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No. 1.—The Canon of the Mass, c. 400–600

[From the *Ordo Missae, secundum Missale Romanum*]

§ 1. *Te igitur*.¹ Wherefore, O most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts and offerings, this holy and spotless sacrifice, which we offer unto Thee; first, for Thy holy Catholic Church that Thou wouldst be pleased to preserve it in peace, to unite and govern it throughout the whole world, together with N. our Pope and N. our Bishop, and all true believers who hold to the Catholic and Apostolic Faith.

§ 2. *Memento, Domine*.² Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens and all here present³ whose faith and devotion are known unto Thee; for whom we offer, or who themselves offer to Thee, this sacrifice of praise,⁴ for them and theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of salvation and safety, and who render their vows unto Thee, the eternal and true God.

§ 3. *Communicantes*.⁵ [Being in communion with [*sc.*

¹ Innocent I, 402–†17. “The *Sanctus* is an interpolation, and the *Te igitur* carries on the thought of the Preface: *Vere dignum et justum est . . . tibi gratias agere . . . Te igitur . . . supplices rogamus . . . uti accepta habeas . . . haec dona. . .*” E. C. Ratcliff in *The Study of Theology* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1939), 443.

² Also Innocent I, 402–†17.

³ Names from the diptychs recited here: Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe*, 244 sq.

⁴ *Sc.* the oblations of bread and wine, *ibid.*, 245.

⁵ Symmachus, 498–†514, as § 4, 11, 12.

the Catholic Church^{1]} and venerating the memory first of the glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also of Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus: of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all the Saints [we pray and beseech Thee^{2]}, that for their merits and prayers Thou wouldst grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of Thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

§ 4. *Hanc igitur oblationem.*³ We therefore beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldst graciously receive this offering which we Thy servants, and Thy whole household, do make unto Thee: † that Thou wouldst order our days in peace, and bid us to be delivered from eternal damnation and numbered in the flock of Thine elect, through Christ our Lord.† Amen.]

§ 5. *Quam oblationem.*⁴ And this our offering, we beseech Thee, O God, vouchsafe in all things to accept as blessed and accredited, ratified and rational, that it may become for us⁵ the body and blood of Thy dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.⁶

¹ See § 1: Batiffol, 248.

² See § 1, for the verb to which the participle "Being in communion with," refers.

³ Before Vigilius, 538-†55, and probably of the time of Symmachus, as § 3: Batiffol, 229-31. The passage goes with § 3 to point the intention. The clause marked † † was inserted by St. Gregory the Great.

⁴ Conclusion to § 2, and of the same date: for some of its phrases are paralleled in the *De Sacramentis*, IV. v. § 21, of c. 400 (edd. Thompson and Srawley, S.P.C.K., 1919, pp. xxxi. and 113). This section should be taken as the prologue to the Words of Christ in §§ 6, 7: the epilogue following in §§ 8, 9, 10, 12, 13: all of the same date.

⁵ Probably a merely expletive dative, Batiffol, 252.

⁶ The *De Sacramentis*, as above, has "Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis D.N.I.C."; where *figura*, at that date, c. 400, in N. Italy = *sacramentum* [Batiffol, 214, n. 1]. Thus the word *benedictam* and the *ut fiat nobis* clause represent an alteration of the original paragraph. In its earlier form the Canon

§ 6. *Qui pridie*.¹ Who the day before He suffered took bread into His holy and venerable hands and, with His eyes uplifted to Thee, O God, His Father almighty, gave thanks to Thee, blessed, brake, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this: this is My body.

§ 7. *Simili modo*.² Likewise after supper He took also this excellent chalice into His holy and venerable hands and, giving thanks to Thee, blessed and gave it to His disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is the chalice of My blood: of the new and eternal testament: the mystery of faith:³ which shall be shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins: as oft as ye shall do this, ye shall do it in remembrance of Me.

§ 8. *Unde et memores*.⁴ Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants yea and Thy holy people, having in remembrance the passion of Thy Son Christ our Lord, His resurrection from the dead and His glorious ascension into heaven, do offer to Thine excellent majesty, of these Thy gifts and graces, a pure victim, a holy victim, a spotless victim, even the holy bread of life eternal and the chalice of everlasting salvation.⁵

§ 9. *Supra quae*.⁶ Whereon vouchsafe to look with pro-

contained no petition for a consecration of the elements so as to become the Body and the Blood. The elements were consecrated, i.e. became the "figure" of the Body and Blood in virtue of the celebrant imitating the acts and words of Christ. Ratcliff, 442.

¹ Cf. *De Sacr.*, IV. v. § 21.

² *Ibid.*, § 23. "When the Words of Christ have operated, then and there it (*sc.* the Cup) is made to be the blood of Christ (*sanguis Christi efficitur*)."¹ This is the Western theory, that the Words of Christ effect the consecration: not the *Epiclesis*, according to the Eastern theory; though Athanasius agrees with the West in ascribing the effect to the Word. See his *Sermo ad nuper baptizatos* (P.G., lxxxvi. 2401), and Batiffol, *Études*,² 321.

³ From 1 Tim. iii. 9: possibly an acclamation of the Deacon which has crept into the text from the margin.

⁴ Cf. *De Sacr.*, IV. vi. § 27.

⁵ Fatal to the theory that § 10 = the *Epiclesis*: so Batiffol, *Leçons*, 270.

⁶ Damasus, 366-†84, whose enemy, Isaac the Jew, attacked the title "summus sacerdos" as here applied to Melchisedek, Batiffol, 216. The words † "sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam" † were added by St. Leo, 440-†61.

pitious and serene countenance, and to accept them as Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that which was offered to Thee by Thy high priest Melchisedek, † a holy sacrifice, a spotless victim. †

§ 10. *Supplices Te.*¹ We humbly beseech Thee, O almighty God, to command that these things be borne by the hand of Thy holy angel to Thine altar on high, in the sight of Thy divine majesty, that so many of us as at this altar shall be partakers and receivers of the most holy body and blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

§ 11. *Memento etiam.*² [Remember also, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, who are gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, we pray Thee to grant a place of refreshment, light and peace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

§ 12. *Nobis quoque.*³ And to us sinners also, Thy servants, who hope in the multitude of Thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant part and lot with Thy holy apostles and martyrs:⁴ with John [the Baptist], Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander,⁵ Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Caecilia, Anastasia,

¹ Damasus, 366-†84.

² Symmachus, 498-†514: absent from the Gelasian Canon (Wilson, 235) and from the Gregorian (Wilson, 3, n. 14). "It was originally a prayer said aloud by the deacon, while the Canon was recited silently by the celebrant. When the celebrant was not assisted by a deacon or another priest and himself recited all those parts of the rite normally taken by his assistants, the *Commemoratio pro defunctis* inevitably found its way into the Canon," Ratcliff, 441. Its purpose was to complete the commemoration of the living, § 2.

³ Symmachus, 498-†514: because of the saints mentioned, several of whom were associated with Rome in his day; Batiffol, 228 sq.

⁴ Note this repetition of the phrase in § 3 for the connexion of the two lists, original and supplementary.

⁵ Son of Felicitas.

and all Thy saints; into whose company we pray Thee to admit us, not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord.]

§ 13. *Per quem*.¹ Through whom, O Lord, Thou dost ever create, hallow, quicken and bless [these²] Thy bounteous gifts and bestow them upon us: by whom and with whom and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, be unto Thee, O God, the Father Almighty, all honour and glory, world without end.³ Amen.

No. 2.—Theopaschitism

[The Synod of Rome, 478, to Peter the Fuller: wrongly attributed (Hefele, iv. 26) to Pope Felix III, but properly belonging to Pope Simplicius: *P.L.* lviii. 909, A, B]

["In 469-70, a clever and ambitious monk, Peter the Fuller, relying upon the Apollinarist party in Antioch, got himself elected Patriarch, and occupied the see for a few months. He was driven out: returned a second time 475-6: and finally established himself for the third time as Patriarch of Antioch 485-8. One of his first efforts had been to condemn the Council of Chalcedon. But he is chiefly celebrated for the addition to the *Trisagion*⁴ which aroused so many controversies. Into the formula *Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us*, he introduced before these last words the phrase *Who wast*

¹ Innocent I, 402-†17.

² Probably omit, because this section is the doxology to § 10: Batiffol, 273.

³ Close of the Canon, *ibid.*, 274.

⁴ Distinguish carefully between the *Sanctus*, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts," etc., and the *Trisagion*, "Holy God, Holy and strong, Holy and immortal, have mercy upon us." The latter is found, both in Greek and Latin, in the Reproaches of Good Friday (*English Hymnal*, No. 737); and for its further history see my *History of the Church to A.D. 461*, III, 317 and n. 12, and 409, n. 2. It was in order to insist on the Deity of Him who suffered upon the Cross, that Peter the Fuller made the addition to it: unexceptionable if the *Trisagion* be addressed to our Lord, but misleading if addressed to the Trinity.

crucified for us. This expression could only be justified if the thrice-repeated *holy* were referred to Christ and not to the Trinity; and it is probable that in effect Peter so understood it. They so explained it at Antioch. But at Constantinople, for example, they referred the thrice-repeated *holy* to the Trinity, and thenceforth the addition made by Peter the Fuller involved the heresy of Patripassianism or Theopaschitism—a constant subject of reproach against the Monophysites.”—J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, iii. 105.]

But, as the serpent took Eve unawares, so didst thou also pour the poison of error into the ears of the multitude of the faithful, and didst corrupt the holy form of praise (*sc. The Trisagion*) delivered by the angels, by inserting into it *Who wast crucified for us.* Art thou then unaware that thou dost exceed in impiety Paul of Samosata, Photinus and Artemon, who affirmed two sons: the one born before the ages, the other newly born? For thou too didst import a plurality into the Trinity by speaking of two sons of God: the one *strong*, the other *crucified*. Further, thou dost endeavour to rush the faithful flock of Christ into the opinion of the Manichees who assert that the Holy Spirit was crucified. For, inasmuch as after *Holy and immortal*, i.e. the Holy Spirit, thou dost then insert *Who was crucified for us, have mercy upon us*, thou dost clearly suggest to the people not a Trinity, but a Quaternity.—K.

No. 3.—The Emperor Zeno, 474–†91: his *Henoticon*, 482

[From Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 14 (*Op.* 345–8; *P.G.* lxxxvi. 2619–26)]

The Emperor Caesar Zeno, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, to the most reverend bishops and clergy, and to the monks and laity throughout Alexandria, Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis.

Being assured that the origin and constitution, the might and invincible defence of our sovereignty is the only right and true faith . . . we are anxious that you should be informed that we and the churches in every quarter neither have held, nor do we or shall we hold, nor are we aware of

persons who hold, any other symbol, or lesson or definition of faith or creed than the . . . holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers [of Nicaea, 325], which the . . . hundred and fifty holy Fathers [of CP. 381] confirmed; and if any person does hold such, we deem him an alien; for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptized when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol all the holy Fathers assembled at Ephesus [431] also followed, who further passed sentence of deposition on the impious Nestorius, and those who subsequently held his sentiments: which Nestorius we also anathematize, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above-mentioned, receiving at the same time the Twelve Chapters¹ of Cyril, of holy memory, formerly archbishop of the holy catholic church of the Alexandrians. We, moreover, confess that the Only-begotten Son of God, Himself God, who truly assumed manhood, namely our Lord Jesus Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended and become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two: for we affirm that both His miracles and the sufferings which He voluntarily endured in the flesh are those of a single Person; for we do in no degree admit those who make a division or a confession, or introduce a phantom; inasmuch as His truly sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition of a Son, because the Holy Trinity continued a Trinity even when one member of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate. Knowing then that neither the holy orthodox churches in all parts, nor the priests highly beloved of God who are at their head, nor our own sovereignty, have allowed, or do allow, any other symbol or definition of faith than the before-mentioned holy lesson, we have united ourselves thereto without hesitation.

¹ q.v. in *Documents illustrative of the History of the Church*, ii. No. 194, pp. 263-5.

And these things we write not as setting forth a new form of faith, but for your assurance; and everyone who has held, or holds, any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize. . . .—*The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, vi. 136–9.

Pope Gelasius, 492–†6

No. 4.—(I) On Church and State

[*Ep. 12 Famuli vestrae pietatis* [494] to the Emperor Anastasius I, 491–†518; *P.L.* lix. 42; ap. Mirbt,⁴ *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, No. 187]

I beseech your piety not to regard as arrogance duty in divine affairs. Far be it from a Roman prince, I pray, to regard as injury truth that has been intimated to him. For indeed there are, O Emperor Augustus, two by whom principally this world is ruled: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the royal power. Of these the importance of the priests is so much the greater, as even for Kings of men they will have to give an account in the divine judgment. Know indeed, most clement son, that although you worthily rule over the human race, yet as a man of devotion in divine matters you submit your neck to the prelates, and also from them you await the matters of your salvation, and in making use of the celestial sacraments and in administering those things you know that you ought, as is right, to be subjected to the order of religion rather than preside over it. Know likewise that in regard to these things you are dependent upon their judgment and you should not bend them to your will. For if, so far as it pertains to the order of public discipline, the priests of religion, knowing that the imperial power has been bestowed upon you by divine providence, obey your laws lest in affairs of exclusively mundane determination they might seem to resist, with how much more gladness, I ask, does it become you to obey them who have been assigned to the duty of performing the divine mysteries? Just as there is no light risk

for the pontiffs to be silent about those things which belong to the service of the divinity, so there is no small peril (which God forbid) to those who, when they ought to obey, refuse to do so. And if it is right that the hearts of the faithful be submitted to all priests generally who treat rightly divine things, how much more is obedience to be shewn to the prelate of that see which the highest divinity wished to be pre-eminent over all priests, and which the devotion of the whole church continually honours?—*A Source Book for Ancient Church History*, by J. C. Ayer (New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 530-2.

No. 5.—(II) On the Doctrine of the Eucharist

[*De duabus naturis in Christo adv. Eutychem et Nestorium*, § 14; ap. Mirbt,⁴ No. 190]

["In the period of the Great Councils there is but little attempt to explain the method of the relation of the presence of the body and blood of Christ to the elements of bread and wine. The writers who say anything bearing on this subject may be divided into two groups—those who push the connection between the Incarnation and the Eucharist in the direction of emphasizing the abiding reality of the elements of bread and wine, and those who tend towards affirming a change in the elements themselves."—D. Stone, *Hist. Doctr. H.E.* i. 98. The Antiochenes, e.g. Theodoret (*Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 222) and Pope Gelasius are representatives of the first class; Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory of Nyssa are representatives of the second.]

§ 14. The Sacrament which we receive of the body and blood of Christ is a divine thing. Wherefore also by means of it we are made partakers of the divine nature. Yet the substance or nature of the bread and wine does not cease to be. And certainly the image and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is set out in the celebration of the mysteries. Therefore it is plainly enough shown to us that we must think this in the case of the Lord Christ Himself which we confess, celebrate and receive in the case of the image of Him. Thus, as the elements pass into this, that is the divine, substance by the operation of the Holy Ghost,

and none the less remain in their own proper nature, so they show that the principal mystery itself, the efficacy and virtue of which they truly make present (*repraésentant*) to us, consists in this that the two natures remain each in its own proper being, so that there is one Christ because He is whole and real.—Stone, *op. cit.*, 102.

**No. 6.—The Baptism of Clovis, King of the Franks,
Dec. 25, 496**

[Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, cc. 30, 31; *P.L.* lxxi. 225 *sqq.*]

c. 30. The queen ceased not to warn Clovis that he should acknowledge the true God and forsake idols. But in no way could he be brought to believe these things. Finally war broke out with the Alemanni. Then by necessity he was compelled to acknowledge what before he had denied with his will. The two armies met and there was a fearful slaughter, and the army of Clovis was on the point of being annihilated. When the King perceived that, he raised his eyes to heaven, his heart was smitten, and he was moved to tears, and he said: "Jesus Christ, whom Chrotechildis declares to be the Son of the living God, who says that Thou wilt help those in need, and give victory to those who hope in Thee, humbly I flee to Thee for Thy mighty aid, that Thou wilt give me victory over these my enemies. . . . Then will I believe on Thee and be baptized in Thy name. For I have called upon my gods but, as I have seen, they are far from my help . . . I now call upon Thee and I desire to believe on Thee. Only save me from the hand of my adversaries." As he thus spake, the Alemanni turned their backs and began to take flight. But when they saw that their King was dead, they submitted to Clovis, and said: "Let not, we pray thee, a nation perish: now we are thine." Thereupon he put an end to the war, exhorted the people, and returned home in peace. He told the queen how by calling upon the name of Christ he had obtained victory. . . .

c. 31. Thereupon the queen commanded that the holy

Remigius, bishop of Rheims [457-†530], be brought secretly to teach the King the way of salvation. The priest was brought to him secretly and began to lay before him that he should believe in the true God, the creator of heaven and earth, and forsake idols who could neither help him nor others. But he replied: "Gladly do I listen to thee, most holy Father; but one thing remains, for the people who follow me suffer me not to forsake their gods. But I will go and speak to them according to thy words." When he met his men, and before he began to speak, all the people cried out together, for the divine power had anticipated him: "We reject the mortal gods, pious King, and we are ready to follow the immortal God whom Remigius preaches." These things were reported to the bishop, who rejoiced greatly and commanded the font to be prepared. . . . The King first asked to be baptized by the pontiff. He went, a new Constantine, into the font to be washed clean from the old leprosy, and to purify himself in fresh water from the stains which he had long had. But, as he stepped into the baptismal water, the saint of God began in moving tone: "Bend softly thy head, Sicamber, reverence what thou hast burnt, and burn what thou hast revered. . . ." —J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 572 sq.

No. 7.—*Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, c. 500

[From H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*,⁴⁻⁵ Nos. 150-8. This document, which is often assigned to the Fourth Council of Carthage, is in reality a decree of Gallican origin promulgated in the Province of Arles towards the end of the fifth century.—L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁵ 132. See also H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 144 sq. and Hefele, *Councils*, § 111]

c. 1. He who is to be ordained bishop must first be examined whether he is prudent, teachable, of gentle manners; above all, whether he openly acknowledges the chief points of the faith. . . . If he passes the examination, he shall be consecrated bishop, with the consent of the clergy and laity, in the presence of all the bishops of the

province, and especially with the authority of the metropolitan. He must also be of the prescribed age. . . .

c. 2. When a bishop is consecrated, two bishops must hold the book of the Gospels over his head and his neck; and, while one pronounces the blessing over him, all the other bishops lay their hands on his head.

c. 3. When a presbyter is ordained, and the bishop in blessing him lays his hand upon his head, all the presbyters present must also lay their hands upon his head, along with the hands of the bishop.

c. 4. When a deacon is ordained, only the bishop who blesses him should lay his hands upon his head: because he is consecrated not to priesthood, but only to ministry.

c. 5. When a subdeacon is ordained, he receives no imposition of hands, but the bishop should deliver to him the paten and chalice empty; and the archdeacon should give him the basin and ewer, together with a napkin.

c. 6. When an acolyte is ordained, let the bishop instruct him how he should behave himself in his office: and let him receive from the archdeacon a candlestick with tapers, that he may know that it is his care to kindle the lights of the church. Let him also receive an empty cruet, as a symbol of his function of presenting the wine at the eucharist of the blood of Christ.

c. 7. When an exorcist is ordained, let him receive from the hand of the bishop the book in which the exorcisms are written: the bishop saying, "Receive and commit to memory: and take thou authority to lay hands upon the energumen, whether baptized or catechumen."

c. 8. When a reader is ordained, let the bishop give an address to the people about him, telling them of his faith and life and character. Afterwards, in the sight of the people, let him present him with the book from which he is to read: Receive [this book], and be an imparter of the word of God, faithfully and profitably fulfilling your office, and so having part and lot with those who have ministered the word of God.

c. 9. When a doorkeeper is ordained, let him first be instructed by the archdeacon how he should behave himself

in the house of God, and then, at the request of the arch-deacon, let the bishop take the keys of the church from the altar, and present him with them, saying, "So do, as ready to give an account to God for the things kept under these keys."

c. 10. A Psalmist, or cantor, may receive his office without the knowledge of the bishop, at the command of the presbyter only: the presbyter saying to him: "See that what you sing with your lips you believe in your heart: and that what you believe in your heart you carry out in your works."—Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 410-12 (slightly altered, here and there).

No. 8.—The Formula [519] of Pope Hormisdas, 514-†23
[Mansi, VIII. 467 E *sq.*; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*,⁴⁻⁵ Nos. 171, 172]

[In 482, the Emperor Zeno, at the advice of Acacius, Patriarch of CP., 471-†89, put out the *Henoticon* (*supra*, No. 3) in order to conciliate the Monophysites. This document, though not in itself heretical, made no mention of the Council of Chalcedon as authoritative, and only referred to its adherents by a disparaging allusion. It was accepted in the East, but resented in the West: with the result that, 484, Felix II of Rome and Acacius of CP. excommunicated each other (Mirbt,⁴ No. 185), and the Acacian Schism, 484-519, began. Towards its end, the court of Constantinople, bent upon the reconquest of Italy, found it important, with this end in view, to secure the support of the Roman See; and Pope Hormisdas put out the *Formula* following, as the basis of reunion. It was accepted, but only with modifications. (1) John, Patriarch of CP. 518-†20, prefixed to his signature a preamble "defining the See of the Apostle Peter and this of the Imperial City to be one See"—thus claiming an authority equal to that of the Roman See; and (2) Epiphanius, his successor, supported by the Emperor Justin, 518-†27, represented to the Pope the impossibility of securing subscription by force, with the result that Hormisdas authorized Epiphanius to accept

subscriptions to a new formula, which contained nothing about prerogatives peculiar to the Roman see. Cf. E. Denny, *Papalism*, §§ 800-13, commenting on the *Satis cognitum* of Leo XIII, § 13.]

The chief means of salvation is that we should keep the rule of right faith, and in no way deviate from the decrees of the Fathers. And forasmuch as the words of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed over when He said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church," these words are proved true by their results, since in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been preserved unspotted. Therefore, desiring not to be separate from its faith and hope, and following in all things the ordinances of the Fathers, we anathematize all heretics, especially the heretic Nestorius, formerly bishop of the See of CP., condemned in the Council of Ephesus, by Celestine, Pope of the city of Rome, and by St. Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, together with them anathematizing Eutyches, and Dioscorus of Alexandria, condemned in the holy Council of Chalcedon, which we venerate, follow, and embrace. We detest also the parricide, Timothy, surnamed Aelurus and his disciple and follower Peter of Alexandria. We similarly anathematize Acacius, formerly bishop of CP., who became their accomplice and follower, and those, moreover, who persevere in their communion and fellowship; because, if any one embraces the communion of these persons, he deserves a like sentence of condemnation with them. Likewise we also condemn and anathematize Peter of Antioch with his followers, and the followers of all those who have been mentioned above.

Wherefore we receive and approve all the epistles of blessed Leo, Pope of the city of Rome, which he wrote concerning the right faith. On which account, as we have said before, following the Apostolic See in all respects, we preach all things which have been by her decreed; and consequently I hope that I may deserve to be in one communion with thee, the communion which the Apostolic See maintains, in which is the whole and perfect steadfastness (*soliditas*) of the Christian religion; promising for the

future that, at the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, there shall be no mention made of the names of those who have been separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, who do not agree in all respects with the Apostolic See. . . . This profession I have subscribed with my own hand, and have presented it to thee, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable pope of old Rome.—Tr. E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 800 (slightly altered, here and there).

The Emperor Justinian, 527–†65

I. Three Controversies:

No. 9.—(I) Theopaschitism, 531–4

[From *Codex* I. i. 6]

[After the close of the Acacian Schism, 484–519, Chalcedonian orthodoxy was re-established in the East. But, in order to conciliate the monophysites, more had to be made of St. Cyril's theology. Accordingly, certain Scythian monks, now in CP., demanded approval of the formula "One of the holy Trinity suffered in the Flesh." The formula was based on the Twelfth Anathematism of St. Cyril; and was regarded by its promoters as a necessary counterpoise to certain well-known phrases of the *Tome* of St. Leo which seemed to suggest a duality of persons in our Lord. Justinian at first looked upon these monks as mischief-makers. But they were persistent; and eventually he accepted their proposals as making for conciliation with the monophysites. At the end of a conference with the Severus, 531, then representative of the party, he put out an edict, 533, anathematizing anyone who denied that "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our God incarnate, who became man and was crucified, is one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity," and requested the Pope, John II, 532–†5, to approve this declaration. Supported by the Carthaginian deacon, Fulgentius Ferrandus, † c. 550, and other theologians of the West, the Pope, March 24, 534, wrote to Justinian and to the Senate of CP. confirming the

formula "by our authority, as being in conformity with apostolic doctrine" (Tixeront, iii. 133).]

We receive and confess the Hypostatic Union. For the Trinity remains a Trinity, even after the incarnation of that one of the Trinity, God the Word: for the Holy Trinity does not receive the addition of a fourth Person. This then being so, we anathematize every heresy; but chiefly [the heresy of] Nestorius the man-worshipper, and those who thought or still think with him; those who divide the one Christ, and speak of two sons; denying and refusing to confess one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and our God who was incarnate and was made man and was crucified, to be one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity. For He alone it is who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, together is worshipped and together is crucified. . . .—K.

No. 10.—(II) Origenism, 543

[*Ex Justiniani Imperatoris libro adv. Origenem*, 543; Mansi, ix. 533; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*,⁴⁻⁵ Nos. 203 *sqq.*]

[The first Origenistic controversy is chiefly associated with the attack of Theophilus of Alexandria upon St. John Chrysostom, bishop of CP., c. 400: in the course of which year Origen was condemned by the Roman See (*Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 114). The second broke out in Palestine, c. 520; and Justinian, whose sympathies were at first enlisted on behalf of the Origenists, eventually turned against them. In an edict of 543, he enumerated the errors of Origen, and required that they should be anathematized in the following ten propositions; see Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, § 255 (II. ii. 1184 *sqq.*).]

(1) If any one says or thinks that human souls pre-existed, that is, that they had previously been spirits and holy powers but that satiated with the vision of God, they turned to evil, and in this way the divine love in them became cold (*ἀποψυχέισας*) and they were there named souls (*ψυχάς*) and were condemned to punishment in bodies, let him 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 the 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 has become like to all heavenly orders, so that for the cherubim He was a cherub, and for the seraphim a seraph, in short, like all the superior powers, let him be anathema.

(5) If any one says or thinks that, at the resurrection, human bodies will arise spherical in form and not like our present form, let him be anathema.

(6) If any one says or thinks that the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, and the waters above the firmament have souls and are spiritual and rational beings, let him be anathema.

(7) If any one says or thinks that the Lord in a future age 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 only as much as He was able to comprehend, let him be anathema.

(9) If any one says or thinks that the punishment of demons and impious men is only temporary and will have an end and that a restoration will take place of demons and impious men, let him be anathema.

(10) Let Origen be anathema with that Adamantius who set forth these opinions together with his nefarious and execrable doctrine, and whoever there is who thinks thus or defends these opinions, or in any way hereafter at any time shall presume to protect them.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 542 sq.

No. 11.—(III) The Three Chapters, 553

[Justinian had now dealt with Origenism. But he was confronted with a chronic and more important problem :

how to reconcile his Monophysite subjects to the official religion of the Empire founded upon the Council of Chalcedon. On the solution of this problem, the maintenance of the unity of the Empire seemed now to depend. In 537 two Origenist bishops, Theodore Ascidas of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Domitian of Ancyra, suggested that the best way to do this would be for the Emperor (Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. xxiv. ; *P.L.* lxxviii. 1049) to pronounce an anathema on three representatives of the School of Antioch: Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, 392-†428 and his writings; the letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, 435-†57; and certain writings of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, 423-†58. Of these three, the first was the real founder of Nestorianism, and one of the reasons given by the Monophysites for repudiating the Council of Chalcedon was that the two latter were there declared to be orthodox. The Emperor fell in with the suggestion, and put forth an edict containing Three Chapters, or propositions, drawn up in the form of anathematisms like the well-known Twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 194). But in this controversy the Three Chapters came to mean not the propositions but the persons and writings designated in them. The controversy was a long one. It involved Pope Vigilius, 538-†555, in great distress. "Brought by Justinian's orders to Constantinople, he (1) consented to condemn the *Chapters* by his *Judicatum*, April 11, 548; (2) withdrew it in form, but took a solemn oath to do nothing in favour of the *Chapters*, Aug. 15, 550; (3) refused to come to the Council of CP. as being predominantly Eastern, so that it was opened without him, May 5, 553; (4) issued his *Constitutum*, May 14, 553, censuring Theodore's heretical language, but declining to anathematize him posthumously, or to touch the honour of Theodoret or Ibas; and (5) when his name had been erased from the diptychs, gave way under fear of exile, and accepted the condemnation of Theodore and his writings, of Theodoret's writings against Cyril, and of the letter of Ibas in a second *Constitutum* of Dec. 553, and Feb. 554" (W. Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, 237 n.). The

vacillations of Vigilius were followed by schisms in Italy which were not finally healed till the end of the seventh century (Hefele, *Councils*, § 283; III. i. 155 ed. Leclercq). But the controversy was officially closed by the *Definition of the Fifth Œcumenical Council* of June 2, 1553, as printed below.]

(a) Condemnation of the Three Chapters

[Mansi, IX. 367; Hefele-Leclercq, § 274; III. i. 106]

We condemn and anathematize with all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the before-mentioned four holy synods, and by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, Theodore who was bishop of Mopsuestia and his impious writings, and also those things which Theodoret impiously wrote against the right faith and against the twelve anathematisms of the holy Cyril, and against the first synod of Ephesus, and those also which he wrote in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. In addition to these, we also anathematize the impious epistle which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate of the holy Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, and accuses Cyril of holy memory, who taught the truth, of being a heretic of the same sentiments with Apollinaris, and blames the first synod of Ephesus for deposing Nestorius without examination and enquiry, and calls the twelve anathematisms of Cyril impious and contrary to the right faith, and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious dogmas and writings. We therefore anathematize the Three Chapters before mentioned, that is the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia with his execrable writings, and those things which Theodoret impiously wrote, and the impious letter which is said to be by Ibas, together with their defenders and those who have written or do write in defence of them, or who dare to say that they are correct, and who have defended or do attempt to defend their impiety with the names of the holy Fathers or of the holy Council of Chalcedon.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 551 sq. See also Hefele, § 274 (Vol. IV, p. 328).

No. 12.—(IV) (b) Condemnation of Origen

[Mansi, IX. 201 ; Denzinger, No. 223]

If anyone does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches, and Origen, with their impious writings, as also all other heretics already condemned and anathematized by the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and by the aforesaid four holy synods, and all those who are or have been of the same mind with the heretics mentioned, and who remain to the end in their impiety, let him be anathema.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 552 sq.

II. Hymnody, 535–6:**No. 13.—(V) “O Word Immortal,” 535–6**

[Justinian's hymn ‘O Μοῦνον ἑνός, at the beginning of *The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 365 sq.]

O Word immortal of eternal God,
 Only-begotten of the only Source,
 For our salvation stooping to the course
 Of human life, and born of Mary's blood ;
 Sprung from the ever-virgin womanhood
 Of her who bare Thee, God immutable,
 Incarnate, made as man with man to dwell,
 And condescending to the bitter Rood ;
 Save us, O Christ our God, for Thou hast died
 To save Thy people to the uttermost,
 And dying tramplest death in victory ;
 One of the ever-blessèd Trinity,
 In equal honour with the Holy Ghost,
 And with the eternal Father glorified.

T. A. Lacey, *The English Hymnal*, No. 325.

III. Legislation: Caesaropapism and the Orthodox State

No. 14.—(VI) (a) Church and State

[Edict addressed, March 16, 535, to Epiphanius, Patriarch of CP., 520-†36; *Novel* vi. Preface; Mirbt,⁴ No. 202]

Among the greatest gifts of God bestowed by the kindness of heaven were the priesthood and the imperial dignity. Of these, the former serves things divine; the latter rules human affairs, and cares for them. Both are derived from one and the same source, and order human life. And therefore nothing is so much a care to the emperors as the dignity of the priesthood; so that they may always pray to God for them. For, if one is in every respect blameless and filled with confidence towards God, and the other rightly and properly maintains in order the commonwealth entrusted to it, there is a certain excellent harmony which furnishes whatsoever is needful for the human race. We therefore have the greatest cares for the true doctrine of God and the dignity of the priesthood which, if they preserve it, we trust that by it great benefits will be bestowed by God, and we shall possess undisturbed those things which we have, and in addition acquire those things which we have not yet acquired. But all things are well and properly carried on, if only a proper beginning is laid, and one that is acceptable to God. But this we believe will be so if the observance of the sacred canons is cared for; which also the Apostles, who are rightly to be praised, and the venerated eye-witnesses and ministers of the word of God, delivered, and which the holy Fathers have also preserved and explained.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 554 sq.

No. 15.—(VII) (b) The Duties of Clerics

[*Novel* cxxxvii. § 6; A.D. 543]

We command that all bishops and presbyters shall offer the sacred oblation and the prayers in holy baptism not silently, but with a voice which may be heard by the

faithful people,¹ that thereby the minds of those listening may be moved to greater contrition and to the glory of God. For so indeed the holy Apostle teaches (1 Cor. xiv. 16; Rom. x. 10). . . . Therefore it is right that to our Lord Jesus Christ, to our God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be offered prayer in the holy oblation and other prayers with the voice by the most holy bishops and the presbyters; for the holy priests should know that if they neglect any of those things they shall render an account at the terrible day of judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and that we shall not quietly permit such things when we know of them and will not leave them unpunished. We command therefore that the governors of the eparchies, if they see anything neglected of those things which have been decreed by us, first urge the metropolitans and other bishops to celebrate the aforesaid synods, and do whatsoever things we have ordered by this present law concerning synods, and, if they see them delaying, let them report to us, that from us may come a proper correction of those who put off holding synods. And the governors and the officials subject to them should know that, if they do not observe these matters, they will be liable to the extreme penalty [i.e. death]. But we confirm by this present law all things which have been decreed by us in various constitutions concerning bishops, presbyters and other clerics, and further concerning lodging-places for strangers, poor-houses, orphan asylums and others as many as are over the sacred buildings.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 555 sq.

No. 16.—(VIII) (c) Ordination

[*Novel* cxxiii. §§ 1, 13, 14]

§ 1. We decree that, whenever it is necessary to ordain a bishop, the clergy and the leading citizens whose is the bishop who is to be ordained shall make, under peril of

¹ The silent recitation of the Canon of the Mass had already begun in the time of Pope Symmachus, 498–†514; see note on the *Memento etiam*, *supra*, No. 1.

their souls, with the holy Gospels placed before them, certificates concerning three persons: testifying in the same certificates that they have not chosen them for any gifts or promises or for reasons of friendship or any other cause, but because they know that they are of the true and Catholic faith and of honest life, and learned in science and that none of them has either wife or children, and know that they have neither concubine nor natural children, but that if any of them had a wife the same was one and first, neither a widow nor separated from her husband, nor prohibited by the laws and sacred canons; and know that they are not a curial or an official, or, in case they should be such, are not liable to any curial or official duty; and they should know that they have in such case spent not less than fifteen years in a monastery. This also is to be contained in the certificate: that they know the person selected by them to be not less than thirty years of age; so that, from the three persons for whom these certificates were made, the best may be ordained by the choice and at the peril of him who ordains. . . . But if those who ought to elect a bishop do not make this certificate within six months, then, at the peril of his soul, let him, who ought to ordain, ordain a bishop: provided, however, that all things which we have said be observed. . . .

§ 13. We do not permit clergy to be ordained unless they are educated, have the right faith, and an honourable life, and neither have, nor have had, a concubine or natural children, but who either live chastely or have a lawful wife and her one and only, neither a widow, not separated from her husband, nor forbidden by laws and sacred canons.

§ 14. We do not permit presbyters to be made less than thirty years old, deacons and sub-deacons less than twenty-five, and lectors less than sixteen: nor a deaconess to be ordained in the holy Church who is less than forty years old and who had been married a second time.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 556 sq.

No. 17.—(IX) (d) The First Four Councils and the Roman See

[*Novel* cxxxix. § 1 (A.D. 545); Mirbt,⁴ No. 204]

c. 1. We ordain therefore that the force of law shall attach to the holy regulations of the Church, which were set forth or confirmed by the Four Holy Councils: at Nicaea by the 318 Fathers; at Constantinople by the 150; at the first Council of Ephesus where Nestorius was condemned; and at Chalcedon where Eutyches, along with Nestorius, was anathematized. The decrees of the afore-said Four Councils we receive as the Holy Scriptures; and their canons we observe as laws.

c. 2. So also we ordain, according to their definitions, that the most holy pope of Old Rome is the first of all bishops; and that the most blessed archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, has the second place after the holy apostolic see of Old Rome, ranking however above all other sees.—K.

No. 18.—(X) (e) Heretics

[*Novel* cxxxix. (A.D. 544); Mirbt,⁴ No. 205]

The first and greatest blessing for all men we believe to be the right confession of the true and immaculate faith of Christians; that by all means it should be strengthened; that all the most holy bishops throughout the world should be joined together in unity; preach in common the immaculate confession of Christians, and put away every stumbling-block invented by heretics. All this is clear from the divers treatises and edicts put forth by us. Heretics, however, think nothing of the fear of God, and pay no attention to the endless penalties imposed by the severity of the laws; fulfil the work of the devil and, by seducing simple souls, get together adulterous congregations of God's holy catholic and apostolic Church and celebrate adulterous baptisms. Wherefore we esteem it a pious duty by this our edict to warn those who are such that they should abandon their heretical folly, and destroy not the souls of others in

their simplicity, but rather hasten to the holy Church of God : wherein true doctrine is preached and all heresies, with their leaders, are anathematized. We would have everyone know that, if any persons are found either collecting congregations of dissenters, or making up such congregations among themselves, we in no wise tolerate it : but any house where such offence is committed we hand over to the holy Church ; and those who belong to such congregations or assemble them among themselves, we command to be treated in all respects as liable to the penalties imposed by law.—K.

No. 19.—(XI) (f) Paganism

[“ As respects heathenism it is not very easy to determine precisely how far the laws directed against it were carried out. They punish apostasy with death ; they require all persons to undergo baptism, and they deprive pagans of all civil rights and privileges ; while, of course, forbidding any public exercise of pagan worship. . . . In A.D. 528 Justinian issued several stringent constitutions : one of which, forbidding ‘ persons persisting in the madness of Hellenism to teach any branch of knowledge,’ struck directly at the Athenian professors. In 529 he sent a copy of the then just published *Codex Constitutionum*, which contained this ordinance, to Athens, with a prohibition to teach law there any longer. . . . Shortly afterwards, another constitution appeared, prohibiting the further teaching of philosophy at Athens, and at the same time such property as yet remained to the Platonic Academy was seized and applied to public purposes. This finally extinguished the University.”—Viscount Bryce in *D.C.B.* iii. 551 ; *Codex* I. xi. 9, 10, § 2.]

c. 9. We command that our magistrates in this royal city [CP.] and in the provinces take care with the greatest zeal that, having been informed by themselves or the most religious bishops of this matter, they make enquiry according to law into all impurities of pagan [=Hellenic]

superstitions, that they be not committed, and if committed that they be punished: but, if their repression exceed provincial power, these things are to be referred to us, that the responsibility for, and incitement to, these crimes may not rest upon them. . . .

c. 10, § 2. We forbid also that any branch of learning be taught by those who labour under the insanity of the impious pagans, so that they may not for this reason pretend that they instruct those who unfortunately resort to them, but in reality corrupt the minds of their pupils: and let them not receive any support from the public treasury, since they are not permitted by the Holy Scriptures or by public decrees to claim anything of the sort for themselves. —J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 558 sq.

Leontius of Byzantium, 485–†543

[Leontius was born at Byzantium; became a monk: and was deeply interested in the controversies of his time. Though well acquainted with the teaching of Nestorius, he was familiar with the Christology of Ephesus, and all the time remained a loyal adherent of the Council of Chalcedon, convinced that between the two Councils there was room for perfect accord. This he set out to show in his *Three books against the Nestorians and Eutychians*, written between 529 and 544. By modern scholars he is uniformly recognized as the best theologian of his day; and it is he who was the first to show (1) that the human nature of Christ is not impersonal (ἀνυπόστατος) nor a person (ὑπόστασις) but centred in a Person (ἐνυπόστατος), i.e. the Person of our Lord, and (2) that the principle of the Incarnation and of the Eucharist is one and the same, viz. that the supernatural does not extinguish the natural, whether in Christ or in the sacrament.]

No. 20.—(I) Christ's Human Nature—Personal or Impersonal?

[A summary of the argument of *Adv. Nest. of Euch.* i. (P.G. LXXXVI. ii. 1277 D) as given by R. L. Ottley, *The Incarnation*,⁵ 443 sq.; cf. J. Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, iii. 152 sqq.]

Leontius maintains, in agreement with his monophysite opponents, that there is no such thing as a nature unrelated to a person¹ (φύσις ἀνυπόστατος). The essence or nature never actually exists save in an individual form (ἄτομον). Consequently the acceptance of two natures would seem inevitably to lead to the Nestorian view. But Leontius escapes from this conclusion by maintaining that, though there is no φύσις ἀνυπόστατος, there may be a φύσις ἐνυπόστατος, i.e. a nature which has its ὑπόστασις in another. So the human nature of the Redeemer was not without *hypostasis* but became hypostatic in the Person of the Logos. This is illustrated by the simile of the individual man, compounded of soul and body. . . . In this doctrine of *Enhypostasia* Leontius maintains the orthodox distinction between nature and person, and teaches also that human nature might in a sense exist as a distinct substance (φύσις or οὐσία), without independent personality of its own.

(II) The principle common to the Incarnation and the Eucharist.

[*Adv. Nest. et Eut.*; P.G. LXXXVI. i. 1333]

Let us not leave it unnoticed that every sort of energy results from one of three distinguishable causes: one sort of energy proceeds from natural power: another from the perversion of the natural habit: the third represents an elevation or advance of the nature towards what is higher. Of these, the first is and is called natural: the second

¹ ἀνυπόστατος μὲν οὖν φύσις, τούτεστιν οὐσία, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ποτέ.
Adv. Nest. et Euch. i. 1280A.

unnatural : the third supernatural. Now the unnatural, as its name implies, being a falling away from natural habits and powers, injures both the substance itself and its natural energies. The natural proceeds from the unimpeded and naturally cogent cause. But the supernatural leads up and elevates the natural energy and empowers it for actions of a more perfect order, which it would not have been able to accomplish so long as it remained within the limits of its own nature. The supernatural therefore does not destroy the natural, but educes and stimulates it both to do its own business and to acquire the power for what is above it. . . . The supernatural implies the permanence of the natural. The very possibility of a miracle is gone if the natural is overthrown by what is supernatural, and pride when it tyrannizes over the truth of nature deserves the name of insolence.—C. Gore, *Dissertations*, 277.

No. 21.—The Rule of St. Benedict, c. 480—c. 543

[*S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, ed. C. Butler (Herder, Freiburg 1912; Mirbt,⁴ Nos. 194–200)]

c. i. *Of the kinds of monks.* It is manifest that there are four kinds of monks. The first is that of the coenobites : that is, the monastic, serving under a rule and an abbot. The second kind is that of the anchorites, that is, the hermits, those who have learned to fight against the devil, not by the new fervour of conversion, but by a long probation in a monastery, having been taught already by association with many ; and having been well prepared in the army of the brethren for the solitary fight of the hermit, and secure now without the encouragement of another, they are able, God helping them, to fight with their own hand or arm against the vices of the flesh or of their thoughts. But a third and very bad kind of monks are the sarabites, not tried as gold in the furnace by a rule, experience being their teacher, but softened after the manner of lead ; keeping faith with the world by their works, they are known by their tonsure to lie to God. Being shut up by twos and threes alone and without a shepherd, in their own and not

in their Lord's sheepfold, they have their own desires for a law. For whatever they think good and choose, that they deem holy; and what they do not wish, that they consider unlawful. But the fourth kind of monk is the kind called the *gyrovagi*, who during their whole life are guests for three or four days at a time in the cells of different monasteries throughout the various provinces; they are always wandering and never stationary, serving their own pleasures and the allurements of the palate, and in every way worse than the *sarabites*. Concerning the most wretched way of all, it is better to keep silence than to speak. These things therefore being omitted, let us proceed, with the aid of God, to treat of the best kind, the *coenobites*.

c. xlviii. *Concerning the daily manual labour.* Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore at fixed times the brethren ought to be occupied in manual labour; and again at fixed times in sacred reading. . . .

c. lviii. *Concerning the manner of receiving brethren.* When any one newly comes for conversion of life, an easy entrance shall not be granted him, but as the Apostle says: "Try the spirits whether they be of God" [1 John iv. 1]. Therefore, if any one who comes perseveres in knocking, and is seen after four or five days to endure patiently the insults heaped upon him and the difficulty of ingress and to persist in his request, let entrance be granted him, and let him be for a few days in the guests' cell. After this, let him be in the cell of the novices, where he shall meditate and eat and sleep . . . and be proven with all patience . . .

He who is to be received shall make in the oratory, in the presence of all, a promise before God and His saints concerning his stability [*stabilitas loci*] and the change in the manner of his life [*conversio morum*] and obedience [*obedientia*], so that if at any time he act contrary he shall know that he shall be condemned by Him whom he mocks. And concerning this his promise he shall make a petition addressed by name to the saints whose relics are there, and to the abbot who is present. And this petition he shall write out with his own hand . . . and shall place it upon the

altar. And when he has placed it there, the novice shall immediately begin this verse: "Receive me, O Lord, according to thy promise, and I shall live: and cast me not down from my hope" [Ps. cviii. 116, Vulg.]. And this verse the whole congregation shall repeat three times; adding "Glory be to the Father," etc. Then that brother novice shall prostrate himself at the feet of each one that they may pray for him. And already from that day he shall be considered as in the congregation. . . —J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 631 sqq.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, c. 547

[Cosmas Indicopleustes, so called because he was a traveller to India, wrote c. 547 a *Christian Topography*, giving an account of the voyages which he made, c. 520–5. He was a Nestorian Christian, and wrote this book after his travels were over, and he had become a monk in the peninsula of Sinai. Like Herodotus, he was full of inquisitiveness, and relied for his information not only upon what he saw for himself but from what he learned from others. He apologizes for his style for its lack of rhetoric: but he "wrote for Christians, who had more need of correct notions than of fine phrases."]

No. 22.—(1) Mar-aba, Catholicos of the East, 540–†52

[*Topographia Christiana*, I. 125 (*P.G.* lxxxviii. 73A); and J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, 166]

This I had learned from the divine Scriptures, and from the living voice of that most divine man and great teacher Patricius [Mar-aba]; who, when fulfilling the vows of the Abrahamic rule,¹ set out from Chaldaea with his disciple Thomas of Edessa, a holy man who followed him wherever he went, but by the will of God was removed from this life at Byzantium. Patricius propagated the doctrines of holy religion and true science, and has now by the grace of God

¹ Abraham of Cascar, a monastic founder, early sixth century.

been elevated to the lofty episcopal throne of all Persia, having been appointed bishop Catholic of that country.—J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Hakluyt Society, 1897), p. 24.

No. 23.—(II) Christians in Ceylon and Malabar

[*Topographia Christiana*, III. 178 (P.G. lxxxviii. 169A, B); Labourt, 165, n. 6]

Even in Taprobene (Ceylon), an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Calliana (Quilon) there is moreover a bishop, who is appointed from Persia. In the island again called the Island of Dioscorides (Socotra), which is situated in the same Indian sea, and where the inhabitants speak Greek, having been originally colonists sent thither by the Ptolemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their ordination in Persia, and are sent on to the island, and there is also a multitude of Christians. I sailed along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people, who had come over into Ethiopia. And so likewise among the Bactrians, and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians, and throughout the whole land of Persia, there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs, and monks also living as hermits.—J. W. McCrindle, pp. 118 sq.

No. 24.—The Conversion of Reccared, King of the Visigoths, 589

[About 500, the Visigothic kingdom extended from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, with its capital at Toledo. The Visigoths were Arians, and were conquered by Clovis,

King of the Franks, who were Catholics. Towards the end of the sixth century, they abandoned their Arianism for an ardent Catholicism, under the leadership of their King, Reccared, much to the delight of Pope Gregory the Great, as expressed in letters to his friend Leander, bishop of Seville (*Epp.* i. 43) and to Reccared himself (*Epp.* ix. 122). Reccared summoned the Third Council of Toledo, 589 (Hefele, § 287, III. i. 222) in order to complete the conversion of his people to the Catholic Faith; and prefaced its proceedings by a statement of faith concluding with the Nicene Creed in which the words "proceeding from the Father *and the Son*," though not the word *Filioque*, occur for the first time.]

There is present here all the famous nation of the Goths, esteemed for their real bravery by nearly all nations: who, however, by the error of their teachers have been separated from the faith and unity of the Catholic Church; but now, agreeing as a whole with me in my assent to the faith, participate in the communion of that Church which receives in its maternal bosom a multitude of different nations and nourishes them with the breasts of charity. Concerning her the prophet foretelling said: "My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations." For not only does the conversion of the Goths add to the amount of our reward, but also an infinite multitude of the people of the Suevi, whom under the protection of heaven we have subjected to our kingdom, led away into heresy by the fault of an alien, we have endeavoured to recall to the source of truth. Therefore, most holy Fathers, I offer as by your hands to the eternal God, as a holy and pleasing offering, these most noble nations, who have been attached by us to the Lord's possessions. . . . For as . . . it has been a matter of our care to bring these peoples to the unity of the Church of Christ, so it is a matter of your teaching to instruct them in the Catholic dogmas that they may know how . . . to embrace with fervent desire the communion of the Catholic Church. As it is of benefit to us to profess with the mouth what we believe in the heart . . . therefore I anathematize Arius with all his doctrines, so I hold in honour the faith of the

holy Council of Nicaea . . . of Constantinople . . . of Ephesus . . . of Chalcedon . . . and I have subscribed with complete singleness of heart to the divine testimony. [Here follow the Creeds of Nicaea and CP., with "proceeding from the Father *and the Son*" in the latter; as in the anathemas, No. 3, see Hahn,³ § 178 and Hefele, § 287, p. 417.]—J. C. Ayers, *Source-Book*, 576 sq.

No. 25.—St. Ninian, ? 360–†432 ? and St. Columba, 521–†97

[Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4]

In the year of our Lord 565, when Justin the younger, the successor of Justinian, took the government of the Roman Empire, there came into Britain a priest and abbot, distinguished in habit and monastic life, Columba by name, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, i.e. to those who are separated from the southern parts by steep and rugged mountains. For the southern Picts, who had their homes within these mountains, had long before, as is reported, forsaken the error of idolatry, and embraced the true faith by the preaching of the word to them by Ninian, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth, whose episcopal see was named after St. Martin, the bishop, and was famous for its church, wherein he and many other saints rest in the body, and which the English nation still possesses. The place belongs to the province of Bernicia, and is commonly called Candida Casa,¹ because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons.

Columba came to Britain in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius, the son of Meilochon, the very powerful King of the Picts, and he converted by work and example that nation to the faith of Christ; whereupon he also received the aforesaid island [Iona] for a monastery. It is not large, but contains about five families, according to English

¹ Whithern, i.e. White Cell, in Wigtonshire.

reckoning. His successors hold it to this day, and there also he was buried, when he was seventy-seven, about thirty-two years after he came into Britain to preach. Before he came into Britain he had built a noble monastery in Ireland which from the great number of oaks is called in the Scottish tongue *Dearmach*,¹ that is, the Field of Oaks. From both of these monasteries many others had their origin through his disciples both in Britain and Ireland; but the island monastery where his body lies holds the rule.

That island always has for its ruler an abbot, who is a priest, to whose direction all the province and even bishops themselves are subject by an unusual form of organization, according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a priest and a monk; of whose life and discourses some writings are said to have been preserved by his disciples. But whatever he was himself, this we regard as certain concerning him, that he left successors renowned for their great continency, their love of God and their monastic rules. However they followed uncertain cycles in their observance of the great festival [Easter], for no one brought them the synodal decrees for the observance of Easter, because they were placed so far away from the rest of the world; they only practised such works of piety and chasity as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical and apostolical writings. This manner of keeping Easter continued among them for a long time, that is, for the space of 150 years, or until the year of our Lord's incarnation 715.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 569 sq.

Venantius Fortunatus, c. 530—† c. 600, Bishop of Poitiers

No. 26.—(1) *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*

[The hymns of the Passion; *P.L.* lxxxviii; *Carmina* ii. 2 and ii. 6]

THE royal banners forward go;
The Cross shines forth in mystic glow;
Where he in flesh, our flesh who made,
Our sentence bore, our ransom paid:

¹ Durrugh, in King's County.

Where deep for us the spear was dyed,
Life's torrent rushing from his side
To wash us in that precious flood,
Where mingled Water flowed, and Blood.

Fulfilled is all that David told
In true prophetic song of old ;
Amidst the nations, God, said he,
Hath reigned and triumphed from the tree.

O Tree of beauty, Tree of light !
O Tree with royal purple dight !
Elect on whose triumphal breast
Those holy limbs should find their rest :

On whose dear arms, so widely flung,
The weight of this world's ransom hung :
The price of humankind to pay,
And spoil the spoiler of his prey.

O Cross, our one reliance, hail !
So may thy power with us avail
To give new virtue to the saint,
And pardon to the penitent.

To thee, eternal Three in One,
Let homage meet by all be done :
Whom by the Cross thou dost restore,
Preserve and govern evermore.

J. M. Neale, *E.H.*, No. 94.

No. 27.—(II) *Pange lingua gloriosi*

SING, my tongue, the glorious battle,
Sing the ending of the fray ;
Now above the Cross, the trophy,
Sound the loud triumphant lay :
Tell how Christ, the world's Redeemer,
As a Victim won the day.

God in pity saw man fallen,
 Shamed and sunk in misery,
 When he fell on death by tasting
 Fruit of the forbidden tree ;
 Then another tree was chosen
 Which the world from death should free.

Thus the scheme of our salvation
 Was of old in order laid,
 That the manifold deceiver's
 Art by art might be outweighed,
 And the lure the foe put forward
 Into means of healing made.

Therefore when the appointed fullness
 Of the holy time was come,
 He was sent who maketh all things
 Forth from God's eternal home ;
 Thus he came to earth, incarnate,
 Offspring of a maiden's womb.

To the Trinity be glory
 Everlasting, as is meet ;
 Equal to the Father, equal
 To the Son and Paraclete :
 Trinal Unity, whose praises
 All created things repeat.

Percy Dearmer, *The English Hymnal*, No. 95.

No. 28.—(III) *Lustra sex*

THIRTY years among us dwelling,
 His appointed time fulfilled,
 Born for this, he meets his Passion,
 For that this he freely willed,
 On the Cross the Lamb is lifted,
 Where his life-blood shall be spilled.

He endured the nails, the spitting,
 Vinegar, and spear, and reed ;
 From that holy Body broken

Blood and water forth proceed :
 Earth, and stars, and sky, and ocean
 By that flood from stain are freed.

Faithful Cross ! above all other,
 One and only noble tree !
 None in foliage, none in blossom,
 None in fruit thy peer may be ;
 Sweetest wood and sweetest iron !
 Sweetest weight is hung on thee.

Bend thy boughs, O Tree of Glory !
 Thy relaxing sinews bend ;
 For awhile the ancient rigour
 That thy birth bestowed, suspend ;
 And the King of heavenly beauty
 On thy bosom gently tend !

Thou alone wast counted worthy
 This world's ransom to uphold ;
 For a shipwreck'd race preparing
 Harbour, like the Ark of old ;
 With the sacred Blood anointed
 From the smitten Lamb that rolled.

To the Trinity be glory
 Everlasting, as is meet ;
 Equal to the Father, equal
 To the Son, and Paraclete :
 Trinal Unity, whose praises
 All created things repeat.

J. M. Neale, *E. H.*, No. 96.

Pope Gregory the Great, 590–†604

No. 29.—(1) To Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, †627

[In 568, Italy was invaded by the Lombards : who, like most of the barbarian invaders, were Arians. In Gregory's time their dominions included North Italy, together with

the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento in the south. But they kept the greater part of the country in constant alarm, even up to the gates of Rome: and this state of things is reflected in the services for the three Sundays next before Lent, which are known to have been arranged by St. Gregory. Two of the Collects for these Sundays (Septuagesima and Sexagesima) survive in the Prayer Book; and still bear witness to the terror inspired by the Lombards. War between Agilulf their King and the Exarch of Ravenna, representing the Emperor, went on for some years: until, at the instance of his Queen, Theodelinda, who was a Catholic and a correspondent of Gregory, peace was concluded. Some time after its conclusion Gregory sent her this letter of thanks, *c.* 598-9; *Ep.* ix. 45.]

How your Excellency has laboured earnestly and kindly, as is your wont, for the conclusion of peace we have learnt from the report of our son, the abbot Probus. Nor indeed was it otherwise to be expected of your Christianity than that you would in all ways shew your assiduity and goodness in the cause of peace. Wherefore we give thanks to Almighty God, who so rules your heart with His loving-kindness that, as He has given you a right faith, so He also grants you to work always what is pleasing in His sight. For you may be assured, most excellent daughter, that for the saving of so much bloodshed on both sides you have acquired no small reward. On this account, returning thanks for your goodwill, we implore the mercy of our God to repay you with good in body and soul, here and in the world to come.

Moreover, greeting you with fatherly affection, we exhort you so to deal with your most excellent consort that he may not reject the alliance of the Christian republic. For, as I believe you know yourself, it is in many ways profitable that he should be inclined to betake himself to its friendship. Do you then, after your manner, always strive for what tends to goodwill and conciliation between the parties, and labour wherever an occasion of reaping a reward presents itself, that you may commend your good deeds the more

before the eyes of almighty God.—*N. and P-N. F.* xiii. 257.

No. 30.—(II) On the title "Œcumenical Patriarch"

[Gregory to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, July 598, *Epp.* VIII. 30, and Mirbt,⁴ No. 211]

[The title itself was not a new one. Justinian had styled the Patriarch of CP. "Œcumenical Patriarch" (*Cod.* I. i. 7). The first known protest against it from Rome was on its assumption, 587, by John the Faster, Patriarch of CP., 582-†95: and Gregory remonstrated with the Patriarch about it, in spite of his having received a letter from the Emperor, desiring him to let the matter rest (*Ep.* V. 19). But he was now provoked to resolute action by having received a communication from the Patriarch, wherein the title "Œcumenical Patriarch" was repeatedly assumed. Perhaps the title was little more at first than the courtly language of high-flown compliment. But Gregory's peculiar warmth of feeling and violence of language against it, maintained throughout a long correspondence, are to be accounted for partly by the old jealousy between Rome and Constantinople, but also by its being taken as a claim to spiritual authority over the whole Church. Gregory thus disclaimed it for himself: and its subsequent acceptance by his successors for themselves may explain the eagerness of the Vatican Council 1870 to quote Gregory's language given below as a proof that the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome is not incompatible with the authority of the Episcopate. See *N. and P-N. F.* XII. xxii; and F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, ii. 209-26, for this introduction.]

Your Blessedness has also been careful to declare that you do not now make use of proud titles, which have sprung from a root of vanity, in writing to certain persons, and you address me, saying: "As you have commanded." This word "command" I beg you to remove from my hearing, since I know who I am, and who you are; for in position you are my brethren; in character my

fathers. I did not then command, but was desirous of indicating what seemed to be profitable. Yet I do not find that your Blessedness has been willing to remember perfectly this very thing that I brought to your recollection. For I said that neither to me nor to any one else ought you to write anything of the kind; and lo, in the preface of the epistle which you have addressed to myself who forbade it, you have thought fit to make use of a proud appellation, calling me Universal Pope. But I beg your Holiness to do this no more, since what is given to another beyond what reason demands is subtracted from yourself. For as for me I do not seek to be prospered by words but by my conduct. Nor do I regard that as an honour whereby I know that my brethren lose their honour. † For my honour is the honour of the universal Church: my honour is the solid vigour of my brethren. Then am I truly honoured when the honour due to all and each is not denied them.† For if your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you deny that you are yourself what you call me universally. But far be this from us. Away with words that inflate vanity and wound charity.—*N. and P-N. F.* xii. 240 sq.

No. 31.—(III) On Pictures in Church

[*Epp.* xi. 13, of Oct. 600, to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; and *Mirbt*,⁴ No. 212]

For indeed it had been reported to us that, inflamed with inconsiderate zeal, thou hadst broken images of saints, as though under the plea that they ought not to be adored. And indeed in that thou forbadeest them to be adored, we altogether praise thee; but we blame thee for having broken them. Say, brother, what priest has ever been heard of as doing what thou hast done? If nothing else, should not even this thought have restrained thee, so as not to despise other brethren, suffering thyself only to be holy and wise? For to adore a picture is one thing, but to learn

† † See *Const. dogmatica I. de ecclesia Christi*, c. 3; in *Mirbt*,⁴ No. 606, p. 463, lines 27-9.

through the story of a picture what is to be adored is another. For what writing presents to readers, this a picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read. Hence, and chiefly to the nations, a picture is instead of reading. . . . Pictures therefore ought not to be broken: for they are placed in churches not for adoration but solely for instructing the minds of the ignorant. . . . —*N. and P-N. F.* xii. 297 sq.

No. 32.—(IV) His scheme for the organization of the Church in England

[To St. Augustine: *Epp.* xi. 65; Bede, *H.E.* i. 29; June 22, 601]

Though it is certain that for those who labour for Almighty God ineffable rewards of an eternal kingdom are reserved, yet we must needs bestow honours upon them, that by reason of remuneration they may apply themselves the more manifoldly in devotion to spiritual work. And, since the new church of the English has been brought to the grace of Almighty God through the bountifulness of the same Lord and thy labours, we grant to thee the use of the pallium therein for the solemnization of Mass only, so that thou mayest ordain bishops in twelve several places, to be subject to thy jurisdiction, with a view of a bishop of the city of London being always consecrated in future by his own synod, and receiving the dignity of the pallium from this holy and Apostolical See, which by the grace of God I serve.

Further, to the city of York we desire thee to send a bishop whom thou mayest judge fit to be ordained; so that, if this same city with the neighbouring places should receive the Word of God, he may also ordain twelve bishops, so as to enjoy the dignity of a metropolitan; for to him also, if our life is continued, we propose, with the favour of God, to send a pallium; but yet we desire to subject him to the control of thy Fraternity. But after thy death let him be over the bishops whom he shall have ordained, so as to be

in no wise subject to the bishop of London. Further, between the bishops of London and York in the future let there be this distinction of dignity, that he be accounted first who was first ordained. But let them arrange by council in common, and with concordant action, whatever things may have to be done in zeal for Christ; let them be of one mind in what is right, and accomplish what they are minded to do without disagreement with each other.

But let thy Fraternity have subject to thyself under our God not only those bishops whom thou shalt ordain, and those whom the bishop of York may ordain, but also all the priests of Britain, to the end that they may learn the form of right belief and good living, from the tongue and life of thy Holiness, and executing their office well in their faith and manners, may attain to heavenly kingdoms when it may please the Lord. God keep thee safe, most reverend brother.—*N. and P-N. F. xiii. 325.*

No. 33.—(V) On the treatment of heathen temples

[To Mellitus, 601; *Epp.* xi. 76; Bede, *H.E.* i. 30; Mirbt,⁴ No. 213]

Since the departure of our congregation, which is with thee, we have been in a state of great suspense from having heard nothing of the success of your journey. But when Almighty God shall have brought you to our most reverend brother the bishop Augustine, tell him that I have been long considering with myself about the case of the English; to wit, that the temples of idols in that nation should not be destroyed, but that the idols themselves that are in them should be. Let blessed water be prepared, and sprinkled in these temples, and altars constructed, and relics deposited; since, if these same temples are well built, it is needful that they should be transferred from the worship of idols to the true God; that when the people themselves see that these temples are not destroyed, they may put away error from their heart and, knowing and adoring the true God, may have recourse with the more familiarity to the places they have been accustomed to. And, since they are

wont to kill many oxen in sacrifice to demons, they should have also some solemnity of this kind in a changed form, so that on the day of dedication, or on the anniversaries of the holy martyrs whose relics are deposited there, they may make for themselves tents of the branches of trees around these temples that have been changed into churches, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasts. Nor let them any longer sacrifice animals to the devil, but slay animals to the praise of God for their own eating, and return thanks to the giver of all for their fulness: so that, while some joys are reserved to them openly, they may be able the more easily to incline their minds to inward joys. For it is undoubtedly impossible to cut away everything at once from hard hearts, since one who strives to ascend to the highest place must needs rise by steps or paces, and not by leaps. . . . This then it is necessary for thy Love to say to our aforesaid brother, that he, being now in that country, may consider well how he should arrange all things. God keep thee safe, most beloved son.—*N. and P-N. F. xiii. 328.*

St. Columban, 543–†615

[Columban was the most famous of the Irish missionaries who founded churches and monasteries on the continent of Europe. Leaving Bangor, in Co. Down, he set out, *c.* 585, with twelve companions, among them St. Gall †640, the founder of the abbey of that name, and came to Burgundy where, *c.* 590, he founded the abbey of Luxeuil. Here he came into conflict with the Frankish clergy on the Celtic mode of calculating Easter. He provoked them to jealousy by the severity of his Rule, which was ultimately superseded by the Rule of St. Benedict; and, falling foul of the vices of the Burgundian Court, he was banished from Burgundy in 610. After various wanderings, he crossed the Alps: and found a welcome, 613, at the Court of Agilulf, the Arian King of the Lombards †616 and his Catholic Queen Theodelinda †627. Here, at last, he found rest; and, after founding the second great monastery connected with his name at Bobbio, some 25 miles S.W. of Piacenza, he died

there, 615; see *D.C.B.* i. 605-7; G. F. Maclear, *Christian Missions in the Middle Ages*, c. vii. (Macmillan, 1863).]

No. 34.—(I) His foundations

[Jonas, *Vita Columbani*; *P.L.* lxxxvii. 1016 *sqq.*]

c. 9. . . . The abbot [St. Corngal of Bangor] called Columban unto him and said that, though it was a grief to him, yet he had come to a decision useful to others . . . he would give him companions for his journey, men who were known for their religion. . . . So Columban in the twentieth [? thirtieth] year of his life set forth, and with twelve companions under the leadership of Christ went down to the shore of the sea . . . and after a quick passage reached the coasts of Brittany. . . .

c. 12. At that time there was a wide desert called Vosagus [the Vosges], in which there lay a castle long since in ruins. And ancient tradition called it Anagrates [Anegray]. When the holy man reached this place, in spite of its wild isolation, its rudeness, and the rocks, he settled there with his companions. . . .

c. 17. When the number of the monks had increased rapidly, he began to think of seeking in the same desert for a better place, where he might found a monastery. And he found a place, which had formerly been strongly fortified, at a distance from the first place about eight miles, and which was called in ancient times Luxovium [Luxeuil]. Here he began to found a cloister. . . .

c. 59. When the blessed Columban learned that Theodebert [II, King of Austrasia †612] had been conquered by Theoderich [II, King of Burgundy †613], he left Gaul, and entered Italy where he was honourably received by Agilulf, the Lombard king, who gave him permission to dwell where he wished in Italy. . . .

c. 60. While things were thus going on, a man named Jocundus came before the King and reported to him that he knew of a church of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, in a desert region of the Apennines, in which he learned that there were many advantages, being uncom-

monly fruitful and supplied with water full of fish. It was called in old time Bobium (Bobbio), on account of the brook which flowed by it: another river in the neighbourhood was called Trebia, on which Hannibal, spending a winter, suffered great losses of men, horses and elephants. Thither Columban removed . . . and set to work to construct . . . a monastery.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 587 sqq.

No. 35.—(II) His letter to Pope Gregory the Great on the Celtic Easter, 598–9

[ap. Gregory, *Epp.* ix. No. 127]

But in writing all this more forwardly than humbly, I know that I have involved myself in an Euripus of presumption, being perchance unskilled to steer out of it. Nor does it befit our place or rank that anything should be suggested in the way of discussion to thy great authority, and that my Western letters should ridiculously solicit thee, who sittest legitimately on the seat of the apostle and key-bearer Peter, on the subject of Easter. But thou oughtest to consider not so much worthless me in this matter as many masters, both departed and now living. It is for thee therefore either to excuse or to condemn Victorius knowing that, if thou approvest him, it will be a question of faith between thee and the aforesaid Jerome, seeing that he approved Anatolius, who is opposed to Victorius:¹ so that whoso follows the one cannot receive the other. Let then thy Vigilance take thought that, in approving the faith of the one of the two authors aforesaid who are mutually opposed to each other, there be no dissonance, when thou pronouncest thy opinion, between thee and Jerome, lest we should be on all sides in a strait, as to whether we should agree with thee or with him. Spare the weak in this matter, lest thou exhibit the scandal of diversity. For I frankly acknowledge to thee that any one who goes against the

¹ Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea A.D. 269, was author of a Paschal cycle of nineteen years; and Victorius of Aquitaine, an abbot in Rome 256–7, of a cycle of 532 years, which long held its ground in Gaul; cf. W. Bright, *Early English Church History*,* 89.

authority of St. Jerome will be one to be repudiated as a heretic among the churches of the West, for they accommodate their faith in all respects unhesitatingly to him with regard to the Divine Scriptures. But let this suffice with respect to Easter.—*N. and P-N. F.* xiii. 285.

Monothelitism

[“Early in the seventh century there grew out of the controversy on Christ’s Natures a controversy as to whether He had one or two Wills, it being hoped by the Eastern Court that the Monophysite schism might be healed, if the Church would grant that Christ had but one will and one activity” (W. Bright, *St. Leo*,² 174). Political considerations came in and determined the course of the controversy : for the Emperor Heraclius, 610–†41 (*H. L.* §§ 291 *sqq.* : III. i. 317 *sqq.*), who was hard put to it by war with the Persians till 628 and then with the Saracens 634–78, welcomed the chance of reconciliation for the sake of the unity of his Empire. Accordingly, in 622, at the advice of Sergius, Patriarch of CP., 610–†38, he opened communications with the leaders of the Monophysites, suggesting as a basis of reconciliation the recognition of two Natures but only one Will and operation. On this basis, Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, 630–†41, in the *Formula of Union*, 633, effected a reconciliation in Egypt. The conflict thence spread over a wider field. A monk Sophronius, who had been present at the discussions in Alexandria, and was now Patriarch of Jerusalem, 633–†7, went off to CP. and found that Sergius had already written to Pope Honorius, 625–†38. The Pope, in his *Letter to Sergius*, 634, endorsed the Patriarch’s opinion, and wrote, “We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ”; adding that he was not opposed to “one operation or two,” and that the question was a trifling one “fit only for grammarians.” Clearly he wanted to shelve it. So also did the Emperor as appears from his edict known as *The Ecthesis*, 638 (q.v. in Hefele, § 299). But this edict was merely an attempt to put an end to differences by concealing them. It therefore aroused

opposition in both East and West; till, with a view to quieting the strife, his grandson Constans II, 642-†68, issued *The Type* 648, and forbade all further discussion of the question. But matters had gone too far: and Pope Martin I, 649-†55, at *The Council of the Lateran* 649, condemned both *Ecthesis* and *Type*, and anathematized the doctrine of one Will as inconsistent with "the definitions of the Catholic Church and the rule of faith." A new turn, at length, was given to imperial policy by Constantine IV (Pogonatus), 668-†85, in whose reign the loss of Egypt and of Syria to the Saracens made it no longer necessary to let policy turn on conciliating the Monophysites. The Emperor therefore made overtures to Pope Agatho, 678-†82: who issued a *Tome* defining the issues for the impending General Council, in the same manner as Leo I had put out his *Tome* for the Council of Chalcedon, 451. In this document, Agatho confirmed the doctrine of the Two Wills; and condemned those who had taught the opposite—Sergius of CP., Cyrus of Alexandria, and Pope Honorius. The best that can be said for Honorius is that "he did not absolutely deny two Wills, but only two contrary wills": so Petavius (†1652), *de Inc.* I. xxi. 11. Nevertheless, the Sixth General Council, at CP., united in the *Condemnation of Honorius*, March 28, 681, and then proceeded to its *Definition*, Sept. 16, 681, which taught "two natural wills" (i.e. each belonging to a nature) and added an important explanation that "just as His holy and spotless ensouled flesh was deified yet was not annihilated, so also His human will, though deified, yet was not annihilated." It should be noted (1) that, throughout the controversy, Catholics held that will belongs to Nature and not to Person as does Hooker, *E.P.* V. xlviii. 9; so that, as there are Three Persons in the Trinity but one Will, so in the Incarnate there is One Person, but two Wills: and (2) that the question "was one for life and death: the denial of a human will in Christ was, in fact, a denial of His Sacrifice."—R. C. Trench, *Hulsean Lectures*, 1845-6, p. 214.]

No. 36.—(I) The Formula of Union, 633

[A. Hahn,³ No. 232; Hefele, § 293; III. i. 340 sq. ed. Leclercq]

c. vii. If any one in using the expression "Our one Lord Jesus Christ is known in two Natures," does not confess that He is one of the Holy Trinity, i.e. the Word eternally begotten of the Father but in these last times incarnate and brought forth of our all-holy and immaculate lady, mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, but acknowledges Him as one and another and not one and the same, as the wise Cyril says, complete in Godhead and the same complete in manhood, and therefore known in two Natures as one and the same: and [if any one does not confess] that one and the same on the one side suffered and on the other is incapable of suffering as the same St. Cyril says, i.e. that He suffered as man in the flesh, so far as He was man but as God remained incapable of suffering in the body of His flesh; and [if any one does not confess] that this one and the same Christ and Son worked both the divine and the human by one divine-human operation (*μὴ Θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ*) . . . but under such expressions understands a distinction into two parts, let him be anathema.—Hefele, § 293, Vol. V, p. 20 (slightly altered).

No. 37.—(II) First letter of Pope Honorius to Sergius, Patriarch of CP., 634

[*Scripta fraternitatis tuæ*, ap. Denzinger, No. 251; *H.L.* § 296; III. i. 350]

By the leading of God we have come to the measure of the true faith, which the apostles of the truth have spread abroad by the rule of the Holy Scriptures, confessing that the Lord Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and man, worked the divine works by means of the manhood, which was hypostatically united to Him, the Word of God, and that the same worked the human works since the flesh was assumed by the Godhead, in an unspeakable and unique manner . . . so that the union must be wonderfully thought

of, under the continuance of both natures. . . . Whence also *we confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ*, since our [human] nature was plainly assumed by the Godhead, but not our guilt: to wit that nature as it was created before sin, not as it was tainted after the fall. For Christ . . . as He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, so was He also born without sin of the holy and immaculate Virgin, the mother of God, without experiencing any contamination from our tainted nature. . . . In His members, there was *not another will different from, and contrary to*, [that of] the Saviour because He was born above the law of human condition. . . . That the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Word of God, by whom all things were made, the one and the same, works divine and human works, is shewn quite clearly by the Holy Scriptures. But whether on account of the works of the godhead and the manhood it is suitable to think of one or two energies (*operationes, ἐνέργειαι*) as present, we cannot tell: we leave that to schoolmasters who sell to boys the expressions invented by them, in order to attract them to themselves. For we have not learned from the sacred scriptures that Christ and His holy Spirit have *one or two energies*; but that He works in manifold ways.—Hefele, § 296, Vol. V. 28 sqq.

No. 38.—(III) *The Type*, 648, of Constans II

[*H.L.* § 306; III. i. 432; Kirsch, Nos. 972–5]

We believed that, under God's guidance, we were bound to extinguish the flame of discord which had been kindled, and not allow it further to destroy souls. We declare therefore to our orthodox subjects that, from the present moment, they no longer have permission in any way to contend and to quarrel with one another over one will and energy, or two energies and two wills. This we ordain not to take away anything from the pious doctrines of the holy recognized Fathers in regard to the Incarnation of God the Word, but with the view that all further strife in regard to these questions should cease, and that we should follow only the Holy Scriptures and the five deliverances of the

five holy Œcumenical Synods, and the simple utterances and confessions of the approved Fathers . . . without adding or taking away anything, and without explaining them in a manner opposed to their proper meaning. . . . Whoever ventures to transgress the command now given is subject, above all, to the judgment of God, but he will also be liable to the punishment of the despisers of Imperial Commands. . . .—Hefele, § 306; v. 95 *sq.*

No. 39.—(IV) The Council of the Lateran, 649

[Denzinger, No. 271; Hefele, § 307; III. i. 434 *sqq.* ed. Leclercq]

c. 18. If any one does not, according to the holy Fathers, and in company with us, reject and anathematize with mind and mouth, all those whom as most wicked heretics the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, that is, the five Universal Synods and likewise all approved Fathers of the Church, rejects and anathematizes, with all their impious writings even to each point, i.e. Sabellius . . . and, justly with these, as like them and in equal error Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople . . . and those who agree with them, that there is one will and one operation of the deity and manhood of Christ: and in addition to these the most impious *Ecthesis* . . . and . . . the wicked *Type* . . . let him be anathema.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 664 *sq.*

No. 40.—(V) The condemnation of Pope Honorius by the Sixth Œcumenical Council

[III. CP., March 23, 681; *H-L.* § 320; III. i. 501 *sqq.*; Mirbt,⁴ No. 220; Kirsch, Nos. 974–6]

After we had reconsidered, according to our promise made to your Highness [*sc.* the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus], the doctrinal letter written by Sergius to Cyrus then bishop of Phasis and to Honorius, sometime Pope of Old Rome, as well as the letter of the latter to the same Sergius, and finding that the documents are quite foreign

to the apostolic dogmas, to the definitions of the holy councils, and to all the approved Fathers, and that they follow the false teachings of the heretics, we entirely reject them, and execrate them as hurtful to the soul. But the names of these men whom we execrate must also be thrust forth from the holy Church of God; namely that of Sergius, sometime bishop of this God-preserved royal city, who was the first to write on this impious doctrine; also that of Cyrus of Alexandria, of Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, who died bishops of this God-preserved city, and were likeminded with them; and that of Theodore, sometime bishop of Pharan, all of whom the most holy and thrice-blessed Agatho, Pope of Old Rome, in his suggestion to our most pious and God-preserved lord and mighty Emperor, rejected because they were minded contrary to our orthodox faith, all of whom we declare are subject to anathema. And with these we decree that there shall be expelled from the holy Church of God and anathematized Honorius, who was Pope of Old Rome, because of what we found written by him to Sergius, that in all respects he followed his view and confirmed his impious doctrine.—J. C. Ayer, *Source-Book*, 671 sq.

The Tome of Pope Agatho, 680

[*Omnium bonorum spes*, ap. Denzinger, No. 288, *ad fin.*]

[After quoting the famous sentence *Agit enim utraque forma*, etc. (*Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. 289 sq.), Pope Agatho proceeds:] Hence we confess that as He truly has two natures or substances, i.e. Godhead and manhood, without confusion, separation, or change, so also He has two natural wills and two natural operations [i.e. each belonging to a nature]: inasmuch as the rule of piety teaches us that He is complete God and complete man, as well as one and the same Lord Jesus Christ. For this is clearly taught us both by the tradition of the Apostles and the Scriptures, and by the teaching of the holy Fathers who are received by the holy apostolic and Catholic Church and the venerable Councils.—K. [and, for further detail, see Hahn,³ § 184 and Hefele, § 314].

No. 41.—(VI) The Definition of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, Sept. 16, 681

[Hefele, § 322; ed. Leclercq III. i. 508; Denzinger, No. 291; Mirbt,⁴ No. 219; Hahn,³ § 149]

Following the five holy and œcumenical synods . . . we likewise declare that in Him are two natural wills or willings and two natural operations, indivisibly, unchangeably, inseparably, unconfusedly, according to the teaching of the holy Fathers. And these two natural wills are not contrary the one to the other (which God forbid) as the heretics say, but His human will follows, not as resisting or reluctant, but rather therefore as subject to His divine and omnipotent will. . . . For as His most holy and immaculately animated flesh was not destroyed because it was deified but continued in its own state and nature, so also His human will, although deified, was not taken away, but rather was preserved.—J. C. Ayers, *Source-Book*, p. 669.

No. 42.—The Synod of Whitby, 664

[The Paschal Question, tiresome as it may be, is important as shewing the pre-eminence which belonged to Easter and the Resurrection in the early Church. On the eve of the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, there were three varieties of practice as to the Paschal observance (1) Judaizing Quartodecimans: with the later Jews, they kept the fourteenth Nisan, regardless of the equinox; (2) Equinoctialists, of whom a minority were also Quartodecimans, mostly of the Province of Asia, they kept Easter after the equinox, refusing to celebrate it with the later Jews, and simply on the fourteenth Nisan whether a Sunday or not; and (3) the majority, on the other hand, including all the West and the greater part of Eastern Christendom kept Easter on the Sunday after the full moon which followed the vernal equinox. The Council, in its decisions about the Paschal Question (*Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 10) ruled, with the majority (1) that Easter Day should always be a Sunday (§§ 34, 43): this was fatal to Quartodecimans, whether equinoctialists or not; (2) that Easter Day should never be celebrated at

the same time as the feast of the Jews (*ibid.*, §§ 35, 36, 41, 42) i.e. that if the fourteenth Nisan fell on a Sunday, Easter Day should be deferred to the Sunday following: not so to defer it was the characteristic offence of the Celtic party, though not Quartodecimans; in the eyes of the Roman party at the Synod of Whitby, 664; (3) that Easter should never be celebrated twice in the same year (*ibid.*, §§ 37, 38), as it might easily be by those who refused to take account of the equinox.

But further questions remained unsettled: and "the Paschal Question," as it stood at Whitby, "was twofold. (1) How many years must elapse before the Paschal full moon, and Easter Day as the Sunday after it, will recur on the same day? How can we settle for any given year the day on which that moon should fall, and therefore the right day of Easter? This 'question' was answered by the adoption of 'cycles'; and the Scotie and British Churches retained an old cycle of eighty-four years framed by Victorius of Aquitaine, c. 456-7, which Rome had used but which she had cast off, adopting finally that of Dionysius Exiguus, sixth cent., according to which the lunar cycle for nineteen years, framed by Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria c. 269, multiplied by the solar cycle for twenty-eight years, shewed on what day in each year, during successive periods of five hundred and thirty-two years, the Paschal moon would fall, and therefore what day would be Easter Sunday. (2) On what day of the Paschal month, or, as it was expressed, 'on which moon,' being a Sunday (for on that point all were agreed) may Easter be kept? That is, if the Sunday after the full moon should be 'the fourteenth moon,' may that be Easter Sunday, or must Easter in that case be on the Sunday following, the twenty-first, so that 'the fifteenth moon' must be treated as the first possible day for Easter? Here lay the point which brought out the strongest feeling. The Celtic Churches included 'the fourteenth moon' within the number of possible Easter Sundays: the other Churches insisted on excluding it, urging the authority of the Nicene Council on the duty of keeping clear of the Jewish day. In other words, Easter

Sunday among the Scots might fall on any 'moon' from the fourteenth to the twentieth inclusive; at Rome, or in Gallic churches, or at Canterbury or Dunwich, it might fall on any 'moon' from the fifteenth to the twenty-first but not earlier; and to keep this rule was to keep the 'Catholic Easter.'"—W. Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*,³ 224 sq.]

[Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25]

At this time [c. 652], a frequent and great question was raised concerning the keeping of the paschal feast; those who had come from Kent, as well as those who had come from Gaul, affirming that the Scots kept Easter contrary to the custom of the universal Church. Among these was a very keen defender of the true paschal feast named Ronan, by nation indeed a Scot, but having been fully taught the rules of ecclesiastical truth in the parts of Gaul or Italy; and he contending with Finan [bp. of Lindisfarne, 652-†61], corrected indeed many, or stimulated them to a more strict enquiry after the truth. By no means, however, was he able to amend Finan. . . . Moreover, James the deacon . . . of the venerable archbishop Paulinus, observed the true and catholic paschal feast, together with all whom he had been able to instruct in the more correct way. Queen Eanfled also, together with her court, observed it according as she had seen done in Kent, having with her from Kent a presbyter of the catholic observance, by name Romanus: whence it is related to have sometimes happened in those times that the paschal feast was kept twice in one year: and when the King [Oswy, of Northumbria, 642-†70] having ended his fast, the queen with her court, still continuing in her fast, was keeping the Day of Palms. . . .

However, on the death of Finan . . . when Colman . . . succeeded to the episcopate, being himself also sent by the Scots, a greater controversy arose concerning the keeping of Easter, and also concerning other rules of ecclesiastical life. . . . It came even to the ears of the rulers—to wit, King Oswy, and his son Alchfrid; which Oswy, forsooth, having been instructed and baptized by the Scots, and also being

well-skilled in their language, thought that nothing was better than what they had taught him. Further, Alchfrid, having for his instructor in Christian erudition, Wilfrid [bp. of York 669-78 : Hexham 706-†9], a most learned man (for he had gone to Rome previously for the sake of ecclesiastical learning, and had spent much time with Dalphinus, archbishop of Lyons in Gaul, from whom also he had received the crown of the ecclesiastical tonsure), knew that his doctrine was justly to be preferred to all the traditions of the Scots. . . .

A question being raised concerning the paschal feast, and the tonsure and other ecclesiastical matters, it was arranged that in the monastery called Streanaeshalch [Whitby], which signifies the Bay of the Lighthouse, over which the abbess Hilda, †680, a woman devoted to God, then presided, a synod should be held, and this dispute terminated. Thither came both kings, the father, to wit, and the son ; the bishops, Colman [bishop of Lindisfarne, 661-4] with his clergy from Scotland, Agilbert [bishop of Dorchester, 651-62] with the presbyters Agatho, and Wilfrid [then abbot of Ripon, 661-4]. James and Romanus were on the side of these ; the abbess Hilda, with her party, on the side of the Scots ; on which side also was the venerable bishop Cedd [of the East Saxons, 654-†64], long before ordained by the Scots . . . who proved in that Council a most vigilant interpreter of both parties.

And first King Oswy . . . commanded his bishop, Colman, first to declare what that custom was which he followed, and whence it derived its origin. Then said Colman : " This paschal feast which I am accustomed to keep, I received from my elders, who sent me hither as bishop, which all our fathers, men beloved by God, are known to have celebrated in the same manner. And this may not appear to any to be contemned or rejected, since it is the very feast which the blessed evangelist St. John, the disciple specially beloved by the Lord, together with all the churches over which he presided, is 'recorded to have celebrated.' " . . . Then Wilfrid, the king commanding that he should speak, began thus : " The paschal feast which

we observe," said he, "we have seen celebrated by all at Rome, where the blessed apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried; this feast in Italy and in Gaul, which countries we passed through for the sake of learning or of praying, we saw kept by all. We found Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece and all the world, wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad, through divers nations and tongues, keeping this feast in one and not a different order of time, except these only and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and the Britons: together with whom, from two most remote islands of ocean, nor yet from the whole of these, they contend with foolish labour against the whole world. . . . John, according to the custom of the Law, began the celebration of the paschal feast on the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, not regarding whether this day fell on Saturday, or on any other day of the week. . . . Whence it appears that you, Colman, neither follow the example of John, as you suppose, nor that of Peter, whose tradition you knowingly contradict. . . . For John, keeping the time of the paschal feast according to the decrees of the Mosaic Law, had no regard to the first day of the week; which is not your practice, since you keep the paschal feast only on the first day of the week. Peter was accustomed to keep the Lord's Day of the paschal feast from the fifteenth day of the moon unto the twenty-first; which you do not, since you keep the Lord's Day of the Passover from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon; so that you often begin the paschal feast on the thirteenth day of the moon at evening. . . . Besides, you entirely exclude from the celebration of your paschal feast the twenty-first day of the moon, which the Law commanded to be chiefly observed; and so, as I said, you do not agree either with John or Peter, either with the Law or the Gospel."

In reply to this Colman said: "Did Anatolius, a holy man, and much praised in the aforesaid ecclesiastical history, think that which was contrary to the Law or the Gospel, when he wrote that the Passover was to be kept from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon? Is

it to be believed that our reverend father Columba, and his successors, men beloved by God, who kept the paschal feast in the same manner, thought or did that which was contrary to the Divine pages? Whereas there were many among them whose sanctity was testified by celestial signs and the miracles of virtues which they wrought; and I myself not doubting their being saints, desist not from following always their life, customs and discipline."

Then said Wilfrid: "It is evident that Anatolius was a man most holy, most learned, and most worthy of praise. But what have you to do with him, since you do not follow his decrees? For he, indeed, following the rule of truth in his paschal feast, appointed a cycle of nineteen years, which you are either ignorant of or else condemn as of no account, although it is recognized and kept by the whole Church of Christ. . . . Concerning your father Columba and his followers . . . I do not deny that they were servants of God and beloved by God, who loved God with rustic simplicity but pious intention. . . . You, however, and your friends without any doubt, transgress if you neglect to follow the decrees of the Apostolic See, yea, of the universal Church, which you have heard, and these too confirmed by the sacred writings. For although your fathers were holy is their small number, from one corner of a very remote island, to be preferred to the universal Church of Christ which is throughout the world? And, even if that Columba of yours, yea, ours also, if he was Christ's, was holy and powerful in wonderful works, could he therefore be preferred to the most blessed chief of the apostles, to whom the Lord said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?"

On Wilfrid thus concluding his speech, the king said: "Is it true, Colman, that those words were said to that Peter by the Lord?" And he said: "It is true, O king." Then said he: "Can you shew any such power given to your Columba?" And he said: "None." Again, the king said: "Do you both agree on this point without any

controversy, that these words were said especially to Peter, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to him by the Lord?" They both answered: "Certainly." Then he concluded thus: "And I tell you that he is that door-keeper whom I will not contradict, but, as far as I know or have power, I desire in all things to obey his decrees lest, perchance, when I come to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, there may be no one to unlock them for me, if he is averse who is proved to have the keys."

The king having said this, all those who were sitting or standing by, applauded, nobles together with ordinary persons, and having renounced the less perfect institution, they hastened to adopt that which they had found the better.—*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, tr. L. Gidley (Parker & Co., 1870), pp. 244–55.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, 668–†90

[“It is difficult, if not impossible, to overstate the debt which England, Europe and Christian civilization owes to the work of Theodore. He was the real organizer of the administrative system of the English Church, and in that work laid the foundation of English national unity. He brought the learning and culture of the Eastern empire into the West, and with the aid of Hadrian and Benedict Biscop established schools from which the scholars and missionaries of the following century went out to rekindle the light of Christian culture in France and the recently converted parts of Germany.”—Bishop Stubbs in *D.C.B.* iv. 932.]

No. 43.—(1) Theodore arrives in England, 669

[Bede, *H.E.* iv. cc. 1, 2]

c. 1. There was at that time in Rome a monk, known to Hadrian, by name Theodore, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, a man versed in both secular and divine literature, and instructed in both Greek and Latin, approved in morals, and venerable through age, that is, being sixty-six years old. Hadrian proposed this man to the pontiff, and

obtained that he should be ordained bishop, these conditions only being added, that he himself should conduct him to Britain, because he had already on one account or other gone to the parts of Gaul, and for that reason knew better how to accomplish the journey; and also in order that, being his fellow-labourer in doctrine, he might diligently take heed that he did not introduce anything after the manner of the Greeks contrary to the truth of the faith,¹ into the Church over which he presided. . . . He was ordained by Pope Vitalian [657-†72], in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 668, on Sunday, the seventh day of the kalends of April [March 26]. And as he was sent with Hadrian to Britain, on the sixth day before the kalends of June [May 27]. . . . When sure messengers had told King Ecgbert [of Kent, 664-†73] that the bishop whom they had asked of the Roman pontiff was in the kingdom of France, he forthwith sent his prefect Raedfrid to conduct him. . . .

c. 2. Theodore came to his church in the second year of his consecration, on the sixth day of the kalends of June [May 27], being Sunday, and spent in it twenty-one years, three months and twenty-six days. And presently, having travelled through the whole island, wheresoever the nations of the Angles dwelt, for he was most gladly received and heard by all, he disseminated the right rule of living, and the canonical rite of celebrating Easter, Hadrian attending and co-operating with him on all occasions. He was the first archbishop to whom all the Church of the Angles consented to submit; and because . . . they were both amply instructed in sacred as well as secular literature, a crowd of disciples being congregated . . . they even delivered to their hearers the rules of ecclesiastical metrical art, astronomy and arithmetic, together with the volumes of sacred letters. A proof of which is that even to this day some of their disciples are living, who know the Latin and Greek tongues as well as they do their own in which they were born. . . . Moreover, from this time, through all the churches of the Angles, they began to learn the notes of singing in the

¹ *sc.* Monothelitism, dominant in the East between 649-80.

church, which up to that time they had only known in Kent and the first master of singing in the churches of the Nordanhymbri . . . was Eddi . . . invited from Kent by the most reverend man Wilfrid, who first among the bishops who were of the English nation, learnt to deliver the catholic rule of living to the English churches. Theodore then visiting all parts ordained bishops in opportune places. . . .—*Bede's Eccl. Hist.* tr. L. Gidley, 273–7.

No. 44.—(II) The Council of Hertford, 673

[Bede, *H.E.* iv. 5]

In the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the perpetual reign and government of our Lord Jesus Christ. It seemed good that we should come together according to the prescription of the venerable canons, to treat of the necessary affairs of the Church. We are met together on this twenty-fourth day of September, the first indiction, in a place called Hertford, I, Theodore, bishop of the Church of Canterbury, appointed thereto, unworthy as I am, by the Apostolic See, and our most reverend brother Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, together with our brother and fellow-bishop Wilfrid, bishop of the nation of the Northumbrians, who was present by his proper legates, as also our brethren and fellow-bishops, Putta, bishop of the Castle of the Kentishmen, called Rochester, Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrid, bishop of the province of the Mercians, were present; and when we were assembled and had taken our proper places, I said: I beseech you, beloved brethren, for fear and love of our Redeemer, that we may faithfully enter into a common treaty for the sincere observance of whatsoever has been decreed and determined by the holy and approved fathers. I enlarged upon these and many other things tending unto charity, and the preservation of the unity of the Church. And when I had finished my speech, I asked them singly and in order whether they consented to observe all things which had been of old canonically decreed by the fathers? To which all our fellow-priests answered: We are all well

agreed readily and cheerfully to keep whatever the canons of the holy fathers have prescribed. Whereupon I presently produced the book of canons, and pointed out ten particulars, which I had marked as being in a more special manner known by me to be necessary for us, and proposed that all would undertake diligently to observe them, namely :—

(1) That we shall jointly keep Easter Day on the Lord's Day after the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month.

(2) That no bishop invade the diocese of another, but be content with the government of the people committed to him.

(3) That no bishop be allowed to offer any molestation to monasteries consecrated to God, nor to take away by violence anything that belongs to them.

(4) That the monks themselves go not from place to place, that is, from one monastery to another, without the leave of their own abbot, but continue in that obedience which they promised at the time of their conversion.

(5) That no clerk, leaving his own bishop, go up and down at his own pleasure, nor be received wherever he comes without the commendatory letters of his bishop ; but if he be once received and refuse to return when he is desired so to do, both the receiver and the received shall be laid under an excommunication.

(6) That strange bishops and clerks be content with the hospitality that is freely offered them, and let not any of them exercise any priestly function without permission of the bishop in whose diocese he is known to be.

(7) That a synod be assembled twice in the year. But, because many occasions may hinder this, it was jointly agreed by all that once in the year it be assembled on the first of August at the place called Cloveshoo.

(8) That no bishop put himself before another out of an affectation of precedence, but that everyone observe the time and order of his consecration.

(9) We had a conference together concerning increasing the number of bishops in proportion to the number of the faithful, but we determine nothing as to this point at present.

(10) As to matrimony: that none be allowed to any but what is lawful. Let none commit incest. Let no one relinquish his own wife, as the Gospel teaches. But, if any shall have dismissed a wife to whom he has been lawfully married, let him not be coupled to another if he wish to be really a Christian, but remain as he is or be reconciled to his wife.

After we had jointly treated upon and determined these points, to the intent that no scandalous contention should be raised henceforth by any of us, and that there should be no mistake in the publication of them, it seemed proper that everyone of us should confirm them by the subscription of his own hand, according as they had been determined. I dictated this our definitive sentence to be written by Titillus the notary. Done in the month and indiction above written. Whosoever therefore shall attempt to oppose and infringe this sentence, confirmed by our consent and the subscription of our hands as agreeable to the decrees of the canons, let him know that he is forbidden every function of a priest and all society with us. May the Divine grace preserve us safe in the unity of the Church so long as we live.—H. Gee and L. Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, No. V.

No. 45.—(III) The Council of Hatfield, Sept. 17, 680

[Bede, *H.E.* iv. 17]

At this time Theodore, hearing that the faith of the Church at Constantinople had been much disturbed by the heresy of Eutyches, and being desirous that the Churches of the English, over which he ruled, should abide free from such a stain, having collected an assemblage of venerable priests and very many doctors, diligently enquired what belief they each held, and found an unanimous agreement of all in the Catholic Faith; and this he took care to commit to a synodal letter for the instruction and remembrance of posterity; of which letter, to wit, this is the beginning:—

“In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

the reign of our most pious lords, Egfrid, King of the Humbrians, in the tenth year of his reign, on the fifteenth day before the kalends of October; and Æthelred, King of the Mercians, in the sixth year of his reign; and Aldwulf, King of the East Angles, in the seventeenth year of his reign; and Lothair, King of the Kentishmen, in the seventh year of his reign. Theodore, being president, by the grace of God, archbishop of the island of Britain and of the city of Canterbury, and other venerable men sitting with him, bishops of the island of Britain, with the holy Gospels laid before them, in the place which is called by the Saxon name of Hatfield; we handling the subject in concert, have made an exposition of the right and orthodox faith, even as our Incarnate Lord Jesus Christ delivered it to His disciples, who saw Him present, and heard His discourses, and as the creed of the holy fathers has delivered, and generally all the assembly of approved doctors of the Catholic Church—we therefore piously and orthodoxly following them, and making our profession according to their divinely inspired teaching, believe in unison with it, and confess according to the holy fathers, that the Father and Son and Holy Ghost are properly and truly a consubstantial Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity: that is, one God in three consubstantial subsistences, or Persons, of equal glory and honour.”

And, after many things of this kind that pertained to the confession of the right faith, the holy synod also adds this to its letter:—

“We have received, as holy and universal, five synods of the fathers blessed and acceptable to God [Nicaea, CP. I, Ephesus, Chalcedon, CP. II]” and a little after: “Also we have received the synod that was held in the city of Rome in the time of the blessed Pope Martin [Lateran, 649] in the eighth indiction in the ninth year of the reign of the most pious Constans [642–†68]. And we glorify our Lord Jesus Christ as they glorified Him, neither adding nor subtracting anything; and we anathematize with heart and mouth those whom they anathematized; and those whom they received we receive, glorifying God the Father without

beginning, and His only begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the world began, and the Holy Ghost proceeding ineffably from the Father and the Son, as those holy apostles and prophets and doctors have declared, of whom we have spoken above. And all we who have with Theodore made an exposition of the Catholic Faith have subscribed hereto."—*Doc. Eng. Ch. Hist.*, No. VI.

St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany, †755

[Boniface was to Germany what Theodore had been to England, binding all the members of the Church together, and imparting to it new stability and life. But this was done in closer dependence upon the Roman See. Born at Crediton, in Devonshire, his name was Winfrid: and he became a monk, in a monastery near Winchester. In 719, he made his first journey to Rome, with letters commendatory from his friend and patron, Daniel, bishop of Winchester 705-†44. He was welcomed by the Pope, Gregory II, 715-†31: and May 15, deputed "to enquire into the state of the savage Germans" eastward of the Rhine. At first Thuringia, and then Upper Hesse, was the scene of his labours. News came of his success and, summoned by the Pope, he paid a second visit to Rome, 722; where, together with the name Boniface, he received consecration as a missionary bishop; and made himself by oath, Nov. 30, the vassal of the Roman See. His work, supported as it was from time to time by reinforcements, both of men and women from England, continued to grow, for fifteen years: till he received news of the death of Gregory II. Anxious for further support from his successor, Gregory III, 731-†41, he crossed the Alps on his third visit to Rome: when the Pope made him archbishop and legate, though as yet without a see. He returned to found new sees in Bavaria and elsewhere, and to restore life to the Frankish Church by reviving synodical action in Gaul, *c.* 744. In recognition of this, the new Pope, Zacharias, 741-†52, appointed him Archbishop of Mainz, 748, but he resigned the see, 755, in order to return to the

missionary enterprises of his youth in Frisia. Here he met his death by martyrdom, June 5, 755. For this summary, see his *Vita*, by Willibald his pupil: *P.L.* lxxxix. 603-34 and Hardwick, *Middle Ages* 19-23, with Bp. Stubbs' notes.]

No. 46.—(1) Gregory II commissions St. Boniface to preach the Gospel in Germany, May 15, 719

[Boniface, *Ep.* ii.; *P.L.* lxxxix. 689 *sqq.*; Mirbt,⁴ No. 225]

News has reached us of the intention of your devout purpose, all piously aflame in Christ, and a report has been sent to us, both trustworthy and genuine, of your faith; so that we may make use of you for the ministry of the divine Word: the responsibility for which, by the grace of God, rests with us. . . . Wherefore in the name of the indivisible Trinity, by the sure authority of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, whose office of teaching by divine permission we discharge and the place of whose sacred see we administer, we require and command your devout Reverence that, with the word of God's grace (which, as a saving fire, our Lord came on earth to send) and with God for your companion you make open effort to hasten your way to all such peoples as are held fast in unbelief; to declare the kingdom of God by making known the name of Christ our Lord and God, and persuading men of the truth we hold: and, by "the spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind" to bring home the preaching of both Testaments to minds yet untaught, by reasoning suitable to them. Finally, we further desire that according to the service-book of our holy Apostolic See you set forth the discipline of that sacrament which you should be zealous to observe for the benefit of those who, under the guidance of God, are to be initiated in the faith after the benefit of your preliminary instruction. If you see anything wanting in these proceedings please take care to let us know, according as you are able. Farewell.—K.

**No. 47.—(II) The oath of obedience to the Holy See,
Nov. 30, 722**

[*P.L.* lxxxix. 803 *sq.*; Mirbt,⁴ No. 226]

I Boniface, by the grace of God bishop, promise to thee, Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, to thy Vicar, the blessed Pope Gregory and his successors, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Inseparable Trinity, and this most holy body of thine [*sc.* in the shrine], that I will shew all faith and sincerity of the holy Catholic Faith, and with God's help will continue in the unity thereof . . . , and in no wise will I consent to aught which is contrary to the unity of the same, but will always persevere in keeping my pure faith in communion with thee and in close adherence to the usages of thy Church, which has received from God the power to bind and to loose : and so I promise to thy Vicar and his successors. And, if I at any time learn that the conduct of any ministers of the Church is opposed to the ancient ordinances of the Fathers, I will hold no intercourse or communion with them, but will rather hinder their proceedings to the best of my power : and wherever I cannot restrain them I will faithfully and at once give information to my apostolic Lord.—G. F. Maclear, *History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages*, 185 *sq.*

No. 48.—(III) On the renunciation in Baptism

[Boniface, *Sermo XV.*; *P.L.* lxxxix. 870–2]

Listen, my brethren, and consider attentively what it was ye renounced at your Baptism. Ye renounced the devil, and all his works, and pomps. What are the works of the devil? They are pride, idolatry, envy, homicide, backbiting, lying, perjury, hatred, variance, fornication, adultery, theft, drunkenness, sorcery, witchcraft, recourse to amulets and charms. These and such like are the works of the devil, and all such ye renounced at your Baptism ; and, as the Apostle saith “They who do such things are worthy of death, and shall not enter into the kingdom of

heaven. But because we believe that through God's mercy ye renounce all these things in heart and life, therefore, that ye may deserve to obtain pardon, I warn you, brethren beloved, to remember what ye promised unto God Almighty.

For ye promised to believe in God Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His Son, and in the Holy Spirit, One God Almighty in a perfect Trinity.

These are the commandments of God which we ought to observe and keep: ye must love the Lord, in whom ye have professed your belief, with all your heart, and mind, and strength. Teach your children to love God, and your household in like manner. Reconcile them that are at variance. Let him that judges give righteous judgment, let him not receive bribes, for bribes blind the eyes even of the wise.

Observe the Lord's Day, assemble yourselves at church, and there pray, not making vain repetitions. Give alms according to your means; for, as water extinguishes the flame, so almsgiving blotteth out sin. Observe hospitality, visit the sick, minister to widows and orphans, give tithes to the Church; and what ye would not men should do unto you that do ye not unto them. Fear God, and Him only. Servants, be obedient to your masters, and maintain the rights of your master amongst your fellow-servants. Learn diligently the Lord's prayer and the Creed, and teach them to your children, and to those for whom ye stood sponsors at their baptism. Practise fasting, love righteousness, resist the devil, receive the Eucharist at the stated seasons. These, and such like, are the commands that God bade ye do and keep.

Believe that Christ will come, that there will be a resurrection of the body, and a general judgment of mankind. Then the wicked will be separated from the good, and the one will go into eternal fire, the other into eternal bliss, and they shall enjoy everlasting life with God without any more death, light without darkness, health without sickness, happiness without fear, joy without sorrow; there shall be peace for evermore, and the righteous shall shine

forth as the sun; for "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things God hath prepared for them that love Him."—Maclear, *op. cit.*, 430 sq.

No. 49.—The Donation of Constantine, c. 757–67

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 228]

[The Donation of Constantine, 323–†37, is a forgery of the middle of the eighth century, said to have been addressed by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester, 314–†35, and consists of two parts. In the first, or *Confessio*, §§ 1–10, he relates how he was instructed, baptized and cured of leprosy by the Pope. In the second, or *Donatio* proper, §§ 11–20, he confers upon Sylvester and his successors various privileges and possessions. Thus the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, § 11, is to have the primacy over the four patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem, and over all bishops in the world, §§ 11–12; the Lateran basilica and palace, § 13; the imperial insignia, § 16; together with temporal dominion "over Rome and all the provinces, places and cities of Italy and the Western regions," § 17; and the Emperor concludes by transferring the seat of Empire to the East because "it is not fitting that an earthly Emperor should have power where the celestial head of the Christian religion has been established," § 18.—The authorship, date and purpose of this manifesto have still to be more precisely determined. It is first quoted, in all good faith by Leo IX, 1049–54, in a letter—*In terra pax*—of 1054, to the Patriarch Michael Caerularius of CP.: and was all but universally accepted as genuine till the fifteenth century, when it was questioned by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa †1464 and denounced in 1440 by the humanist Lorenzo Valla.]

§ 11. Accepting, as we do, the preaching of blessed Sylvester and finding ourself restored to complete health by the gift of blessed Peter himself, we have determined, together with all our governors and the whole senate and the entire people of Rome, who are subjects of our glorious Empire that, as Peter has been constituted Vicar of the Son

of God on earth, so his successors, who occupy the place of the prince of the Apostles, should obtain from us and our empire a sovereign authority greater than the earthly Clemency of our Imperial Serenity has attained : choosing for ourselves the very prince of the Apostles and his successors to be our strong patrons under God. And as the earthly and imperial authority belongs to us, so we have decreed that the holy Roman Church should be reverently honoured and that, beyond and above our imperial and earthly throne, the most holy see of blessed Peter should be gloriously exalted, granting to it power and excellent dignity, strength and imperial honour.

§ 12. And we decree and ordain that as well over the four principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem, as over all the churches of God in the whole wide world, it should exercise a primacy : that the pontiff of the holy Roman Church, for the time being, should rank higher than, and be chief of, all bishops throughout the world ; and that, whatever provision has to be made for the worship of God and the establishing of the faith, should be ordered according to his judgment. . . .

§ 17. After the pattern of our sovereignty and in order that the dignity of the priesthood should not be held cheap but in more esteem than even the dignity, excellence and honour of earthly empire, we bestow upon the most blessed pontiff Sylvester our father and universal pope, our palace as aforesaid, our city of Rome and all the provinces, places and cities of Italy and the regions of the West, leaving them to the authority and governance whether of himself or his successors : and, by a firm imperial resolve, through this our divine letter and ordinance, we decree and grant that they shall be handed over to, and ever remain in lawful possession of, the holy Roman Church.

§ 18. Accordingly, we look forward to the transference and transition of our empire and sovereign authority to the regions of the East : and in the province of Byzantium, on the best site, to the building of a city to be called after our name, and there to establish our empire : because, when the chief of bishops and celestial head of the Christian

religion has been established by the Emperor, it is hardly fitting that there the Emperor should exercise an earthly sovereignty.—K.

The Iconoclastic Controversy, 717-843

[The dynasty of Heraclius, 610-95, during which the Monothelite Controversy (see Nos. 36-41) began and ended, lasted till the end of the seventh century. It was succeeded by the First Anarchy, 695-717, till the recovery of strong government under the Isaurian Emperors. Of these, the first was Leo IV, 717-†40. He was a prince of rough and martial temper: who, with his army drawn in the main from Asia, had little sympathy with the Greeks or with their religion. With them, the superstitious use of Icons (pictures, not "images" in our sense of the word) had become common (see No. 31): and the monks who made them had a vested interest in the promotion of Image Worship. Leo and his army had been in close contact with Jews and Mohammedans, to whom the use of Images was simply idolatry. For some years after his accession, Leo made no move; but in 726 he ordered that the custom of kneeling before them should cease. The popular discontent at once found an able champion in St. John of Damascus (*H-L.* § 334; III. ii. 681 *sqq.*) who put out a reasoned defence of Image-worship in his *First Oration against the slanderers of Images*, 727-8. The Second Commandment does not apply because, since it was given, our Lord has become incarnate. The controversy continued under the reign of Leo's son, Constantine V, 740-†75, with persecution accompanying it, until it was brought to an end by the Empress Irene †802 (*H-L.* § 345; III. ii. 741 *sqq.*). The army, which revered the memory of the first two Isaurian Emperors, took the side of the Iconoclasts: and for the first few years of her reign were indeed a formidable check upon her zeal: but with the aid of Pope Hadrian I, 771-†95, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Irene managed, at last, to circumvent them, and to get together a synod which, it was hoped, would reverse the policy of former reigns. The synod met at *Nicaea*, Sept. 24,

787 and is known as the *Seventh Œcumenical Council*. Within a month, they put out their *Definition*, Oct. 23, and, in due course, the Images were restored. So ended the First Period of the Iconoclastic Controversy, 726-802.

The Second Period, 813-43, was a curious repetition of the First. After a Second Anarchy, 802-20, terminated at length by Leo V (the Armenian) 813-†20, the controversy was continued with persecution of the Image-worshippers by his successor Theophilus, 829-†42; until, as people were weary of a strife which had lasted for more than a hundred years, another Empress, Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, found sufficient support to restore the Images, 843. One characteristic of the Second, as contrasted with the First, period of the controversy is that, in addition to the theological arguments against the Iconoclasts, their opponents now turned to the argument from authority. Their leader, Theodore, abbot of the Studion, †826, put forward a new plea, that the authority of the Pope was the final one. From Rome the truth can be learnt. So that, while the Iconoclasts appeal to Scripture and the Council of 753, the orthodox appeal to tradition, the Council of Nicaea, the Patriarchs, and, above all, the Pope "having the power from God as holding the first place of all" and being "the original source of orthodoxy." This acceptance of the Pope, as the primary spiritual authority involved a complementary theory, new to Constantinople, a complete repudiation of the right of the Emperor to regulate the affairs of the Church.—E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, 191.

It was a barren controversy, for "there was this irremediable weakness in the cause of Iconoclasm; it was a mere negative doctrine" and ceased when imperial support was withdrawn. "Hatred of images, in the process of the strife, might become, as it did, a fanaticism; it could never become a religion. Iconoclasm might proscribe idolatry; but it had no power of kindling a purer faith."—Dean Milman: quoted in Abp. Trench, *Mediaeval Church History*,² 99.]

No. 50.—(I) St. John of Damascus, "First Oration against the slanderers of Images"

[*Op.* i. 310-14; *P.G.* xciv. 1237-45]

§ 5. Now adversaries say: God's commands to Moses the Lawgiver were: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and thou shalt worship Him alone" and "Thou shalt not make to thyself any image, whether of things in heaven or of things on earth" . . .

§ 6. You see the one thing to be aimed at is not to worship the creature rather than the Creator, nor to give the worship of *Latria* except only to the Maker of all things. By worship, consequently is always understood the worship of *Latria*. . . .

§ 8. These injunctions were given to the Jews on account of their proneness to idolatry. We, on the contrary, are no longer in leading-strings. Speaking theologically, it is given to us to avoid superstitious error; to be with God in the knowledge of the truth; to offer service to God alone; to enjoy the fullness of His knowledge. We have passed the stage of infancy, and have reached the perfection of manhood. We receive our habit of mind from God, and know what may be imaged, and what may not. The Scripture says, "Ye have not seen his likeness." What wisdom in the Lawgiver! How depict the invisible? How picture the inconceivable? How give expression to the limitless, the immeasurable, the invisible? How give form to immensity? How paint immortality? It is clear [however] when you contemplate God, who is pure Spirit, becoming man for your sake, you will be able to clothe Him with the human form. When the Invisible One becomes visible in flesh, you may then draw a likeness of the visible form. When He who is without form or limitation, immeasurable in the boundlessness of His own nature, existing as God, takes upon Himself the form of a servant in substance and stature and a body of flesh, then you may draw His likeness, and shew it to anyone willing to contemplate it. . . .

§ 16. Of old, God, the incorporeal and uncircumscribed,

was never depicted. Now, however, since God has been seen, clothed in flesh and "conversant with men" (Baruch iii. 38), I make an image of God as He was seen. I do not worship matter. I worship the God of matter; who became matter for my sake, and deigned to inhabit matter; who worked out my salvation through matter. . . . Is not the Body and Blood of our Lord, matter? Either do away with the veneration and worship due to all these things [which are] matter; or submit to the tradition of the Church in the worship of images; honouring God and His friends, and following in this the grace of the Holy Spirit. Do not vilify matter, for it is not dishonourable. Nothing is dishonourable which God has made. This is the Manichaean notion. . . .—Tr. M. H. Allies, *St. John Damascene, On the Holy Images*, pp. 6 sqq. (slightly altered).

No. 51.—(II) The Definition of the Second Council of Nicaea (Seventh Œcumenical Council), Oct. 13, 787

[*H-L.* § 354; III. ii. 772 sq.; Mirbt,⁴ No. 234]

The holy, mighty and œcumenical Council . . . has defined as follows . . . because certain priests, priests in name only, had dared to speak against the God-approved ornaments of the holy churches . . . and following profane men, led astray by their carnal sense, they have calumniated the Church of Christ our God . . . and have failed to distinguish between holy and profane, styling the images of our Lord and of His Saints by the same name as the statues of diabolical idols. . . .

We therefore, following the royal pathway and the divinely inspired traditions of the Catholic Church . . . define with all certitude and accuracy that, just as the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross, so also the venerable and holy images, as well in painting and mosaic as of other fit materials, should be set forth in the holy churches of God and on the sacred vessels and on the vestments and on hangings and in pictures, both in houses and by the wayside, to wit, the figure of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ; of our spotless Lady, the Theotokos,

of the honourable angels, of all saints, and of all pious people. For by so much more frequently as they are seen in artistic representation, by so much more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes and to a longing after them; and to these should be given *due salutation and honourable reverence*, not indeed the true *worship* of faith which pertains only to the divine nature, but to these as to the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross and to the book of the Gospels, and to other holy objects, incense and lights may be offered according to ancient pious custom. For the honour which is paid to the image passes to that which the image represents, and he who reveres the image reveres in it the subject represented. For thus the teaching of our holy Fathers, that is, the tradition of the Catholic Church . . . is strengthened. . . .—Tr. E. J. Martin, *The Iconoclastic Controversy*, 103 sq.

No. 52.—(III) Theodore, Abbot of the Studion, †826

(1) *Address to the Emperor, Leo V*, 813-†20.

There is no place, region or house in which the divine Images are not set up. Everyone, indeed, should venerate the thing to which honour is accorded by lapse of time or weight of authority. This veneration of Images has been set forth for eight hundred years and more, received by all, and approved. It has now increased and grown with Christianity. Indeed, Christianity and the making of Images have advanced together step by step. And now you [O Emperor], in a moment of time and solely for your own pleasure, have decided that things which deserve laud and honour should be removed from our midst and cast away in disgrace [*Vita*, c. lxix.; *P.G.* xcix. 177c, d].—K.

(2) *Letter to Pope Paschal I*, 817-†24.

And, in fact, we in our humility are aware that the successor of St. Peter manifestly presides over the Roman Church, and we are truly persuaded that the Lord has not left our Church: for in present difficulties, by the providence of God, she has enjoyed from the first and earliest

days that one and only assistance which we owe to you. So you are in very truth, the clear and genuine source of orthodoxy from its beginning. In the face of all the storms of heresy, you are the open and fair haven of the whole Church. You are God's chosen city of refuge and safety . . . [*Epp.* II. xiii. ; *P.G.* xcix. 1156A].

(3) *Catechesis.*

But [persecutors] will not disturb those who are strengthened and established in immutable truth. They will not escape reproof from the supreme see of the Church, as indeed has happened, as you know! For our part, everything was safe and sound even before the coming of the Westerns. But we owe much to that quarter, as we know did former generations : and, as for our generation, God who oversees all things, oversees it as well. Before the eyes of all men, He bore witness that they are alienated from Him who repudiated Images. For if they are separated from the Chief and the other three Patriarchs, clearly they are separated from Christ, who is the Head. It is for them to mourn and look sad : for us, great and exceeding joy [*Epp.* II. lxvi. ; *P.G.* cxix. 1289D].

(4) *To Leo, the Sacellarius*, see E. J. Martin, 202 sq.

It cannot be, my lord, on any ground that judgment in things divine should be submitted to a secular tribunal, or that this church should hold together without the consent of the five Patriarchs. If anyone were to ask, How is this possible? then I would answer that the heterodox should leave the Churches of God, and that our holy Patriarch, Nicephorus [of CP. 806-15] should regain his proper throne. Then let him summon a synod of those with whom he has been at variance . . . and make peace and concord by sending letters synodical to the occupant of the First See. If, however, this is not acceptable to the Emperor, and the Patriarch Nicephorus has turned aside, as he says, from the truth, then let either side send a deputation to Rome, so that "the certainty of the faith may be ascertained from thence" (probably a reference to the Letter of Pope Julius I in 340 to the Eusebians, § 35; see *Doc. Ch. Hist.* II, No. 17). [*Epp.* II. cxxix. 1420A, B.]—K.

Charlemagne, c. 742-†814

[The eighth century was a time of increasing alienation between East and West. Each did its part in checking the tide of Saracen invasion: the Emperor Leo IV invaded Syria 778 and, next year, thrust back the Mohammedan hosts from Asia Minor: as Charles Martel, King of the Franks, had delivered Europe from them at the battle of Poitiers, 732. But East and West were alienated by two causes. The first was the growth of Iconoclasm in the East, which meant disaffection in Italy, especially when it was accompanied by an imperial decree, 732, which deprived the Pope of his jurisdiction over the dioceses of South Italy and Illyricum, and by a refusal to restore the papal patrimonies, about which Pope Hadrian I, 772-†795, remonstrated with some bitterness to Charles (Mansi, xiii. 808-9; and E. J. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, 250). A second cause of alienation was the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Lombards, 751; for this meant the loss of the last foothold of the Eastern Empire in Italy, and of such support as it could afford. Pope Stephen III, 752-77, at once turned to the Franks for protection, whence the Donation of Pippin 754 (Mirbt,⁴ No. 232) and thereby the foundation of the Papal States. It was confirmed by Charlemagne 774 (*ibid.*, No. 233). His coronation as Emperor, Dec. 25, 800, by Pope Leo IV, 795-†816, marks the final stage of this process. There was now a Western Emperor, to whom the Pope did homage after the Coronation; and his Empire extended from "the Baltic to the Ebro, and from the British Channel to the Straits of Messina" (Milman,⁴ ii. 65). Typical of his rule are (1) his missionary zeal, as illustrated by his wars for the conversion of the Saxons, 772-802; (2) his concern for the welfare of the Church, as in his legislation on Tithe, 779; (3) his promotion of learning, 782-92, with Alcuin †804, for his agent but not too complaisant adviser; and (4) his intervention as for a last stage in the Iconoclastic Controversy, at the Council of Frankfurt, 794.]

No. 53.—(I) The Conversion of the Saxons, 772–802

[*Vita Sturmi*, cc. 22–3; *Monumenta Historia Germanica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, ii. 376]

c. 22. In the fourth year of King Charles' happy reign, the Saxons were a people savage and hostile to everyone, being much given to heathen rites. King Charles, ever devout and Christian, began to consider how he could win this people for Christ. He took council with the servants of God, and besought them that by their prayers they would seek the approval of our Lord for his purpose. Then he collected a large army, called upon the name of Christ, and marched to Saxony: taking in his train all the bishops, abbots, presbyters and all the orthodox and faithful, in order that he might make that people, which from the beginning of the world had been held fast in the bondage of demons, submit to holy doctrines by accepting the light and easy yoke of Christ. After the king had arrived there, partly by arms, partly by persuasion and partly by gifts, he converted the greater part of that people to the faith of Christ: and, after no great length of time, he divided the whole of that province into dioceses,¹ and gave the servants of God authority to teach and to baptize. Then the greater part of that people and country was entrusted to the care of blessed Sturmi.² Having thus received the office of preaching, he spent such care upon it in every way that he won over no small a people to our Lord. He was instant at convenient seasons, teaching them in holy sermons to destroy the temples of their gods, to cut down their groves, and to build holy churches instead.

c. 23. After long time spent, with his presbyters, in preaching and baptizing and building churches in several districts the Saxons, that depraved and perverse people, abandoned the faith of Christ; gave themselves over to vain errors; and, collecting an army, broke forth beyond their bounds, and got as far as the Rhine in their career of

¹ The eight bishoprics of Saxon lands, founded between 780–805, were Osnaburg, Bremen, Münster, Minden, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Verden and Hildersheim (Wiltzsch, *Geography and Statistics of the Church* i. 372, n. 4).

² Coadjutor of St. Boniface, and abbot of Fulda, †779.

devastation and depopulation. Returning thence, they attacked and slew everyone they could find. . . .—K.

No. 54.—(II) The enforcement of tithe, 779

[*Capitularium*, c. vii.; *P.L.* xcvi. 127B]

Everyone shall pay his tithe, and it shall be distributed according to the order of the bishop.—K.

No. 55.—(III) Alcuin, 735–†804: Master of the Palatine School, 782–96. (1) His letter to Charlemagne after his conquest of the Avars or Huns, 796

[*Ep.* xxxi.; *Op.* i. 38–9; *P.L.* c. 188D–190B]

. . . After taking these things into account, most religious and gracious king, your wisdom should consider whether, in the case of an untutored people, it is better at the beginning of their conversion to impose the yoke of tithes upon them in order that, house by house, there may be an exaction of the same in full: and should think whether the Apostles, who were taught by our Lord Christ and sent to preach to the world, would have exacted tithes or have demanded their payment anywhere. We know that to pay tithes of our substance is a good thing. But it is better to go without them than to lose the faith. We who were born in the Catholic Faith, brought up and instructed therein, find it hard to pay tithes of our substance in full. How much less likely is the tender faith, the childlike mind and the avaricious temper to be willing to pay them? But strengthen the faith and establish the practice of Christianity, and then to men so grown up stronger teaching may be given: such as a mind, well-grounded in the Christian religion, should not repudiate.

We should also reflect, with great attention, that a due order be observed in the office of teaching and the sacrament of baptism; lest the washing of holy baptism be of no effect when, by the mind that is to make intelligent use of it, there has been no previous acceptance of the Catholic Faith in the heart. . . . Infants can make no intelligent use of it. They are liable to be affected by the sins of others.

They may also be saved, through the sacrament of baptism, by the faith and confession of others: provided that, when they come to suitable age, they keep the faith which they have confessed whole and entire, for themselves. . . . And so that order in teaching a man of riper years should, in my opinion, be carefully observed which the Blessed Augustine laid down in his book entitled *On catechizing the unlearned*. The man should first be taught about the immortality of the soul: the future life; reward and punishment of good or bad, and its eternity in either case: then about the Trinity . . . the Incarnation . . . the Passion . . . the Resurrection . . . the Ascension, and the Second Coming to be our Judge. . . . Then, so strengthened in the Faith and fully prepared, he should be baptized.—K.

**No. 56.—(IV) (2) His pupil, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans,¹
786–†821, on Village Schools, 797**

[*Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes*, c. 20; Mansi, xiii. 998E]

Priests should keep school in hamlets and villages: and, if any of the faithful wish to entrust their children to them to learn letters, let them not refuse to receive and teach them; but teach them in all charity, taking note of that which is written in Daniel [xii. 3]: They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament. Moreover, when they teach them, they shall charge nothing for so doing, nor receive anything from them, except what their parents willingly offer for charity's sake.—K.

**No. 57.—(V) (3) His addition to the Gregorian
Sacramentary**

[From a letter of Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, written between 784–91; *Cod. Carl. Ep.* xcix. (*Op.* ii. 525; *P.L.* xcvi. 436–7)]

In regard to the Sacramentary arranged by our holy predecessor Pope Gregory, some time ago Paul the gram-

¹ He was the author of "All glory, laud and honour": *E.H.* 622.

marian ¹ asked us on your behalf to send it to you in its pure condition as received in our holy church: and we sent it to ² your Royal Majesty by John, a monk and abbot of Ravenna.—K.

No. 58.—(VI) The Council of Frankfurt, 794

[Mansi, xiii. 909D]

c. II. The question was introduced of the recent synod of the Greeks at Constantinople ³ [A.D. 787] on the Worship of Images. There it was laid down that those who refuse to pay service and veneration to the images as to the divine Trinity should be judged anathema. Our most holy Fathers absolutely refusing that service held them (i.e. the Greeks) in contempt, and unanimously condemned them. E. J. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*, p. 251.

No. 59.—(VII) The Coronation of Charlemagne, Christmas Day, 800

(1) [Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, cc. 27, 28; Mirbt,⁴ No. 240]

c. 27. Although he thought so much [*sc.* of the Church of St. Peter], yet during the space of forty-seven years in

¹ Otherwise Paul the deacon, c. 720–†90, author of the *History of the Lombards*, and one of the group of scholars at the court of Charles, with whom he was on intimate terms, *D.C.B.* iv. 273.

² As received, it represents the state of the Roman liturgy as used in Rome itself at the time of Pope Hadrian; and needed supplementing for use north of the Alps. Alcuin compiled a supplement and wrote an explanatory preface to it; see these in *Sacramentum Gregorianum*, ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 145–232; and cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁶ 120 sqq.

³ "That which the Council of Frankfurt rejected was not what the Second Council of Nicaea affirmed, and the decisions of the latter Council were eventually generally accepted in the West as well as in the East. The affirmation at Nicaea was that reverence of honour (τιμητική προσκύνησις), as distinct from worship of adoration (λατρεία), should be accorded to Images [see No. 51]. . . . The denial at Frankfurt was of the lawfulness of giving service (*servitium*) or adoration (*adoratio*) to Images in such a way as to the Holy Trinity." Dr. Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, Note 40, p. 314.

which he had reigned, he only went there four times for paying his vows and making his prayers.

c. 28. For his last visit, the reasons were partly for devotion's sake, but also because the Romans compelled Pope Leo, on account of the injuries which he had received, by the plucking out of his eyes and the excision of his tongue,¹ to seek his promised aid. So he came to Rome to restore the state of the Church which had been so disturbed, and spent the whole winter there. Then it was that he received the name of Emperor and Augustus. But this was so much against his will that he said he would never have entered the church on that day, which was a great festival, if he had known the Pope's intention beforehand. The Roman Emperors [*sc.* of the East] took offence at his acceptance of the title; but he bore it with great patience. And he overcame their resentment, which undoubtedly they had long cherished, by sending them frequent embassies and by addressing them as brothers in his letters.—K.

(2) [*Annales regni Francorum*; Mirbt,⁴ No. 241]

On that most sacred day of the Lord's nativity, as the King rose from his knees at Mass before the Confession of the blessed apostle St. Peter, Pope Leo placed a crown upon his head and the whole Roman people hailed him: To Charles, Augustus! crowned of God! great and pacific Emperor of the Romans! Life and Victory! And after these salutations, according to the manner of the princes of old time, adoration was paid to him: and he gave up the title Patrician for that of Emperor and Augustus.—K.

The Eucharistic Controversy of the Ninth Century

[There was little controversy on this subject in earlier centuries, but it broke out in the ninth.

Paschasius Radbertus, 786–†860, a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Corbie, near Amiens, and abbot 844–51, composed, about 831, a treatise on *The body and blood of*

¹ The attempt was unsuccessful.

the Lord for the instruction of the younger monks. In 844 he presented it to the king, afterwards the Emperor, Charles the Bald, †877. He "maintains the spiritual character of the presence, and follows the general tradition of the Church in regarding the consecrated elements as Christ's body and blood, and deduces from the idea that the elements are changed at the consecration the notion that they are wholly and substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ, or that after consecration they do not truly and properly continue to exist as bread and wine. Further, the consecration is effected at the recital of the words of institution . . . and the body thus present is that very body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb" (D. Stone, *The Holy Eucharist*, i. 217). But "he made the mistake of emphasizing the identity of the Eucharistic Body of Christ with his natural (historic) body in such exaggerated terms that the difference between the two modes of existence was not sufficiently thought out" (*Cath. Enc.* xi. 518).

Ratramnus, † after 868, was also a monk of Corbie; and his treatise *On the body and blood of the Lord* was written at the instance of Charles the Bald against the work of Paschasius Radbertus to solve the two questions: (1) Do we in the Holy Eucharist directly see the Body of Christ with our bodily eyes, or is the Body of Christ hidden from our sensory vision? (2) Is the Eucharistic Christ identical with the historic Christ?—*Cath. Enc.* xii. 659 sq.]

No. 60.—(I) Paschasius Radbertus

[*De corpore et sanguine Domini*; P.L. cxx. 1267 sqq.]

[c. i. § 2: 1269A.] It is plain therefore that nothing is beyond or contrary to the will of God, but all things are altogether subject to Him. Let not anyone then be disturbed concerning this body and blood of Christ, that in the mystery there is real flesh and real blood, so long as He who created has so willed; and, because He has willed, though the figure of bread and wine remain, yet these are

altogether a figure, and after consecration we must believe that there is nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ . . . and that I may speak more wonderfully, this certainly is no other flesh than that which was born of Mary, and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb (Stone, 218).

[c. iv. § 1 : 1277C.] Because it is not right that Christ should be torn by the teeth, He has willed that in the mystery this bread and wine be potentially created by the consecration of the Holy Ghost really His flesh and blood, and in being so created be daily mystically sacrificed for the life of the world that, as real flesh was created from the Virgin without paternal generation by the operation of the Spirit, so by the operation of the same Spirit the same body and blood of Christ be mystically consecrated from the substance of the bread and wine (*ibid.*).

[c. iv. § 2 : 1282B, C.] What is that which men eat? Behold, all without distinction often receive the sacraments of the altar. Clearly they so receive; but one spiritually eats the flesh of Christ and drinks His blood; while another does not, although he is seen to receive a morsel from the hand of the priest. . . . He does not eat and drink the flesh and blood usefully to himself, but judgment, though he is seen to receive with the rest the sacrament of the altar. . . . The virtue of the sacrament is withdrawn from him, and moreover the judgment on his guilt is doubled on account of his presumption (*ibid.*, 219).

[*Ep. ad Frudegardum* : 1357A, B.] When He brake and gave to them the bread, He did not say This is, or There is in this mystery, a kind of virtue or figure of My body, but He said plainly "This is my body." And therefore it is what He said, and not what anyone pretends. . . . Wherefore I marvel that there are some now who want to say that in the sacrament there is not in fact the reality of the flesh and blood of Christ, but a kind of virtue of the flesh and not the flesh itself, a virtue of the blood and not the blood itself, a figure not a reality, a shadow not a body (*ibid.*, 220).

No. 61.—(II) Ratramnus

[*De corpore et sanguine Domini*; P.L. cxxi. 129 sqq.]

[c. v. 129 sq.] Your excellent majesty enquires whether the body and blood of Christ, which in the Church is taken by the mouth of the faithful, is made such in mystery or in external reality (*in veritate*), that is, whether it contains anything hidden which is open only to the eyes of faith, or whether without the veil of any mystery the sight of the body outwardly sees that which the vision of the mind inwardly beholds, so that all that is done is clearly manifested and seen; and whether it is that body itself which was born of Mary and suffered and died and was buried, which rose again and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father (Stone, 226 sq.).

[c. x. 131B.] Since no one can deny that this is so, it is plain that the bread and wine are by way of figure the body and blood of Christ. For according to sight, neither is the nature (*species*) of flesh recognized in that bread nor is the fluid of blood manifested in that wine; yet after the mystic consecration they are no longer called bread and wine but the body and blood of Christ (Stone, 228).

[c. xlix. 147A.] From all which has so far been said, it has been shewn that the body and blood of Christ, which are received by the mouth of the faithful in the Church, are figures in respect of visible nature (*speciem*); but in respect of invisible substance, that is, the power of the divine Word, they are really the body and blood of Christ (Stone, 230).

The Schism between East and West, 858–67

[The quarrel between East and West broke out in 858, the year in which Nicholas I, 858–†67, was elected to the papacy, and Photius to the see of Constantinople, 858–67. Nicholas was resolute in maintaining the traditional claims of his see, and Photius no less determined to challenge them. He meant that the Pope should confine himself to the West; and that he should occupy a similar position throughout the Empire of the East. Early in 859, he sent

to the other Patriarchs the customary Enthronistic Letters announcing his accession. He said nothing about the circumstances of his appointment: none too creditable, for the see was not vacant. Nicholas may well have been suspicious. He resolved to seize the occasion and to assert "a jurisdiction which, if it had been accepted, would have annulled the independence of the Church of Constantinople" (J. B. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 193). In *Principatum itaque* of Sept. 25, 860 (*Ep.* iv.; *P.L.* cxix. 773-9; Jaffé, *Regesta*, No. 2682) addressed to the Emperor Michael III, 842-†67, he begins by asserting the right of his see to be consulted (773D); protests that this right has been violated by the deposition of Ignatius "without reference to the Roman pontiff" (774A); and adds that the offence has been made worse by the election of a layman. He cannot consent to the election, without further reports from his legates; but concludes by proposing a "bargain" (Bury, *E.R.E.* 195, n. 1) in the interest of what he calls *ecclesiastica utilitas* (779A): Let the Emperor restore the Vicariate of Thessalonica, and the patrimony of the Roman see in South Italy, and all will be well. Photius is asked, in another letter of the same date, *Omnis utilitas* (*Ep.* v.; *P.L.* cxix. 780; Jaffé, 2683) to promote the "deal" (Bury, *op. cit.*). The effect of this, wrote Photius, would be "to deprive his see of half its jurisdiction" (*Ep.* iii.; *Op.* ii.; *P.G.* cii. 620D).

The Pope, after further negotiations, held a Council at the Lateran, April 863 (*Ep.* xlvi. c. I.; *P.L.* cxix. 850-5; Jaffé, i. 370) which deposed and excommunicated Photius and, on receiving remonstrances from the Emperor, followed up his sentence by *Proposueramus quidem* of Nov. 865 (*Ep.* lxxxvi.; *P.L.* cxix. 926-62; Jaffé, 2796). He lays emphasis on the privilege of the Roman see as the ultimate court of appeal in Christendom (931 CD), and goes on to reprove the Emperor for having spoken contemptuously of the language in which the Pope wrote as "a barbarian and Scythian tongue" (932C). "This was only," said Nicholas, "because he did not understand it. How ridiculous then for him to call himself the Roman Emperor."

Here we touch the real cause of the schism between East and West. It was not simply that tempers were rising between the protagonists; but that in language, culture and political outlook, they were already far apart. Photius, indeed, was the champion of the independence of the see of Constantinople; of Hellenic culture (for he was a very learned man); and of the sentiment of Byzantine nationality. It was characteristic of him, but of minor importance for the issue of the struggle that, at the Council of Constantinople in Lent 867 (Hefele, § 479), he proceeded to condemn the Latins for the errors which they had introduced into the belief and practice of the Church (Photius, *Epp.* I. xiii. §§ 4-27; *P.G.* c. ii. 723-32) such as the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit, the celibacy of the clergy; the custom of fasting on the sabbath (Saturday)—all in § 5—and the blessing of milk and honey for the neophytes which took place in *Per quem haec omnia* of the Easter and Whitsuntide Mass (see the formula in the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* ed. Feltoe, p. 25, and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁵ 183)—all complaints borrowed from the Council in Trullo, 692 (see Mansi, xi. 948, 969; and Duchesne, *Les églises séparées*, 209 sq.). These were mere recriminations. The root of the matter lay deeper in the total denial of the papal supremacy by the Greeks, and their unequivocal assertion that, with the Empire, that supremacy had passed to Constantinople (Milman,⁴ iii. 166; and Nicholas to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, 845-†62, in *Omnium nos portare* of Oct. 23, 867; Jaffé, 2879; *Ep.* cii.; *P.L.* cxix. 1157B).]

No. 62.—(I) The character of Nicholas I

[Regino, abbot of Prüm, 892-†915; *Chronicon*, A.D. 868; *M.G.H.* i. 579]

In the year 868, Nicholas, that most holy and blessed Pope, after many labours for Christ and many conflicts for the inviolable safety of Holy Church, departed for the heavenly kingdom to receive for his faithful administration of the stewardship committed to him from the bountiful

Lord a crown of glory that fadeth not away. . . . From the days of blessed Gregory to the present time no ruler of the city of Rome, exalted to the pontifical dignity, was ever thought equal to him. He laid his commands on kings and tyrants; and presided over them with authority, as if he were lord of the world. To bishops and priests, if they were religious men who observed the commandments of the Lord, he shewed himself humble, pleasant, pious and kind. But to those who were irreligious and departed from the way of righteousness, he proved himself terrible and austere: so that men rightly believed that, by the help of God, a second Elijah had arisen in our day; not, indeed, in bodily presence, but in spirit and in truth.—K.

No. 63.—(II) An ecclesiastical bargain: Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael III

[*Principatum itaque*, of Sept. 25, 860 (*Ep.* iv.; *P.L.* cxix. 773D–779C)]

For the maintenance of that [apostolic tradition] in its entirety there have been oftentimes meetings of the holy Fathers. They discussed and have observed the custom that without the consent of the Roman see no incipient discussion should be brought to a conclusion. The Council assembled at Constantinople, on your summons, as has been reported to us by your authorities, paid little attention to this longstanding tradition, and did not hesitate to turn its back upon any close consideration of the custom aforesaid; with the result that Ignatius, the Patriarch of the aforesaid city, without any consultation of the Roman pontiff, was deprived of his office by the assembly that met there. . . . Further, after these unjust proceedings, the synod by its reckless vote went on to what was more abominable, by instigating the aforesaid mob to elect a layman to preside over them. What presumptuous temerity! A man is set over the fold of the Lord who knows nothing as yet of spiritual discipline. For he who does not know how to order his life by letting himself be promoted through the degrees of the Church, how will he be able to order the lives of

others, when he was elected all of a sudden? . . . That Photius of yours burst out as a teacher before he had been taught; he desired to be taken for a master before he had been heard of as a disciple. He ought first to have been a hearer, and only then to have set up as a doctor. . . .

Your Imperial Majesty, as we have always heard, is expert in all matters of ecclesiastical policy. Let it be your pleasure then to restore, as for your own day, that ancient custom which prevailed in our Church i.e. the Vicariate which our See exercised over the bishops situate in your parts [*sc.* of the Empire], so that none should presume to oppose the bishop of Thessalonica as Vicar of the Roman see throughout Epirus, old and new, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Dacia, Mœsia, Dardania and Praevalitana; as it was in the time of our predecessors, the holy pontiffs Damasus, Siricius, Innocent, Boniface, Coelestine, Sixtus, Leo, Hilary, Simplicius and Hormisdas. . . . Further, let the patrimonies in Calabria and Sicily, and all such as have been granted to our Church and such as it has obtained for a possession and has taken care to govern in the interest of its dependents, be returned to us by grants on your part: since it is unreasonable that the possessions of the Church, whence light and harmony ought to prevail in the Church of God, should be withdrawn from it by some secular authority. Better let them be given back to the house of God, and so increase the reward of him who so restores them.—K.

No. 64.—(III) The excommunication of Photius: Co. of the Lateran, April, 863

[Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael (*Ep.* xlvi. c. 1; *P.L.* cxix. 851C and 852D)]

Photius, known to have been a schismatic and of those who withdraw themselves from participation in holy communion, was formerly engaged in secular administration and office. He was taken from business and suddenly tonsured by Gregory, a former bishop of Syracuse (who had been condemned and repudiated by the Apostolic See)

and ordained bishop. While our fellow-bishop Ignatius, Patriarch of the holy Church of Constantinople, was still alive and surviving, he invaded his see. . . . For this and other like offences against the evangelic, apostolic, prophetic and canonical ordinances, let him by the authority of Almighty God, of the chiefs of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, of all the Saints, and of the venerable six Œcumenical Councils, and by the judgment of the Holy Spirit speaking through us, be treated as alien from the dignity and name of the priesthood, and forthwith be deprived of all exercise of the clerical estate. . . .—K.

**No. 65.—(IV) Contempt the cause of the rupture:
Nov. 865**

[*Proposueramus quidem*; Nicholas I to the Emperor (*Ep.* lxxxvi.; *P.L.* 931C, D)]

Other Emperors used such terms as "We pray," "We request," "We beseech," in addressing the presidents of the Apostolic See, from time to time; but in all cases with equal respect. You, on the contrary, their heirs not in courtesy and reverence but only on the throne, decline to follow them in this question of manners, and use terms like "We require," "We order," "We command" in bidding us to send some of our subjects to you. Unless we are mistaken, we never hitherto can remember such words as "We command you" being addressed to us by you: and never have we known you coming to such irreverence towards the see of blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles. . . . Moreover, to such a pitch of fury have you been excited as to do injury to our Latin speech as to call it in your letter "a barbarian and Scythian tongue" . . . The reason why you call it a barbarian tongue is that you do not understand it. Think then how ridiculous it is that you should be called a Roman Emperor, and yet do not know the tongue that Romans speak. . . . Give up then calling yourself a Roman Emperor: for, according to your opinion, they are barbarians over whom you claim to be Emperor.—K.

No. 66.—(V) Reciprocal grievances: (a) of the Latins against the Greeks and (b) of the Greeks against the Latins: as reported in a letter of Nicholas I to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, 845–†82, dated Oct. 23, 867

[Nicholas, *Omnium nos portare* of, *Ep.* clii.; *P.L.* cxix.; Jaffé, 2879]

(a) *Of the Latins against the Greeks* as to the "Translation of the Empire" [*ibid.*, 1157B]. But is it to be wondered at that they [the Greeks] make these complaints [against the Latins, *sc.* about the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost]; boasting, as they do, and saying that when the Emperors migrated from the city of Rome to Constantinople, then the primacy of the Roman see also passed over to Constantinople, and with the Imperial dignity, the privileges of the Roman see were translated as well? So much so that Photius, the intruder into the see of Constantinople, gives himself out in his writings as archbishop and œcumenical patriarch.—K.

(b) *Of the Greeks against the Latins* [*ibid.*, 1155C, D]. They make it an accusation against us in particular, and the whole of Latin-speaking Christendom in general (1) that we fast on the Sabbath (Saturday); (2) that we say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, whereas they confess Him as proceeding from the Father only; (3) that we abhor marriage because we forbid presbyters to marry; (4) that we forbid presbyters to anoint the foreheads of the baptized with chrism; (5) that we do not follow their custom of refraining from eating flesh for eight weeks before Easter, and from cheese and eggs for seven weeks; (6) that, after the manner of the Jews we consecrate and offer a lamb upon the altar along with the body of the Lord; (7) that we do not forbid our clerics to shave their beards; and (8) that we permit a deacon, who has not received the office of a presbyter, to be ordained bishop: whereas they themselves, when they had appointed their patriarch, whom they took as a layman, suddenly tonsured him and made him a monk, had no misgiving

about advancing him forthwith (*salu*)¹ to the dignity of the episcopate, relying, as they suppose, on the Emperor's goodwill and strength of arm.²—K.

No. 67.—(VI) The Forged Decretals, c. 850

[Decretals are those letters of the Pope which formulate decisions in ecclesiastical law. They furnish, with canons of Councils, the chief source of the legislation of the Church, and form the greater part of the *Corpus juris canonici*. The False Decretals are a collection comprising as many canons as decretals. They are not all forgeries, but the collection is an amplification and interpolation by means of spurious decretals of the canonical collection in use in Spain in the eighth century, all the documents in which are authentic. It is divided into three parts: (1) Entirely spurious: seventy letters attributed to Popes of the first three centuries, up to the Council of Nicaea, but excluding Pope Sylvester; (2) Councils, according to regions, as in the *Hispana*, including the Donation of Constantine and a few other spurious pieces; (3) as the authentic decretals do not begin till that of Siricius 385 (see *Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 75), the collector first forges thirty letters from Sylvester, 314–†37, to Damasus, 366–†84, and then follow the authentic decretals with an intermixture of thirty-five forgeries. The authentic letters are intended to serve as a passport for the spurious ones; and the blend was readily in all good conscience accepted because Nicholas I had said that all decretals have the same authority, and the Forged Decretals passed into Gratian's *Decretum*, 1143. Thus they were authoritative throughout the Middle Ages, and were not suspected until the fifteenth century. Their date is now held to be c. 850; their origin at Le Mans, in the diocese of Tours, and the author's object was (1) to protect bishops against unjust accusation, especially by securing for them

¹ i.e. without requiring the intermediate degrees of diaconate and presbyterate: or, as is now said, *per saltum*.

² This account should be compared with that of Photius himself, lengthier but not so precise, in *Epp.* I, xiii. §§ 5–8 (*P.G.* cii. 724 sq.).

a right of appeal to the Papacy; (2) to secure the persons and property of the clergy against encroachment by the civil power; all (3) with an eye to recent events in Brittany (for which see Wiltsch, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, i. 345 sq. and 503 sq.). The Forged Decretals are edited by Hinschius (1863); the authentic text being printed in two columns, and the spurious text carried right across the page.—Summarized from Mgr. Boudinhon in *Enc. Brit.*¹¹ vii. 915–17.]

[Nicholas I, 858–†67; *Quamvis singularum* of Jan. 22, 865, to the Bishops of Gaul; *Ep.* lxxv.; *P.L.* cxix. 901B–902C; Jaffé, No. 2785; Mirbt,⁴ No. 252]

God forbid that we should refuse to keep either the accepted decretals or the works declaratory of ecclesiastical discipline of any [Roman pontiff] who persevered in the Catholic Faith: especially such as from old time the holy Roman Church has preserved and committed to our custody, and are reverently stored up under her care in her archives. . . . The decretal epistles of the Roman pontiffs are to be received, even though they are not bound up with the codex of canons.—K.

Byzantine Missions, c. 860–80

[At the opening of the ninth century the Eastern Empire fell into a Second Anarchy, 802–20. It lost prestige owing to the new and rival Empire of Charlemagne, 800–†14. Disasters were inflicted upon it by the Bulgarians, and it lost Crete and Sicily to the Saracens. But under the rule of Theophilus, 829–†42, a recovery set in—both secular and spiritual. Missions, not disconnected with politics, were encouraged by his son Michael III, 840–†67, with a view to the extension of Byzantine influence among the Slavs and other neighbours.

I. Thus, 861, in answer to a request for a teacher from the Khazars of the Crimea, the Emperor sent them Constantine (afterwards known as Cyril), a pupil of Photius and a learned man. He worked among them for a year; but was then recalled for another undertaking.

II. This was to take up work in Moravia, 863-7; and again at the invitation of its ruler, the Slavonic prince Rastislav, 846-†70. He wished to gain independence of Germany, and to make his subjects Christian. The Emperor sent him Cyril, who was accompanied by his brother Methodius. Together they spent four and a half years in Moravia preaching, teaching, training youths for the future ministry and, above all, translating the Scriptures and the service-books into the vernacular. For this purpose, Cyril invented an alphabet, and employed a new script which afterwards led to that now in use throughout Slavonic Christendom. The German missions, on the other hand, followed the policy usual in the West, of maintaining Latin everywhere, as the language of worship, in the interests of unity. In spite of these differences, Cyril and Methodius were well supported at first, being invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas I, where they were consecrated bishops, 867. Cyril, however, died there Feb. 14, 869, and Methodius was sent back to Moravia, with Velehrad as his see. But, before long, he found himself in conflict with the German party under the Archbishop of Salzburg and, in 879, he was sent for to Rome "that we may know the truth about your doctrine." John VIII, 872-†82, was satisfied as to his orthodoxy, and made no difficulty about permission to say Mass in Slavonic. On his return, opposition arose again [see letter of John VIII, March 23, 881; Jaffé, No. 3344] from Swatopluk, Rastislav's nephew and successor 870-†904, now under German influences, until Methodius, seeking further support, set out once more to Rome, 881. He did not survive the journey, and Moravia fell to the Latin Church.

III. An opposite development befell the mission to Bulgaria. The Emperor Michael III, fearing that the Bulgarians would throw themselves on to the side of Latin Christendom, determined to coerce them; and required King Boris, 852-†88, to receive the Gospel from the Greeks, and to submit to the ecclesiastical rule of Constantinople. Pope Nicholas I had already written in 864 anticipating the conversion of Bulgaria; and Photius, writing in 866, says that

it happened "two years ago." Greek clergy, with others, were active at that time in Bulgaria and, after the baptism of Boris, 865, by Photius, with the Emperor for godfather, the Patriarch wrote to the Bulgarians a long letter explaining the faith to them (*Epp.* I. viii. ; *P.G.* cii. 627-96). But he would not let them have a bishop, for he desired to keep them in dependence upon himself, and to the Empire. They turned therefore to Rome, and the *Responsa*, Nov. 13, 866, addressed by Pope Nicholas I to King Boris, made a more practical appeal than the theology of the Patriarch. Recriminations between Pope and Patriarch ensued until Boris, tired of the delay in obtaining a hierarchy from either, was at length received into the Eastern Church, largely because of the advantage to be gained by association with the Empire. At a meeting in Constantinople, Feb. 3, 870, and in the presence of the Emperor, it was asked "to which Church Bulgaria had belonged when it was a province of the Empire, and whether the clergy at the time of the conquest had been Greeks or Latins. It was answered that the province had been subject to Constantinople, and that the clergy found in it were Greeks. On these grounds, it was adjudged that Bulgaria ought to belong to the patriarchate of Constantinople."¹ . . . The Patriarch "Ignatius, in the same year, consecrated an archbishop for Bulgaria, with ten bishops, and within a short time all the Latin clergy were ejected from that country" (J. C. Robertson, *Hist. Chr. Ch.* iii. 443).]

No. 68.—(I) The Khazars

[*Vita Constantini*, cc. 1, 6; *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, ii. 19 *sqq.*]

c. 1. At that time envoys from the Khazars came to the Emperor, praying and beseeching him that he would be pleased to send them a learned man to teach them the Catholic Faith in truth: adding, among other things, that

¹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius, †879, *Vita Adriani II* (*Op.* 634-7; *P.L.* cxxviii. 1391-4, or Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* III, 267 *sq.*).

"the Jews are now trying to convert us to their faith, and the Saracens to theirs. We did not know to whom to commit ourselves; and so we resolved to consult the Great and Catholic Emperor about our faith and salvation, having full confidence in your faith and longstanding friendship." Then the Emperor, after consulting the Patriarch, summoned the aforesaid Constantine [Cyril] the Philosopher, and sent him thither, along with the envoys of the Khazars and his own, having entire confidence in his wisdom and eloquence. . . .

c. 6. The Philosopher started on his journey, and arrived at the country to which he was sent. He converted . . . all those who were rescued from the unbelief of the Jews and the Saracens. Greatly rejoicing, they gave thanks to Almighty God, and to His servant Constantine the Philosopher. They sent letters of thanks to the Emperor, promising that in future they would always remain his faithful subjects. They offered the Philosopher many gifts, but he refused them, and asked them instead to let him take back with him those in captivity, as he was shortly returning home.—K.

No. 69.—(II) Moravia

[*Vita Constantini*, c. 7; *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, ii. 20 sq.]

c. 7. On the return of the Philosopher to Constantinople, Rastislav, prince of Moravia, heard of what he had done amongst the Khazars. After consulting his people, he sent envoys to the Emperor to say that they had given up the worship of idols, and desired to observe the Christian law, but had no teacher to instruct them and to teach them the perfect law; and to request him to send to their country such a man as could explain to them fully the faith and order of the divine law and the way of truth. The Emperor listened to their petition, and summoned the Philosopher to his presence, and sent him thither i.e. to the country of the Slavs, accompanied by his brother Methodius, with ample supplies from the palace.

With God's help they arrived there. The people wel-

comed their coming with great rejoicings on hearing that they brought with them the relics of the blessed Clement and the Gospel which the Philosopher had translated into their own tongue. . . . So they began to do that for which they had come, by carefully teaching; educating the children; instructing them in the offices of the Church; correcting the various errors which they found among the people by the sickle of their words; uprooting and extirpating from that plague-stricken land the manifold briars of vice. They remained in Moravia for four and a half years; bringing the people up in the Catholic Faith, and leaving behind them everything necessary for the service of the Church.

c. 8. On hearing all this, the most glorious Pope Nicholas greatly rejoiced at all that was told him, commanded them, or by letters apostolic invited them, to come to him. They gave thanks to God that they had been counted worthy of so great an honour as to be summoned by the Apostolic See. They took with them several disciples whom they thought worthy of the episcopate; and, after some days, arrived in Rome.

c. 9. But Nicholas died before their arrival. His successor, however, Adrian II received them with honour; consecrated Constantine and Methodius bishops, and some of the disciples presbyters and deacons.—K.

No. 70.—(III) Consecration of Methodius as Archbishop, **869**

[Hadrian II (867–†2) to Rastislav and Kocel; Sept. 869; Jaffé, No. 2924]

You have asked for a teacher not only from this episcopal throne but also from the orthodox Emperor Michael, and he has sent you the blessed philosopher Constantine, together with his brother [Methodius], since we lacked opportunity. They were aware of the rights of the Apostolic See in your country, but they did nothing contrary to the canons. Only, they came to us to bring the relics of St. Clement. We were filled with great joy; and, after

consideration, we resolved to send back our son Methodius to your country, after ordaining him and his disciples, a man of great ability and orthodox too, to be your teacher, as you requested, by translating books into your language, in conformity with all the precepts of the Church, as Constantine the Philosopher, by the grace of God and after invocation of St. Clement, began to do. . . . But keep one rule : at Mass, to read the Epistle and the Gospel first in Latin, and then in Slavonic.—K.

No. 71.—(IV) John VIII (872–†82): *Industriae tuae* of June 880, to Swatopluk, prince of Moravia

[*Ep.* ccxciii. ; *P.L.* cxxvi. 905D and 906C, D]

[After commending Methodius to him as archbishop of Moravia, he continues] The presbyter, Wichin, whom you sent to us as bishop-elect, we have consecrated to the see of Nitra (now Nyitra, in Hungary, 67 miles N.N.W. of Budapest), and have ordered him to obey his archbishop in all things, as the holy canons require ; and we are willing, with the consent of the archbishop, to ordain as bishop any other fit presbyter or deacon whom you may send to us : so that with these two bishops your archbishop may be able hereafter to ordain bishops for other places. The Slavonic language, as put into writing by Constantine, we duly accept for use in singing praise to God ; and we ordain that that language shall be used for making known the preaching and the works of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . There is no objection to singing Mass in the Slavonic tongue, to reading lessons from the Old Testament and the New Testament, or to singing the Canonical Hours therein. For God made three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and all the others to His praise and glory. We ordain, however, that in all the churches of your country, for greater reverence, the Gospel should be read first in Latin and then translated into Slavonic, in the ears of the people who do not understand Latin. But if you and your nobles prefer to hear Mass in Latin, we ordain that Mass should be celebrated in Latin.—K.

**No. 72.—(V) Bulgaria. (1) The conversion of Boris,
King of Bulgaria, 864**

[Nicholas I; *Fateor veraciter* of May 864, to the envoys of Louis the German, 843–†76, *Ep.* lxi, cc. 11, 12; *P.L.* cxix. 875c; Jaffé, 2758]

c. 11. As you inform me that the king has arranged to come to Tullina [now Tulln, in Lower Austria], and then to confirm the peace with the King of the Bulgars and to enforce the submission of Rastislav, willy-nilly, we pray that Almighty God will prosper his journey, and that he may return home in peace and joy.

c. 12. As you tell me that the most Christian king hopes that the King of the Bulgars himself wishes to become a convert to the faith and that already many of his people have become Christians, we give thanks to God: and let us pray that an abundant harvest may be gathered into His barn. . . .

[Photius to the Oriental Patriarchs, 866; *Epp.* I. xiii, §§ 3, 4; *P.G.* cii. 724B]

§ 3. Moreover, the barbarous race of the Bulgars, so hostile to Christ, have taken to such gentleness and knowledge of God that they have abandoned their ancestral and devilish rites; given up the errors of their heathen superstition, and beyond all expectation have adopted the Christian faith.

§ 4. But it was not two years after that people had adopted the true religion of Christians, when impious and abominable men sprung from the land of darkness—for they came from the West—like some wild boar, broke into the Lord's vineyard, so recently planted, and laid it waste; turning the people from true and pure doctrine, trying to corrupt them and detach them from the unimpeachable faith of Christians. [He then goes on to recite the points in which the East objects to the doctrine and practice of the West; see No. 66 above.]—K.

**No. 73.—(VI) (2) Nicholas I: *Responsa* to the Bulgarians,
Nov. 13, 866**

[*Ep.* xcvi. *Ad consulta vestra*, cc. 3 and 106; *P.L.* cxix. 979 sq., 1015; Jaffé, 2812]

c. 3. *On Holy Matrimony* ["The first description of the rites of marriage in the Latin Church," Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,⁵ 429]. As to the custom which you say the Greeks follow in their nuptial associations we will endeavour briefly to remind you of the use which the holy Roman Church has received from ancient times, and to explain to you what she has hitherto observed on such occasions. Our people, whether men or women, wear on their head no bond of gold, silver or any other metal when they enter upon the marriage contract; but first come *the espousals*, which are the earnest of the future marriage, and are expressed in the consent of those who enter upon the contract and of those under whose authority they are. Then the bridegroom makes his promise to the bride, the token of which is *the ring*, signifying faithfulness, which he places on her finger. Then follows *the dowry*, agreed upon by both parties, which the bridegroom delivers to her by written document, in the presence of the guests; and either at once or at some convenient time they proceed together to *the marriage ceremony*. First of all, it is celebrated in the church of the Lord with the *Oblation* [*sc.* the Mass] which they duly make to God, by the hand of the priest. Then is pronounced the benediction while the *veil* is received . . . though this veil is not received at a second marriage. Finally, as they leave the church, they wear *crowns* upon their heads, which it is customary always to keep in church. Then, after the marriage feast, they proceed each to live their life in all things, under the guidance of God. . . . Consent alone is necessary. If that is lacking at a marriage, everything else, cohabitation itself included, is all in vain. As St. John Chrysostom said: *Matrimonium non facit coitus sed voluntas*. . . .—K.

No. 74.—(VII) On Missions in Bulgaria

c. 106. Finally, you ask us to give you, as to other nations, the true Christian faith in its entirety, without spot or wrinkle; telling us that many Christians have come from various quarters into your country who, according to their fancy, preach all sorts of things—Greeks, Armenians and others. And so you ask to be told whether you should follow their various opinions, and what you ought to do. “We are not sufficient for these things, but our sufficiency is of God” (2 Cor. iii. 5), and the blessed Peter, who lives and rules in his See, gives the true faith to those who ask for it. The Roman Church is always without spot or wrinkle, just because he founded it whose confession of faith received divine approval. . . . And as for those who come into your country from heaven only knows where, and teach heaven only knows what, we have already written fully to you, and now we desire to write further in the words of the Doctor of the Gentiles (2 Cor. xii. 20), “for I fear, lest by any means, when I come, I should find you not such as I would.” As to what concerns the right faith, we care not who preach, but whom they preach: for, he says, “Some, indeed, preach Christ even of envy and strife,” etc. (Phil. i. 15–18). But he who says this, says also: “Shun profane babblings” (2 Tim. ii. 16). In everything the mercy of God will be with you, through those whom we have sent and through your future bishop, to instruct you and to tell you fully what you ought to do. Whether now, or hereafter, in things small or great, they will, after the common custom of the Church, consult the Apostolic See; and, so instructed, they will tell you what you ought to do; and teach you, by diligent preaching, what is the will of God.—K.

No. 75.—(VIII) (3) Nicholas I: Complaints against the Greeks, Oct. 23, 867

[*Omnium nos portare; Ep. clii.; P.L. cxix, 1153A, B, to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims; Jaffé, No. 2879*]

. . . Among the things which have brought upon us so

much trouble, the principal causes of our distress are the wrongs inflicted upon us, nay upon the whole West, by the Greek Emperors Michael and Basil, and their subjects. Inflamed by hatred and envy, they endeavour to fasten upon us the guilt of heresy. Hatred, I say, because we have not only disapproved but condemned the promotion, by a faction whom we have deposed and anathematized, of Photius, the adulterous intruder into the Church of Constantinople, without waiting for our assent to the deposition of our fellow-minister Ignatius, patriarch of that Church, which was simply the work of subjects and the power of the crown. And envy, because they heard that Michael (Boris), King of the Bulgars, after receiving with his people the faith of Christ, requested teachers and instruction from the throne of blessed Peter: desiring, or rather panting, to detach the Bulgars from subjection to blessed Peter and to subject them to the Emperor, under pretence of the Christian religion. They said such things about the Holy Roman Church, which has neither spot nor wrinkle, as to make those who were new in the faith and heard them avoid us as noxious persons, defiled with all sorts of heresy . . . [then follow details as in No. 66 above].—K.

No. 76.—The Dream of the Rood, ? ninth cent.

[The poem may have been suggested by the service of the Veneration of the Cross which reached England early in the eighth century, and remained "the normal Good Friday devotion for lay people during the middle ages" (M. Deanesly, *Hist. Med. Ch.* 71 *sqq.*). "The poet describes his vision of the Cross of Christ, invested with radiance, adorned with gold and gems, yet still bathed in the Saviour's blood, and then the Cross itself speaks."]

A long time lying there I sadly looked
 Upon the Saviour's Cross, until I heard
 Resounding thence a voice. That wood divine
 Then spake these words: "It was long, long ago—
 Yet I recall—when, at the forest's edge,
 I was hewn down, and from my stem removed.

Resistless were the foes that seized me there,
They fashioned for themselves a spectacle,
Commanded me to bear their criminals :
And on men's shoulders carried me away
Until they set me down upon a hill,
And stayed me fast ; mine enemies indeed !

Then I beheld the Master of mankind
Approach with lordly courage, as if He
Would mount upon me, and I dared not bow
Nor break, opposing the command of God,
Although I saw earth tremble ; all my foes
I might have beaten down, yet I stood fast.

Then the young Hero laid His garments by,
He that was God Almighty, strong and brave ;
And boldly in the sight of all He mounted
The lofty cross, for He would free mankind.
Then, as the Man divine clasped me, I shook ;
Yet dared I not bow to the earth nor fall
Upon the ground, but I must needs stand fast.

A cross upraised, I lifted a great King,
Lifted the Lord of heaven ; and dared not bow.

* * * *

Then one began to fell us to the earth—
A fearful fate ! and in the entombing mold
Deep buried us. Yet, undismayed, for me
The friends and followers of the Lord made search—
And when from out the earth they lifted me,
With silver they adorned me, and with gold.

Now mayest thou know, O hero mine, beloved !
Unutterable sorrows I endured,
Base felons' work. But now hath come the time
When, far and wide, men on the earth, and all
The glorious universe doth honour me,
And to this beacon bow themselves in prayer,
On me awhile suffered the Son of God ;
Therefore now full of majesty I tower
High under heaven ; and I have power to heal
All those who do me reverence. Of old

Was I a punishment, the cruelest,
 The most abhorred by men, ere I for man
 Had opened the true way of life. Lo, then
 The Prince of Glory, Guardian of heaven,
 Above all other trees exalted me,
 As He, Almighty God, in sight of men
 His mother honoured, blessed among women,
 Mary herself."

* * * *

[*Translations from Old English Poetry*, edd. A. S. Cook and G. B. Tinker; Boston, U.S.A., 1902.]

The Conversion of Russia

No. 77.—The Baptism of Vladimir, 988

[The Russians, under the Grand Princes of Kiev, advanced towards Constantinople and laid siege to it in 865. It was only a raid, but four times during the next century they returned to the attack. In 957, the Russian princess Olga †969, then regent for her son, the Grand Prince Sviatoslav, 945-†73, came on a state visit to Constantinople. It is described by Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) 945-†79 (*De caeremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ii. 15; *Op.* i. 343-5; *P.G.* cxii. 1108-12), who received her at his Court. She was baptized with the Emperor for her godfather. She failed to win over her son, or his warriors, to the Christian Faith. "My retinue," he said, "would laugh at me"; but he took no notice of her prophetic reply: "If the Prince were once baptized, all his subjects would do the same." And so it happened, 989 (Gibbon, vi. 163, n. 100, ed. Bury) at the baptism of his son and second successor Vladimir, 980-†1015. The *Chronicle* of Nestor, written by an unknown monk of the Petchersky monastery at Kiev, c. 1100, and covering the years 850-1110, is our authority for the baptism and for what followed (see *Chronique de Nestor*, ed. Louis Leger; Paris, 1884, cc. xxxi, xl.-xliii.). What was done at Kiev was adopted throughout Russian lands.]

c. xxxi. *The baptism of Olga*, 957. Olga paid a visit to

the Greeks, and came to Constantinople. The Emperor was then Constantine, son of Leo. Seeing that she was fair to look upon and very wise, he admired her intelligence, and held converse with her, saying: "You are worthy to reign with us in this city." On hearing these words, she said to the Emperor: "I am a heathen; if you wish me to be baptized, baptize me yourself; otherwise, I do not wish to be baptized." And, with the help of the patriarch, he baptized her. . . . The patriarch then instructed her in the Faith . . . on the doctrine of the Church, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, chastity. . . . Then she returned to Kiev . . . lived with her son, Sviatoslav, and urged him to be baptized. . . . But he paid no attention. "What!" he said, "accept a strange religion! Why, my retinue would laugh at me!" To which she replied: "If you would let yourself be baptized, all would do the same." . . . So she set herself to pray for her son and his people, night and day, and brought up her son, until he came to be a man.

c. xl. *The choice of a religion*, 986. . . . Some Bulgarians, who were Mohammedans by religion, came and said to Vladimir: "Prince you are wise and prudent; but you have no religion; adopt our religion, and pay homage to Mohammed." "What is your religion?" said Vladimir. . . . "We believe," said they, "in God; and Mohammed taught us to practise circumcision; not to eat pork and not to drink wine and, after death, to enjoy ourselves with women. . . ." Vladimir listened to them, for he loved women, and listened with pleasure. Only one thing displeased him: circumcision and abstention from pork and wine. "Drinking," he replied, "is the delight of Russians; we could not live without it."

Then came the Germans [lit. strangers] from Rome, saying "We are envoys from Rome: the Pope has bidden us to say to you that your country is like ours, though your faith is not as ours; for our faith is the light. We worship the God who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon and all creatures, while your gods are made of wood." Vladimir said: "What are your commandments?" "To fast according as we are able, and to eat and

drink to the greater glory of God, for this is what our teacher Paul said" (1 Cor. x. 31). Vladimir said: "Away with you! for our forefathers never admitted that!"

On hearing all this there came Khazars, who were Jews, and said: "We have heard that Bulgarians and Christians have come to teach you their religion. The Christians believe on Him whom we crucified. As for us, we believe in one only God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." Vladimir said: "What are your observances?" They replied: "Circumcision, abstention from pork and hare, and the observance of the sabbath." "And where is your country?" "At Jerusalem." "Do you live there now?" "No: God was displeased with our forefathers, and he has dispersed us throughout the world for our sins, and our country has been handed over to the Christians." "Then how can you teach others, being yourselves rejected of God and dispersed by Him? If you loved yourselves and your Law, you would not be dispersed into strange lands? Do you want us to suffer the same evil fate?"

After this, the Greeks sent a wise man to Vladimir, saying, "We have heard that the Bulgarians have come to you to invite you to adopt their religion, a religion which defiles both heaven and earth. They are accursed beyond Sodom and Gomorrah: and their women are worse." When Vladimir heard that, he spat upon the ground, and said: "Abominable!" The wise man said: "We have heard that people have come from Rome to tell you about their religion; there is not much difference between theirs and ours [save unleavened bread and Communion in one kind]; so they have altered the faith. . . ." Vladimir made them many presents, and dismissed them with honour. . . .

c. xli. *Vladimir's envoys at Constantinople.* Vladimir consulted his nobles, and the councillors of the town . . . who urged him to send some of his men to study these different religions, and to see how each renders homage to God [Bulgarians, German (i.e. the Roman missions in Germany) and Greeks]. . . . They went to Constantinople, and came to find the Emperor. He sent a message to the

Patriarch, saying, "Some Russians are come to study our religion; prepare the church, and your clergy, and put on your pontifical vestments, that they may see the glory of God." So they celebrated the accustomed rites. The Emperor accompanied the Russians to the church, and assigned them a place where they could see well; and afterwards showed them the beauties of the church, its chants, its service, and explained to them the divine service.

Filled with wonder they admired and praised the service. "Return to your country," said the Emperor, and dismissed them with presents and great honour. On their return, the prince summoned his nobles and elders, saying: "Here are the men whom we sent; they have returned; so let us hear what they have to say. Tell us where you have been, and what you saw." "We went first," they replied, "to the Bulgarians, and observed how they worship. They stand, bow, sit, look about this way and that, like persons possessed. There is no joy among them; on the contrary, a sadness and a stench that are horrible. Their religion is not good. So we went on to the Germans and saw them celebrating their service in church, and saw nothing beautiful in it. Then we went to Greece; and they took us to the place where they worship their God, and we did not know whether we were in heaven or on earth: for there is no such sight on earth, and nothing so beautiful. We are quite incapable of telling you. We only know that their God dwells among men; and their worship is more wonderful than that of other countries. We shall never forget its beauty; for no man when he has tasted what is sweet can put up with what is bitter. So we cannot live longer here." The nobles answered: "If the Greek religion had been bad, your grandmother Olga, wisest of all men, would never have adopted it." Vladimir replied: "Where then shall we be baptized?" They replied: "Wherever you like."

c. xlii. *The baptism of Vladimir, and his marriage to the princess Anne.* After a year had gone by, Vladimir marched with his army against Cherson, a Greek city [and took it]. He then sent messengers to the Emperor Basil

and Constantine, saying: "See, I have conquered your celebrated city. I understand that you have a sister, a virgin; if you will not give her to me, I will treat your capital as I have treated this city." The Emperor, in distress at this message, sent this reply: "It is not fitting that Christians should marry with heathen. If you will let yourself be baptized, you shall obtain what you ask; and, in addition, the kingdom of God, with the same faith as ours; but, if you will not be baptized, we cannot give you our sister." On hearing that, Vladimir said to the Imperial envoys: "Tell the Emperor that I will be baptized: I have already heard about your religion; and I like your beliefs and rites, as they have been described to me by your envoys." On hearing this, the Emperors rejoiced; and resolved upon this marriage for their sister, whose name was Anne. . . . But Anne would not go. "I should go," she said, "to be a slave among pagans: I would rather die here." Her brothers said to her: "It is by you that God will bring the Russians to repentance, and save the Greek Empire from a cruel war. You see what Russia has already done to the Greeks, and she will do it now, if you do not go"; and, with difficulty, they persuaded her. . . . Vladimir was baptized . . . and, after the baptism, the priests taught him the Christian faith. . . .

c. xliii. describes the overthrow of the idols, and the baptism of the people, following upon the proclamation: "To-morrow, whoever refuses to come to the river [Dnieper, at Kiev] and be baptized, must reckon with my displeasure." . . .—K.

No. 78.—The first Bull of Canonization, 993

[*Cum conventus*, Feb. 3, 993, of John XV (985–†96); Mansi, xix. 169 *sqq.*; Jaffé, *Regesta*, No. 3848; Mirbt,⁴ No. 258]

When an assembly had met in the palace of the Lateran, Jan. 31 [993], in the presence of Pope John, with bishops and presbyters, deacons and all the clergy assisting, Ludolph, bishop of Augsburg [988–†96] arose and said:

My Lord, if it please you and all the bishops and presbyters here present, let a petition which I have in my hands be read before you about the life and miracles of the venerable Udalric, sometime bishop of the holy church of Augsburg [923-†73], and decision taken as it may please you. . . . When the life of the aforesaid holy bishop had been read, we came to the miracles. . . . All this, so neatly and courteously phrased, we accepted; and, by common decision, we decreed that his memory . . . should be reverently and devoutly honoured, since we venerate the relics of martyrs and confessors so as to worship Him whose martyrs and confessors they are. We honour the servants, so that the honour may redound to their Lord, who said: "He that receiveth you, receiveth me." Accordingly, may we, who trust not in our own righteousness, ever be aided by their prayers and merits before God all merciful: because the divine and saving precepts of the holy canons and the writings of the holy Fathers powerfully urge us, in the eyes of all the churches and with the approval of apostolic authority, to arrange, for our profit and confirmation, that the memory of Udalric, the venerable bishop aforesaid, should be honoured with divine worship and ever avail for us in offering our devout praises to God.—K.

**No. 79.—Institution of the Feast of All Souls,
Nov. 2, 998**

[Odilo, abbot of Cluny, 994-†1049, instituted this Feast; see *Statutum S. Odilonis de Defunctis*; P.L. cxlii. 1037 sq.; and his *Vita*, c. ix, §§ 111-13 (*ibid.*, 878 sq.)]

§ 111. The memory of the blessed Odilo is famous throughout the whole Church, because he was the first to set apart a day for the general commemoration of all the departed to be celebrated. It was first instituted for his own monasteries; afterwards approved by the whole Church; and by general decree ordered to be observed everywhere. . . .

§ 112. The occasion of the institution of this commemoration is described at length by Peter Damian, in his

life of the saint. . . . Enough then to quote the letter of a monk named Burchard, as follows. A certain Religious . . . made a journey to Jerusalem to pray at the sepulchre of our Lord. On returning home, he lost his way. He got into a great forest and wandered about not knowing where to go. It so happened, by the will of God, that, while he was wandering in the wood, he fell in with an old hermit. When the old man saw him, he asked him who he was, what he wanted, where he came from and whither he was going. He told him that he was returning from Jerusalem and had lost his way. Hearing that he came from Gaul, the old man asked him if he knew Cluny, and the abbot, by name Odilo. The stranger told him that he did not know the place or the abbot, but had often heard of him. . . . The old man replied : " I will tell you what God, of His mercy, has revealed to me. The abbot of the afore-said monastery, St. Odilo, is of such excellence and favour with God that he has received from Him a grant never bestowed on anyone else that on two special days i.e. the second and third feria [*sc.* after Pentecost] all the souls of the faithful departed shall be set free from torments and the pains of hell. Now make haste on your way home ; for by the will of God you have been permitted to wander a little from your way in order that you might hear these things from me. When you get home, make known the name of this holy Odilo ; and bid everybody, rich and poor, gentle and simple, to make prayers and give alms for the glorification of that soul, at whose sole instance has been made to departed sinners, yea even to the damned, such an unheard of, bounteous and inestimable grant of the divine compassion. . . . " [§ 113 follows, with the *Statutum.*].—K.

No. 80.—The Truce of God, 1027

[Cluny took the lead, through her abbot, in a movement to mitigate the horrors of private warfare. . . . By the Truce of God, ordered at the Synod of Elne, in the Pyrenees, 1027, "nobles and princes swore to desist from all private warfare from noon on Saturday to prime on

Monday. This would allow due reverence to be paid to the Lord's Day; those who broke this 'Truce of God' were cut off from the sacraments and the society of the faithful in life; no priest might bury them, no man might pray for their soul. . . In the institution of the 'Truce of God,' Odilo, abbot of Cluny, took the leading part."—M. Deanesly, *A History of the Medieval Church*, 100; see Mansi, xix. 483.]

The above-mentioned bishops therefore, with all the clergy and faithful, have ordained that no one dwelling in the above-mentioned county or episcopate, shall assail any enemy of his from the ninth hour on Saturday to the first hour on Monday, in order that everyone may pay due honour to God on the Lord's Day; nor shall anyone assail a monk or cleric, walking abroad unarmed; nor any man going to, or returning from, church with his family; nor any man going with women; nor shall anyone dare to violate or assail the church, or any houses situated round about, within thirty paces of the same. They have ordained this pact or truce of God, because the divine law and almost the whole Christian religion have been brought to nought: and, as we read, iniquity abounds and love grows cold.—K.

No. 81.—The treatment of heresy, 1045

[*Anselmi Gesta Episc. Leodiensium*, cc. 62, 63; *Mon. Ger. Hist.*; *Scriptores*, vii. 226–8; Mirbt,⁴ No. 262]

c. 62. The bishop [Roger II, 1043–†65] of Châlons [sur Marne] said that in part of his diocese there were country-folk who followed the perverse doctrine of the Manichees, frequented furtive conventicles, of some obscene and unmentionable sort. They falsely professed, by their observances, to bestow the Holy Spirit by a sacrilegious laying on of hands. With a view to encouraging belief in their errors, they falsely alleged that He was not otherwise sent by God than in their heresiarch Manes, as if Manes were no other than the Holy Spirit; thus falling into that blasphemy which, according to the word of truth, cannot

be forgiven either here or hereafter [Mt. xii. 31]. Such people as these, said the bishop, compelled those whom they could to join their company; abhorring marriage, not merely avoiding the eating of flesh but also considering it profane to kill any animal; alleging, in support of their error, the commandment of God in the old Law which forbids killing. If it happens that simple men, unable to express themselves join the followers of such error, at once, he said, they become more able to do so than even the most educated of Catholics, so that the pure eloquence of the wise seemed almost overmastered by their talkativeness. He added that he was more grieved by their perversion of others than by their own perdition. The bishop anxiously enquired what was to be done with people like these. Was the sword of secular authority to be used against them, or not? A little leaven might corrupt the whole lump, unless they were exterminated. [Wazo, bishop of Liège, 1042-†8] replied, as follows:—

c. 63. . . . Meanwhile, we ought to remember that we who are called bishops did not receive at our ordination the sword of secular authority; and so we are anointed of God not to kill but to make alive. There is something else diligently to be done in dealing with the schismatics afore-said: of which you are not unaware. Let them and their adherents be deprived of Catholic communion; and let all others be publicly warned that, according to the admonition of the prophet, they depart from among them [Is. lii. 11] and take heed that they touch not their unclean sect; since "he that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled" [Ecclus. xiii. 1] thereby.—K.

No. 82.—The cleansing of the papacy, 1046

[From c. 900-50, the Roman See was dominated by three unprincipled women, Theodora and her daughters Marozia and Theodora. Iniquity reached its climax in John XII, 956-†64. He was raised to the papal throne at the age of eighteen, but deposed by the Emperor Otho I. A second series of worthless rulers began soon afterwards, and came

to a climax with Benedict IX, 1033-†44. He was only twelve years old at his accession and became a profligate. Again, it was time for an Imperial intervention, for in 1047 there were three popes in Rome—Benedict IX at the Lateran, Gregory VI at Santa Maria Maggiore, and Silvester III at St. Peter's. The Emperor Henry III crossed the Alps and held a synod at Sutri, Dec. 20, 1046. Benedict abdicated; Gregory, to whom he had sold the papacy, admitted his simony and resigned; Silvester was condemned as a usurper, degraded from Holy Orders, and imprisoned for life.]

[*Annales Corbeienses*; *M.G.H., Scriptores*, iii. 6; Mirbt,⁴ No. 263]

The great and first synod took place at Pavia, in the presence of the Lord Henry [III], then king [1039-†56]; the second at Sutri; at which, in the presence of the king, according to the canons, two popes were deposed; the middle [Gregory VI, 1044-5] and the last [Sylvester III, 1045]. The third synod took place at Rome, on the third and fourth feria, Christmas Eve, at which Pope Benedict IX [1033-44] was canonically and synodically deposed; and, by the unanimous election of clergy and people, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg [1041-6] was put into his place. Next day, he was consecrated as Clement [II, 1046-†7], and crowned the Lord Henry as Emperor, with the entire goodwill and pleasure of the Roman people.—K.

No. 83.—On the validity of Ordinations conferred in heresy or schism, 1053

[In respect of the sacraments of Baptism and Ordination, it was a long time before the distinction between "valid" and "regular" was established. St. Augustine made it clear in *Contra Epist. Parmen.* [c. 400] II. xiii. 28; but by the tenth century it was either unknown or ignored; and reordination was imposed in cases of doubt, or Ordinations were quashed as the best way of dealing with political turbulence, or ecclesiastical faction. Thus Sergius III, in a synod of 904, treated as invalid, i.e. as null and void, the

Orders bestowed by Pope Formosus (H. L. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, iv. 122). The violence and immorality of the times will account for such rough and ready treatment of opponents; but it continued in a more moral but not less turbulent age. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the papacy was engaged in the strife against simony and lay-investiture, some of its supporters found their best weapon in the nullity of simoniacal Orders and the practice of reordination, e.g. Cardinal Deusdedit †1097, the friend and supporter of Gregory VII, 1073–†85. But the opposite view was taken by St. Peter Damian, †1072, when the question arose about simoniacal clerics. He was appealed to, and wrote c. 1053 the *Liber gratissimus* in favour of their validity. In the next century, the matter was settled once and for all: when St. Thomas Aquinas †1274 reasserted the teaching of St. Augustine (*Summa*, III^a Pars, Suppl. Q. xxxviii. Art. 2) that Orders bestowed in heresy or schism are, in modern language, valid though irregular, i.e. the power divinely bestowed remains; but the legitimate exercise of it is in suspense, until it is restored by canonical authority. See my pamphlet *Validity: name and thing*, S.P.C.K., 1937.]

[Peter Damian, *Liber gratissimus*, c. 35; *Op.* ii. 136; *P.L.* cxlv. 150C]

If anyone should object that, after deposition, Formosus, bishop of the Roman see, was reinstated, let him know that many priests were reinstated; of whom, however, we nowhere read that they were ordained anew. For it is one thing for a person to be restored by the sentence of a synod to the rights of an Order that is lost: it is another thing to have acquired the grace of the Holy Spirit by that mystery of consecration which cannot be repeated: particularly since, in him who is deposed, although he may have outwardly lost the privilege of exercising his dignity, there remains, nevertheless, the sacrament of Orders once received; just as, while the sacrament of regeneration remains in itself, a person guilty of any crime is excommunicated but is not deprived of that sacrament, even though he were never reconciled to God.—K.

No. 84.—The Final Schism between East and West, 1054

[Since the days of Nicholas I and Photius (Nos. 62–7 above), the causes of the rift between East and West remained: an alien culture and a growing contempt for each other. But, given the occasion, it could easily be reopened; and occasion was given by the ambition of Michael Caerularius, formerly a minister of the Emperor Constantine X (Monomachus), 1042–†54, and now Patriarch of Constantinople, 1043–†58. His see was second in dignity to that of the Pope, and he wished to be his equal as Œcumenical Patriarch. The moment to assert himself seemed to have come when Pope Leo IX, 1049–†54, in alliance with the Emperor against the Normans in South Italy, suffered defeat and imprisonment; and it looked as if the progress of the victors might end in the transference of South Italy from the Greek to the Latin Church. Caerularius took advantage of the captivity of Leo IX to open an attack through his friend Leo, archbishop of Ochrida, and at the same time closed the Latin churches and monasteries in Constantinople. The archbishop accordingly addressed a letter to John, bishop of Trani (1053–†9) in Apulia, warning him against the errors of the Latins: §§ 1, 2 the use of unleavened bread; § 3 fasting on Saturdays in Lent; § 4 the eating of things strangled and of blood; and § 5 the singing of Alleluia at Easter only (C. Will, *Acta et scripta de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae*, Lipsiae, 1861, No. I.). Humbert, Cardinal-bishop of Silva-Candida, happened to be in Trani when the letter arrived. He sent it to the Pope, who remonstrated with *In terra pax* of Sept. 2, 1053 (Will, No. II.; Jaffé, No. 4302). The tone of this correspondence was most unfortunate at a time when the advance of the Normans was threatening the extinction of the last remnants of Byzantine possessions in Italy, and both the Emperor and the Patriarch—the latter under pressure—wrote to the Pope in favour of reconciliation. Their letters are lost, but their contents can be recovered from the replies of Pope Leo IX (Will, Nos. III, IV, Jaffé, Nos. 4332–3) Jan. 1054. These replies were taken to Constantinople by three papal legates,

of whom Cardinal Humbert was the chief. On their arrival the controversy was continued there (Will, Nos. V, VI, VIII.). The Emperor supported Humbert; for there was still pressing need for the alliance between Constantinople and Rome. But Caerularius stood out. At last the legates, finding that they could make no impression upon him, on July 16, 1054, entered St. Sophia and laid on the altar, as it stood prepared for the Liturgy, a sentence of excommunication (Will, No. IX.). The Patriarch retaliated, July 20, in language as emphatic as their own (Will, No. XI.).]

[Cardinal Humbert's *Commemoratio*; Will, No. VIII.; Mirbt,⁴ Nos. 268-9]

§ 2. At last, as Michael avoided their presence and intercourse with them and continued in his folly, the legates aforesaid, on July 16 [1054], entered the church of San Sophia and, complaining of his obstinacy, the clergy according to custom being prepared for Mass, at the ninth hour of the said Saturday, placed a deed of excommunication on the principal altar, in sight of the clergy and people there present. Then immediately they went out, shaking off the dust of their feet against them, and exclaiming: "The Lord look upon it, and require it" (2 Chron. xxiv. 22). . . . The copy of the deed runs as follows:—

Humbert, by the grace of God, cardinal-bishop of the holy Roman Church; Peter, archbishop of Amalfi; and Frederick, deacon and chancellor, to all sons of the Catholic Church. The holy Roman See, first and apostolic, to which as to their head, the care of all the churches specially appertains, for the sake of the peace and well-being of the Church, has deigned to make us its legates to this Imperial City: in order that, as it is written, we might come down and see whether the clamour which, without intermission, has reached its ears, has ceased; if not, that it may know. Wherefore, first, let the Glorious Emperors, clergy, senate and people of Constantinople . . . know that we rejoice to perceive the good and grieve to see the evil here. So far as the columns of the Empire and the wise

and honourable citizens go, it is a Christian and orthodox city. But as to Michael, miscalled Patriarch and the supporters of his folly, too many tares of heresy are daily being sown in the midst of it. Like the Simoniacs, they sell the gift of God; like the Valesians [a Gnostic sect of the third century] they castrate their friends, and promote them not merely to the clerical estate, but to the episcopate; like the Arians, they rebaptize persons already baptized in the name of the Trinity, and especially Latins; like the Donatists, they affirm that, save in the Greek Church, true sacrifice and baptism have perished all the world over; like the Nicolaitans, they allow and permit casual marriage to ministers of the altar; like the Severians, they say that the law of Moses is accursed; like the Pneumatomachi, they cut out from the Creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son . . . they grow their hair and beard themselves and refuse to receive into communion those who, after the fashion of the Roman church, shave the beard. For these and other their errors and misdeeds, Michael, when admonished by the Pope, treated his letters with contempt. Further, when we, his legates, with good reason, desired to put down the causes of so many evils, he declined to see us or to hold converse with us; refused us churches in which to say Mass as he had formerly closed the churches of the Latins and, calling them azymites, by word and deed, had persecuted them everywhere; and further still, had anathematized the Apostolic See, subscribing himself, in opposition to it, Œcumenical Patriarch. We therefore, unable to bear this unheard of insolence and injury towards the holy, first and apostolic See, and aware that the Catholic Faith is in many ways being undermined, by the authority of the holy and undivided Trinity and of the Apostolic See, whose legates we are, of all the orthodox Fathers of the seven Œcumenical Councils and of the whole Catholic Church, subscribe to the anathema which our lord the most reverend Pope has notified to Michael and his followers, unless they repent—Let Michael, pretended Patriarch, neophyte, one who has assumed the monastic habit solely for fear of man, and who is in ill-

repute for the worst of crimes, together with Leo, so-called bishop of Ochrida, and Michael's chaplain, Constantine, who trod the sacrifice of the Latins under his profane feet, and all their associates in the presumptuous errors aforesaid, be *anathema maranatha* . . . with all heretics, nay, with the devil and his angels, unless they repent. Amen.—K.

No. 85.—The Lateran Council of April, 1059

[The Council was held during the short pontificate of Nicholas II, 1059–†61. He was one of the reforming Popes who stood in the succession of the German Pope Leo IX, and the Council was of great importance. It dealt with violence at papal elections; simony; and clerical marriage or concubinage. All these evils hung together, and were due to the coarse and turbulent lives of the laity. They dominated the Roman See. They bought and sold benefices. They appointed clerics, whose lives were no better than their own.]

(1) The decree on elections to the Papacy

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 270]

(1) Pope Nicholas said : (2) You are well aware, beloved brethren and fellow-bishops, how many adversities this Apostolic See has endured, and how grievously it has been subjected to the persistent hammer blows of simoniacal money-changers; with the result that the column of the living God seems to be shaken and the net of the chief Fisher of men to be lost in the raging storm. Wherefore, if it please you, we ought, with the help of God, wisely to provide against coming dangers and to look to the condition of the Church of the future : lest (which God forbid) evils should prevail. Accordingly, taught by the authority of our predecessors and other holy fathers, we decree and ordain as follows :—

(3) On the death of the pontiff of this Roman and universal Church, let the Cardinal-bishops, first of all, deal

with the matter by careful consideration together : then let them call in the Cardinal-clerics ; and let the rest of the clergy and the people proceed to give their consent to the new election.

(4) Lest the taint of venality should by any chance creep in, let religious men take the lead in the election of the Pope, and let the others follow.

Assuredly this is to be taken as the right and lawful order of election ; if we consider the rules and proceedings of divers fathers and in particular recall that saying of our blessed predecessor Leo [the Great : *Ep.* cxlvii. c. 1 ; *Op.* i. 1420 ; *P.L.* liv. 1203A] "No consideration permits men to be reckoned among bishops who have not been elected by the clergy, demanded by the laity, and consecrated by the bishops of the province, with the assent of the metropolitan." So, since the Apostolic See takes precedence of all churches in the world and has no metropolitan above it, the Cardinal-bishops exercise the functions of a metropolitan, as when they promote a bishop to the supreme dignity.

(5) Let them elect a fit man from the bosom of the church, if such can be found ; if not, from some other church :

(6) Saving the honour and reverence due to our beloved son Henry [IV, 1056-†84], our present king and, as we hope, by the will of God, our future Emperor ; as we have granted to him and his successors, provided that in person they petition the Holy See for this privilege.

(7) If the perversity of depraved and wicked men should so prevail that a pure, sincere and free election cannot take place in this City, then let the Cardinal-bishops, religious clergy and Catholic laity, few though they may be, have the right to elect a Pontiff of the Apostolic See, at whatever place they think more convenient.

(8) If, after the election shall have been made, a state of war or any malicious attempt on the part of men shall make it impossible for him who is elected to the Apostolic See to be enthroned according to custom, let the Pope-elect have authority to govern the holy Roman Church, and to

make all its grants, as we know the blessed Gregory to have done before his consecration.

(9) If anyone, contrary to this our synodal decree, by sedition, presumption or any device, be elected, ordained or enthroned, let him be held and regarded by all as no pope but a devil, not apostolic but apostate; then, by the authority of God and of blessed Peter and Paul, let him be delivered to perpetual anathema. . . .—K.

No. 86.—(II) The encyclical of Nicholas II on the resolutions of the Synod

[*Vigilantia universalis*; *P.L.* cxliii. 115 *sqq.*; Jaffé, 4405; Mirbt,⁴ No. 271]

By watchfulness over the government of the universal Church we owe to all men constant care; and we also provide for your salvation. We desire therefore to notify you of all that was canonically done in the recent synod at Rome of a hundred and thirteen bishops, under our unworthy presidency; because, for your salvation we expect you to be executors thereof and we command your obedience thereto by our apostolic authority.

(1) First of all, in the sight of God, it was ordained that the election of the Roman pontiff shall rest with the Cardinal-bishops lest, if anyone, without their unanimous and canonical election, as aforesaid and then without the consent of the religious clergy and laity following, should be enthroned, we should have a pope who is not apostolic but an apostate.

(2) On the death of the Roman pontiff, no one of any city shall presume to invade his rights: they shall be reserved entire for his successors.

(3) No one shall hear the Mass of a presbyter whom he knows for certain to have a concubine or a woman-companion. Wherefore the synod itself ordained this statute under pain of excommunication, saying: Whosoever, whether priest, deacon or sub-deacon, in accordance with the decree of our predecessor St. Leo of blessed memory on the chastity of clerks, openly takes a concubine

or refuses to leave her, we, on behalf of Almighty God and with the authority of blessed Peter and Paul, by this ordinance, entirely forbid to sing Mass, or to read either the Gospel or the Epistle at Mass, or to remain at divine service side by side with those who obey the said decree, or to have a stipend from the church. . . .

(4) And we ordain that those of the aforesaid Orders who, in obedience to our predecessor, keep chastity in the churches to which they have been ordained, as becomes religious clerks, shall eat and sleep and share in common whatever is assigned to them by the church ; and we require and command that they shall above all things be zealous to live the apostolic, i.e. the common, life.

(5) Next, tithes, firstfruits or offerings for living and dead shall faithfully be paid to the churches of God by the laity, and shall be at the disposal of the bishops. Those who withhold them shall be separated from the communion of holy Church.

(6) No clerk or presbyter shall obtain a church from the laity whether by grant or payment.

(7) No one shall be ordained or promoted to any ecclesiastical function simoniacally.

(8) No cleric of any Order shall be judged, or put out of his church by laymen.

(9) No layman shall be suddenly promoted to any ecclesiastical rank, except he first puts away his secular dress, and receives approval after living day by day in the company of clerks.—K.

The Second Eucharistic Controversy, eleventh cent.

[Berengar, 1000–†86, was born at Tours and went to the school of Chartres to study arts and theology under the celebrated Fulbert, bishop of Chartres †1029. He became archdeacon of Angers 1039 ; but continued to live at Tours, as rector of the school of St. Martin in that city. There he developed views about the Eucharist, probably influenced by the teaching of Ratramnus (see No. 61), which “ led to a controversy far more acute than those of the ninth cen-

tury. . . .” In 1050 he addressed a short letter to Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, 1067–†89, in which he declared his acceptance of opinions probably to be assigned to Ratramnus and his rejection of those of Paschasius (No. 60). This letter was read and condemned at a Council in Rome under Pope Leo IX, in 1050; and at the Council of 1059, under Pope Nicholas II (Nos. 85, 86) Berengar was present, and was induced to assent to a document given below, which was drawn up by the expert controversialist, Cardinal Humbert, who five years previously had dealt with Michael Caerularius (No. 84). Some years later, after a Council held at Rouen, 1063, Lanfranc published his book on *The body and blood of the Lord*. In it he defended at length the doctrine dictated by Humbert and accepted—under pressure—by Berengar at Rome. He charges the latter with denying any conversion of the elements at consecration, and with holding that only in a symbolical and figurative sense are they to be regarded as the body and blood of Christ. He then develops his own belief: that “the bread and wine are converted at consecration into the body and blood of Christ.”—Abridged from D. Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, i. 244–8; where see more in detail.]

No. 87.—(I) The confession of Berengar, 1059

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 273]

“I, Berengar, an unworthy deacon of the Church of St. Maurice of Angers, acknowledging the true Catholic and Apostolic faith, anathematize every heresy, especially that concerning which I have hitherto been in ill repute, which attempts to affirm that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are after consecration only a Sacrament and not the real body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that these cannot be held or broken by the hands of the priests or crushed by the teeth of the faithful with the senses but only by way of Sacrament. And I assent to the holy Roman and Apostolic See, and with mouth and heart I profess that concerning the Sacrament of the Lord’s Table I hold the faith which the Lord and

venerable Pope Nicholas and this holy synod have by evangelical and apostolical authority delivered to be held and have confirmed to me, namely that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are after consecration not only a Sacrament but also the real body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that with the senses not only by way of Sacrament but in reality these are held and broken by the hands of the priests and are crushed by the teeth of the faithful."—Stone, *op. cit.*, 247.

No. 88.—(II) The opinion of Lanfranc

[after 1063; Mirbt,⁴ No. 275]

c. 18. We believe then that the earthly substances which are on the Lord's Table are divinely consecrated in the priestly mystery, and are ineffably, incomprehensibly, wonderfully, converted by the operation of heavenly power into the essence of the Lord's body, the species of the things themselves being preserved, and certain other qualities, so that men may not shrink through perceiving what is raw and bloody, and that through belief they may receive the fuller rewards of faith, the Lord's body itself none the less existing in heaven at the right hand of the Father, immortal, unviolated, whole, unbroken, unhurt, so that it can be truly said that we receive that very body which was taken from the Virgin, and yet that it is not the same :—the same indeed so far as concerns the essence peculiarity and power of the real nature, but not the same as regards the species of bread and wine and the other things mentioned above. . . .

c. 19. The real flesh of Christ and His real blood are offered on the Lord's Table, are eaten and drunk, bodily, spiritually, incomprehensibly. . . .

c. 20. The true body and blood of Christ are there for those who worthily partake, and who by partaking receive remission of sins. . . . For sinners and those who partake unworthily the true flesh and the true blood of Christ are there; and the essence is there, but without saving efficacy, i.e. without remission of sins.—Stone, *op. cit.*, 248 sq.

Gregory VII, 1073-†85

[Hildebrand "was one of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs and one of the most remarkable men of all time." Educated in Rome, he became chaplain to Gregory VI, 1044-†6; who bought the papacy from his predecessor, and then abdicated. Hildebrand accompanied him in exile to Germany. He returned to Rome with Leo IX, 1049-†54, one of a line of German popes, bent upon the reform of the Church. For twenty-five years Hildebrand was the most influential cleric in Rome; the power behind five popes of that period; the best, and the best-hated, man of his day. At last, his turn came. Against his will, and by universal consent, he was elected, April 22, 1073, and became Gregory VII. As we learn from a letter written within two years after his election to his intimate friend, Hugh, abbot of Cluny, †1109, he knew quite well the disorders of the age and the difficulty of the task before him. It was to get rid of simony, and its consequence in clerical incontinency; as well as its cause in patronage exercised by the laity. Such patronage, as exercised by the Emperor, Henry IV, raised the question of Lay Investiture, and so there followed the long strife between Pope and Emperor. It was not because Gregory was ambitious but because he knew that only by taking all power into his own hands and exalting the spiritual authority of his see, could he effect the reforms needed, that the papal supremacy was claimed by him in the most absolute terms. The strife survived him, and he died in exile, with the famous words on his lips: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile."]

No. 89.—(I) The election of Gregory VII, April 22, 1073

[Bonitho, bishop of Sutri, 1074-†90, *Ad amicum*, vii.; *Mon. Greg.* 656]

On the same day, after the body of the aforesaid pontiff [Alexander II, 1061-†73] had been buried in the church of the Holy Saviour [St. John Lateran], while the venerable Hildebrand was attending to his burial, there rushed in all

of a sudden a crowd of clerics, men and women : and a cry was raised, " Let Hildebrand be bishop ! " On hearing this, the venerable archdeacon took alarm, and, desiring to quiet the people, hurried to the pulpit. But Hugh the White anticipated him, and addressed the multitude thus : Men and brethren, you know how from the days of Pope Leo [IX, 1048-†54], Hildebrand has exalted the holy Roman church, and delivered our city. As it is impossible to find a better man, or his equal, whom we may elect, we elect him who has been ordained in our church, is well known to you as to us, and thoroughly approved. The Cardinal-bishops, priests and deacons, with the inferior clergy, after the accustomed manner, shouted " Blessed Peter has elected Gregory as Pope ! " And forthwith, he was seized and carried off by the people to the church of St. Peter [ad Vincula] : where, though against his will, he was enthroned.—K.

No. 90.—(II) Letter to Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine †1076, on future relations with the Emperor Henry IV, 1056-†1106

[*Grata nobis*, of May 6, 1073; *Registrum* II. ix.; *P.L.* cxlviii. 291 sq.; Jaffé, 4780; *H-L.* § 568, V. i. 49]

We are greatly pleased at the joy which, as we learn from your letter, you feel at our promotion. . . . In regard to the King [Henry IV], you will be able fully to appreciate our mind and desire that no one, so far as we are aware in the Lord, can surpass us, as we believe, in care or entire solicitude for his present and future glory. Our desire is, as soon as opportunity occurs, to shew our agreement with him, in all fatherly love and admonition, on everything which, in our opinion, concerns the welfare of the Church and the honour of his royal dignity. If he hearkens to our advice, we shall rejoice as much as for our own salvation. It will certainly be for his profit if, by holding fast to what is right, he gives heed to our advice and counsel. But if—the last thing which we wish—he returns hatred for love and treats the divine honour bestowed upon him with con-

tempt, we will not, God helping us, incur the curse pronounced on "him that keepeth back his sword from blood" (Jer. xlviii. 10). For we are not at liberty to prefer the favour of any man to the law of God, or to swerve from the straight path for the sake of advantage, as saith the Apostle, "If I sought to please men, I should not be the servant of God" (Gal. i. 10).—K.

No. 91.—(III) Letter to "all the faithful" for a crusade to help the Emperor Michael VII, 1071–8, and for the reunion of East and West, March 1, 1074

[*Notum vobis; Registrum* I. xlix.; *Mon. Greg.* 69; Jaffé, 4826]

We wish to let you know that the bearer of this letter, who has lately returned from oversea, has paid visits to the threshold of the Apostles, and to us. From him, as from many others, we have learned that a heathen people has made violent attacks against the Christian Empire and with deplorable cruelty has laid everything waste almost up to the walls of Constantinople; has behaved with tyrannical violence; and has put to death thousands of Christians, as if they were animals. Wherefore, if we love God and recognize that we are Christians, we must be greatly distressed at the unhappy lot of so great an Empire and so great a slaughter of Christians. It is in the care we owe to them that we should grieve over these things; but we should lay down our lives to rescue our brethren, after the example of our Saviour and in accordance with the demands of brotherly love. For, as He laid down His life for us, so should we lay down our lives for the brethren. Know ye therefore that we, trusting in the mercy of God and in the might of His strength, are doing this by every means in our power, and are ready to send aid to the Christian Empire, by the help of God, as soon as we can. Wherefore we beseech you by the faith through which you are united in Christ as the adopted sons of God, and by the authority of blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, we admonish you that you may be moved with fitting com-

passion by the wounds and blood of your brethren and the peril of the Empire aforesaid, and that your valour in Christ's name may make no unwilling effort to bring aid to your brethren. Whatever then in this cause divine piety may instil into your minds, take care by trusty messengers to let us know.—K.

**No. 92.—(IV) On the state of Christendom, Jan. 22, 1075,
to Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, 1049–†1109**

[*Si posset fieri; Registrum II. xlix. ; Mon. Greg. 163 sq. ; Jaffé, 4926*]

If it were possible, I should like you fully to appreciate what great tribulation presses upon me, and what great labour, daily renewed tires me out and increases, to my deep distress. . . . For grievous sorrow and utter sadness surround me, because the Eastern Church, by suggestion of the devil, has abandoned the Catholic Faith; and the ancient foe by his members puts Christians to death on all sides: so that, by spiritually killing the head, he causes the members carnally to perish, lest at any time by divine grace they should repent.

Then again, if I take a mental survey, and look round upon the regions of west, south or north, I scarcely find any bishops lawfully appointed and of regular life who rule the people of God for the love of Christ and not for worldly ambition. And among all the secular princes there is hardly one who prefers the honour of God and righteousness to his own advantage. Those among whom I live—Romans, Lombards and Normans, as I often tell them, I count as worse somehow than Jews or pagans.

Returning to myself, I find myself so overburdened by the weight of my own doings, that no hope of salvation remains for me except in the sole mercy of Christ. For if I did not hope for a better life and to be of more profit to holy Church, I would not in any wise remain in Rome where, as God is witness, I have been obliged to live these five and twenty years. . . .—K.

No. 93.—(V) The Lenten Synod of March 10, 1074.
Simony: celibacy. (1) *Cum apostolica auctoritate* to
Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz, 1060–†84

[*Epp. Coll.* 3; *Mon. Greg.* 523; Mirbt,⁴ No. 281; *H.L.*
§ 569; V. i. 89]

Impelled by apostolic authority and the true opinions of the holy fathers, we ardently desire to extirpate the heresy of simony and to preserve the chastity of the clergy, as bound in duty by our office. As you have a clergy and people spread over a wide field, as well as many suffragans dispersed abroad, we have decided to lay upon you this duty of obedience: that by your own efforts as well as those of your co-adjutors you carefully instruct the whole of your clergy in this decree of the Roman church, and set it before them to be inviolably observed. Wherefore we have been pleased to have prepared for you special letters impressed with our seal in order that, with the support of authority, you may safely and willingly obey our injunctions and expel from the sanctuary of the Lord the heresy of simony and the foul stain of lechery.

We therefore think that it is not out of place to write to you and let you know of the decision taken in our synod, in accordance with the authority of the holy fathers: that those who through simony, i.e. by means of a money-payment, are promoted to any grade or office of holy Orders, shall no longer have the right of exercising their ministry in the holy Church; those also who obtain a church by money-payment shall forfeit it altogether, lest it should be permitted to anyone to sell or buy it hereafter; and further, that those who are guilty of fornication shall not be allowed to say Mass, or if in minor Orders, to minister at the altar. We have also decreed that, if they treat our decree, or rather those of the holy fathers, with contempt, the laity shall not accept their ministrations; in order that those who are not moved to better things by the love of God and the dignity of their office may be moved to repentance by the fear of the world and the curses of the people.

Do you therefore, my brother, be zealous to shew yourself ready to co-operate with us in these things and so to pluck up these sins from your churches by the roots that you may obtain from God the reward of a good shepherd and that the Roman Church may rejoice in you as a dear brother and zealous fellow-worker.—K.

No. 94.—(VI) (2) Marianus Scotus, †1086; *Chronicon ad ann. 1074*

[*Mon. Germ. Scriptores* V. 560; Mirbt,⁴ No. 282]

Pope [Gregory VII] forbade presbyters, deacons and all clerics to have wives or to live at all with women, except with those who are permitted by regulation or by the Nicene synod [c. 3]. He also decreed that, in accordance with the sentence of blessed Peter, not only the buyer and seller of any ecclesiastical office, whether that of bishop, presbyter, deacon, provost, dean, church or tithe, but the accomplice of such transgressor, shall be condemned along with Simon [Magus]. For the Lord hath said: "Freely ye have received; freely give" [Mt. x. 8].—K.

**No. 95.—(VII) The Lenten Synod of March 7, 1080:
Lay Investiture**

[*Registrum* vii. 14A; *Mon. Greg.* 398 sq.; Mirbt,⁴ No. 294]

Following the statutes of the holy fathers—as in former councils which by the mercy of God we have held, and passed decrees on Ordination to ecclesiastical dignities—so now, by apostolic authority we decree and confirm that, if hereafter anyone shall receive any bishopric or abbey at the hand of any lay person, he shall not be reckoned among bishops or abbots: nor shall any attention be paid to him as to a bishop or abbot. Further, we refuse him both the favour of St. Peter and admission to the Church, until he repents and no longer deserts the place which he has acquired by the sin of ambition and disobedience which is the sin of idolatry. And so we decree in the case of the inferior clergy.

Further, if any Emperor, King, Duke, Marquis, Count

or any other secular Lord or person, presumes to give investiture of bishoprics or other ecclesiastical dignity, let him know that he is bound by the chain of the same sentence. Moreover, until he repents and restores to the church its proper liberty, let him feel the vengeance of divine punishment in this present life, in body as in other things; in order that his spirit may be saved at the coming of the Lord.—K.

No. 96.—(VIII) *Dictatus Papae—Quid valeant Pontifices Romani*,¹ 1 c. 1075

[*Registrum* ii. 55A; *Mon. Greg.* 174 sq.; *Mirbt*,⁴ No. 278]

- (1) That the Roman Church was founded by God alone.
- (2) That the Roman pontiff is alone to be called universal.
- (3) That he alone has power to depose or reconcile bishops.
- (4) That his legate takes precedence of all bishops in council, as of inferior Orders, and can give sentence of deposition against them.
- (5) That the pope has power to depose [bishops] in their absence.
- (6) That we ought not even to remain in the same house with those who have been excommunicated by him.
- (7) That he alone has the power of making laws in case of necessity; of gathering new people; of making an abbey out of a house of canons, and the reverse; of dividing a rich bishopric and uniting poor ones.
- (8) That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
- (9) That all princes should kiss his feet, and his alone.
- (10) That his name alone should be recited in church.
- (11) That his name is the only one of its kind in the world.
- (12) That he may depose Emperors.
- (13) That, in case of necessity, he may translate bishops from one see to another.

¹ "Formulated in a document preserved among his letters."—W. R. W. Stephens, *Hildebrand*, 154.

(14) That he may ordain a clerk from any church, according as he wills.

(15) That he who is ordained by him may be set over any church but may not bear arms; and ought not to accept promotion from any [other] bishop,

(16) That no synod ought to be called general, except with his permission.

(17) That no chapter and no book of canons be accepted apart from his authority.

(18) That no sentence of his ought to be revised, and that he alone has the power of revising it.

(19) That he himself can be judged by no man.

(20) That no one dare to condemn an appellant to the Apostolic See.

(21) That the greater causes of every church must be referred to it.

(22) That the Roman Church has never erred nor, according to Scripture, will ever err.

(23) That the Roman pontiff, if canonically ordained, by the merits of Peter is, without doubt, rendered holy: according to the testimony of St. Ennodius, bishop of Pavia [511-†21], many holy fathers agreeing thereto, as is contained in the decree of Pope Symmachus [498-†514].

(24) That by his ordinance and permission, subjects may accuse their superiors.

(25) That without summoning a synod, he may depose and reconcile bishops.

(26) That no one be reckoned a Catholic, who does not agree with the Roman Church.

(27) That he may absolve the subjects of wicked rulers from their allegiance.—K.

No. 97.—(IX) Excommunication and Deposition of the Emperor Henry IV, 1058-†1106: at the Lenten synod of 1076, in the Lateran

[*Registrum* iii. 10A; *Mon. Greg.* 223 sq.; *Mirbt*,⁴ No. 279; *Jaffé*, 4978]

Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, incline, we beseech

thee, thy pious ears to us and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast brought up from a child and to this day hast delivered from the hands of wicked men who, because of thy faithfulness, have hated and still do hate me. Thou art my witness, together with my Lady the Mother of God and blessed Paul thy brother among all the Saints, that thy holy Roman Church brought me against my will to its helm, and I did not think it a prize to mount to thy throne, but desired to finish my life as a pilgrim rather than by any secular ability to seize upon thy place for the sake of worldly glory. And so by thy favour and not by any effort of my own, I believe that it pleased, and still pleases, thee that the Christian people, specially committed to thee, obeys me, because thy charge has been specially entrusted to me. And of thy grace have I received from God authority to bind and loose in heaven and upon earth. Relying therefore upon this trust, for the honour and protection of thy Church, on behalf of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, by thy power and authority, I deny to King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry III, who has risen with unheard of pride against thy Church, the government of the whole German and Italian kingdom; and I release all Christians from the bond of their oath, which they have taken or shall take, and I forbid anyone to obey him as king . . . that all people may know that "thou art Peter and upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—K.

No. 98.—(X) Canossa, Jan. 25–27, 1077

[*Quoniam pro amore; to the German Princes; Registrum* iv. 12; *Mon. Greg.* 256 sq.; Jaffé, 4978; Mirbt,⁴ No. 280]

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes of the kingdom of Germany, health and apostolic benediction.

Whereas, through love of justice, you have undertaken

with us the common task and peril of the Christian warfare, we are anxious to let you know, in all truth, how the king has humbled himself, and asked for penance, absolution and forgiveness; and how the whole affair, since his coming into Italy, has fallen out.

As was arranged with the envoys, whom you sent to us on your part, we arrived in Lombardy about twenty days before the limit of time appointed, during which one of the dukes was to meet us at the town gate, and we were awaiting his coming, according as we were able to make the journey there. But when the limit of time was up, and we were told that on account of the present difficulties, which we can well believe, no duke could be sent to meet us, and we had no means of making the journey to you, we had no small doubt as to what it was possible for us to do, and so were at a loss.

Meanwhile, we had heard that the king was on his way. Before he set foot in Italy, he sent us envoys to make his petition; undertook that he would give entire satisfaction to God, to St. Peter and to us; and promised that by amendment of life he would observe all obedience, imploring withal the grace of absolution and apostolic benediction. After several consultations, long continued, we rebuked him sharply for his misdoings, by all the messengers who passed between us; until at last, without any show of hostility or insolence, he arrived, with a small retinue, at the town of Canossa, where we were staying. There for three days he stood in misery before the gate of the castle, after laying aside his royal apparel; unshod, and clad only in a woollen garment; and with many tears implored the aid and consolation of apostolic pity, until all who were there and had heard of his case, were moved with such piety and compassion that they all interceded for him with many prayers and tears; marvelling at our unwonted hardness of heart. Some cried out against us not because of harsh but apostolic severity, but for cruel and savage tyranny.

At last, overcome by the urgency of his grief and by the prayers of all present, we loosed the bond of anathema, and

received him into the grace of communion and the bosom of holy mother Church; after taking security of him, as written below. In confirmation whereof, we accepted the signature of Hugh, abbot of Cluny, of our daughters Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, and Adelaide, Countess of Turin; and of other princes, bishops and laity, who seemed to us useful for the purpose.—K.

No. 99.—(XI) Correspondence with William the Conqueror, 1066–†87

[*Notum esse tibi*, of April 24, 1080; *Registrum* vii. 23; *Mon. Greg.* 414; Jaffé, 5166]

Most excellent son, I believe it is well known to you how that, before I attained to the supreme pontificate, I always loved you with sincere affection; how truly and effectively I shewed myself interested in your affairs; in particular, with what zeal I endeavoured to assist you in attaining the pre-eminence of a king. For all this, I have had to put up with great ill-repute, from some of my brethren, who whisper complaints about my having spent my efforts, with no little favour, in encouraging such bloodshed. But God is witness to my conscience how that I did it in all good purpose, hoping by the grace of God and not vainly trusting in the good virtues that are yours that, as you mounted to the higher place, so, good as you were before, you would shew yourself still better in the cause of God and holy Church—as indeed, thanks be to God, is now the case. . . .—K.

No. 100.—(XII) The Pallium: to William, Archbishop of Rouen

[*Litterae quas nobis*, of March 15, 1081; *Registrum* ix. 1; *Mon. Greg.* 469; Jaffé, 5204; Mirbt,⁴ No. 299]

On this point too, if our apostolic clemency had not restrained us, you would have found us severely reprehending you, because up till now you have put off the customary application to the Apostolic See for the grant of

the pallium, that distinguished ornament of your dignity. We think that you cannot be unaware how strictly the judgment of the holy fathers requires that they are to be called to account who, after consecration, for three successive months take no trouble to obtain the pallium, which belongs to their office. Accordingly, we enjoin you by our apostolic authority that, because you think so little of the statutes of the holy fathers, you shall not hereafter presume to ordain a bishop or priest or to consecrate churches until you have sought from this see that which reinforces your dignity, i.e. the use of the pallium.—K.

William the Conqueror, 1066–†87

No. 101.—(I) To Pope Gregory VII, ? 1076

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 on your behalf, bade me 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, whilst I was in Gaul, has been carelessly collected; but now that I am back to my kingdom, by God's mercy, what has been collected is sent by the aforesaid legate, and what remains shall be despatched, 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. (H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents of English Church History*, XV.)

No. 102.—(II) The Conqueror's mandate for dividing the civil and church courts

William, by the grace of God King of the English, to R. Bainard and G. de Magneville, and Peter de Valoines, and all my liegemen of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, greeting. Know ye and all my liegemen resident in England, that I have by my common council, and by the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and chief men of my realm, determined that the episcopal laws be mended as not having been kept properly nor according to the decrees of the sacred Canons throughout the realm of England, even to my own times. Accordingly I command and charge you by royal authority that no bishop nor archdeacon do hereafter hold pleas of episcopal laws in the Hundred, nor bring a cause to the judgment of secular men which concerns the rule of souls. But whosoever shall be impleaded by the episcopal laws for any cause or crime, let him come to the place which the bishop shall choose and name for this purpose and there answer for his cause or crime, and not according to the Hundred, but according to the canons and episcopal laws, and let him do right to God and his bishop. But, if anyone being lifted up with pride, refuse to come to the bishop's court, let him be summoned three several times, and if by this means even he come not to obedience, let the authority and justice of the king or sheriff be exerted; and he who refuses to come to the bishop's judgment shall make good the bishop's law for every summons. This too I absolutely forbid that any sheriff, reeve or king's minister, or other layman, do in any wise concern himself with the laws which belong to the bishop, or bring another man to judgment save in the bishop's court. And let judgment be nowhere undergone but in the bishop's sec or in that place which the bishop appoints for this purpose. (Gee and Hardy, XVI; date uncertain.)

No. 103.—(III) William and the Royal Supremacy

[Eadmer, precentor of Canterbury, † ? 1124; *Hist. Nov.* i. 6; date uncertain]

Eadmer says: "Some of these novel points I will set down which he (William) appointed to be observed. . . .

"1. He would not then allow anyone settled in all his dominion to acknowledge as apostolic the pontiff of the City of Rome, save at his own bidding, or by any means to receive any letter from him, if it had not been first shewn to himself.

"2. The primate also of his realm, I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Dorobernia, presiding over a general Council of bishops, he did not permit to ordain or forbid anything save what had first been ordained by himself as agreeable to his own will.

"3. He would not suffer that any, even of his bishops, should be allowed to implead publicly, or excommunicate, or constrain by any penalty of ecclesiastical rigour, any of his barons, or ministers accused of incest, or adultery, or of any capital crime, save by his command."—Gee and Hardy, XVII.

The First Crusade, 1095

["Five circumstances contributed to the rise of the crusading movement in the eleventh century. (1) Islam was now divided politically . . . and split into two religious sects; throughout the Crusades (1095–1270), Christian success depended largely on the divisions of Islam. (2) A stream of pilgrimage to the Holy Places had begun, especially after the land-route through Hungary had become possible by the conversion of King Stephen (1000–†38). Free access by the pilgrims was threatened, however, by the rise of the Seljuk Turks, who defeated the Eastern Emperor at Manzikert, 1071; tore away Asia Minor from the Empire, and occupied Armenia and Syria . . . in 1078 they took Jerusalem, and in 1084 Antioch. . . . They were now in possession of all the Holy Places, and neither shewed veneration to Christian relics as the Arabs had

done, nor allowed the pilgrims safe access to them. (3) Europe had been trained to hate the Moslems by the long struggle in Spain and the Mediterranean; in Spain the Christians were now advancing, and in Sicily the Normans took Palermo in 1072. (4) The Cluniac movement had fostered religious devotion, and (5) appeals from Greek Emperors for help led to the actual preparation of a Crusade. Thus in 1095 envoys came from the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, 1081-†1118, to the Council of Piacenza, where Urban II, 1088-†99, received them favourably" (M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 108). He was a Frenchman by birth, prior of Cluny, and chief adviser to Gregory VII.; and he conceived the idea of "taking the leadership in a united Christian effort to recover the Holy Places." Crossing the Alps, he appeared at a great Council of Clermont. It was attended mainly by French bishops, and his speech, Nov. 27, 1095, aroused great enthusiasm; kindled everywhere by Peter the Hermit. The Crusaders took Jerusalem, 1099.]

No. 104.—(I) From a sermon of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, 1095

[Mansi, XX. 826 B-E; cf. a similar sermon about this time in William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, IV. c. 2; tr. J. A. Giles, Bohn, 1866]

And so we bid you, brethren, refrain your murderous hands from killing your brethren; as soldiers of the faith, turn your hand against foreign nations; and, under Jesus Christ your leader, as a Christian army, an army invincible, better than the Israelites of old, ye shall do battle for your Jerusalem, and attack and expel the Turks there, who are worse than the Jebusites.

Let it be a noble thing with you to die for Christ in that city, where Christ died for you. If it should happen that you die first, consider that as dying on the way, provided that Christ shall find you in His army. God pays the penny whether for the first or for the sixth hour. It is a horrible thing—horrible, indeed—that you should raise violent

hands against Christians; but a singular good thing to wield the sword against Saracens; because it is a charity to lay down our lives for the brethren. Be not anxious for the morrow. Be sure that they who fear God lack nothing; nor do they that love Him truly. The wealth of your enemies shall be yours; ye shall plunder their treasures; ye shall either return home victorious; or, red with your own blood, ye shall win the eternal reward. Ye have to serve a Captain whose bread cannot fail, and whose pay never runs short. Life is short, and labour is but light, that brings you the crown that fadeth not away. Let us say then, with the authority of the prophets: "Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty" (Ps. xlv. 3): and "Gird yourselves, and be valiant men; for it is better for us to die in battle than to look upon the evils of our nation and the holy place" (1 Macc. iii. 58, 59). Let not yourselves therefore be softened by the seductive attractions of women or of your own affairs, and so prevented from going; and let not the hardships that you will have to endure deter you from staying.

And you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, my fellow-priests and joint-heirs with Christ, make this known among the churches committed to your charge; and preach the way to Jerusalem everywhere, with open mouth. Let them confess their ignorance of their sinful ways; and confidently implore from Christ speedy forgiveness. You, who are going, shall have us for your bedesmen; let us have you for our warriors on behalf of the people of God. It is our part to pray; and your part to take up arms against the Amalekites! We, like Moses, will lift up unwearied hands in prayer to heaven; and you, brave warriors, draw and wield the sword against Amalek. Amen.—K.

**No. 105.—(II) Ordinances of the Council of Clermont,
1095**

[Hefele—Leclercq, *Conciles*, § 601, V. i. 400]

c. 1. Monks, clerks and women shall daily enjoy the benefit of the Peace of God. The breach of that Peace is

only sanctioned in the case of other persons, if they are attacked between Monday and Thursday. By reason of the present scarcity of victuals [in France], the Peace of God is granted for three years to peasants and merchants every day of the week : and the goods of all those who take part in the expedition to Jerusalem shall, until their return, be under the protection of the Peace of God [Here, for the first time, the Peace of God was imposed by Pope Urban upon the whole Church].

c. 2. Whosoever goes to Jerusalem, not for fame nor for gain, but out of piety and for the deliverance of the Sepulchre of Christ, his journey shall be reckoned to him instead of all penance whatsoever.—K.

Investiture: 1107–22

[The question of lay investiture was raised in the synod of 1080 (No. 95 above) and condemned but without effect. In England, it was raised again by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 1093–†1109. "He set out to Rome to fetch his pall; and in 1099 was present at a synod which renewed the condemnation. Anselm could not in conscience give way to Henry I and render him the homage which he demanded. After many negotiations and much correspondence with the pope, a settlement was arranged with Henry at Bec in 1107. The election of prelates was to be made freely by the chapter, but in his presence, in his chapel. This satisfied the canons, and left the control of the election with the king. The bishop-elect was then to do homage for the temporalities of his see; after which the archbishop was to consecrate him, and invest him with the ring and staff, the symbols of the spiritualities. Abroad, the question was settled on similar lines, when the Concordat of Worms was signed in 1122. The Emperor renounced investiture by ring and staff, and promised canonical election; the Pope assented to election in the Emperor's presence, to investiture with the regalia by touching the sceptre before consecration, and to the performance of homage with fealty."—M. Deanesly, *Hist. Med. Ch.* 104 sq.]

No. 106.—(I) In England, 1107

On the first of August an assembly of bishops, abbots and nobles of the realm was held at London in the king's palace. And for three successive days, in Anselm's absence, the matter was thoroughly discussed between king and bishops concerning church investitures some arguing for this that the king should perform them after the manner of his father and brother, not according to the injunction and obedience of the pope. For the pope in the sentence which had been then published standing firm, had conceded homage which Pope Urban had forbidden, as well as investiture, and in this way had won over the king about investiture, as may be gathered from the letter we have quoted above. Afterwards, in the presence of Anselm and a large concourse, the king agreed and ordained that henceforth no one should be invested with bishopric or abbacy in England by the giving of a pastoral staff or the ring, by the king or any lay hand; Anselm also agreeing that no one elected to a prelacy should be deprived of consecration to the office undertaken on the ground of homage, which he should make to the king. After this decision, by the advice of Anselm and the nobles of the realm, fathers were instituted by the king, without any investiture of pastoral staff or ring, to nearly all the churches of England, which had been so long widowed of their shepherds.—Gee and Hardy, No. XX.

No. 107.—(II) In Germany, 1122

[The Concordat of Worms, between Calixtus II and Henry V, Sept. 23, 1122; Mirbt,⁴ No. 305; Jaffé, 6986; *H-L*. § 611, V. i. 619 *sqq.*]

(a) *Privilegium Imperatoris*. In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. (1) I, Henry, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor, Augustus, for the love of God and the holy Roman Church and the lord Pope Calixtus and for the good of my soul, deliver to God and to the holy Apostles of God Peter and Paul and to the Holy Catholic Church all investiture by ring and staff and, in all churches of my

kingdom or empire, I grant that there shall be canonical election and free consecration. (2) The possessions and regalia of blessed Peter which, from the beginning of this strife up to the present day, whether in the time of my father or myself, have been taken away, and which I now have, I restore to the same holy Roman Church; and those which I have not, I will faithfully aid in their restoration. (3) The possessions of all other churches and princes and others, whether clerics or laity, which were lost in that strife, I will restore, in accordance with the advice of [my] princes or [the claims of] justice, if I have them; and those that I have not, I will faithfully aid in their return. (4) I grant true peace to my lord Pope Calixtus and the holy Roman Church, and to all who are or were on his side. (5) In all affairs in which the holy Roman Church asks for aid, I will faithfully give my help; and in cases in which complaint is made to me, I will render due justice.

All these things have been done, with the consent and advice of the princes, whose names are here subscribed. . . .

(b) *Privilegium Pontificis*. I, Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, grant to thee, my beloved son, Henry, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor, O Augustus, (1) that elections of bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, who belong thereto, shall take place in thy presence, without simony or violence, on condition that, if any dissension arise between the parties, thou shalt afford consent and help to the better party, in accordance with the counsel and judgment of the metropolitan and his com-provincials. And let the bishop-elect receive the regalia from thee, by the sceptre; and let him do what is due to thee, in this matter. (2) From other parts of the Empire,¹ let him, when consecrated, within six months, receive the regalia from thee, by the sceptre; and let him do what is due to thee in this matter, excepting all those who are known to belong to the Roman church.² (3) In the case of those, of whom thou dost make complaint to me or ask

¹ i.e. Burgundy and Italy.

² In the papal states where the Pope alone had the right of investiture.

help of me, I will give the help due to thee in accordance with my office. (4) I give true peace to thee and to all who are or have been on thy side during the period of this strife.—K.

Abelard, 1079–†1142

[“ Perhaps, his most important contribution to philosophy and theology is the method which he developed in his *Sic et Non* (*Yea and Nay*), a method . . . brought to more definite form by . . . St. Thomas Aquinas. It consisted in placing before the student the reasons *pro* and *contra*, on the principle that truth is to be attained only by a dialectical discussion of apparently contradictory arguments and authorities” (*Cath. Enc.* i. 38). But, like St. Thomas, Abelard was a great hymn-writer.]

No. 108.—*O quanta qualia*.¹

O what their joy and their glory must be,
Those endless Sabbaths the blessed ones see !
Crown for the valiant ; to weary ones rest ;
God shall be all, and in all ever blest.

What are the Monarch, his court, and his throne?
What are the peace and the joy that they own?
Tell us, ye blest ones, that in it have share,
If what ye feel ye can fully declare.

Truly Jerusalem name we that shore,
“ Vision of peace,” that brings joy evermore !
Wish and fulfilment can severed be ne’er,
Nor the thing prayed for come short of the prayer.

We, where no trouble distraction can bring,
Safely the anthems of Sion shall sing ;
While for thy grace, Lord, their voices of praise
Thy blessed people shall evermore raise.

¹ At Vespers, on Saturday, i.e. the Sabbath

There dawns no Sabbath, no Sabbath is o'er,
Those Sabbath-keepers have one and no more ;
One and unending is that triumph-song
Which to the Angels and us shall belong.

Now in the meanwhile, with hearts raised on high,
We for that country must yearn and must sigh,
Seeking Jerusalem, dear native land,
Through our long exile on Babylon's strand.

Low before him with our praises we fall,
Of whom, and in whom, and through whom are all ;
Of whom, the Father ; and through whom, the Son ;
In whom, the Spirit, with these ever One.

J. M. Neale, *E. H.* No. 465

St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1162-†70

[“After the anarchy of Stephen and Matilda, when Henry II, 1154-†89, was putting the State in order again, he soon found himself in opposition to the courts Christian (see No. 102). . . . Clergy guilty of serious offences often escaped with a trifling penance or suspension from office, and the worst penalty which courts Christian could inflict was degradation ; and degradation meant simply that the clerk would be expelled from the ranks of the clergy, and for all future offences be subject to the jurisdiction of the secular courts. Thus, a clerk could commit his first offence with impunity. . . . In 1164 Henry in a Great Council at Clarendon brought forward his plan for the reform of the courts Christian in the famous Constitutions of Clarendon. The king's exact intention has been the subject of some dispute. But it seems to have been this : that if a clerk were accused of any secular offence he should be tried, as previously by the church court. But, if he were found guilty he should no longer pay the trifling penalty exacted by that court, but should be brought before the king's court, which should visit upon him the adequate, and usual, secular penalty for the offence in question,” R. T.

Davies, *Mediaeval England* (Macmillan, 1924), 79 *sqq.* Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral on Dec. 29, 1170; and "his death postponed for more than four hundred years the reform of church courts and, possibly, of the Church in general" (*ibid.* 84.)]

No. 109.—The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164

c. 3. Clerks cited and accused of any matter shall, when summoned by the king's justice, come into his own court to answer there concerning what it shall seem to the king's court should be answered there, and in the church court for what it shall seem should be answered there; yet so that the king's justice shall send into the court of holy Church to see in what way the matter is there treated. And, if the clerk be convicted, or shall confess, the Church must not any longer protect him.—Gee and Hardy, No. XXIII.

Twelfth century Monasticism

[Under Peter the Venerable, who was abbot from 1122 to 1156, Cluny reached the zenith of its power, and was second only to Rome as the chief centre of the Christian world. But the end of the eleventh century saw the outburst of a religious and intellectual revival too powerful to be contained within the Cluniac order. It resulted in the foundation of . . . new monastic orders—the Carthusian and the Cistercian. The Carthusian was founded by St. Bruno of Rheims, 1030–†1101, in 1084. St. Bruno, disgusted with the commonplace virtues of existing monasteries, and with the worldliness of the Archbishop of Rheims went with six companions to consult the Bishop of Grenoble. He led them to a wild and desolate spot called Chartreuse. . . . The foundation of the Carthusian Order represents an attempt to go back behind St. Benedict of Nursia to the very beginning of Christian monasticism. It combines the life of a community with that of a solitary; well illustrated by the beautiful remains of Mount Grace, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, and well described by Peter the Vener-

able. "The Carthusians are remarkable as the only order that never degenerated with the passage of time"; and their brightest ornament was St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, 1186-†1200. "Of greater power and influence in the world was the Cistercian Order. This was founded in 1098 . . . and received . . . its power and popularity from St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, 1115-†1153. The Cistercian Order represents an attempt to go back to the original rule of St. Benedict—which prescribed manual labour for all monks." Austere in worship, unrivalled in the beauty of their churches—Furness, Rievaulx, Fountains, Tintern—"they did great service to mediaeval Europe by their improvements of agriculture and cattle-breeding, and by their reclaiming of fens and waste lands." For this, they were the first to make use of lay-brothers (*conversi*). "Within a century of its foundation the order embraced upwards of 800 abbeys scattered over Western Europe." And the personal attractiveness of St. Bernard contributed to their enormous influence in his generation. He preached the Second Crusade, 1147-9, and was the adviser even of Popes; as in his *De consideratione*, addressed to his pupil Eugenius III, 1145-†1153.—R. T. Davies, *op. cit.*, 92 *sqq.*

Besides these two Orders of monks, the Austin Canons had a share in the monastic revival of the twelfth century. They had no single founder but, since the Council of Aachen in 817, two tendencies made their appearance. From the ninth to the eleventh century, communal life came into being as a safeguard to canonical celibacy. It came from Lorraine, and Harold's foundation of Holy Cross at Waltham, 1061, affords an example of it. Parallel to this, there was a tendency on the part of Chapters to divide up their endowment, and allot a "prebend" to each canon's stall, with the result of a break up in communal, or canonical, life. The loss of this would have been serious, and towards the end of the twelfth century a remedy was found in the "Rule of St. Austin." The author is unknown, but it was attributed to St. Augustine because he and his clerics lived together canonically; whence the Austin Canons. The rule was mild and

popular, but effective for its purpose. Best known exponents of it were the Praemonstratensian canons, founded at *Pratum monstratum*, by the guidance of an Angel, as it was said, near Laon. The founder was St. Norbert of Xanten, 1080-†1134. He solved the problem of reconciling the clerical with the monastic life, for the essential distinction between a canon and a monk was that the canon was an ordained clerk and a monk was not in Orders. The Praemonstratensians were constituted an Order and given a rule in 1339 by Benedict XII.—M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, c. ix.]

No. 110.—(I) The Carthusians: their manner of life

[Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, 1122-†1157, *De miraculis* ii. c. 28; *P.L.* clxxxix. 944-5]

They have ordained that there should be in perpetuity but twelve monks—thirteen with the Prior—eighteen lay-brothers and a few hired servants, and no additions to be made, in the monasteries of their Order. Further, in order to “bring into subjection” the animal body and, according to the Apostle, to subdue “the law in their members, which warreth against the law of their mind” (Rom. vii. 23) they always treat the flesh hardly with rough hair-shirts, afflict, reduce and dry up their bodies with severe and all but continuous fasts. Hence it is that they always eat bread of unbolted meal, and take so much water with their wine that it has hardly any flavour of wine left. They never eat meat whether in health, or ill. They never buy fish, but they accept it if it is given them for charity. They eat cheese and eggs only on Sundays and Thursdays. On Tuesdays and Saturdays they eat cooked vegetables. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays they take only bread and water. They eat only once a day, save during the Octaves of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany, Ascension Day, the Assumption, Feasts of Apostles, and All Saints. And besides all this, they live in separate little houses, like the ancient monks of Egypt; and they occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the

labour of their hands, especially the writing of books. They recite prayers for the minor canonical hours in their own dwellings, when warned by the bell of the church, but they all assemble in church for Vespers and Mattins. . . On feast days, they eat twice, and sing all the offices in church, and eat in the refectory.—R. T. Davies, *op. cit.*, 93; and K.

No. 111.—(II) The Cistercians

[St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, 1115–†53; *De consideratione* (addressed to his pupil Eugenius III, 1145–†53) II. viii. 15, 16; *Op.* i. 422; *P.L.* clxxxii. 751 *sq.*]

§ 15. Come, let us still more closely investigate *what* you are, i.e. the character you represent for a time in the Church of God. Who are you? The chief priest, the sovereign pontiff. You are the prince of bishops, the head of the apostles . . . in power Peter, in virtue of your anointing you are Christ. You are he to whom the keys have been committed, and the sheep entrusted. . . . Other pastors have each their several flocks assigned to them; to you all the flocks have been entrusted, one flock under one shepherd. . . . Hence it is that other bishops, understanding the mystery, have shared the various nations between them. In fact, James, who seemed to be a pillar of the Church (Gal. ii. 9), was content with Jerusalem, and gave up universal dominion to Peter (*ibid.* i. 18). Admirably was James placed there to raise up seed to his dear Brother in the place where his Brother was slain, for he was the Lord's brother. Now if the Lord's brother yielded to Peter, what other man can dare to trespass on Peter's prerogative?

§ 16. So then, according to your own authorities, other bishops are called to a share in responsibility, you are called to the exercise of plenary power! The power of other men is confined within fixed limits; yours extends to those who have power over their fellows. Have you not power, for sufficient reason, to shut heaven against a bishop, and even deliver him to Satan? Your prerogative, therefore, whether the power of the keys or the pastorate of the flocks is un-

assailable. Let me point out something else no less confirmatory of your prerogative. The disciples were in a boat when the Lord appeared (Jn. xxi. 3, 4); and, which was more delightful still, appeared in His risen body. Peter, knowing that it was the Lord, cast himself into the sea, and thus reached his Master, while the rest came in a boat. What does that mean? It was surely a sign of the unique pontificate of Peter, intended to shew that while the others had charge, each of his own ship, he was entrusted with not one ship, but the government of the whole world. For the sea is the world, and the ships are churches. Hence it is that on another occasion, like his Lord, he walked upon the water, and thus proved himself the one and only Vicar of Christ, destined to rule over not one people, but all, that is if the "many waters" are "many peoples" (Rev. xvii. 15). So then, while each of the other bishops has his own ship, you are in command of the greatest, the Universal Church throughout the world, the sum of all the other churches put together.—G. Lewis (Oxford, 1908), 54 sq.

Innocent III, 1198–†1216

[“The pontificate of Innocent III may be taken as the most splendid period in the history of the mediaeval papacy. Gregory VII, Innocent III and Boniface VIII stand out as the three popes who stated most clearly the claims of the papacy both in spiritual matters and secular; but Innocent III alone made good the claim. He not only ruled the Church, but he was a greater force in the secular politics of Europe than either Emperor or national king. . . . The two aims dearest to his heart were those which he put forward when summoning the great council of 1215—the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church, both rather spiritual than temporal ambitions; but like Gregory VII he found that temporal world power was needed to achieve spiritual reform, and he was more successful than any other pope in attaining it.”—M. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, 143 sq.]

No. 112.—(I) Church and State

[*Sicut universitatis conditor* of Oct. 30, 1198, to Acerbus; *Epp.* I. cccci.; *P.L.* ccxiv. 377A, B; Potthast, *Regesta*, No. 403; Mirbt,⁴ No. 326]

Even as God, the Creator of the Universe, has set two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, so for the firmament of the universal Church, which is called by the name of heaven, He has appointed two great dignities: the greater to rule over men's souls, as it were the day, and the lesser to rule over men's bodies, as it were the night. These are the authority of the Pope and the King. Further, as the moon derives its light from the sun, which indeed is less than the sun both in bulk and in importance, though alike in place and power, so the power of the King derives the splendour of its dignity from the authority of the Pope; and the more the former keeps within view of the latter, so much the more is it adorned by a lesser light, and the further it is removed from the view of the other so much the more does it excel in splendour.—K.

No. 113.—(II) *Mysterium fidei*¹

[*Cum Marthae circa* of Nov. 29, 1202, to John, formerly archbishop of Lyons; *Epp.* V. cxxi.; *P.L.* ccxiv. 1119A–1121C; Potthast, No. 1779; Denzinger^{14–15}, Nos. 414–15]

You ask me what was the form of words which Christ Himself used when He transubstantiated the bread into His body and the wine into His blood. For that phrase in the Canon of the Mass, as used by the universal Church, adds something that is not found in any of the Evangelists (Mt. xxvi. 27, 28). Here, in the Canon of the Mass, the phrase *mysterium fidei* is found interposed among the words [of the text]. . . . Many things concerning the words

¹ The phrase *mysterium fidei* is a reminiscence of 1 Tim. iii. 9, and is probably an acclamation of the deacon which has crept into the text from the margin, see No. 1 § 7 above.

and the acts of the Lord we find to be omitted by the Evangelists, but either supplied as to word or recorded as to act by the Apostles. . . . But as to the phrase *mysterium fidei*, it is used because there one thing is believed and another seen, and one thing is seen while another is believed. What is seen is the appearance (*species*) of bread and wine, and what is believed is the reality (*veritas*) of body and blood, and the benefit (*virtus*) of unity and charity. . . . We must distinguish carefully between three things in the sacrament,¹ which are kept distinct: viz. the visible form (*forma*), the reality (*veritas*) of the body, and the spiritual benefit (*virtus*). The form is of bread and wine; the reality is of flesh and blood; the benefit of unity and charity. The first is the sacrament (*sacramentum*) and not the thing (*res*). The second is the sacrament (*sacramentum*) and the thing (*res*). The third is the thing (*res*) and not the sacrament (*sacramentum*). But the first is the sacrament of the double thing: while the second is the sacrament of one, and is the thing of the other. And the third is the thing of the double sacrament. We believe therefore that the form of words as found in the Canon was received from Christ by the Apostles, and from the Apostles by their successors.—K.

No. 114.—(III) Orders to the leaders of the Fourth Crusade

[*Cum in manu*, June 20, 1203, to Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, 1183–†1207, and others; *Epp.* VI. ci.; *P.L.* ccxv. 107A–G; Potthast, No. 1948; Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient*, 157]

Let none of you therefore rashly flatter himself that he is at liberty to occupy or to plunder the land of the Greeks, as if it were not subject to the Apostolic See and because

¹ For the three things thus distinguished in the sacrament see the Anglican Catechism (1) "outward part or sign" (*signum*), (2) "inward part or thing signified" (*res*), (3) "Benefits received" (*virtus*). Here the distinction between *res* and *virtus* is much more precise.

the Emperor of Constantinople,¹ after deposing his brother² and even blinding him, usurped the Empire. However great the wrong which, in this or other things, the Emperor and his men who were entrusted with authority, committed, it is not for you to judge of their sins; nor did you take the sign of the Cross in order to avenge their wrongdoing, but rather the shame put upon the Crucified. To that task you were specially assigned.

We therefore admonish your Lordships, and particularly exhort you, nay by these apostolic letters we require and command you, not to deceive yourselves or to let others deceive you, as that under the cloak of religion you do such things as—God forbid—would issue in the ruin of your souls. But, putting aside frivolous occasions and pretended necessity, pass on to the aid of the Holy Land, and avenge the injury of the Cross; taking for your enemies the spoils which, if you delay in Romania, you might have to exact from your brethren. Otherwise, we cannot and ought not to grant you the grace of remission of sins; and we do not promise to do so. We trust that you all will keep in mind the tenor of our inhibition with which, under penalty of excommunication, we forbid you to invade or attempt to injure the lands of Christians, unless they themselves wrongfully interfere with your journey, or other just and necessary cause should, peradventure, occur for which, with the advice of our legate, you should have to do otherwise. . . .—K.

No. 115.—(IV) The transference of the Empire from the Greeks to the Latins

[*Legimus in Daniele* of Nov. 13, 1204, to the Crusaders in CP., *Epp.* VII. cliv.; *P.L.* ccxv. 456A, 461A, B; Potthast, No. 2324; Bréhier, 171]

We read in Daniel the prophet that it is God on high who reveals mysteries, changes times and transfers kingdoms. This has been fulfilled in the kingdom of the

¹ Alexius III, 1195–1203.

² Isaac II, 1185–95.

Greeks ; in our own days, as we see and are glad. For He who rules over the kingdom of men and gives it to whom He pleases, has transferred the Empire of Constantinople from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the devout, from schismatics to Catholics ; from the Greeks, I mean, to the Latins. " This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." This is the change wrought by the hand of the Most High ; whereby " the right hand of the Lord hath done marvellous things," by exalting the holy Roman Church in restoring the daughter to the mother, the father to the whole body, and the members to the head. . . . We therefore admonish you all, exhort you diligently and by these apostolic letters command you that you inflame the devotion which the Christian army has towards its mother the Roman Church ; that you fulfil her commands loyally, and that you make every effort to induce our most beloved son in Christ Baldwin, the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople [1204-†6] and his army, great and small alike, to study to establish the kingdom of the Greeks in obedience to the Apostolic See ; by whose aid they will be able, and without it quite unable, to retain their dominion.—K.

No. 116.—(V) The effect of the Crusade on Christian Unity

[*Audito jampridem quod* of July 12, 1205, to Peter, Cardinal Legate ; *Epp.* VIII. cxxvi. ; *P.L.* ccxv. 701A, B ; Potthast, No. 2564]

How then shall the Church of the Greeks, however troubled with afflictions and persecutions, return to the unity of the Church and to devotion to the Apostolic See, when they have seen in the Latins nothing but an example of perdition, so that now—and quite rightly—they detest them more than dogs ? For the Latins, who were believed to have sought not the things that are their own but the things that are of Jesus Christ, dyed the swords, which they should have used against the heathen, in the blood of Christians ; spared neither religion, age or sex ; committed incest, adultery and fornication before the eyes of men :

and exposed married women and even virgins dedicated to God to the lewd lusts of youths. It was not enough to seize the wealth of Emperors and to dash to pieces the spoils of princes and of humbler folk; but they must lay violent hands upon the treasures of churches, and worst of all upon their furniture: stripping the silver ornamentation of the altars, breaking them to pieces, violating the sanctuaries, and carrying off the crosses and relics.—K.

The Fourth Lateran Council, Nov. 11–30, 1215

No. 117.—(I) Canon I: Transubstantiation

[Hefele-Leclercq, § 647; V. ii. 1316 *sqq.*; Mirbt,⁴ No. 329; Denzinger, No. 430]

There is one universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation. In this Church Jesus Christ Himself is both priest and sacrifice; and His body and blood are really contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by the power of God so that to effect the mystery of unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His what He himself received of that which is ours. And, moreover, no one can consecrate this sacrament except a priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ Himself gave to the Apostles and their successors.—D. Stone, *Hist. Euch.* i. 313.

No. 118.—(II) Canon III: The episcopal Inquisition

[Hefele-Leclercq, V. ii. 1332; Mirbt,⁴ No. 330]

§ 7. Moreover, we add that every archbishop or bishop, either in person or by his archdeacon or other fit and proper persons shall either twice or at least once a year go round his diocese, where heretics are said to dwell, and there put under oath three or more men of good repute, or, if it seems desirable, the whole neighbourhood; so that whoever knows of any heretics there, or of any persons

frequenting secret meetings, or of any who by their manner of life separate themselves from the common society of the faithful, shall notify them to the bishop. Then the bishop shall summon the accused to his presence; and, unless they clear themselves of the charge alleged or if, after they have done so, they fall back into their former error, let them be canonically punished. If, however, any of them after religiously taking oath are damnably obstinate, repudiate it, and decline to swear [anew], let them be treated as, *ipso facto*, heretics.

§ 8. Wherefore we will and command and in virtue of obedience strictly require that bishops throughout their dioceses, in order that these things be effectively done, shall diligently watch whether they escape canonical judgment. And, if any bishop is negligent or remiss in banishing from his diocese the leaven of heretical pravity, provided that this is clear from evident indications, he shall be deposed from his episcopal office, and another bishop appointed in his place, willing and able to deal with heretical pravity.—K.

No. 119.—(III) Canon IV: Greeks and Latins

[Hefele-Leclercq, V. ii. 1333; Denzinger, No. 435]

Much as we should wish to cherish and honour the Greeks who in our days are returning to the obedience of the Apostolic See, by supporting their customs and rights as far as we can, in the Lord, we neither wish nor ought to defer to them in such things as imperil souls and are injurious to the good name of the Church. For since the Church of the Greeks, with some of its accomplices and supporters, withdrew from the obedience of the Apostolic See, the Greeks have begun so utterly to abominate the Latins as that, among other things which they have impiously done to discredit them, whenever the Latin priests had celebrated upon their altars, they refused to offer sacrifice upon them themselves without having first washed them, as if defiled thereby. Likewise, in the case of those baptized by the Latins, the Greeks rashly presumed to rebaptize them; and to this day, so we are told, they

do not fear to do so. Desiring therefore to remove such scandal from the Church of God, at the instance of Holy Church, we strictly decree that they shall not presume to do such things but behave themselves as obedient sons of the holy Roman Church, their mother, that there may be "one fold and one shepherd." But, if anyone shall presume so to do, let him be smitten with the sword of excommunication, and deprived of all office and ecclesiastical benefice.—K.

No. 120.—(IV) Canon XXI: Easter Confession

[Hefele-Leclercq, V. ii. 1349; Denzinger ¹⁴⁻¹⁵, Nos. 437-8]

Let every one of the faithful, of either sex, after coming to years of discretion, faithfully, once a year by himself, make confession to his own [parish] priest of all his sins, and endeavour with all his might to fulfil the penance laid upon him, and reverently receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter, unless on the advice of his own priest, for any reasonable cause, he puts it off for a time: otherwise, let him be prevented, while alive, from entering a church and, when dead, be deprived of Christian burial. Let this salutary decree be often published in church, lest through the blindness of ignorance anyone should plead it as an excuse. If any man should desire, for a just cause, to make his confession to a strange priest, let him first ask and obtain permission from his own priest: else the other has no power to bind or loose in his case.

The priest should be discreet and wise: so that, like a skilful physician, he should pour wine and oil into the wounds of the sick soul: and that he may know what advice to give him and what sort of remedy to apply in his case, using diverse means to heal the sick man. But let him take every care never by word or sign or in any other way to betray the sinner. If he feels the need of taking the advice of a more learned priest, let him consult him prudently, without mentioning any name. For we decree that he, who presumes to disclose any sin revealed to him in the tribunal of penance, shall not only be deposed from

the office of a priest, but shall be shut up in the seclusion of a monastery there to do penance all his days.—K.

No. 121.—The papal Inquisition, 1220

["Persecution for heresy was not a Christian principle. . . . But in order to break the fanatical hostility of the Donatists both to the Church and to the social order, St. Augustine † 430, by his appeal to 'Compel them to come in' (Lk. xiv. 23), gave the sanction of his great name to the use of force in the cause of religion (*Ep.* xciii. §§ 5, 17; see *Doc. Ch. Hist.* ii. No. 175). Its use, however, was always challenged, and not until c. 1200 did compulsion come seriously to be applied. 'A wave of heresy then passed over Western Europe. Dualism and Manichaeism always prevalent in the East obtained a firm footing in the West' (*Cambridge Mod. Hist.* ii. 649), especially in Northern Italy and the South of France. In 1179, at the third Council of the Lateran, Pope Alexander III invited temporal sovereigns to employ force of arms for the protection of Christian people from the violence of the Cathari (c. 27; Hefele, § 716; Denzinger¹⁴⁻¹⁵, No. 401); and in 1184 Pope Lucius III, in concert with the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), took severe measures against heresy by the Bull *Ad abolendam* (Mansi, xxii. 476 *sqq.*; Jaffé, ii. 151 *sq.*) put out, Nov. 4, at the Council of Verona. Heretics were to be 'sought out' (*Inquisitio*) and, once excommunicated, to be handed over to the secular authority 'to be punished according to their deserts' (*animadversione debita*). The punishment did not include the penalty of death; but it carried exile, confiscation and loss of civil rights. The Council, at the same time, proceeded to strengthen the episcopal courts now beginning to administer the recently codified Canon Law in every diocese.

The action, however, of this episcopal inquisition was local and spasmodic, and in the thirteenth century its efforts were reinforced by a papal inquisition entrusted to the Dominican and Franciscan Orders. Innocent III had done

no more, whether by his letters or at the Lateran Council of 1215 (canon iii. : above No. 118), than confirm the decisions of his predecessors. But he had laid down the principle 'that it is infinitely more serious to offend against the Divine Majesty than to injure human majesty' (Letter of March 25, 1199, to the magistrates of Viterbo; *Epp.* II. i.; *P.L.* ccxiv. 539^a). If criminals were to be put to death, much more heretics. This principle was embodied in the code of the Emperor Frederick II by his †constitution of Nov. 22, 1220 (*Mirbt*,⁴ No. 340A, § 6); and the Popes imposed it upon the tribunals of the papal inquisition, which took action side by side with the episcopal courts. These tribunals, called into activity by the Councils of Narbonne, 1227 (Canon XIV, *Hefele-Leclercq*, V. ii. 1454) and Toulouse, 1229 (Canons I-XIII, *ibid.*, V. ii. 1496 *sq.*), soon covered the whole of Latin Christendom, England only excepted" (*Kidd, Counter-Reformation*, 39 *sqq.*).]

†Cathari . . . and all heretics of either sex, by whatever name they are distinguished, we condemn and ban; decreeing that their goods shall be confiscated and not eventually returned to them; so that their sons shall not be able to come into their succession; since it is a much more serious thing to offend the eternal majesty than the temporal. Those who are found notorious on mere suspicion unless, by order of the Church, they give proof of their innocence by suitable purgation, in reference to the question of suspicion and personal character, are to be regarded by all as notorious and under the ban; and, if they so remain for a year, we condemn them henceforward as heretics.—K.

The Friars, c. 1220

["Religious enthusiasm in the twelfth century had produced a monastic renaissance; in the thirteenth century it led to the work of the friars" (*M. Deanesly, op. cit.*, 154). There is a difference between a monk and a friar. The monk sought solitude, undisturbed by public ministry; his home was the cloister; his occupation, prayer and labour.

He took the usual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but poverty, though it bound him as an individual, left him as a member of his community capable of holding property. He thus belonged, socially, to the well-to-do classes. A friar, on the other hand, set out to exercise his ministry; and his convent was merely a preparation for it; he did not belong to it, but to his Province or Order. He also took the usual vows. But the vow of poverty bound him not only as an individual but as member of his Order. He was therefore a mendicant (until mendicancy, which had fallen into disrepute, was abolished, except for the Friars Minor, by the Council of Trent (*Session XXV. c. 3*). The Friars therefore went as poor men, to live and work amongst the poor, especially in the slums that clustered outside the walls of a medieval town. They exercised an immense influence, at home, on popular religion, on social conditions, and finally on the universities and learning. But, as soon as the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, 1204, and the incursions of Ghengiz Khan, 1206–†27, laid the East open to the commercial and missionary enterprise of the West, they were employed by the Popes in the missionary work of the Church, and were found as far afield as Pekin. Of the Four Orders of Friars—Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Austins—the first two were the most important.]

No. 122.—(1) The Rule of St. Francis, Nov. 29, 1223

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 348; tr. Countess De la Warr, *The Writings of St. Francis* (Burns and Oates, 1907), 28 *sqq.*]

(1) In the name of the Lord begins the life of the Friars Minor. The rule and life of the Friars Minor is this: to know how to follow the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without possessions, and in charity. Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to the Lord Pope Honorius, to his successors canonically elected and to the Roman Church. And let the other Friars be bound to obey Brother Francis and his successors.

(2) Concerning those who wish to embrace this life, and

the way in which they should be received.—If any wish to embrace this life and come to see friars, let these send them to their provincial ministers, to whom, and not to others, is granted the power to receive brothers. But let the ministers examine them with care upon the Catholic faith and the sacraments of the Church. And if they believe all these things, and if they will confess them faithfully and observe them unto the end; and if they are not married, or, if they and their wives have already entered a convent, or if the wives, after having themselves taken the vow of continence, give them permission with the consent of the diocesan bishop, or if these women be of such an age that they cannot give cause for suspicion, then let the minister say to them, in the words of the holy Gospel, “Go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor” . . .

(3) Of the Divine Office, of Fasting, and of the way in which Friars should go about the world.—Let the clerks recite the Divine Office according to the custom of the Holy Roman Church, except the Psalter, as soon as they can get breviaries. Let the lay-brothers say four *Pater-Nosters* for Matins; five for Lauds; and seven for each of the following hours, Prime, Terce, Sext and None; twelve for Vespers, seven for Compline, and let them pray for the dead. . . .

(4) That the Friars must not receive money.—I strictly command all the friars never to receive coin or money, for themselves or for any other person. . . .

(5) On the manner of working.—Let the friars to whom the Lord has given the grace to work do so faithfully and devoutly, in such a way that driving out idleness, the enemy of the soul, they do not extinguish the spirit of holy prayer and devotion, to which all other temporal things should be in subjection. And as payment for their work, let them receive for themselves and for their brothers the things necessary for the body, coins and money excepted, and this with humility as befitting the servants of God, and the disciples of most holy poverty.

(6) That the Friars may not appropriate anything: on asking alms, or for sick Friars.—The friars may not appro-

priate anything, neither house, nor place, nor anything. And let them go about with confidence asking alms, as strangers and pilgrims on the earth, serving the Lord in humility and poverty; and let them not blush to do so, for the Lord made Himself poor in this world for our sakes. . . .

(8) On the election of the Minister-General to this Fraternity, and on the Chapter at Pentecost.—All the friars must have one of the members of the fraternity over them as minister-general and servant of the whole fraternity, and they are bound to obey him absolutely. On his death, the election of a successor must be made by the provincial-ministers and the guardians at the Whitsun Chapter, which the provincial-ministers shall be bound to attend in whatever place fixed by the minister-general, and that once every three years or more or less often, as it shall be decreed by this same minister. And if at any time the majority of the provincial-ministers and guardians should consider this minister to be unfit for the service and common utility of the friars, let the ministers and guardians to whom the election appertains, be bound in the name of the Lord to elect another as guardian. After the Whitsun Chapter the ministers and guardians may each, if they wish and think it necessary, assemble a chapter of the friars in their custodies once in the same year.

(9) On Preachers.—The friars must not preach in the diocese of any bishop, should the latter object to it. And no friar must dare in any way to preach to the people, if he has not been examined and approved of by the minister-general of this fraternity, and if he has not received from him sanction to preach. . . .

(10) On the admonition and correction of the Friars.—Let the friars who are ministers and servants of the other friar visit and admonish their friars, and correct them in humility and charity, not ordering them to do anything against their conscience and our Rule. But let the friars who are in subjection remember that for God's sake they have given up their own will. . . .

(12) On those who go among the Saracens or other Infidels.—All friars who wish to go among the Saracens and

other infidels must ask permission from their provincial ministers. And let the ministers only grant permission to those who seem fit to be sent.

I also order the ministers through obedience to request the Lord Pope to grant that one of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church may be governor, protector and superior of this fraternity, so that, always obedient and submissive at the feet of this same Holy Church, and firm in the Catholic Faith, we may observe the poverty, the humility and the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we have firmly promised.

No. 123.—(II) Franciscan Missions

[Letter of Friar John, of Monte Corvino; Pekin, Jan. 8, 1305, to the Minister-General of his Order; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi. 69 sq.; tr. H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*, iii. 45 sqq. in Hakluyt Society, Series II, No. xxxvii.]

I, Friar John of Monte Corvino, of the order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.

I proceeded on my further journey and made my way to Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars who is called the Grand Khan. To him I presented the letter of our Lord the Pope [Nicholas IV, 1288–†92], and invited him to adopt the Catholic Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, but he had grown too old in idolatry. However, he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians, and these two years past I am abiding with him.

The Nestorians, a certain body who profess to bear the Christian name, but who deviate sadly from the Christian religion, have grown so powerful in those parts that they will not allow a Christian of another rite to have ever so

small a chapel, or to publish any doctrine different from their own.

To these regions there never came any one of the Apostles, nor yet of the Disciples. And so the Nestorians aforesaid, either directly or through others whom they had bribed, have brought on me persecutions of the sharpest. For they got up stories that I was not sent by our Lord the Pope, but was a great spy and impostor; and after a while they produced false witnesses who declared that there was indeed an envoy sent with presents of immense value for the emperor, but that I had murdered him in India, and stolen what he had in charge. And these intrigues and calumnies went on for some five years. And thus it came to pass that I was many a time dragged before the judgment seat with ignominy and threats of death. At last, by God's providence, the emperor, through the confessions of a certain individual, came to know my innocence and the malice of my adversaries; and he banished them, with their wives and children.

In this mission I abode alone and without any associate for eleven years; but it is now going on for two years since I was joined by Friar Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne.

I have built a church in the city of Cambaliech [Pekin], in which the king has his chief residence. This I completed six years ago; and I have built a bell-tower to it, and put three bells in it. I have baptized there, as well as I can estimate, up to this time some 6,000 persons: and, if those charges against me of which I have spoken had not been made, I should have baptized more than 30,000. And I am often still engaged in baptizing.

Also I have gradually bought 150 boys, the children of pagan parents, and of ages varying from 7 to 11, who had never learned any religion. These boys I have baptized, and I have taught them Greek and Latin after our manner. Also I have written out Psalters for them, with 30 Hymnaries and 2 Breviaries. By help of these, 11 of the boys already know our service, and form a choir and take their weekly turn of duty, as they do in convents, whether

I am there or not. Many of the boys are also employed in writing out Psalters and other things suitable. His majesty the Emperor delights much to hear them chaunting. I have the bells rung at all the canonical hours, and with my congregation of babes and sucklings I perform divine service, and the chaunting we do by ear, because I have no service-book with the notes. . . .

It is twelve years since I have had any news of the Papal Court, or of our Order, or of the state of affairs generally in the West. . . . I pray the brethren whom this letter may reach to do their best to bring its contents to the knowledge of our lord the Pope, and the Cardinals, and the agents of the Order at the court of Rome.

I beg the Minister-General of our Order to supply me with an Antiphonarium, with the Legends of the Saints, a Gradual, and a Psalter with the musical notes, as a copy ; but I have nothing but a pocket Breviary with the short lessons, and a little Missal : if I had one for a copy, the boys of whom I have spoken could transcribe others from it. Just now, I am engaged in building another church with the view of distributing the boys in more places than one.

I have myself grown old and grey, more with toil and trouble than with years ; for I am not more than 58. I have got a competent knowledge of the language and character which is most generally used by the Tartars. And I have already translated into that language and character the New Testament and the Psalter, and have caused them to be written out in the fairest penmanship they have ; and so by writing, reading and preaching I bear open and public testimony to the Law of Christ. And I had been in treaty with the late King George,¹ if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin rite, that it might be sung throughout the whole extent of his territory ; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate Mass in his church, according to the Latin rite, reading in the before-mentioned language and character the words of both the Preface and the Canon. . . . Here I stop.

¹ A convert from the Nestorians.

No. 124.—(III) Franciscan Hymns

(1) *Dies irae*, attributed to Thomas of Celano, 1200–†55
[the Sequence at a Requiem, based on Zeph. i. 15].

DAY of wrath and doom impending,
David's word with Sibyl's blending!
Heaven and earth in ashes ending!

O, what fear man's bosom rendeth,
When from heaven the Judge descendeth,
On whose sentence all dependeth!

Wondrous sound the trumpet flingeth,
Through earth's sepulchres it ringeth,
All before the throne it bringeth.

Death is struck, and nature quaking,
All creation is awaking,
To its Judge an answer making.

Lo! the book exactly worded,
Wherein all hath been recorded;
Thence shall judgment be awarded.

When the Judge his seat attaineth,
And each hidden deed arraigneth,
Nothing unavenged remaineth.

What shall I, frail man, be pleading?
Who for me be interceding,
When the just are mercy needing?

King of majesty tremendous,
Who dost free salvation send us,
Fount of pity, then befriend us!

Think, kind Jesu!—my salvation
Caused thy wondrous Incarnation;
Leave me not to reprobation.

Faint and weary thou hast sought me,
On the cross of suffering bought me ;
Shall such grace be vainly brought me ?

Righteous Judge ! for sin's pollution
Grant thy gift of absolution,
Ere that day of retribution.

Guilty, now I pour my moaning,
All my shame with anguish owning ;
Spare, O God, thy suppliant groaning !

Through the sinful woman shriven,
Through the dying thief forgiven,
Thou to me a hope hast given.

Worthless are my prayers and sighing,
Yet, good Lord, in grace complying,
Rescue me from fires undying.

With thy sheep a place provide me,
From the goats afar divide me,
To thy right hand do thou guide me.

When the wicked are confounded,
Doomed to flames of woe unbounded,
Call me, with thy Saints surrounded.

Low I kneel, with heart submission ;
See, like ashes my contrition !
Help me in my last condition !

Ah ! that day of tears and mourning !
From the dust of earth returning,
Man for judgment must prepare him ;

Spare, O God, in mercy spare him !
Lord, all-pitying, Jesu blest,
Grant them thine eternal rest.

No. 125.—(IV) Franciscan Hymns

(2) *Stabat mater*, attributed to Jacopone da Todi, †1306
[E.H. 115].

AT the Cross her station keeping,
Stood the mournful Mother weeping,
Close to Jesus at the last.
Through her soul, of joy bereavèd,
Bowed with anguish, deeply grievèd,
Now at length the sword hath passed.

O, that blessèd one, grief-laden,
Blessèd Mother, blessèd Maiden,
Mother of the all-holy One ;
O that silent ceaseless mourning,
O those dim eyes, never turning
From that wondrous, suffering Son.

Who on Christ's dear Mother gazing,
In her trouble so amazing,
Born of woman, would not weep?
Who on Christ's dear Mother thinking,
Such a cup of sorrow drinking,
Would not share her sorrow deep?

For his people's sins in anguish,
There she saw the victim languish,
Bleed in torments, bleed and die :
Saw the Lord's anointed taken ;
Saw her Child in death forsaken ;
Heard his last expiring cry.

In the Passion of my Maker,
Be my sinful soul partaker,
May I bear with her my part ;
Of his Passion bear the token,
In a spirit bowed and broken
Bear his death within my heart.

May his wounds both wound and heal me,
 He enkindle, cleanse, anneal me,
 Be his Cross my hope and stay.
 May he, when the mountains quiver,
 From that flame which burns for ever
 Shield me on the judgment day.

Jesu, may thy Cross defend me,
 And thy saving death befriend me,
 Cherished by thy deathless grace :
 When to dust my dust returneth,
 Grant a soul that to thee yearneth
 In thy Paradise a place.

St. Thomas Aquinas, 1225-†74

[St. Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican "known in his life-time as the Angelic Doctor." He died in 1274, and "his writings have been accepted ever since without break as the classic expression in philosophy and theology of the Christian faith." He "held that there was a sphere of natural reason and, above this, a region known by faith through revelation. Faith, however, is not opposed to reason" (Fr. D'Arcy, *Selected Writings of St. T.A., Preface*, VII. ix.); but illuminates and supplements it. So St. Thomas, taking the Scriptures and the Fathers as his foundation, with Aristotle as his guide, built up a coherent philosophy of the Christian Faith, especially in the *Summa Theologica*, which is unique and authoritative to-day.

He is scarcely so authoritative as a historian. Pope Urban IV, 1261-†4, in a letter of July 28, 1263 (Potthast, No. 18605), had urged upon the Emperor Michael VIII (Palaeologus), the need for reunion : and shortly afterwards applied to St. Thomas for information in support of the papal supremacy. He replied in a pamphlet entitled *Contra errores Graecorum* (*Opusculum* VI. esp. cc. xxxii. sqq. : *Op.* XVI. 256 sqq. : Parmac, 1863), quoting several passages from a work attributed to St. Cyril of Alexandria (412-†44) entitled *In libro Thesaurorum*. St. Thomas says

that he took these citations from the anonymous *Libellus de processione Spiritus Sancti*; but they "cannot be verified as words of St. Cyril. . . . They are therefore to be looked upon as spurious, probably forged by the author of the *Libellus*" (Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 367). It is thought that he was a Latin, resident in the East. But owing to their incorporation into a treatise of St. Thomas they found their way into the writings of canonists and theologians of the West; and came to rank among the supports, traditional but unsuspected, of the papal theory of the constitution of the Church. Urban himself quoted some of them, in all good faith, in his letter to the Emperor mentioned above (Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad ann. 1263, § 31; tom. iii. 109).

Though no historian, St. Thomas redeemed his credit by his distinction as a liturgist and poet. He wrote the Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi (Fr. D'Arcy, *Selected Writings*, 30-50), which was instituted by Urban IV in the Bull *Transiturus de hoc* of Aug. 11, 1264 (Potthast, No. 18998); and his eucharistic hymns, such as the *Lauda Sion*, well known as the Sequence for that Feast, have set forth the doctrine and enriched the devotion of Catholic Christians ever since.]

No. 126.—(I) Faith and Reason

Whether it is necessary for Salvation to believe anything above the natural reason?

We proceed thus to the Third Article.

Objection 1. Faith does not seem to be necessary for salvation. For the salvation and perfection of a thing seem to be sufficiently ensured by its natural endowments. Now matters of faith surpass man's natural endowments, since they are things unseen, as stated above.¹

Objection 2. Further, it is dangerous for man to assent to matter, wherein he cannot judge whether that which is proposed to him be true or false: *Doth not the ear discern words?*² Now a man cannot form a judgment of this kind

¹ Q. i. a. 4.

² Job xiii. 11.

in matters of faith, since he cannot trace them back to first principles, by which all our judgments are guided. Therefore it is dangerous to believe in such matters. Therefore to believe is not necessary to salvation.

Objection 3. Further, man's salvation rests on God; *But the salvation of the just is from the Lord. Now the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made*¹; *His eternal power also and Divinity*,² and that which is clearly seen by the understanding is not an object of belief. Therefore it is not necessary for man's salvation that he should believe certain things.

On the contrary, it is written: *Without faith it is impossible to please God*.³

I answer that wherever one nature is subordinate to another, we find that two things concur towards the perfection of the lower nature, one of these being in virtue of the proper motion of that nature, the other coming from the influence of the higher nature. Thus, water by its proper movement moves towards the centre (of the earth), while according to the movement of the moon, water is subject to the tidal motion about that centre. In like manner, the planets have their proper movements from west to east, while in accordance with the movement of the first heaven, they have a movement from east to west. Now the created rational nature alone is immediately subordinate to God, since other creatures do not attain to universal ideas, but only to something particular, while they partake of the divine goodness either in *being* only, as inanimate things, or also in *living*, and in *knowing individual things* as plants and animals; whereas the rational nature, inasmuch as it apprehends the universal notion of good and being, is immediately related to the universal of principle being.

Consequently the perfection of the rational creature con-

¹ Ps. xxxvi. 39.

² Rom. i. 20.

³ Heb. xi. 6.

sists not only in what belongs to it in respect of its nature, but also in that which it acquires supernaturally by becoming a beneficiary of the divine goodness. Hence it was said above ¹ that man's ultimate happiness consists in a supernatural vision of God : to which vision man cannot attain unless he be taught by God : *Every one that hath heard of the Father and hath learned cometh to Me.*² Now man gets the benefit of this learning, not indeed all at once, but little by little, according to the mode of his nature : and everyone who learns thus must needs believe, in order that he may acquire science in a perfect degree ; thus also Aristotle says that *it behoves a learner to believe.*³

Hence, in order that a man arrive at the perfect vision of heavenly happiness, he must first of all believe God, as a disciple believes the master who is teaching him.

Reply Objection 1. Since man's nature is dependent on a higher nature, natural knowledge does not suffice for its perfection, and some supernatural knowledge is necessary, as stated above.

Reply Objection 2. Just as man assents to first principles, by the natural light of his intellect, so does a virtuous man, by the habit of virtue, judge aright of things concerning that virtue ; and in this way, by the light of faith which God bestows on him, a man assents to truths of faith and not to their contraries. Consequently *there is no danger or condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus*, and whom He has enlightened by faith.

Reply Objection 3. In many respects faith perceives the invisible things of God in a higher way than natural reason does in proceeding to God from His creatures. Hence it is written : *Many things are shewn to thee above the understanding of men.*⁴—*Summa Theologica*, 2 II. Q. ii. a. 3, tr. D'Arcy, *Selected Writings*, 171-3.

¹ 2 i. Q. iii. a. 8.

² John vi. 45.

³ *De Soph. Elench.* 165b, 3.

⁴ *Ecclus.* iii. 25.

No. 127.—(II) The Pseudo-Cyril and the papal claims

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 361; from St. Thomas, *Opusc.* VI.; as above]

Preface. I have carefully read the book that was shewn to me by Your Excellency, most holy father, Pope Urban. I find in it many useful and clear statements, pertaining to the assertion of our faith. . . .

II. 32. That the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter and Vicar of Christ, is expressly shewn in the canon of a Council, which says: According to the Scriptures and the canonical definitions, we venerate the most holy bishop of Old Rome as the first and greatest of all bishops.

II. 33. It is shewn also that the aforesaid Vicar of Christ holds the pre-eminence over the whole Church universal. For we read in the Council of Chalcedon that the whole synod acclaimed Pope Leo: Long live Leo, the most holy, apostolic and œcumenical, i.e. universal, Patriarch.

II. 34. It is held on the authority of the aforesaid doctors that the Roman pontiff has the plenitude of power in the Church.

II. 35. It is shewn also that Peter is the Vicar of Christ, and the Roman pontiff is Peter's successor, having the same power bestowed upon him by Christ. For the canon of the Council of Chalcedon says: If any bishop is declared to be guilty, let him have liberty to appeal to the most blessed bishop of Old Rome, because we have Peter as a rock of refuge: and let him alone possess, with free authority and in the place of God, the right to adjudge the guilt of an accused bishop, in accordance with the keys given unto him by the Lord. And below: And let everything decided by him be held as from the Vicar of the apostolic throne. . . . And Cyril in the book called the *Treasury* says what the Gospels and Epistles affirm, that in all matters of doctrine Peter and his Church hold the place of God; giving him that place in all chapters and assemblies, in every election and affirmation. And, further on: †To whom, *sc.* Peter, all primates in the world, by divine appointment, bow the head and give obedience, as to the Lord Jesus Himself.†

†† The sentences so marked are quoted by Urban IV in

II. 36. It is further shewn that to the aforesaid pontiff it pertains to make final decision in matter of faith.

II. 37. It is also clear that he is placed above Patriarchs from the fact that Cyril says that †to him alone, i.e. to the apostolic throne of the Roman pontiffs, it belongs to reprove, correct, ordain, loose, dispose and bind in place of Him, who set him up.†

II. 38. It is also shewn that to be subject to the Roman pontiff is necessary to salvation: for Cyril says in the *Treasury*, So, brethren, we follow Christ by listening to His voice as His sheep, remaining in the Church of Peter, and not letting ourselves be inflated by the wind of pride, lest haply the wily serpent eject us because of our pride, as of old time he ejected Eve from paradise. And Maximus, in his epistle to the Easterns, says explicitly: We say that, according to the Saviour's "definition," the whole Church is united and founded on the Rock of Peter's confession: and that in it it is necessary for the salvation of our souls to remain and obey him, holding fast to his confession of faith.

At the end: These are the things, holy Father, which, at your command, I have taken from the authorities of the Greek Fathers, to be expounded and alleged for the confirmation of the true faith.—K.

No. 128.—(III) *Lauda, Sion:* the Sequence in the Mass of Corpus Christi

LAUD, O Sion, thy salvation,
Laud with hymns of exultation
Christ, thy King and Shepherd true:

Imperialis excellentiae nuntios of 27/7/1263 to the Emperor Michael VIII (Palaeologus) given in Raynaldus *Annales*, ad. ann. 1263 § 31 (iii. 109): see Potthast, No. 18605 and Hefele-Leclercq, § 676 (vi. 156).

N.B. For comments on these extracts see F. H. Reusch, *Die Fälschungen in dem Tractat Contra errores Graecorum ad Urbanum IV ap. Abhandlungen der Historische Classe; Ak. der Wissenschaften*; XVIII Band, iii. Abtheilung, 673–742; München, 1889.

Spend thyself, his honour raising,
Who surpasseth all thy praising;
Never canst thou reach his due.

Sing to-day, the mystery showing
Of the living, life-bestowing
Bread from heaven before thee set;
E'en the same of old provided,
Where the Twelve, divinely guided,
At the holy Table met.

Full and clear ring out thy chanting,
Joy nor sweetest grace be wanting
To thy heart and soul to-day;
When we gather up the measure
Of that supper and its treasure,
Keeping feast in glad array.

Lo, the new King's Table gracing,
This new Passover of blessing
Hath fulfilled the elder rite:
Now the new the old effaceth,
Truth revealed the shadow chaseth,
Day is breaking on the night.

What he did at Supper seated,
Christ ordained to be repeated,
His memorial ne'er to cease:
And, his word for guidance taking,
Bread and wine we hallow, making
Thus our Sacrifice of peace.

This the truth to Christians given—
Bread becomes his Flesh from heaven,
Wine becomes his holy Blood.
Doth it pass thy comprehending?
Yet by faith, thy sight transcending,
Wondrous things are understood.

Yea, beneath these signs are hidden
Glorious things to sight forbidden :
Look not on the outward sign.
Wine is poured and bread is broken,
But in either sacred token
Christ is here by power divine.

Whoso of this Food partaketh,
Rendeth not the Lord nor breaketh :
Christ is whole to all that taste.
Thousands are, as one, receivers
One, as thousands of believers,
Takes the Food that cannot waste.

Good and evil men are sharing
One repast, a doom preparing
Varied as the heart of man ;
Doom of life or death awarded,
As their days shall be recorded
Which from one beginning ran.

When the Sacrament is broken,
Doubt not in each severed token,
Hallowed by the word once spoken,
Resteth all the true content :
Nought the precious Gift divideth,
Breaking but the sign betideth,
He himself the same abideth,
Nothing of his fullness spent.

Lo ! the Angels' Food is given
To the pilgrim who hath striven ;
See the children's Bread from heaven,
Which to dogs may not be cast ;
Truth the ancient types fulfilling,
Isaac bound, a victim willing,
Paschal lamb, its life-blood spilling,
Manna sent in ages past.

O true Bread, good Shepherd, tend us,
 Jesu, of thy love befriend us,
 Thou refresh us, thou defend us,
 Thine eternal goodness send us
 In the land of life to see ;
 Thou who all things canst and knowest,
 Who on earth such Food bestowest,
 Grant us with thy Saints, though lowest,
 Where the heavenly Feast thou showest,
 Fellow-heirs and guests to be.

The English Hymnal, No. 317.

No. 129.—(IV) The treatment of heretics

(1) *Summa Theologica*, 2 II. Q. 11, a. 3. Whether heretics ought to be tolerated?

After quoting 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25 ; 1 Cor. xi. 19 and Matt. xiii. 30 in favour of toleration, St. Thomas proceeds :—

On the contrary, The Apostle says (Tit. iii. 10, 11) : *A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid: knowing that he that is such a one is subverted.*

I answer that, With regard to heretics, two points must be observed : one on their own side, the other on the side of the Church. On their own side, there is the sin whereby they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but also to be severed from the world by death. For it is a much graver matter to corrupt the faith which quickens the soul than to forge money which supports temporal life. Wherefore if forgers of money and other evil-doers are forthwith condemned to death by the secular authority, much more reason is there for heretics, as soon as they are convicted of heresy, to be not only excommunicated but even put to death.

On the part of the Church, however, there is mercy which looks to the conversion of the wanderer, but *after the first and second admonition*, as the Apostle directs : after that, if he is yet stubborn, the Church, no longer hoping for his conversion, looks to the salvation of others,

by excommunicating him and separating him from the Church, and furthermore delivers him to the secular tribunal to be exterminated thereby from the world by death.

(2) *Summa Theologica*, 2 II. Q. 11, a. 4. Whether the Church should receive those who return from heresy?

After quoting Jer. iii. 1 and Matt. xviii. 22 in favour of such reception, St. Thomas proceeds:—

On the contrary, the Decretal about heretics (*Ad abolendam*) says that *those who are found to have relapsed into the error which they had already abjured must be left to the secular tribunal*. Therefore they should not be received by the Church.

I answer that, In obedience to our Lord's institution, the Church extends her charity to all, not only to friends, but also to foes who persecute her, Matt. v. 44: *Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you*. Now it is part of charity that we should both wish and work for our neighbour's good. Again, good is twofold: one is spiritual, namely the health of the soul, which good is chiefly the object of charity, since it is this chiefly which we should wish for one another. Consequently, from this point of view, heretics who return after falling no matter how often are admitted by the Church to penance whereby the way of salvation is opened to them.

The other good is that which charity considers secondarily, viz. temporal good, such as the life of the body, worldly possessions, good repute, ecclesiastical or secular dignity, for we are not bound by charity to wish others this good, except in relation to the eternal salvation of them and of others. Hence if the presence of one of these goods in one individual might be an obstacle to eternal salvation in many, we are not bound out of charity to wish such a good to that person; rather should we desire him to be without it, both because eternal salvation takes precedence of temporal good, and because the good of the many is to be preferred to the good of one. Now if heretics were always received on their return, in order to save their lives and other temporal goods, this might be

prejudicial to the salvation of others, both because they would infect others if they relapsed again and because, if they escaped without punishment, others would feel more assured in lapsing into heresy. For it is written (Eccles. viii. 11): *For because sentence is not speedily pronounced against the evil, the children of men commit evils without any fear.*

For this reason the Church not only admits to Penance those who return from heresy for the first time . . . should their conversion appear to be sincere . . . but when they fall again, after having been received, this seems to prove them to be inconsistent in faith, whereof when they return again, they are admitted to Penance, but are not delivered from the pain of death.—The *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas; tr. by the English Dominicans, Vol. IX, pp. 153 *sqq.* (Washbourne, 1917).

No. 130.—Institution of Corpus Christi, 1264

[The definition of the doctrine of Transubstantiation by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (see No. 117), coupled with the elevation¹ and adoration² of the Host, now become usual, stimulated popular devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament. This movement was especially strong in the diocese of Liège, when Julienne, prioress of Mont-Cornillon, near Liège, 1222–†58, had a vision in which the need for the establishment of a festival in honour of the Sacrament was revealed to her. The movement made a strong appeal to James Pantaleon, archdeacon of Liège, 1248. He afterwards became Urban VIII.; and by the Bull *Transiturus de hoc*, of Aug. 11, 1264, he instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi (Mirbt,⁴ No. 364). It had been observed at Liège, since 1246, by the authority of the bishop. The Bull made it obligatory throughout the whole Church (cf. *Enc. Brit.* II. xi. 193).]

¹ First mention of it as ordered by Odo de Sully, bishop of Paris, 1196–†1208, P. Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe*, 262.

² For beginnings of adoration, c. Gregory X, 1271–†6, see *ibid.*, 263 *sq.*

When about to leave this world to go unto the Father, our Lord Jesus Christ, when the time of His passion drew near, at supper in memory of His death, instituted the great and noble sacrament of His body and blood, by giving His body for food, and His blood in the cup.

§ 1. Wherefore, although this memorial sacrament is celebrated in the daily solemnity of the Mass, yet we think it convenient and proper that, in order specially to confound the perfidy and madness of heretics,¹ it should have a memorial more solemn and dignified. . . . Special care therefore should be taken, in regard to this life-giving sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, who is the glory and crown of all the Saints, that He should be honoured with exceptional and well-frequented festivity.

§ 2. We therefore, in order to the strengthening and exaltation of the Catholic Faith, have thought it well honourably and reasonably to ordain that, in the case of so great a sacrament, and, apart from the daily memorial which the Church makes of Him, a more solemn and special memorial should be made year by year; designing and appointing a fixed day, viz. the fifth feria after the Octave of Pentecost, in order that, on that fifth feria, devout congregations of the faithful shall have recourse to the churches with all affection, and that clerics as well as laymen shall rejoice and break forth into songs of praise.
—K.

No. 131.—The Council of Lyons, 1274

[Gregory X, 1271–†6, regarded reunion with the Greeks and the recovery of the Holy Land as the twofold aim of his life; the first, being in his view, necessary to the second. The Emperor Michael VIII, 1261–†82, was also anxious for reunion; but on political grounds. As the Pope and the Emperor were equally afraid of Charles of Anjou, the way was open to joint action in favour of reunion. Gregory,

¹ i.e. Berengarians (see No. 87), according to Pope Benedict XIV, 1740–†58, the most learned of the Popes, in his *De festis D.N.I.C.*, I, xiii. § 6 (*Op.* ix. 138; Venetiis, 1767).

on his side, began by a bull of April 1, 1272 (Potthast, No. 20527), in which he convoked a General Council to meet at Lyons on May 1, 1274; its objects being to treat of (1) reform, (2) reunion and (3) the recovery of the Holy Land. Michael, in his turn, set on foot a propaganda among his clergy, emphasizing the benefit that would ensue to the Empire by reunion. The Council met; and June 24, 1274, received the envoys of the Eastern Emperor (*ibid.*, ii. p. 1680). They brought with them his dispatches. These were read out at the command of the Pope (Mansi, xxiv. 64 *sqq.*: Hefele-Leclercq, § 676: VI. i. 174), July 6; the Grand Logothete, after repudiating the schism (Mansi, xxiv. 73), on behalf of the Emperor, took the oath of obedience to the Roman See (*ibid.*, 77: H.-L. VI. i. 177, n. 2); and the union was proclaimed by a solemn *Te Deum*. But Michael failed to carry his people with him; and the schemes for reunion, never really religious but only political, ultimately fell through. The Creed of Michael Palaeologus was sent from Rome (q.v. in Mansi, xxiv. 69 *sqq.*; H.-L. VI. i. 175, and Denzinger, No. 466); whereas the language of the Vatican Council seems to imply that it was the Creed of the Greek Church (q.v. in Mirbt,⁴ No. 606; p. 464, ll. 25, 26). But this is silently corrected by Leo XIII in his *Satis cognitum*, § 13.]

The same holy Roman Church possesses the sovereign and plenary primacy and authority over the whole Catholic Church which truly and humbly it acknowledges to have received together with the plenitude of power from the Lord Himself, in the person of St. Peter, the Prince or Head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor. And as it is bound to defend the truth of faith beyond all others, so also if any question should arise concerning the faith it must be determined by its judgment. To this Church any person who is aggrieved in matters pertaining to an ecclesiastical court is free to appeal; and in all causes touching ecclesiastical questions may have recourse to its judgment: while all churches are subject to it, their prelates owing it obedience and reverence. To this

Church belongs the plenitude of power in such wise as to admit other churches to a part of its solicitude¹; for many of them, and principally patriarchal churches, have been honoured by the Roman Church with divers privileges; which, however, has always maintained and preserved its own prerogative as well in General as in other Councils.—K.

Boniface VIII, 1294–†1303

[Under Boniface VIII the papal pretensions to universal domination in things temporal as well as spiritual reached their zenith. Even in his own day a decline set in. Boniface found himself in conflict with two powerful sovereigns, each representing the rising force of nationality. They were Edward I, 1272–†1307, of England, and Philip IV, 1285–†1314, of France. Each wanted money: Edward for his wars with the Scots; and Philip in order to meet his chronic needs; and both sought to get it at the expense of the clergy. Boniface denounced the taxation of the clergy by the laity in a Bull of Feb. 25, 1296, with the maladroit title *Clericis laicos infestos* (Potthast, 24291). It was published in England next year. The clergy, in consequence, refused to grant an aid to the king, who thereupon outlawed them. Further pretensions on the part of Boniface, forbidding Edward to molest the Scots on the ground that Scotland was a fief of Rome, June 28, 1299 (Potthast, 24850), were repudiated by the Barons in a parliament at Lincoln, Feb. 12, 1301. They informed the Pope that the English kings did not recognize foreign lordship. Philip asserted his claims in more violent ways, which ultimately led to a murderous attack on the person of the Pope at Anagni, and shortly afterwards to his death, Oct. 11, 1303. Meanwhile, pilgrims and money had poured into Rome for the indulgences offered at the Jubilee by the Bull *Antiquorum habet fida* of Feb. 22, 1300

¹ The phrase comes from the letter of St. Leo to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica (*Ep.* xiv. §2), and is distinctive of the papal theory of the constitution of the Church: see my *Roman Primacy*, 121.

(Potthast, 24917); and the papal claims had reached their climax in another Bull *Unam sanctam ecclesiam* of Nov. 18, 1302 (*ibid.*, 25189) "Au fond, Boniface, dans la Bulle *Unam Sanctam* comme dans la Bulle *Clericis laicos*, n'a pas dit grand-chose de nouveau. Mais il avait l'art de donner un tour blessant aux lieux communs" (Hefele-Leclercq, § 690; VI. i. 428, n. 2).]

No. 132.—(I) *Clericis laicos infestos*

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 369; Gee and Hardy, No. XXXI.]

Boniface Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual memory of the matter. That laymen have been very hostile to clerks antiquity relates, which too the experiences of the present times manifestly declare, whilst not content with their own bounds they strive for the forbidden and loose the reins for things unlawful. Nor do they prudently consider how power over clerks or ecclesiastical persons or goods is forbidden them; they impose heavy burdens on the prelates of the churches and ecclesiastical persons regular and secular, and tax them, and impose collections: they exact and demand from the same the half, tithe or twentieth, or any other portion or proportion of their revenues or goods; and in many ways they essay to bring them under slavery, and subject them to their authority.

And, as we sadly relate, some prelates of the churches and ecclesiastical persons, alarmed where there should be no alarm, seeking transient peace, fearing more to offend the temporal majesty than the eternal, acquiesce in such abuses, not so much rashly as improvidently, authority or licence of the Apostolic See not having been obtained. We therefore, desirous of presenting such wicked actions, do with apostolic authority decree with the advice of our brethren that whatsoever prelates and ecclesiastical persons, religious or secular, of whatsoever orders, condition or standing shall pay or promise, or agree to pay to lay persons collections or taxes for the tithe, twentieth or hundredth of

their own rents or goods or those of the churches . . . without the authority of the same see :

And also whatsoever Emperors, kings . . . who shall impose, exact or receive the things aforesaid . . . by this same should incur sentence of excommunication. Universities,¹ too, which may have been to blame in these matters, we subject to ecclesiastical interdict.

The prelates and ecclesiastical persons above-mentioned, we strictly command, in virtue of their obedience, and under pain of deposition, that they in no wise acquiesce in such things without express licence of the said see. . . .

Moreover, let no one be absolved from the aforesaid sentences of excommunication and interdict, save at the moment of death, without authority and special licence of the Apostolic See. . . .

Let it then be lawful to none at all to infringe this page of our constitution . . . and if anyone presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul. . . .

No. 133.—(II) The Barons' Letter to Boniface VIII: from Lincoln, Feb. 12, 1301

To the most holy father in Christ, the lord Boniface, by divine providence, supreme pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, his devout sons [then follow the names of 104 earls and barons] devoutly kiss his blessed feet. The holy Roman mother Church, by whose ministry the Catholic faith is governed, proceeds in her acts, as we firmly believe and hold, with such mature deliberation that she can prejudice none, but only like a tender mother preserve unharmed the rights of individuals, no less in others than in herself. Now a general Parliament having been summoned by our most serene lord Edward, by the grace of God the illustrious King of England, at Lincoln; our same lord caused certain letters apostolic, which he had received, written on your behalf, touching the estate of the Kingdom

¹ i.e. corporate bodies; not universities in our sense.

of Scotland, to be published and gravely expounded to us ; which being heard and diligently considered, we have heard matters therein contained as well astonishing to our feelings as before unheard of. For we know, most holy father, and it is notorious in the parts of England, and not unknown in some others, that from the first foundation of the realm of England, the kings of that realm, as well in the times of the Britons, as of the English [*Anglorum*] have had the superior and direct overlordship of the realm of Scotland and have been, at successive times, in possession even as it were of the suzerainty and direct lordship of the said realm of Scotland. Neither at any times did the said realm in its temporalities pertain nor does it pertain by any manner of right, to the Church abovesaid. Yea, more, the said realm of Scotland [pertained] to the progenitors of our aforesaid lord, Kings of England, and was their fief of old time. Neither also were the Kings of Scots, and the realm, subordinate nor wont to be subject to others, but to the King of England.

Neither did the Kings of England answer, nor ought they to answer, concerning their rights in the aforesaid kingdom, or other their temporalities, before any judge, ecclesiastical or secular, by reason of the free pre-eminence of the estate of their royal dignity and custom, unbrokenly preserved at all times. Wherefore, having held discourse, and diligent deliberation being had concerning the things in your said letters contained, the common consenting and unanimous agreement of all and singular has been, is, and for the future, God willing, will be steadfastly observed :— that our aforesaid lord the king, for the rights of his kingdom, or of Scotland or other his temporalities, shall in no wise answer before you, nor undergo judgment in any matter whatsoever, nor bring into doubtful questioning his rights aforesaid. Neither shall he send into your presence proctors or nuncios for that purpose, especially where the premises should manifestly tend to the disherison of the right of the crown of the Kingdom of England, and of the royal dignity, and the notorious subversion of the estate of the same kingdom, and also to the prejudice of liberties,

customs and paternal laws, to the observance and defence whereof we are bound by the due performance of our oath taken, and which we will maintain with all our power and will defend with all our strength by God's help. . . .

Wherefore we reverently and humbly implore your holiness benignly to permit the same our lord the king (who among other princes of the whole world proves himself Catholic and devoted to the Church of Rome) peacefully to possess his rights, liberties, customs and laws, without diminution or inquietude, and that he may take the same unimpaired. In witness whereof we have put our seals to these presents as well for ourselves as for the whole commonalty of the said Kingdom of England.—Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, etc., No. XXXII.

No. 134.—(III) The Jubilee, 1300

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 370]

A trustworthy account of old time tells us that those who visited the revered basilica of the Prince of the Apostles were granted great remissions of sins and indulgences.

§ 1. We therefore, who, in accordance with the duty of our office, desire and freely provide for the salvation of every one, do by apostolic authority confirm and approve of such remissions and indulgences, holding all and singular to be ratified and well-pleasing; and we renew and grant them by favour of this present writing.

§ 2. But, in order that the blessed apostles Peter and Paul may be the more honoured in proportion as their basilicas, of the City, are the more devoutly frequented by the faithful: and, as the faithful themselves by grant of spiritual privileges may feel themselves the more encouraged by gatherings of this kind, we, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and the merits and authority of the same His apostles, with the advice of our brethren and in the plenitude of apostolic power, do grant to all who in this present thirteen hundredth year just begun from the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ lately past, and in any future hundredth year, to those who reverently and after

true penitence and confession do approach the said basilicas, or who shall be penitent and shall have made their confession, in this present or any future hundredth year, not only full and free pardon, but the fullest possible pardon for all their sins :

§ 3. Requiring that all they who wish to participate in this indulgence by us granted : if they are Romans that once a day for at least thirty days, whether continuous or at intervals, they visit the said basilicas ; and, if strangers or foreigners, do so for fifteen days. Anyone, however, will deserve more, and obtain the indulgence with greater effect, who shall visit the basilicas with greater frequency and more devotion.—K.

**No. 135.—(IV) The Bull *Unam sanctam ecclesiam*,
Nov. 18, 1302**

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 372]

That there is one holy Church, Catholic and Apostolic, we are, at the bidding of faith, compelled to believe and to hold : and of this Church we firmly believe and simply confess that outside it there is neither salvation nor remission of sins ; the bridegroom in Canticles (vi. 9) proclaiming that *My dove, my undefiled, is but one ; she is the only one of her mother ; she is the choice one of her that bare her*. She represents the mystical body of Christ ; whose head is Christ, truly God. In her there is *One Lord, one faith, one baptism* (Eph. iv. 5). At the time of the flood, there was one ark of Noah, foreshadowing the one Church : which, *in a cubit finished upward* (Gen. vi. 16), had but one steersman and governor, viz. Noah, and outside it, as we learn, all existing things on the earth were destroyed. This one Church we venerate ; for says the Lord by the prophet : *Deliver my soul from the sword ; my darling from the power of the dog* (Ps. xxii. 20). For His soul, i.e. for Himself, head and body, He prays ; meaning by His body the one Church ; one because of the bridegroom, the faith, the sacraments, the charity of the Church. This is that seamless coat of the Lord (John xix. 23), which was not

rent but assigned by lot. So that of that one and only Church there is but one body; one head, not two heads, like a monster; i.e. Christ, and Christ's Vicar, Peter, and Peter's successor; as the Lord says to Peter: *Feed my sheep* (John xxi. 17); mine, He says, and not just these, or those; so making it clear that all were committed to him. Whether therefore the Greeks or others say that they were not committed to Peter and his successors, they must needs confess that they are not of the sheep of Christ; as our Lord says in the Gospel of St. John: *One fold* [Vulg. *Ovile*: but Greek *ποίμνη* = flock] *and one Shepherd* (x. 16).

In this Church, and in her power are, as we are told in the words of the Gospel, *two swords* (Lk. xxii. 38), viz. the spiritual and the temporal. For when the apostles said, Behold, here are *two swords*, i.e. in the Church, the Lord did not answer, It is too many, but *It is enough*. He who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter misunderstands the word of the Lord when He says *Put up thy sword into the sheath* (Mt. xxvi. 52). Both therefore are in the power of the Church, both the spiritual and the material sword. But the latter is to be used on behalf of the Church, the former by the Church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of kings and knights; but at the bidding and by the forbearance of the priest. . . . For the temporal power ought to be subject to the spiritual power. . . . For as truth itself testifies, it belongs to the spiritual power to institute the earthly power; and, if it be not good, to judge it. . . . Whosoever therefore resisteth this power ordained of God, resisteth the ordinance of God. . . . Therefore we declare, state, define and pronounce that for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pope is altogether necessary for salvation.—K.

The Popes at Avignon, 1305–78

[After the death of Boniface VIII, the papacy, unable to maintain itself against the "insecurity" of Italy (G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, 411), took refuge at Avignon; a city

on the borders of France, and under French control. A series of seven popes, all Frenchmen by birth, ruled from Avignon. By leaving Rome they left their lands and revenues behind them, and had to find a revenue by heavy taxation imposed upon the Church. Its sources were as follows (Mollat, 365 *sqq.*): (1) *Tenths*: ascertained by a survey (*Taxatio*), and levied on ecclesiastical property; (2) *Annates* or Firstfruits, i.e. the first year's income, at first imposed, Jan. 12, 1334, upon benefices at the disposal of the Apostolic See and, by 1400, upon all; (3) *Procurations* [see *Vas electionis*, Dec. 18, 1336, of Benedict XII in *Extravag. Comm.* III. x. 1: c. i, c. ii. *C.I.C.* 1280 ed. Friedberg] or payments claimed for hospitality by the bishop and his suite at a visitation, and then appropriated by the pope; with the double result that the bishops became poorer and the popes richer, and that, as visitations, under this process, ceased, the bishop lost touch with his clergy and people; (4) *The right of spoils*: originally the right of pillaging the house of a bishop after his death, but bishops and abbots dealt similarly with incumbents, until John XXII elbowed them out and, by a Bull of May 16, 1345, claimed the right for the papacy, whence accrued a large revenue; (5) *Subsidies*, called voluntary, but enforced by excommunication, if not paid; (6) *Income* of sees and benefices accruing during a vacancy and, above all, (7) *Reservations*, as in *Ex debito* of John XXII, by which the pope claimed to provide for all sees and benefices himself regardless of the rights of the patron. Closely connected with such *Reservations*, were *Expectatives* by which a benefice was reserved in anticipation of a vacancy; and (8) Peter's pence, an ancient tax of a penny on every hearth, and paid fairly regularly by the English from William the Conqueror (No. 101) to its abolition, 1534, by an Act (25 H. VIII. c. 21) of Henry VIII. The collection of this revenue was entrusted to the Papal Collectors, who became permanent functionaries of the Court of Avignon under Clement VI, 1342-†52, and the best-hated officials in the various countries of the papal obedience. The results of this fiscal oppression were (1) great wealth: for the popes were richer after the removal

to Avignon than before; (2) increasing centralization, which indeed involved better government of the Church, but by means of an administrative bureaucracy whose operations became suspect (Hefele, § 704: H.-L. VI. ii. 178, n. 1); (3) widespread discontent, such as found expression in the anti-papal legislation of the English Parliament, *c.* 1350 (see below, Nos. 142-3), on the part of patrons, whether official or private, whose rights were steadily, but effectively, absorbed by the papacy (Mollat, 388-90), and (4) the cupidity of the Curia, denounced by St. Catherine of Siena, † 1380 (*ibid.*, 380).

In this connexion, another sort of fiscal expedient appeared in the Bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* of Jan. 27, 1343, of Clement VI, which affirmed the existence of a Treasury of Merits, derived from Christ and the Saints and at the disposal of the pope, who, on certain conditions, might assign drafts upon it for the good of souls. This doctrine was one of the immediate causes of the Reformation; see Luther's *Theses*, No. 58 (Mirbt,⁴ No. 415; tr. *Luther's Primary Works*, 419, edd. Wace and Buchheim, Hodder & Stoughton, 1896).]

No. 136.—(I) The Inquisition

The Decree *Multorum*, c. xiii. of the Council of Vienne, 1311, in Hefele-Leclercq, § 701 (VI. ii. 691 *sq.*) is too long to quote in full; but it provides

§ 1. That neither the bishop without the inquisitor nor the inquisitor without the bishop shall impose the penalty of rigorous imprisonment; nor torture; nor pronounce sentence.

§ 2. That prisons, called *muri*, shall have two warders, nominated respectively by the bishop and the inquisitor, with two different keys.

§ 3. That these warders shall be sworn; and that neither speak with a prisoner except in the presence of the other.

§ 4. That they shall be strict with the prisoner, according to his "contagious enormity," but considerate towards the innocent.—K.

No. 137.—(II) Reservations

[*Ex debito*, of John XXII, 1316–†34, *Extravag. Commun.*

I. iii. c. 4; *Corpus Iures Canonici*, ii. 1240, ed. Friedberg]

As is the duty of the pastoral office, to us, though all unworthy, committed by supernal disposition, we propose to take salutary measures against the danger to souls and the expenses of churches and monasteries, which are wont often to happen owing to long vacancies, by means of suitable remedies, so far as is permitted to us from on high, in order that provision may be made quickly and profitably for the said churches and monasteries, and that due honour may be paid to the Roman Church, which is recognized to have obtained by divine providence the supremacy over churches and monasteries. We therefore, following the footsteps of our predecessors Boniface VIII and Clement V who reserved for apostolic provision, under certain conditions, churches and monasteries which fell vacant at the Apostolic See, for reasonable causes which moved our mind thereto and by the advice of our brethren . . . do reserve by apostolic authority for provision by us episcopal sees and sees superior to them, monasteries and churches of Regulars . . . as well as ecclesiastical benefices, with or without cure, which do or shall fall vacant at the Apostolic See, so long as the mercy of God shall deign to maintain us in charge of the governance of the universal Church, his bride. . . —K.

No. 138.—(III) The Treasury of Merits, Jan. 27, 1343

[*Unigenitus Dei Filius* (*Extrav. Commun.* V. ix. 2; *C.I.C.* ii. 304) of Clement VI.; Mirbt,¹ No. 385; and Denzinger, No. 550]

The only-begotten Son of God . . . who was made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, "not by the blood of goats and calves but by his own blood" (Heb. ix. 12), entered once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. Not by

corruptible gold and silver, but by the precious blood of His own very lamb, incontaminate and immaculate, He redeemed us. On the altar of the Cross, He, the innocent, was sacrificed; and, as is well-known, shed no mere drop of blood though that, because of its union with the Word, would have sufficed for the redemption of the whole human race, but copiously poured forth such a stream that from the soles of His feet to the crown of His head no health was found in Him. Thence, in order that the compassion shewn by so great an effusion might not be rendered useless, vain or superfluous, He acquired a treasury for the church militant, desiring as a pious Father to lay up a treasure for His sons; that so there might be an infinite treasury for mankind, and that those who make use of it might be made friends of God. This treasure He entrusted to blessed Peter, who bears the keys of heaven, and to his successors and vicars on earth to be dispensed to the faithful for their salvation; and for proper and reasonable causes, sometimes for entire and sometimes for partial remission of the penalty due for temporal sins, to be applied out of compassion to persons who are truly penitent and have made their confession. As an aid to the accumulation of this treasure, contribution is known to have been made by the merits of the blessed Mother of God, and all the elect from the first righteous man to the last: and we should not fear its consumption or diminution, as well because of the infinite merits of Christ as aforesaid as also because the greater the number of those who turn to righteousness by means of its application, so much the more increases the accumulation of merit. . . .—K.

No. 139.—(IV) St. Catherine of Siena, 1347–†80 and Gregory ~~†X~~^{x1}, 1370–†8

[*Vita S. Catharinae Senensis*, auctore Fr. Raimundo Capuano, O.P., *ipsius sanctae confessorio*; *Acta SS.*, April 30, 891, § 152; *Mirbt*,⁴ No. 389]

Further, in fuller confirmation of what we have said, I recollect that on one occasion I was acting as interpreter

between my lord Gregory IX, the supreme pontiff, of blessed memory and the holy virgin of whom I am speaking; for she did not understand Latin, and he did not know Italian. While they were talking together and I interpreting, she complained that in the Court of Rome, which ought to be a paradise of heavenly virtues, she found a stench of infernal vices. As soon as the pontiff understood this, he asked me how long she had been at the Court of Rome; and, when he understood that it was only for a few days, he replied: How have you managed to find out about the morals of the Court of Rome, within a few days? Then, exchanging her low inclination of body, all of a sudden, for a majestic bearing, as I beheld with my bodily eyes, she drew herself up and broke forth into these words: "To the honour of Almighty God, I venture to say that I have seen more of the stench of sins committed in the Court of Rome than ever they see who have committed them, and do commit them daily." At this, the Pope held his peace. But I was astonished, as I thought it over in my mind, and noted distinctly with what authority words like these were uttered in the presence of so great a pontiff.—K.

The *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua, 1324

[The conflict between the Papacy and the Empire, after a lull of about a hundred years, broke out again between John XXII, 1316–†34, and the Emperor Louis, 1314–†47. The latter found support in the *Defensor Pacis*, 1324, of Marsilius of Padua, rector of the University of Paris, 1313, possibly aided by John of Jandun. The sub-title, "Wherein the question, long under discussion, as to the power of the Pope and the Empire, is dealt with in detail," indicates the purpose of the book. It was "to demonstrate the supremacy of the Empire; its independence of the Holy See; and the emptiness of the prerogatives 'usurped' by it" (*Enc. Brit.* II, xvii. 775). Its theory is democratic, but imperialist. It was naturally condemned by John XXII in *Licet juxta doctrinam* of Oct. 23, 1327 (Rymer, *Foedera*, IV. 315–24, London, 1707), and as naturally welcome to Thomas Crom-

well under whose auspices it appeared, 1535, in a translation by William Marshall. Few books are so little known and yet have exercised so wide and lasting an influence. See a critical study of the *Defensor Pacis* by E. Emerton in *Harvard Theological Studies*, No. 8 (O.U.P. 1920) and review in *J.T.S.* xxi. 368-71.]

No. 140.—(1) From the *Defensor Pacis*

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 378]

Pars. III, c. 2. *Conclusio* (1). For the attainment of eternal blessedness, it is necessary to believe that divine or canonical Scripture alone, and such interpretation of it as follows by necessary sequence and is made by common consent of the people, is true; if duly presented to anyone.

(2) The resolution of doubtful opinions concerning the divine law, particularly in those points which are called articles of the Christian Faith and such other points as are to be believed as necessary to eternal salvation, and their determination, ought to belong only to a general council of the faithful or of the more important part thereof; and no other particular body or single person of whatever condition has authority to make the determination aforesaid.

(3) To the observance of the precepts of the divine law no one, according to evangelical Scripture, can be compelled by penalty or punishment of a temporal sort, or such as belongs to this present world.

(5) In respect of the divine precepts or prohibitions of the divine law, no mortal has power to dispense; but to prohibit things that are permitted, by imposing an obligation of guilt or penalty in accordance with the state of things present or future, is within the power only of a general council or of a faithful human legislator.

(6) The human legislator is the whole body of the citizens, or the more important part of them, only.

(7) Decretals, or decrees of the Roman or any other pontiff, whether taken as a whole or separately, apart from the permission of the human legislator, render no one liable to penalty or punishment of a temporal or secular kind.

(8) In human laws only the legislator, or his deputy, can dispense.

(9) An elected sovereignty or any other office derives authority solely from the election, and does not depend upon any other confirmation or approval.

(14) No bishop or priest has any sovereignty or co-active jurisdiction over any cleric or laic, even though he be a heretic.

(16) No bishop nor priest nor any college thereof may excommunicate anyone or impose an interdict on divine service, without the permission of the human legislator.

(17) All bishops are of equal authority, derived immediately from Christ; and, according to divine law, they cannot, whether in things spiritual or temporal, rank either above or below one another. . . .

(41) The bishop of Rome or any other minister can only be promoted to, or suspended or deposed from, his office by the human legislator or a general council.—K.

No. 141.—(II) The condemnation of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun

[Mirbt,⁴ No. 380]

(1) These reprobates dare to affirm that that which we read in the Gospel of St. Matthew (xvii. 27) how He paid tribute to Caesar when He bade them give to those who demanded the half-shekel the coin taken from the fish's mouth, He did not out of condescension and pious liberality but under compulsion of necessity; in flat contradiction to the teaching of the Gospel and the doctrine of our Saviour.

(2) These sons of Belial presume to affirm that the blessed Apostle Peter had no more authority than the other Apostles had, and was not the head of the other Apostles: and, further, that Christ appointed no head of the Church, nor made anyone His Vicar; which is entirely contrary to evangelical and apostolic truth.

(3) These sons of Belial fear not to assert that, as respects the Emperor, the Pope has no authority to appoint him, or to depose and punish him: which is clean contrary to all

law.—Further let those plaguey fellows read the approved histories and tell us of any Catholic Pope having ever been instituted by the Emperor. We believe that they will never be able to find one.

(4) Those vain, or rather lying, talkers say that all priests, whether pope, archbishop or simple priest, are by Christ's appointment equal in authority and jurisdiction; that, in so far as one has more than another, this is according as the Emperor has conceded to one or another either more or less; and that as he concedes to one, so he may withdraw it, such doctrines as these are contrary to the truth, and smack of heretical pravity.—K.

Anti-papal legislation in England, 1351-3

["The" papal "residence at Avignon was a special grievance to England, for it coincided with the first part of the Hundred Years War," 1337-1453. . . . "National feeling was anti-French, and necessarily hostile to French influence over the papacy. The papal right to provide to English benefices played into French hands and was especially resented. In 1351 parliament passed the great statute of Provisors, 1351, denying the papal right to provide to English benefices; and, as this was not effective, it supplemented the measure with the statute of *Praemunire*, 1353. The latter forbade appeals to Rome, but was passed particularly to prevent suits about provided aliens being taken to Avignon. Both statutes had to be repeated later; Provisors in 1390 and *Praemunire* in 1393, which shews that they were not successful" (M. Deanesly, 183). They were defeated by collusion between Pope and King. Each had an interest in the wealth of the Church, and both agreed to assert it at her expense.

Note, as to the meaning of *Praemunire*: properly *præmoneri*; from the first two words of the writ addressed to the sheriff *Praemunire facias*, etc., "Cause A. B. to be forewarned," i.e. cause the defendant to be present in answer to the charge made against him. The term then came to be transferred from the writ to the process of law which it initiated.]

**No. 142.—(1) From the first Statute of Provisors,
Feb. 9, 1351**

[Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, No. XXXIX; see note in *ibid.*, p. 102]

... Whereas of late in the Parliament of Edward III [1327-†77] of good memory, King of England, grandfather of our lord the king that now is [Richard II, 1377-†99], in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, holden at Carlisle, the petition heard, put before the said grandfather and his council in the said Parliament by the commonalty of the said realm, containing: That whereas the Holy Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy, within the realm of England, by the said grandfather and his progenitors and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the said realm, and their ancestors, to inform them and the people of the law of God, and to make hospitalities, alms, and other works of charity, in the places where the churches were founded, for the souls of the founders, their heirs, and all Christians; and certain possessions, as well in fees, lands, rents as in advowsons, which extend to a great value, were assigned by the said founders to the prelates and other people of the Holy Church of the said realm, to sustain the same charge, and especially of the possessions which were assigned to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, religious and all other people of Holy Church, by the kings of the said realm, earls, barons and other great men of his realm; the same kings, earls, barons and other nobles, as lords and advowees, have had and ought to have the custody of such voidances, and the presentments and the collations of the benefices being of such prelacies.

And the said kings in times past were wont to have the greatest part of their council, for the safeguard of the realm, when they had need, of such prelates and clerks so advanced: the pope of Rome, accroaching to him the seignories of such possessions and benefices, does give and grant the same benefices to aliens, who never dwelt in England, and to cardinals who could not dwell here, and

to others as well aliens as denizens, as if he had been patron or advowee of the said dignities and benefices, as he was not of right by the law of England. . . .

And now it is shewn to our lord the king in this present Parliament holden at Westminster, on the Octave of the Purification of our Lady, the five-and-twentieth year of his reign of England, and the twelfth of France, by the grievous complaint of all the commons of his realm, that the grievances and mischiefs aforesaid do daily abound to the greater damage and destruction of all the realm of England, more than ever were before, viz. that now anew our holy father the pope, by procurement of clerks and otherwise, has reserved and does daily reserve to his collation generally and especially, as well archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeyes and priories, as all other dignities and other benefices of England, which are of the advowson of people of Holy Church, and gives the same as well to aliens as to denizens and takes of all such benefices the first-fruits and many other profits, and a great part of the treasure of the said realm is carried away, by the purchasers of such graces aforesaid, . . .

Our lord the king . . . by the assent of all the great men and the commonalty of the said realm . . . has ordered and established that the free elections of archbishops, bishops, and all other dignities elective in England, shall hold from henceforth in the manner as they were granted by the king's progenitors, and the ancestors of other lords, founders.

And that all prelates and other people of Holy Church which have advowsons of any benefices . . . shall have their collations and presentments freely to the same, in the manner as they were enfeoffed by their donors. And in case that reservation, collation or provision be made by the Court of Rome . . . our lord the king and his heirs shall have and enjoy . . . the collations . . . which be of his advowson. . . .

And in case that the presenters of the king . . . or of other patrons of Holy Church . . . be disturbed by such provisors . . . then the said provisors . . . shall be attached by

their bodies, and brought in to answer; and if they be convicted, they shall abide in prison . . . till they have made fine and ransom to the king at his will, and satisfaction to the party that shall feel himself grieved. . . .

**No. 143.—(II) The first Statute of *Praemunire*, 27 Ed. III.
st. 1: Sept. 23, 1353**

[“The enactment of a Statute of Provisors in 1351 logically necessitated a Statute of *Praemunire*: this latter aimed at preventing encroachment upon, or usurpation of, jurisdiction, just as the former aimed at defending patronage. *Praemunire* makes it treason to appeal to the Pope against the King”; Gee and Hardy, No. XXXV.]

Our lord the king, by the assent and prayer of the great men, and the commons of his realm of England . . . has ordained and established these things under written:—First, because it is shown to our lord the king, by the grievous and clamorous complaints of the great men and commons aforesaid, how that divers of the people be, and have been, drawn out of the realm to answer for things, whereof the cognizance pertains to the king’s court; and also that the judgments given in the same court be impeached in another court, in prejudice and disherison of our lord the king, and of his crown, and of all the people of his said realm, and to the undoing and destruction of the common law of the same realm at all times used.

Whereupon, good deliberation being had with the great men and others of his said council, it is assented and accorded by our lord the King, and the great men and commons aforesaid that all the people of the king’s allegiance, of whatsoever condition they be, which shall draw any out of the realm in plea, whereof the cognizance pertains to the king’s court, . . . or which do sue in any other court . . . shall have a day, within the space of two months, by warning to be made to them by the sheriffs or other the king’s ministers, to appear before the king and his council . . . to answer in their proper persons to the king, of the contempt done in this behalf.

And if they come not at the said day in their proper persons to be at the law they . . . shall from that day forth be put out of the king's protection, and their lands, goods and chattels forfeited to the king and their bodies, where-soever they may be found, shall be taken and imprisoned, and ransomed at the king's will . . .

John Wycliffe, c. 1300-†84

[Born at ~~Wycliffe~~ ^{Wycliffe}, a Yorkshire village on the banks of the Tees, John Wycliffe came into prominence as Master of Balliol, 1360, and a schoolman of great distinction in the University of Oxford. In 1372 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and entered the king's service, under the auspices of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, †1399. The duke was the leader of an anti-clerical party, who desired to appropriate the property of the Church; and had reason to think that Wycliffe would be useful to him. In 1374, Gregory XI, the last of the popes of Avignon, renewed the demand for the payment of King John's tribute of a thousand marks *per annum*, which had lapsed since 1365. Wycliffe was asked to draw up a reply. His argument included (1) the doctrine of evangelical poverty for which he was indebted to Marsilius of Padua †1342, William of Ockham †? 1349, and the Spiritual Franciscans; and (2) the doctrine that "Dominion is founded in grace"; by which he meant that duties attached to property and privilege, and that the latter were forfeited if the duties were not performed. In the workaday world, however, this doctrine could not be enforced or, as he expressed it, "God must obey the devil." On Feb. 19, 1377, Wycliffe was summoned before the Convocation at St. Paul's to answer for these crude and dangerous opinions, but escaped any penalty owing to the protection of John of Gaunt. Five years later, when his opposition to the existing system had come to include questions of faith, twenty-four propositions were condemned, May 19, 1382, at the Council of the Earthquake then sitting at Blackfriars, though their author was unnamed. Again he was immune

for he still had friends in high place. Only on his retirement to Lutterworth, 1378-†82, did he make any definite break with medieval orthodoxy, by denying the definition of the Eucharist, as put out at the Lateran Council of 1215 (see above No. 117), and falling back upon doctrines similar to those of Ratramnus (above, No. 61) and Berengarius (above No. 87) though in different language. "According to his view there is no physical conversion of the elements; they do not lose their proper substance after consecration; yet, in some mode or other which he does not rigidly define, it is contended that the sacramental bread is simultaneously and truly the Body of Christ" (C. Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, 383). The latest expression of these beliefs is found in his *Trialogus* (ed. G. Lechler, Oxford, 1869, pp. 249 *sq.*), a treatise written after Nov. 382, and so called because the discussion is three-cornered, and carried on by Truth, Falsehood and Prudence.]

No. 144.—(1) Propositions condemned at Blackfriars, 1382

[Mansi, xxvi. 695; tr. Gee and Hardy, No. XXXVII.]

Heretical

(1) That in the sacrament of the altar the material substance of bread and wine remains after consecration.

(2) That accidents remain not without a subject in the same sacrament.

(3) That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar essentially, truly, and really, in His own corporal presence.

(4) That if bishop or priest be in mortal sin he cannot ordain, consecrate, or baptize.

(5) That, if a man be properly repentant all outward confession is superfluous or useless for him.

(6) To affirm constantly that it was not set down in the Gospel that Christ ordained the Mass.

(7) That God ought to obey the devil.

(8) That, if the Pope be an abandoned or evil man, and so a member of the devil, he has not power over the faithful of Christ granted him by any, save perhaps by Caesar.

(9) That after Urban VI [1378-†89] no one is to be

regarded as pope, but we must live like the Greeks under our own laws.

(10) To assert that it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastical men should have temporal possessions.

Erroneous

(11) That no prelate ought to excommunicate any unless he first knows that he is excommunicated by God.

(12) That, if he excommunicates, he is thereby a heretic or excommunicate.

(13) That a prelate excommunicating a clerk who has appealed to the king and the council of the realm is thereby a traitor to God, king and realm.

(14) That those who cease to preach, or hear the Word of God or the Gospel preached on account of the excommunication of men are excommunicate, and on the day of judgment will be held traitors to God.

(15) To assert that it is lawful to any deacon or priest to preach the Word of God without the authority of the Apostolic See, or a catholic bishop or some other [authority] sufficiently sure.

(16) To assert that no one is civil lord, bishop or prelate while he is in mortal sin.

(17) That temporal lords can at their will take away temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually sinful, or that the public may at their will correct sinful lords.

(18) That tithes are pure alms, and that parishioners can withhold them for the sins of their curates, and confer them at pleasure on others.

(19) That special prayers restricted to one person by prelates or religious do no more avail the same person, other things being equal, than general prayers.

(20) That the very fact of a man entering any private religion makes him more foolish and unfit for performing God's commandments.

(21) That holy men endowing private religions, as well of possessions as of mendicants, have sinned in so endowing.

(22) That the religious living in private religions are not of the Christian religion.

(23) That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands and not by mendicancy.

(24) That he who gives alms to friars or a preaching friar is excommunicate, and he who takes them.

No. 145.—(II) “What is the sacrament of the Eucharist?”

[*Triologus*, iv. 2 ; ed. G. Lechler, O.U.P., 1869, pp. 249 *sq.*]

Here I briefly give an opinion, according to the faith of Scripture. And, first, that this sacrament is the body of Christ in form of bread. And since some heretics oppose this and say that this sacrament is “accident” or nothing, and cannot be the body of Christ, although the body of Christ be at every point hidden within it, it is manifest that they are all deceitful heretics ; deceitful, I say, because they know that mankind for the greater part so believe, and yet will not, know not or dare not disclose their faith to them. Since then this Catholic Faith is so clearly expressed in the faith of Scripture, it is clear that the contrary opinion is manifestly heretical. What, I ask, is more contrary to anything than the opinion which says that this sacrament is sacramentally the body of Christ, and the contrary opinion which says that this sacrament cannot in any wise be the body of Christ? and, as to the second point, which says that this sacrament is naturally true bread and the opinion obstinately contrary thereto which says that this sacrament cannot be bread, since it is “accident” or nothing? It is expedient therefore that the universal Church should turn its attention to this point, and see carefully from the faith of Scripture how we should believe ; for it is certain that in the Gospel of Christ the matter is more fully, authoritatively and simply decided than by the Court of Rome. That very Court, before the solution [invented by] the devil was in much plainer agreement with ancient opinion as is clear from [the *Decretum* of Gratian, Pars. III] *De consecratione*, distinction ii. cap. [42] *Ego Berengarius*¹ (*C.I.C.* i. 1328, ed. Friedberg) ; which dealt with the matter before

¹ From the Roman Council of 1059 ; see Mansi, xix, 900.

the solution devised by Satan. But from the time of this solution, men put aside the faith of Scripture, and many heresies appeared in this matter, especially such as flitted about among Friars and awkward fellows like them, as is clear from the two errors above-mentioned. The Friars, in particular, persistently maintain and defend those heresies, not only by blaspheming against Christ and the law of His Scripture but by casting disrepute not only upon the Pope and the Court of Rome, their origin [lit. "nest"] but also upon the prelates of the Church, temporal lords, simple priests, and all the people [He then quotes Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Lk. xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23; and the Canon of the Mass from *Qui pridie* down to *Hoc est corpus meum* and continues] In all these five places, I find opinions agree though the words differ slightly; and from that faith, so authoritatively set forth, I put this point to heretics—Christ, who could not lie, said that the bread which He took into His hands was really His body; and as He neither erred therein nor made any false statement, it was really so. And this reason gives full confidence to the faithful for detesting the heresies aforesaid, and for convicting the Friars and their accomplices of heresy.—K.

The Lollards, c. 1400

[“ In 1395 the Lollards were confident enough to present to Parliament a bill of twelve articles setting forth their conclusions in favour of reform, both in organization and doctrine. The bill is the best account we have of the chief things that Lollardy at this time stood for,” R. T. Davies, *Mediaeval England, 1066–1500* (Macmillan, 1924), p. 272. They are here printed in shortened form from *ibid.*, 272–4; the full form being given in Gee and Hardy, No. xli. “Some of these articles were perfectly orthodox, and in accordance with the best traditions of the Church; others endangered not only the existence of the Church, but the whole existing fabric of society” (*ibid.*). Hence the Act 2 Henry IV. c. 15 of 1401: *De Haeretico comburendo*, by which, for the first time, heresy became a statutory offence.]

No. 146.—(1) The Lollard Conclusions, 1395

(1) When the Church of England began to dote in temporalities after her step-mother the great Church of Rome, and churches were slain by the appropriation to divers places, faith, hope and charity began for to flee out of our Church. For pride with his sorry genealogy of deadly sins challengeth it by title of heritage. The conclusion is general, and proved by experienced custom and manner as those shalt hereinafter [hear].

(2) Denounces the "usual" priesthood derived from Rome, and said to be more exalted than the angels, as being quite a different priesthood from that which Christ ordained for His apostles, as is shown by the many rites and ceremonies they use not contained in Scripture.

(3) Priests' vows of chastity tend to gross vice and private religious orders ought to be abolished.

(4) The feigned miracle of the sacrament led all men except a few into idolatry; for they thought that the body of Christ, which was never out of heaven, could be enclosed by the words of a priest in a small piece of bread. Whereas the *Triologus* of Wycliffe shewed that the bread of the altar is only the body of Christ in a figurative sense, and every faithful man and woman who believed in God's love could make the sacrament of that bread without any such miracle.

(5) Exorcisms and blessings pronounced on various things, such as wine, bread, water, oil, salt, wax and incense, church walls, vestments, etc., were but juggling.

(6) It was against good order in a kingdom if a king was a bishop, or a prelate a judge in temporal causes, or if a beneficed clergyman held a worldly office.

(7) Special prayers for the dead, for one person by name more than any other, were a false ground of almsgiving and all almshouses (i.e. religious houses) in England were founded in iniquity.

(8) Pilgrimages made to blind crosses called roods and deaf images of wood and stone are not far removed from idolatry.

(9) Auricular confession, which was said to be so necessary to salvation with the feigned power of absolution,

exalted the pride of the priests, and gave them opportunity of "privy calling" (secret vice is evidently insinuated) other than the petitioners were willing to say; for lords and ladies affirmed that for fear of their confessors they durst not say the truth. Moreover, the confessional tended to abuses and to mortal sin. The clergy professed to have the keys of Heaven and Hell, and would sell the blessing of Heaven for a bushel of wheat or twelve pence a year by Charter, with a clause of warranty under their common seal. And the Pope of Rome called himself high treasurer of the whole Church, having custody of that worthy jewel, the Passion of Christ, with the merits of all the Saints in Heaven, whereby he gave feigned indulgence *a poena et a culpa*; if so, he could liberate at will all the prisoners in Hell.

(10) Manslaughter by battle or pretended law of justice for any temporal cause without a special revelation was expressly contrary to the New Testament, which is the law of grace and full of mercy.

(11) Vows of chastity by women who are by nature frail and imperfect lead to many horrible sins.

(12) The multitude of unnecessary craft used in our Church encourages sin in waste, curiosity and disguising; whereas St. Paul tells us to be content with food and raiment (J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. 44 *sqq.*).

No. 147.—(II) The Statute *De Haeretico Comburendo*, 1401

Whereas it is shewed to our sovereign lord the king on behalf of the prelates and clergy of his realm of England in this present Parliament that, although the Catholic faith . . . has been hitherto . . . in the said realm . . . most devoutly observed . . . without that the same faith . . . was . . . disturbed by any perverse doctrine. . . .

Yet nevertheless diverse false and perverse people of a certain new sect, damnably thinking of the faith of the sacraments of the Church and the authority of the same

and, against the law of God and of the Church, usurping the office of preaching, do perversely and maliciously, in divers places within the said realm . . . preach and teach in these days . . . new doctrines . . . contrary to the same faith and blessed determination of the Holy Church.

And of such sect and wicked doctrine . . . they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and, as much as they may, excite and stir them to sedition. . . .

Whereas the diocesans of the said realm cannot by their jurisdiction spiritual, without the aid of the said royal majesty, sufficiently correct the said false and perverse people, nor refrain their malice, because the said . . . people go from diocese to diocese, and will not appear before the said diocesans. . . .

Upon which novelties and excesses . . . the prelates and clergy . . . and also the Commons of the said realm being in the same Parliament, have prayed our sovereign lord the king that his royal highness would . . . provide a convenient remedy : the same our sovereign lord the king . . . by the assent of the estates and other discreet men of the realm, being in the said Parliament, has granted, stablished and ordained from henceforth firmly to be observed : That none within the said realm . . . presume to preach, openly or privily, without the licence of the diocesan . . . curates in their own churches . . . only except. And that none . . . teach . . . or write any book contrary to the Catholic Faith . . . nor make any conventicles, or in any wise hold or exercise schools. And also that none from henceforth favour such preacher . . . nor them . . . maintain, or in any wise sustain.

And that all and singular having such books . . . shall deliver . . . all such books . . . to the diocesan within forty days from the time of the proclamation of this . . . statute. And if any person . . . do or attempt against . . . the statute . . . then the diocesan . . . may . . . cause to be arrested and under safe custody in his prisons to be detained, till he . . . canonically purge himself. . . .

And, if any person be . . . before the diocesan . . . canonically convicted, then the same diocesan may cause to be kept in his prison the said person . . . as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient. . . .

And, if any person . . . before the diocesan . . . be convicted by sentence . . . do refuse duly to abjure or . . . after abjuration . . . be pronounced relapsed, so that according to the holy canons he ought to be left to the secular court . . . then the sheriff . . . shall receive the same persons . . . after such sentence promulgated, and them before the people, in a high place, cause to be burnt, that such punishment may strike fear to the minds of others. . . . (Gee and Hardy, No. XLII.).

The Conciliar Movement, c. 1400–50

[On the death of Gregory XI, 1370–†8, the last of the Avignonese popes, there was an outcry in Rome for “a Roman or, at least, an Italian pope”; and a successor was found in Bartolomeo Prignano, archbishop of Bari, who became Urban VI, 1378–†89. He turned out to be a man of violent temper, and his cardinals, repenting of their choice, elected Robert of Geneva, Sept. 20, 1378, in his place. On that day the Western Schism began, and the Conciliar movement arose to deal with it. Three Councils ensued, Pisa, 1409; Constance, 1414–18; and Basel, whose years of activity ran from 1431–8.

The movement had its origin in the University of Paris, where its leaders were Peter d'Ailly, 1356–†1420, Chancellor 1389, and his pupil, John Gerson, 1363–†1429, who succeeded him as Chancellor, 1394. At that moment there were two rival popes; the Roman pope, Angelo Corrari, known as Gregory XII, 1406–9, to whose allegiance acceded the Empire, Italy, England, Bohemia, Prussia, Poland and the Scandinavian kingdoms, and Peter di Luna, known as Benedict XIII, 1394–†1424, at Avignon who was acknowledged by France, Scotland, Spain, Lorraine, Sicily and Cyprus. The principle by which the reforming party set out to remove the scandal of two rival popes was to assert

the superiority of the Council over the Pope. This conciliar method justified itself to scholars on antiquarian grounds, and at ordinary times might have been dismissed as academic. But this was a time of crisis, and the plan took effect. For the Council of Pisa, June 5, 1409, deposed both claimants to the papacy (Mansi, xxvii. 402 *sq.*: Hefele-Leclercq, § 738 (VI. i. 45 *sq.*): Mirbt,⁴ No. 391); and then, though neither of them would give way, proceeded, May 17, 1410, to elect Balthasar Cossa—a man of evil repute—who became John XXIII, 1410–†15 (H.-L. § 745: VII. i. 78). There were now three popes in the field, and the scandal became worse than ever.

This was the problem with which the Council of Constance, 1414–18, met to deal. It was summoned by John XXIII; but he abdicated, March 1, 1415 (H.-L. § 749: VII. i. 189), and, March 20 (*ibid.*, p. 196), took flight to Schaffhausen. Next month the Council declared its authority, April 6 (H.-L. § 750: VIII. i. 210; Mirbt,⁴ No. 392) in terms that were afterwards repeated in the Gallican Articles of 1682 (Mirbt,⁴ No. 535); and, of the two remaining rivals, Gregory XII abdicated, July 4, 1415 (H.-L. § 760), though Benedict XIII held out till he was deposed, July 26, 1417 (*ibid.*, § 772: VII. i. 440 *sq.*). The ground was now clear for further action but, unfortunately, as at Pisa, the question arose as to whether reform or the election of a new pope should be taken first. The Emperor Sigismund, 1411–†37, supported by the Germans and by Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, † Sept. 4, 1417, favoured the priority of reform (*ibid.*, § 773: VII. i. 456 *sq.*); but eventually had to give way. The Council then provided for the assembling of Councils at stated intervals in the future by the decree *Frequens* (*ibid.*, 459: Mirbt,⁴ No. 393) of Oct. 9, 1417 and, next month went on to elect Odo Colonna on St. Martin's Day, Nov. 11, who took the name of Martin V, 1417–†31.

Reform was still to be taken in hand (H.-L. § 775). But it was almost impossible. For centuries there had been complaints of the extortions of Rome. But no one had ever dreamt of assuring a fixed revenue for the papacy; and this

was indispensable. All its outgoings were inevitable, so long as the centralization of the Church was maintained, and this nobody intended to touch. Martin V made attempts to deal with reform by the novel expedient of making *concordats* with the several nations, England included (H.-L., § 777). But they came to nothing, and the Pope dissolved the Council on April 22, 1418. Note should be taken of its prohibition, June 15, 1415, of Communion in both kinds (H.-L., § 459: VII. i. 284 and Denzinger, No. 626). The case of John Hus is dealt with below (Nos. 152-3), and, as little of permanent importance was effected by the Council of Basel, its quarrels with the Pope and its "unconscionable time in dying" served only to discredit finally the conciliar movement for reform. The Bull *Execrabilis*, Jan. 18, 1460, of Pius II (Mirbt,⁴ No. 406 and below No. 158) marks the victory of the papacy over the Council.]

No. 148.—(I) Council of Pisa, 1409: deposition of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII

[*Session XV*, June 5; Mirbt,⁴ No. 391]

After invoking the name of Christ, the holy and universal synod, representing the universal Church, and to which the cognizance and decision of this cause is acknowledged to pertain, by the grace of the Holy Spirit assembled in the greater church of Pisa and there sitting as a tribunal, pronounces, decrees, defines and declares . . . that Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII and Angelo de Corrario, Gregory XII, damnable rivals for the papacy, were and are, both of them, notorious schismatics and supporters, defenders, partisans, approvers and persistent maintainers of a longstanding schism, as well as notorious heretics and apostates from the faith; involved also in the notorious and enormous crimes of perjury and violation of vows; notoriously scandalizing the holy and universal Church of God, by their notorious incorrigibility, contumacy and pertinacity, both evident and manifest. For these and other reasons they have rendered themselves unworthy of

every honour and dignity as of the papacy; and both of them, for the aforesaid iniquities, crimes and excesses, lest they should reign, command or preside, are *ipso facto* deposed and deprived, by God and the sacred canons, and even cut off from the Church; which by this definitive sentence in writing rejects and repudiates Peter and Angelo, both of them; inhibiting them each from presuming to bear himself as supreme pontiff, and further pronouncing by way of caution that the Roman See is vacant.—K.

No. 149.—(II) The authority of an Œcumenical Council

[Co. of Constance, *Session V*, May 6, 1415; Mirbt,⁴ No. 392]

This holy synod of Constance . . . declares, first of all, that being in the Holy Spirit lawfully assembled, constituting a General Council and representing the Catholic Church, has authority immediately from Christ; and that to it everyone of whatsoever estate or dignity, even the papal, is bound to obey, in matters pertaining to the faith, to the extirpation of the said schism, and to the reformation of the Church in head and members. Further, it declares that anyone of whatsoever condition, estate or dignity, even papal, who contumaciously scorns to obey the mandates, statutes, ordinances and precepts of this sacred synod and any other General Council, lawfully assembled, shall unless he repents be subject to condign penance and duly punished: even by having recourse to other assistance of law, if need be.—K.

No. 150.—(III) Communion in one Kind

[Council of Constance, *Session XIII*, June 15, 1415; Denzinger, No. 626]

Whereas, in certain parts of the world, some persons rashly presume to affirm that Christian people ought to receive the holy sacrament of the Eucharist under both kinds of bread and wine; everywhere communicate the lay people not only under the species of bread but also under

the species of wine, even after supper and when not otherwise fasting; and obstinately assert that people should communicate contrary to the laudable custom of the Church, reasonably approved—a custom which they damnably attempt to condemn as sacrilegious—this present Council . . . declares, decrees and defines that, although Christ instituted this venerable sacrament after supper and administered it to His disciples under both kinds of bread and wine, yet, notwithstanding, the laudable authority of the sacred canons and the approved custom of the Church has preserved and still preserves the practice that this sacrament ought not to be consecrated after supper, nor received by the faithful when they are not fasting, except in case of infirmity or other necessity, and with the permission or consent of the law or of the Church. This custom has been introduced with good reason, for avoiding dangers and scandals: that, whereas in the primitive Church this sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, now it is received only by the celebrant under both kinds, and by the laity, only under one kind. For it is firmly to be believed and in no wise to be doubted that Christ's body and blood are truly contained in their entirety as well under the species of bread as under the species of wine. Wherefore, to say that it is sacrilegious or unlawful to observe this custom or law, must be considered erroneous; and those who obstinately affirm the contrary must be avoided as heretics and severely punished by the diocesans of the place or their officials, or by the inquisitors of heretical pravity. —K.

No. 151.—(IV) Provision for frequent synodical assemblies

[Council of Constance, *Session XXXIX*, Oct. 9, 1417; Mirbt,⁴ No. 393]

The frequent assembling of General Councils is a principal means for tilling the Lord's field for it uproots the brambles, thorns and thistles of heresies, errors and schisms, corrects excesses and reforms what is amiss, and restores the

vineyard of the Lord to rich and fruitful bearing. But the neglect of these things spreads and promotes them; and this has been brought before our eyes as well by the records of the past as by consideration of the present. Wherefore, by this perpetual edict, we order, decree and ordain that from henceforth General Councils shall be assembled; first, after five years immediately following upon the end of this Council; second, after seven years immediately following upon the end of that succeeding Council; and thenceforward, in perpetuity, from one decade to another; and be held in such places as the Supreme Pontiff, a month before the end of any Council, with the consent and approval of the Council or, in defect thereof, shall himself be required to appoint and assign: so that by a continuation a Council shall either be in being or be in expectation at the end of the period; and, if circumstances should arise, it shall be lawful for the Supreme Pontiff, with the advice of his brethren the Cardinals of the Roman Church, to shorten the period but on no account to put it off.—K.

John Hus, 1369–†1415

[John Hus was born of peasant parents at Husinetz, near Prague. In 1393 he took his B.A. degree at what was then the recently founded (1348) University of Prague; and is described as tall, pale and thin. In 1402 he became Rector of the University and was appointed preacher at the chapel of Bethlehem. He was then a zealous reformer and an ardent patriot. About this year he came under the influence of Wycliffe, whose writings had been introduced a few years earlier into Prague by his friend Jerome of Prague, †1416, formerly a student at Oxford. On May 28, 1403, a new rector summoned a meeting of the Masters of Arts to consider the propositions attributed to Wycliffe at the Council of the Earthquake 1382 (see above No. 144), and it was forbidden to teach them. But Hus was not disturbed, for in Oct. 1403, Zbynek, the archbishop of Prague, 1403–†11, appointed him synodal preacher, and put him on a commission to enquire into the Holy Blood at Wilsnack,

not far from Wittenberg, which the commissioners pronounced to be a fraud. But in the summer of 1408 the archbishop, at the request of his clergy, inhibited him for attacking them in his sermons; and, about the same time, Wycliffism was adopted by the Czechs but repudiated by the Germans, then dominant in the University. It was reconstituted by the king; the Germans withdrew to found the University of Leipzig, and the Czechs were left in possession.

Hus and his friends, however, were excommunicated by the archbishop, March 15, 1411. He remonstrated, by an appeal to a General Council, and continued his preaching; but sent his profession of faith to Pope John XXIII, adding that he was ready to meet his adversaries and would submit to be burnt, if defeated, on condition that they were willing to do the same. Another source of strife arose out of the Bull of Indulgence for an Italian war, when Hus preached against it, June 7, 1412, and repudiated the authority of the Pope for that of "Holy Scripture and the law of Christ." The king then intervened, in hope of peace; and the archbishop, at his desire, convoked an assembly, Feb. 6, 1413, at which the innovators were asked to give three pledges: (1) for the maintenance of the seven sacraments, the usual rites, relics and indulgences; (2) the Scriptures and not the Church, i.e. the Pope and Cardinals, as the supreme authority in religious controversy and (3) due respect to Pope, bishops and clergy. They refused and, meanwhile, Hus, in retirement, completed his *De ecclesia*. He then demanded, Aug. 27, 1413, permission to appear before the coming Council in order to defend himself, and Sept. 1, 1414, sent a request to the Emperor Sigismund, 1411-†37, for a safe conduct. He arrived at Constance Nov. 3, 1414. At his first interrogation, June 5, 1415, he admitted that the *De ecclesia* was his and, at his third, June 8, twenty-six articles taken from this work, were condemned of which Nos. 1, 8, 10, 12, 17 and 18 (Hefele-Leclercq, VII. i. 268 sqq.) are the most noteworthy. Sentence followed on July 6 (Mansi, xxvii. 753D), and on the same day Hus was burnt.

Long wars followed in Bohemia; at first, between the Empire and the followers of Hus. They demanded the Chalice or Communion in both kinds, though Hus himself had acquiesced in one kind. They were therefore known as Calixtines or Utraquists and formed the moderate party. But they were confronted by a party of extremists known as Taborites, and between these two sections of Hussites there continued long and bitter warfare. The moderate party were eventually reabsorbed into the Western Church through the medium of the Council of Basel: which, in its *Compactata* of 1433 conceded the points on which the Calixtines had insisted, on condition that the priest who ministered in both kinds should teach the people that Christ is whole and entire under one kind (Mansi, xxx. 698A.)

**No. 152.—Propositions from the *De ecclesia* of Hus:
condemned June 8, 1415**

(1) That the Church is the whole body of all the predestinate.

(9) That Peter never was, and is not, the head of the Church.

(10) That if the Vicar of Christ imitates the life of Christ, he is His Vicar.

(12) That the Papacy took its origin from the Imperial power.

[*sc.* The Donation of Constantine: see above No. 49]

(17) That Cardinals are not true successors of the Apostles unless they live like the Apostles.

(18) That heretics should be censured by the Church, but not handed over [to the secular power] to be burnt.—K.

No. 153.—The invalidity of a safe-conduct given to a heretic: Sept. 23, 1415

[Mansi, xxvii. 799; Mirbt,⁴ No. 394]

The present holy synod declares that, by whatever safe-conduct granted by Emperors, kings and other secular princes to heretics or persons suspect of heresy, thinking thus to recover them from their errors, by whatever pledge

they have bound themselves, no prejudice or impediment can or may be generated or done to the Catholic Faith or the jurisdiction of the Church, so that it should not be lawful, in spite of the said safe-conduct, for a competent ecclesiastical judge to enquire into the errors of such persons and otherwise to proceed against and punish them, so far as justice shall require, if they persist in refusing to recant their errors; even if trusting to the safe-conduct they came to the place of judgment or shall not have come. . . . —K.

No. 154.—The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, July 7, 1438

[By a Pragmatic Sanction was meant, in the fifth century, "a deliberate order, promulgated by the Emperor, after full hearing of advice, on some public affair" (*πράγμα* = *causa*): see W. Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the first four Œcumenical Councils*, ed. 1882, p. 164; or, in the later Middle Ages "a law on ecclesiastical affairs" (M. Creighton, *Papacy*, iii. 6, n. 1). While the Council of Basel was still sitting, Charles VII, King of France, 1422–†61, summoned an assembly at Bourges which accepted the decrees of Basel, with modifications, as it explains in its preamble "not from any hesitation as to the authority of the Council of Basel to enact and promulgate ecclesiastical decrees, but because it was judged advisable to adapt those decrees to the usages, circumstances and requirements of the French realm and nation" (*Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race*, xiii. 270: ed. Vilevault, Paris, 1782). After this preamble there follow twenty-three articles. The first is, of General Councils: the second, of ecclesiastical elections which is given below. For it was this right of canonical election which was abandoned in France when, in consequence of the Concordat of Bologna, 1516, between Leo X and Francis I, the "King presented the Pope with the wealth of the Church and the Pope handed over to the king its independence" (G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, iii. 181) and H.-L. § 901, VIII. i. 480 sqq.]

Here follows the *Decretum Synodi Basiliensis de electionibus* of Session XII, July 13, 1433 (Mansi, xxix. 61) as accepted at Bourges (*Ordonnances, ut supra*, pp. 271 *sqq.*, and H.-L. VII. i. 1056 *sqq.*).

Just as in building a house the chief care of the architect is to lay such a foundation as that the building raised upon it shall stand firm and lasting, so, in the general reformation of the Church, it is the special endeavour of this Holy Synod that such pastors shall be set over the churches as, like pillars and bases, shall firmly support the Church by their doctrine and merits. What care should be taken in the election of prelates the duty imposed upon them sufficiently shews. They are promoted to the government of souls for whom our Lord Jesus Christ died, and for whom His precious blood was shed. Wherefore the holy canons promulgated by the Spirit of God, carefully lay down that each Church, College or Convent shall elect for themselves a prelate. Now this Synod, assembled in the same spirit, adhering to these enactments, ordains and defines that no general reservation of metropolitan Churches, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, Monasteries or elective dignities by the Roman Pontiff ought in future to be made or, if made, be put into use . . . but the Churches and Monasteries afore-said shall be provided for, when vacant, by canonical election and confirmation. . . . And this holy Synod decrees that it is agreeable to reason and profitable to the State that the Roman Pontiff shall make no attempt in contravention of this salutary decree : except it be for great, reasonable and evident cause to be particularly set forth in Apostolic Letters. . . .—K.

The Reunion of East and West, 1439

[In 1402, the Mongol conqueror, Timur, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks at the battle of Angora. But the tide of Turkish aggression began, before long, to flow again. The Emperor John VIII (Palaeologus) 1425–†48, still hoped that the Empire could be saved by the help of the West; and the Pope, Eugenius IV, 1431–†47, hoped

that, by effecting reunion with the East, the papacy might "again appear as the leader of Christendom in a great crusade for the protection of Constantinople" (M. Creighton, *Papacy*, ii. 329). They met at the Council of Ferrara, 1438, where the subjects to be discussed were (1) the Procession of the Holy Spirit, (2) the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, (3) Purgatory, (4) Unleavened bread, and (5) the jurisdiction of the Roman see. Discussions began, June 4, upon No. 3; and it was admitted that the differences on the point were not serious. But long debates followed, from Oct. 8 on Nos. (1) and (2); until, by reason of the plague, the Council was deferred, Jan. 10, 1439, to Florence. Here the Pope was determined that it should proceed more speedily; and some progress was made, though the Emperor was beginning to feel that he had had enough of theology and that what he wanted to know was what succour the Pope would give. On June 1st, Eugenius promised three hundred troops and two galleys (H.-L. § 812; VII. ii. 1009). The Council again took up the question of Purgatory; and a formula satisfactory to both sides was found. The use of leavened or unleavened bread was left open; and on the question whether the Invocation of the Holy Spirit or the Words of Institution should be taken as the "form" of consecration, the Easterns admitted that the latter were sufficient. There remained only the question of the papal supremacy; so inconsistent, as the Easterns held, with the independence of their Church. There were stormy discussions until, June 22, Eugenius announced that he intended to keep all his prerogatives intact (Mansi, xxxi. 1017E). "Then see to our departure," ordered the Emperor (*ibid.*). But June 26, a formula, sufficiently inclusive, was found. "We recognize the Pope as Supreme Pontiff, Vicegerent and Vicar of Christ, Shepherd of all Christians, Ruler of the Church of God: saving the privileges of the Patriarchs of the East" (Mansi, xxxi. 1020C; H.-L. § 814, VII. ii. 1026); and the bull *Laetentur coeli* (Mansi, xxxi. 1059 sqq.; H.-L. § 816, VII. ii. 1032 sqq.; Mirbt,⁴ No. 400 and Denzinger, Nos. 601-4) was published in the Duomo at Florence, July 6. It was a signal

triumph for the papacy: and was presently followed by *Exultate Deo*, of Nov. 22 (Mansi, xxxi. 1047 sqq.: H.-L. § 823, VII. ii. 1079 sqq.: Mirbt,⁴ No. 404: Denzinger, Nos. 695-702), in which the Pope expounded the doctrine of the sacraments, in terms taken from St. Thomas Aquinas (*Opusculum IV.: De articulis fidei, et Ecclesiae sacramenta Expositio: Op. XVI. 119 sqq.:* Parmae 1865) for the benefit of the Armenians; and so reconciled another of the ancient churches of the East. But the union with Constantinople was repudiated on the return of the Emperor, Feb. 1, 1440: and "Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in ecclesia pro vivis et defunctis" which Eugenius had given as the "form" of Ordination to the priesthood in the *Decretum pro Armenis* was shewn by the Oratorian J. Morinus, †1659, "never to have been used for the first thousand years of Christian history" (C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, ed. 1919, p. 57, n. 1).]

No. 155.—(I) The Council of Florence: *Laetentur coeli*, July 6, 1439

§ 2. In the name therefore of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, with the approval of this holy and universal Council of Florence, we ordain that the truth of the faith be believed and accepted by all Christians, and so all profess:—

§ 3. That the Holy Spirit exists eternally of the Father and the Son and so existing has His own essence and being alike from the Father and the Son, and eternally proceeds from both as from one principle and a single spiration. We declare that what the holy doctors and fathers say of the Holy Spirit that He proceeds from the Father through the Son has this meaning that the Son too, as the Greeks say, is a cause but, as the Latins say, a principle of the existence of the Holy Spirit, as is the Father. And, inasmuch as everything which is of the Father the Father Himself gave to the only-begotten Son by having begotten Him, save to be Father: this also, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, the Son also received from the Father by being

eternally begotten of Him. We further define that it was for the purpose of declaring the truth and under stress of necessity at the time that those words "and the Son" (*Filioque*) were added to the Creed by way of explanation, both lawfully and with good reason.

§ 4. Item, the body of Christ is truly consecrated whether with unleavened or leavened wheaten bread; and priests should consecrate the body of the Lord with either the one or the other, each according to the custom of his Church, whether Western or Eastern, as may be.

§ 5. Item, if men are penitent and depart this life in the love of God before they have made satisfaction for the sins, whether of commission or of omission by fruits worthy of repentance, their souls are purged after death by the pains of purgatory; and in order that they may be relieved from such pains it is profitable for them to have the suffrages of the faithful who are living: such as masses, prayers, alms and other pious exercises, which are customarily offered by the faithful for other faithful, according to the institution of the Church.

§ 6. The souls of those who, after Baptism, incurred no stain of sin; and those souls who, after contracting such stain of sin, whether in the body or after having put off the body (as said above) have been purged of such sins, are forthwith received into heaven and clearly behold God Himself, in Trinity and Unity, more or less perfectly, in proportion to the diverse merits of each and other.

§ 7. But the souls of those who depart this life, whether in actual and mortal sin, or only in original sin, descend forthwith into hell, to be punished, however, with diverse penalties.

§ 8. Further, we define that the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the primacy over all the world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, the Head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of Christians; and that to him in [the person of] blessed Peter was given by our Lord Jesus Christ, full authority to feed, rule and govern the universal Church, as is also contained

in the Acts of the Œcumenical Councils and the Sacred Canons.

§ 9. Further, we renew the order assigned in the canons of the other venerable Patriarchs : to wit, the Patriarch of Constantinople comes second after the most holy Roman Pontiff ; third, Alexandria ; fourth, Antioch ; fifth, Jerusalem ; i.e. saving all their rights and privileges.—K.

No. 156.—(II) The Doctrine of the Sacraments: *Exultate Deo*, Nov. 22, 1439

§ 9. Fifth, as to the truth about the Sacraments of the Church, we sum it up under this brief formula for the easier instruction of the Armenians, whether of this present or future time. There are seven Sacraments of the New Law : Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony : which differ widely from the sacraments of the Old Law. The latter do not bestow grace, but only foreshadow it as to be given by the passion of Christ. Our Sacraments both contain grace and confer it to worthy recipients thereof. Of these, the first five were ordained for the spiritual perfection of each man taken by himself ; the two last for the government and growth of the whole Church. For by Baptism we are spiritually born again ; by Confirmation, we grow in grace and are strengthened in faith ; then, being thus born again and strengthened, we are nourished by the divine food of the Eucharist. If by sin we fall into sickness of soul, we are spiritually healed by Penance ; both spiritually and corporally, so far as is good for our soul by Extreme Unction. By holy Orders the Church is governed and increased spiritually : and by Matrimony it is increased corporally. All these Sacraments are effected by three means ; viz., in deed, by the matter ; in word, by the form ; in person, by the minister who confers the Sacrament, with the intention of doing what the Church does ; and if any one of these three are wanting the Sacrament is not effected. Among these Sacraments there are three—Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders : which imprint upon

the soul an indelible character,¹ i.e. a spiritual sign distinctive from all other. Whence it is not repeated in the same person. The other four do not imprint character; and so admit of being repeated.

§ 15. The seventh Sacrament is Order. Its matter is that by the bestowal of which Orders are conferred. The presbyterate is conferred by the delivery of the chalice with wine and of the paten with bread; the diaconate by the giving of the book of the Gospels; the subdiaconate by the delivery of an empty chalice and an empty paten placed thereon; and similarly by the bestowal of the things pertaining to their several ministries. The form for the Priesthood is "Receive thou authority to offer sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." And similarly with the forms of the other Orders as is contained at length in the Roman Pontifical. The ordinary minister is the bishop. Its effect is increase of grace that the person ordained may be a fit minister.—K.

No. 157.—Conquests and Missions, 1454

[Pope Nicholas V, 1447–†55, by his Bull *Romanus Pontifex* of Jan. 8, 1454, to Alfonso V, King of Portugal, 1438–†81; Mirbt,⁴ No. 404]

The Roman Pontiff, successor of the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven and Vicar of Jesus Christ, discerning with fatherly consideration all the regions of the world and the characters of all the nations dwelling therein, seeking and desiring the salvation of each . . . orders and arranges such things as he sees will be pleasing to the divine Majesty and conduce to the inclusion within the one and only divine

¹ The figure of a "mark," or "character," imprinted upon the soul is borrowed from the mark or image on a coin, the brand on sheep, and the "nota militaris" tattooed on a soldier at his enlistment—all "indelible": and is frequently used by St. Augustine, e.g. in *Contra Epist. Parmen.*, II. xiii. § 29. It signifies "Once a priest, always a priest": ministerial, or lay, whether by ordination or by baptism.

fold the sheep by God committed unto him. . . . This we believe will more certainly come to pass in proportion as we bestow suitable favours and special graces upon such kings and princes as we know, by the evidence of fact, to have been the athletes and champions of the Christian Faith : and, as such, in the defence and increase thereof to have repressed the ferocity of the Saracens and other infidels, and also to have conquered them, their realms and their dwelling-places, belonging to far-distant regions, as yet unknown by experience thereof.

§ 1. Now we have heard recently to our great joy and gladness of mind that our beloved son, the noble man Henry [the Navigator], Infant of Portugal, uncle of our dearly beloved son in Christ, Alfonso, King of Portugal and Algarvia, settled certain lonely islands of the Ocean with Christians and caused churches to be built and constructed there.

§ 2. Further, since it came to the knowledge of the said Infant that never, or at least within living memory, had it been customary to sail this ocean to the south and east, and that to us in the west all was so unknown that we had no certain information about the peoples of those regions, he never ceased year after year, for five and twenty years, to send armies in swift ships, known as caravels, to search the sea and the maritime provinces towards the south and the antarctic pole. And so it came about that many such ships traversed and occupied ports, islands and seas, and came, at last, to Guinea. Then . . . sailing onwards, they came to the mouth of a great river, commonly supposed to be the Nile. There, in the name of King Alfonso and the Infant, they waged war for several years against the people of those parts, and conquered and took peaceful possession of several neighbouring islands. . . . Many inhabitants of Guinea and other negroes were taken captive by force of arms : some, by exchange of goods or lawful contract, were carried away to the kingdoms aforesaid, and there in good number converted to the Catholic Faith. We hope that, by favour of the divine clemency, if such progress continues, either the people themselves may be converted to

the faith, or at least that many souls among them may be won for Christ.

§ 4. Now we, duly considering and weighing all this, did formerly grant, by other letters of ours [June 18, 1452], full and free permission to King Alfonso, the right to attack, defeat and subdue Saracens, pagans and other enemies of Christ wherever found; to invade their kingdoms . . . to seize their goods, movable and immovable; to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery; and to appropriate kingdoms and goods to the use of themselves and their successors. In virtue of such permission, King Alfonso, or by his authority the Infant aforesaid, has rightly and lawfully taken possession of these islands, lands, harbours, and seas; they lawfully belong and pertain to King Alfonso and his successors; and no one else, Christian or otherwise, without his special licence, has had hitherto, or now has, authority to intervene, in any way whatever.

§ 5. Of our own mere motion, and with assured knowledge of the plenitude of apostolic authority, we will that the aforesaid permission be extended to those regions which hereafter, in the name of King Alfonso, his successors, and the Infant, shall have been acquired from the hands of infidels and pagans; and that the conquests made from [Cape] Bojador and Nam [? Non] throughout the whole of Guinea and beyond . . . pertain as of right to King Alfonso. . . .

§ 8. Further, King Alfonso has the right to found and build churches, monasteries and other pious places throughout the provinces, islands, and places acquired by him, or yet to be acquired; and we concede and grant to him the power to send thither any ecclesiastics who are willing, whether seculars, or regulars of the Mendicant Orders, provided that they have the licence of their superiors.—K.

No. 158.—Prohibition of Appeals to a General Council, 1460

[Pius II, 1458–†64, by his Bull *Execrabilis*, of Jan. 18, 1460, Mirbt,⁴ No. 406]

An abuse, at once execrable and unheard of hitherto, has

appeared in our day to the effect that certain persons, imbued with the spirit of rebellion, zealous not for wiser judgment but to escape from sin already committed, have presumed to appeal to a future Council from the Roman Pontiff; to whom it was said, in blessed Peter "Feed my sheep" and "Whatever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven." How contrary this is to the sacred canons and how injurious to the Christian republic, anyone may understand who is acquainted with law. Who would not reckon it ridiculous to appeal to that which is nowhere to be found, and of which no one knows when it will take place!

§ 1. Anxious therefore to expel this pestilential poison far from the Church of Christ, we condemn such appeals and reprobate them as erroneous and damnable; voiding and annulling the same, if such appeals have hitherto been found to have been interposed; and we decree and declare that they are vain, pestiferous, and of no effect.

§ 2. If, however, anyone shall do anything to the contrary, of whatsoever estate, rank, order or condition he be, even though he be distinguished as of imperial, royal or pontifical dignity, let him *ipso facto* incur the sentence of execration and be incapable of absolution, save by the Roman Pontiff and at the point of death.—K.

Sixtus IV, 1471-†84

[Sixtus IV issued two Bulls: each of which arose out of the circumstances of his day, and had considerable effect in later time. The first was *Salvator noster* of Aug. 3, 1476 (Denzinger, No. 3082). It was the first application of Indulgences to souls in Purgatory and, as such, led to the abuses which brought about Luther's revolt (see it in *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No. 2). The second was *Grave nimis* of Sept. 5, 1483 (Mirbt,⁴ No. 407). It stayed the demand for the recognition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception till its final authorization by Pius IX, Dec. 8, 1854 (Mirbt,⁴ No. 596).]

No. 159.—(I) Indulgences

And, in order that the salvation of souls may be the more easily procured at a time when they are the more in need of the prayers of others and the less capable of aiding themselves; anxious, as we are, by apostolic authority to succour from the Treasury of the Church the souls in purgatory who, being united to Christ in love, have departed from the light of day and who, while they were still alive, deserved that such indulgence should be obtained for them, we, longing with fatherly affection, as far as we can by the help of God and trusting in His mercy, do, out of the plenitude of our authority, concede and grant that, if any relatives, friends or other Christians, moved by piety for the souls exposed to purgatorial fire for the expiation due to them by divine justice, during the said ten years, do, for the repairing of the church of Saintes, give a fixed proportion of money, or value thereof, in accordance with the ordinance of the Dean and Chapter of the said church or of our Collector, and visit the said church, or send messengers of their own appointment during the said ten years, will that plenary remission by way of prayer shall, as afore-said, avail and provide for plenary remission to those souls in purgatory for whom they have paid the said proportion of money or the value thereof. . . .—K.

No. 160.—(II) The Immaculate Conception

We take it as something seriously amiss when we are told sinister things of certain ecclesiastics. At the time when the holy Roman Church publicly and solemnly celebrates the feast of the conception of the inviolate and ever-Virgin Mary, and provides a special office proper thereto, certain persons, so we are told, preachers of divers Orders, in their sermons to the people, in divers cities and territories, have hitherto dared to affirm, and to-day do not cease to preach, that all those who hold or assert that the same glorious and immaculate Mother of God was conceived without original sin are guilty of mortal sin, or are heretics; and that those who celebrate the office of the Immaculate Conception and

hear the sermons of those who affirm that she was conceived without spot of sin, are guilty of mortal sin. Further, not content with the preaching aforesaid, they have openly published books based upon these assertions of theirs; whence no slight scandals have arisen in the minds of the faithful, and worse are anticipated from day to day. . . .

Now we, desiring to obviate such rash attempts and perverse assertions, do decree and ordain that preachers of the Word of God and all others of whatsoever rank, estate, order or condition they may be, who presume in sermons or otherwise to affirm that the assertions condemned by us are true, or who read, keep or hold the said books as true, having once been informed of the state of affairs, do *ipso facto* incur excommunication: and are incapable of obtaining the benefit of absolution, otherwise than from the Roman Pontiff, except at the point of death.

Further, of our own mere motion, knowledge and authority we subject to the like penalty and censure those who hold the contrary opinion and dare to assert that the glorious Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin, are guilty of the crime of heresy or mortal sin: since the matter has not yet been decided by the Roman Church and the Apostolic See.—K.

No. 161.—Discoveries and Missions, 1493

[Christopher Columbus was born at Genoa, 1446. He was devoted to the study of geography, and made proposals for voyages of discovery to Venice, Genoa and Portugal in turn, but received little encouragement. He then turned to Isabella of Castile and, with her aid and encouragement, started on his first voyage, Aug. 3, 1492, with three vessels. On Oct. 11 he discovered San Salvador and, on his return, March 15, 1493, was received by the Queen with honour, and given the rank of Grand Admiral. On Sept. 15 he started off again on a second voyage, with more ambitious plans, and a larger company. This time he discovered Jamaica. Those exploits excited the jealousy of the Portu-

guese, but he was protected by John II, King of Portugal, 1481-†95, and though there was danger of war between Spain and Portugal, it was happily avoided, when Pope Alexander VI, 1492-†1503, intervened with the Bull, *Inter cetera* of May 4, 1493, addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, by setting up a line of demarcation between the rival kingdoms, in respect both of missions and trade across the seas; see Mirbt,¹ No. 410.]

Among other works pleasing to the Divine Majesty and heartily desired by us is this that the Catholic Faith and the Christian Religion, especially in our time, should be exalted and everywhere increased and extended; the salvation of souls procured and barbarous nations put down and brought to the Faith. Wherefore, since by the divine favour we have been promoted, far beyond our deserts, to this sacred see of Peter, knowing that you, like true Catholic Kings and Princes . . . have devoted your whole mind and purpose to the recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the Saracens . . . do trust that you may be able to carry still further this your holy and laudable purpose, begun by the eternal God, with daily increasing zeal for the honour of God and the extension of the kingdom of Christ.

§ 1. We are aware that, for a long time, you have had it in mind to seek out and find certain islands and lands, remote, unknown and hitherto undiscovered by others, in order that you might bring their inhabitants and the dwellers therein to the worship of our Redeemer and to belief in the Catholic Faith, but have been so much occupied hitherto by the conquest and recovery of the kingdom of Granada, that you have been unable to carry through, to its desired end, this holy and laudable purpose. At last, however, it has pleased God that you have recovered the kingdom aforesaid: and in your desire to fulfil your purpose, and have appointed our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man well worthy, well spoken of, and well fit for the said business, together with ships and crew well trained for it, and have done so not without great toil, danger and expense, that he may diligently search for lands and islands, far distant and unknown beyond the seas, where hitherto no one has sailed.

§ 2. These, at last, have by divine aid discovered certain islands and lands, inhabited by several peoples who live peaceably there; go about naked, so it is said; and do not eat flesh . . . believe in one God the Creator; and seem disposed to embrace the Catholic Faith and to live moral lives; and there is good hope that, if they are taught, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will be confessed among them. Further, the aforesaid Christopher, in one of the principal islands aforesaid, has built a fort, and put certain of the Christians who went with him in charge thereof, that they might discover other remote and unknown islands and lands.

§ 3. In the islands and lands already discovered, gold, spices and all other sorts of things have been discovered.

§ 4. Whence, all things considered, and more especially the exaltation and extension of the Catholic Faith, you, as behoves Catholic Kings and Princes . . . propose to subject and reduce them to the Catholic Faith.

§ 5. We therefore . . . approving your holy and laudable purpose . . . exhort you . . . to bring these people to the Christian Religion, and to let no pains and labours deter you . . . being confident that God Almighty will prosper your efforts.

§ 6. And, in order that you, being endowed with the gift of apostolic grace, may the more freely and boldly enter upon the province of so vast an enterprise, we . . . by the authority of Almighty God bestowed upon us in blessed Peter, and of the Vicariate of Jesus Christ which we exercise upon earth, do by the tenor of these presents grant and assign to you all islands and lands, discovered or still to be discovered . . . towards the west and south, by the making and construction of a line to be drawn from the arctic or north pole to the antarctic or south pole (whether these lands or islands, discovered now or in the future look toward India or any other region): such line to be distant from the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, as they are called, one hundred leagues towards the west and south, i.e. all such islands and lands west and south of the aforesaid line as are not actually in possession of any other

Christian King or Prince before Christmas 1493. . . . These, with all their dominions, cities, camps, places and villages, rights, jurisdictions and all things pertaining thereto, we do grant and assign to you, your heirs and successors aforesaid, in perpetuity; and we constitute you, your heirs and successors, lords thereof, with full, free and entire power, authority and jurisdiction.

§ 7 . . . Further, we command you, in virtue of the holy obedience which you promised . . . to send to the said lands and islands good men who fear God and are learned, skilled and expert, to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic Faith and good morals, and to use all diligence therein.

§ 8. And we strictly prohibit any person of whatsoever dignity—be it even imperial or royal—under pain of excommunication . . . from visiting these islands and lands for trade or any other cause, without the special licence of you and your heirs and successors aforesaid.—K.

No. 162.—The Spirit of the Renaissance, 1522

["Universalism," which had been a merely occasional phenomenon in the Middle Ages, developed into an imposing theory with the Renaissance. The salvation of the virtuous heathen, despite their lack of faith . . . found new roots in the revived admiration for the great pagans of classical antiquity, as well as in a genuine solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the newly-discovered heathen continents. . . . Both motives operated with Ludovico Vives, 1492–†1540, who in his commentary on Augustine's *De civitate* wrote, as follows, upon the famous 47th chapter of the 18th Book (K. E. Kirk, *Ignorance, Faith and Conformity*, 77). Vives was born at Valencia; came across Erasmus, at Louvain, who perfected his Greek and Latin, 1512; edited the *De civitate Dei*, 1522, with a dedication to Henry VIII, and the king made him tutor to the Princess Mary. But he was opposed to the Divorce; and in 1529 thought it wiser to retire to Bruges.]

Nature being unpolluted with vicious opinion might possibly guide one to God as well as the Law of Moses;

for what these got by the Law those might get without it, and come to the same perfection that the Jews came, seeking the same end; nor was this their difference other than if one traveller should carry an itinerary of his way with him, and the other trust only his memory. So may he also nowadays that liveth in the faithless isles of the ocean and never heard of Christ attain the glory of a Christian by keeping the two abstracts of all the Law and the Prophets, perfect love of God and his neighbour. . . . This hath he that seeth the Lord's righteousness; so great a blessing is to be good, although you have not one to teach you goodness. . . . So the nations that have no law but nature's are a law unto themselves, the light of their living well is the gift of God coming from the Son; of whom it is said: *He is the light that lighteth every one that cometh into the world.*—From the translation of J. H[ealy], London, 1620; as quoted in Kirk, *op. cit.*

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