IX.			
900			Benedict IV.			
903		<i>Louis III. of Provence.</i>	Leo V., Christopher.			

¹ The names of so-called Emperors in italics are those of successive claimants through a long unsettled time.

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910					Monastery at Clugny founded.	446
911	Alexander.		Anastasius III.	Nicolas I. <i>rest.</i>		
912	Constantine VII., <i>Porphyrogenitus.</i>	<i>Conrad I. of Franconia.</i>				
913			Lando.			
914			John X.			
918		<i>Henry I. the Fowler.</i>				
919	Romanus I.			Stephen II.		
925			Leo VI.	Trypho.		
928			Stephen VIII.			
929			John XI.			
931				Theophylact.		
933						
936		Otho I., <i>the Great.</i>	Leo VII.			
939			Stephen IX.			
942			Martin III.			
944	Constantine VIII.					
944	Stephen.					
945	Constantine VII. <i>rest.</i>					
946			Agapetus II.		Princess OLGA of Russia baptized at Constantinople.	440
955			John XII.		Popes now assume new names on accession.	414
956					DUNSTAN, Archbishop of Canterbury.	446
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962						
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965			<i>Benedict V.</i>			
967		Otho II. (jointly).	John XIII.			
969	John I., Zimisces, and Basil II.					
970				Basil I.		
972					Christianity in Hungary, Duke Geisa baptized.	438
973		Otho II. (alone.)	Benedict VI.		<i>Republicanism in Rome: afterwards crushed.</i>	
974			Benedict VII.	Antonius III.		
976	Basil II. alone.					
976	Constantine X.					
983			John XIV.			

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983		Otho III. emp. 996.	Boniface VII. <i>re-</i> <i>stored.</i> John XV.	Nicolas II.		
985					Hugh Capet, King of France: <i>End of the</i> <i>Carolingian royal</i> <i>line.</i>	
987					Christianity estab- lished in Russia by Vladimir.	440
988						
995				Sisinnius II.		
996			Gregory V. <i>John XVI.</i>			
997						
999			Sylvester II.	Sergius II.		
1000					<i>(General Expectation</i> <i>of the End of the</i> <i>World).</i>	416
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1003			John XVII. John XVIII. Sergius IV.			
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1012			Benedict VIII. <i>Gregory.</i>			
1014					Christianity estab- lished in Scandin- avia by Canute.	436
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1024		Conrad II. <i>c. 1027.</i>	John XIX.			
1025				Alexis.		
1028	Romanus III.					
1033			Benedict IX.			417
1034	Michael IV.					
1039		Henry III. <i>c.</i> 1046.				
1041	Michael V.					
1043	Constantine X.			Michael I. <i>Kerularius.</i>	<i>c. Wazo of Liège in-</i> <i>culcates toleration.</i>	532
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1045			Gregory VI.			417
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1049			Leo IX.		BERENGAR'S teachings on the Eucharist.	429
1050					<i>c. Beginnings of</i> <i>Scholasticism.</i>	
1053					Final severance of Eastern and Western Churches.	421

PART VI. FROM THE SEVERANCE OF THE CHURCHES TO THE
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1057	Isaac Comnenus.		Stephen X., <i>Benedict X.</i>			
1058	Constantine XI., <i>Ducas.</i>		Nicolas II.	Constantine III.	Council at Rome. Berengar's humiliation.	430
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1068				John VIII. (Xiphilin).		
1066					WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, of England.	457
1067	Eudocia, Romanus III. (Diogenes), and Michael VII. (<i>Parapinaces.</i>)					
1070					Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.	429
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1072					PETER DAMIANI <i>d.</i> HILDEBRAND becomes Pope: Gregory VII.	455
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1077		Rudolf of Swabia.				
1078	Nicephorus III., <i>Botaniates.</i>					
1080			<i>Clement III.</i>			
1081	Alexis I. (Comnenus).	Hermann of Luxemburg.		Eustratus.		
1084					Henry IV. crowned Emperor by anti-pope Clement VII.	
1084					Carthusian order founded by Bruno.	483
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1100		Henry V. c. 1111.	Theodoric.		WILLIAM of CHAM- PEAUX teaches at Paris.	494
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1115					BERNARD, Abbot of Clairvaux.	
1116					ALEXIUS COMNENUS persecutes the Bogomiles.	425
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1121			Celestine.		Concordat of Worms respecting Investiture.	462
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1130			Anacletus II.			
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1151					Bernard of Clairvaux <i>d.</i> (<i>Doctor Mellifluus</i>).	485
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1153		Frederick I., <i>Barbarossa</i> , c. 1155.	Anastasius IV.	Constantine IV.	NICOLAS BREAKSPEAR, the only English Pope.	462
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1168			<i>Calixtus III.</i>		PETER WALDO: "the Poor Men of Lyons."	509
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1186			Gregory VIII.	Dositheus.	ADAM of ST. VICTOR <i>d.</i>	
1187			Clement III.	George Xiphilin.	Waldenses condemned at Verona.	
1188						
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1197		Otto IV., c. 1209.				
1198			Innocent III.	John X.	The Waldenses retire to Piedmont.	465
1199					A Crusade proclaimed by the Pope (vainly).	
1201					Fourth Crusade. Constantinople taken by the Latins.	474
1202					The Abbot JOACHIM <i>d.</i>	474
1203	Isaac Angelus <i>rest.</i>					512
1205	Alexius IV., <i>Baldwin I.</i>				DOMINIC (Domingo de Guzman) begins his mission.	485
1206	Henry I.			Michael IV.		
1212		Frederick II., c. 1220.			The Children's Crusade.	475
1213					FRANCIS of ASSISI founds his Order.	486
1215				Theodore III.		
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1215				Maximus I. Manuel I.	Franciscan and Dominican orders authorized.	
1216	Peter de Courtenay.					
1217					Fifth Crusade: Resultless.	475
1219	Robert de Courtenay.					
1231				Germanus II.		
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1237			Gregory IX.		Sixth Crusade. Threefold Excommunication of the Emperor.	476
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1239					Council of Toulouse against Heresy.	486
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A. D.	EMPERORS.		POPES.	PATRIARCHS.	MEMORABLE PERSONS AND EVENTS.	PAGE
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1247		William of Holland.				
1248					Seventh Crusade (under Louis IX.).	477
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1254		(Interregnum.)	Alexander IV.			
1255				Arsenius I.		
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1257		Richard of Cornwall, Alfonso of Castile.			THOMAS AQUINAS teaches at Paris (<i>Doctor Angelicus</i>).	498
1260				Nicephorus I.		
1261	Michael Palæologus.		Urban IV.		Constantinople retaken from the Latins.	516
1264					Festival of Corpus Christi instituted.	501
1265			Clement IV.			
1266				Germanus III.	ROGER BACON: (<i>Doctor Mirabilis</i>), <i>Opus Majus, Minus, Tertium.</i>	496
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1268			(Vacancy.)		Berthold, Franciscan missionary preacher.	499
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1270					Eighth Crusade ; death of Louis IX.	478
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1273		Rudolf of Hapsburg.				
1274				John Beccus.	Second Council of Lyons (Fourteenth Œumenical).	516
1274					Four Orders of Mendicant Friars authorized.	489
1274					Rule for Papal Elections: the Conclave.	517

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1274					Attempt to reconcile Eastern and Western Churches.	516
1276			Innocent V. Hadrian V. John XX.		Deaths of Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas.	517
1277			Nicolas III.			
1280					ALBERTUS MAGNUS (<i>Doctor Universalis</i>) d.	497
1281	Andronicus II.		Martin IV.	Joseph I. <i>rest.</i>		
1283				Gregory II.		
1285				Honorius IV.		
1288				Nicolas IV.		
1289					Athanasius I.	
1290						
1291						Fall of Acre, Christian Kingdom in Palestine ended.	491
1292		Adolf of Nassau.			Roger Bacon d. <i>Compendium of Theology.</i>	497
1293			Cœlestine V.	John XII.		
1294			Boniface VIII.			
1296					Struggle of Pope BONIFACE with English and French Kings.	467
1298		Albert I. of Hapsburg.				
1300					First Papal Jubilee: Indulgence proclaimed.	46
1303			Benedict XI.	Athanasius <i>rest.</i>		
1306			Clement V.		Pope crowned at Lyons. Removal of Papal See to Avignon.	468 69

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1305			Clement V. <i>Now begins the "Babylonian Cap- tivity."</i>		Pope crowned at Lyons. Removal to Avignon.	533 533
1306		Henry VII. of <i>Luxem- burg</i> (1312).			JOHN DUNS SCOTUS <i>d.</i>	496
1310					Templars burned at Paris.	534
1311					Council at Vienne (Fifteenth Ecumenical).	534
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1315		<i>Frederick of Aus- tria.</i>			RAYMOND LULLY <i>d.</i> (<i>Doctor Illumin- atus</i>).	497
1316			John XXII.	John XIII.	Dispute between Pope and Louis.	536
1320				Gerasimus I.		
1321					DANTE <i>d.</i>	
1324					(c.) JOHN WYCLIF born.	548
1326			<i>Nicolas V.</i>			
1329					NICOLAS submits to JOHN.	536
1332	Andronicus II.					
1333				John XIV.	Controversy respect- ing the "Beatific Vision."	537
1334			Benedict XII.		Flagellants in Italy: persecuted.	537
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1341	John I., <i>Palæologus.</i> John Canta- cuzenus.				Eastern Hesychiasts, or Quietists.	576
1342			Clement VI.			
1346		Charles IV. of <i>Luxem- burg</i> (1355).				
1347				Isidore I.	WILLIAM of OCCAM <i>died (Doctor Singu- laris).</i>	529
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1350				Callistus I.	Bull against Flagellants, in Italy and Germany.	543
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1354				Philotheus.	<i>Statute of "Præmunire" in England.</i>	
1355				Callistus <i>rest.</i>		
1356					"Golden Bull" concerning Imperial Elections.	539
1360					MILICZ of Prague (Reforming preacher) <i>d. 1374.</i>	550
1365					Suso of Constance <i>d. JOHN TAULER d. (Doctor Subtilis et Illuminatus).</i>	546
1370				Gregory XI.		544
1373					Birth of JOHN HUSS.	551
1377				Return of the Pope to Rome.	539	
1378		Wenceslaus of Luxemburg.			Citation of Wyclif to St. Paul's.	548
			Urban VI. <i>Clement VII.</i>	Macarius.	The Western Schism begins.	539
1379					Society of the "Friends of God" at Basle.	543
1380				Nilus.		
					Wyclif begins his translation of the Scriptures.	548
					Lituania (last European Pagan state) christianized.	527
					WILLIAM COURTENAY, Abp. of Canterbury.	
					HENRY ECKHART <i>d. (Doctor Ecstaticus).</i>	545
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1389			Boniface IX.			
1390					Third Jubilee at Rome.	540
1391	Manuel.				Nicolas of Basle burned at Vienne.	544
1393						
1394			<i>Benedict XIII.</i>			
1396				Callistus II.		
1398				Matthew I.		
1400		Rupert (Palatine).			GERSON, Chancellor of the University of Paris.	540
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1406			Gregory XII.			
1409			Alexander V.		Council at Pisa: Papal Deposition and Election.	540 541
1410		Sigismund of Luxemburg (1433) <i>Jobst of Moravia.</i>	John XXIII.			
1414					Council of Constance (Sixteenth Œumenical).	553
1415					End of the Schism.	555
1416					Martyrdom of Huss.	559
1417			Martin V.	Joseph II.	Martyrdom of Jerome.	560
					Exile of Gerson (<i>d. 1429</i>), <i>Doctor Christianissimus.</i>	574
1419					Hussite Communion at "Tabor."	561
1420	John II., <i>Palæologus.</i>				Outbreak of Hussite War.	563
1424					Death of Ziska, Hussite general.	563
1428					Burning of Wyclif's bones at Lutterworth.	557
1431			Eugene IV.		Council at Basle (Seventeenth Œumenical).	565
1438		Albert II. of Hapsburg.			Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.	566
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					Purgatory declared an Article of Faith.	568
1440		Frederick III. (1452).		Metrophanes.	(<i>c.</i>) Art of Printing introduced.	576
1443					Council of Basle closes its Session.	567
1445				Gregory III.		
1447						
1448	Constantine XII.		Nicolas V.			
1450					<i>Fourth Jubilee in Rome; henceforth every 25th year.</i>	
1452					FREDERICK III. the last Emperor crowned in Rome.	536
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* * * The letter S, appended to some of the above names, is used simply to denote a generally-recognized "Canonization." As the sign is not employed elsewhere in the book, it may here be convenient.