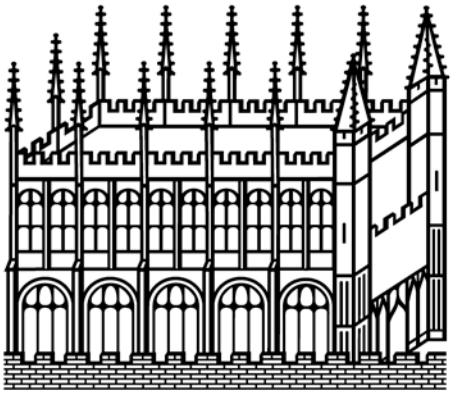


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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OBSERVATIONS PRELIMINARY TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Different aspect of fourth century compared with the preceding History of the Church.

THE accession of Constantine the Great is one of those turning-points which begin a new and distinct period in Ecclesiastical History. Hitherto the annals of the Church have been one long warfare against hostility and opposition from without. The best and ablest of the Roman princes, the philosophers, the jurisconsults,[1] all the pride and power, the learning and laws, of a great empire had been arrayed in turn against the disciples of the Cross.

It has been remarked[2] that the early persecutions are not to be set down merely to the wanton cruelty of those who inflicted them, since in that case a Commodus would be humane compared with a Trajan or Marcus Antonius: it would perhaps be an equal mistake to suppose that religious zeal, or a fanatical devotion for the old mythology was their moving cause. From the first the policy of imperial Rome seems to have recognized in Christianity a power antagonistic to itself, to have felt that the acknowledgment of a Messiah-*king* was a principle which could not co-exist with the deification of the reigning emperor, the *Divus Imperator*. The way in which the Christians spoke of the kingdom of Christ stamped them in the eyes of the state as disaffected men: it was a divided allegiance which Rome could not brook, a *crimen majestatis* to be sternly suppressed.

Some such thoughts seem more or less to have been uppermost with those princes, who realized most clearly their own position and that of the republic.[3] Faith in their idolatrous worship had long gone by, but yet it was a part of the ancient glories of their country, and the patriotic Roman was apprehensive of unknown dangers to the state, if that venerable *cultus* were forsaken, with which its past prosperity and its future security seemed interwoven. So the order went forth to enforce obedience to the laws,

[1] Of the enmity of the philosophers in the time of M. Aurelius, and of the Roman lawyers in the early part of the third century—see this work, part ii. pp. 26, 46.

[2] Hist. of Third Century, part ii. p. 44.

[3] See remarks on the persecutions interspersed through this work, particularly on that of Decius, pp. 11-14, 20, 45, 50, part ii.; also Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. c. xvi.

(as the edicts commonly ran), to require conformity though they could not obtain conviction.

For nearly 300 years this had been so. If in the days of Alexander or Philip we can say the Church had rest, the increased severity of their successors too surely told that the storm had not abated. But now the scene changes. Kings were to become as nursing fathers to the Church, and their queens her nursing mothers.[1] The conversion of Constantine gave to the Church an earnest of the promise, that the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.[2] Thenceforward, instead of an open warfare with the powers of this world, the History of the Church is for the most part as militant against assaults from within, and foes who were of her own household. The time of wealth and worldly honour was found to bring with it dangers no less perilous because more subtle than in the time of tribulation and persecution.

Effects of the conversion of Constantine.

The new footing on which the Church was placed by this event with regard to the civil power, was the parent of many great changes, the influence of which has been felt far beyond their immediate time. Among those of which we shall speak are:—1. The Relation in which the Church was placed to the Head of the State. 2. The Consequences of the Establishment of Christianity upon the outward and inner life of the Church, and its influence. 3. Upon the Empire generally. 4. Upon the downfall of Paganism.

SECTION I.—THE NEW RELATIONS INTRODUCED BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

The union of Church and State.

The authority exercised by the early Christian emperors in the affairs of the Church, has given rise to many important questions, questions which are still debated in the present day. The whole principle of an Established national Church, the propriety of State endowments, the nature of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the justice of enforcing conformity by the civil arm, the supremacy of the chief magistrate in Ecclesiastical causes, and the extent of his prerogative: all these are points now first raised,[3] and which led to long contests in after ages.[4] It would be beside our purpose to go into the argument for the union of Church and State, or to assert the connection of the spiritual society with those ends for which human government is instituted. The principle which our Church

[1] Isaiah xlix. 23. [2] Rev. xi. 15.

[3] The Donatists of Africa, (apart from their more serious errors,) may be taken as that section of the Christian body who first bore their protest to the acts of Constantine, and maintained the essential and necessary separation of the Church from the State. His son Constans, desirous to conciliate that violent and obstinate sect, made them a grant of money. They rejected his overtures, returned his gift with contempt, and strongly reprobated all State intervention, as contrary to the spirit and constitution of a Church.

[4] The great struggle of the Middle Ages between the German emperors and the Popes, chiefly turned upon this issue. In our own land, Anselm and a-Becket will occur to the mind of the reader.

has wisely ruled[1] is known to all. To the objections of the non-conformist, we may best oppose the facts of her history; was this in any case an unworthy compromise of Christian liberty for State protection; a barter of true spiritual independence and the Church's freedom for temporal, unlawful advantage? Was it not rather the alliance of two great powers, conscious that they had a real and natural union, and might work together for high and noble ends, that the Church should sanctify the State, while the State strengthened the hands of the Church? The analogy of the Jewish commonwealth would confirm the view that the prince, ruling immediately under God, had duties to perform as governor of His Church. David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, the most pious of the kings of Judah, had reformed corruptions, increased the efficiency of the Temple services, seen to the due discharge of the priestly offices, or the ceremonial law. Might not the Christian monarch of a Christian people share a like responsibility, and wield the like authority for the ordering and benefit of the Church? Of course, while their mutual relations were still new and unsettled, we cannot say that a strict line was always drawn: sometimes the emperor may have interfered unduly;[2] sometimes the idea of *Pontifex Maximus* may have crept in; yet on the whole, the conduct of Constantine was uniformly fair, moderate, and consistent. He sought to maintain the unity and discipline of the Church, to which he saw so much of her strength was owing.[3] By the grants and privileges he bestowed, he aimed at increasing her powers of good in the State; and, when the Arian heresy began to spread, he was foremost by his measures and counsel to restore peace.[4]

Constantine claimed nothing but a lawful supervision over the Church.

It is remarkable, as a proof that this principle is not one alien to Ecclesiastical Polity, but almost grounded in the nature of things, that the occasion to call in the aid of the State, had occurred previously to the time of Constantine. Fifty years before, the case of Paul of Samosata had been brought before the tribunal of a heathen judge, and it required the decision of the emperor Aurelian to put a stop to his unseemly strife in the Church of Antioch.[5]

Singular precedent in the time of Aurelian, 274 A.D.

[1] Article xxxvii. Also, Canons of 1603, can. 1.

[2] The command to the bishop of Constantinople to re-admit Arius to the communion of the Church, in spite of his remonstrances, was a case of this kind.

[3] See his praiseworthy efforts to heal the Donatist and Meletian schisms, as detailed in chap. v.

[4] While the maintenance of external order belonged to himself, as supreme ruler under God, internal affairs, and all that may properly be termed *ecclesiastical causes*, were left to the control of the bishops. Mosheim, cent. iv. p. 2. c. ii. shows, that a careful distinction was made by Constantine between the external and internal administration of the Church. cf. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. iii. c. 6-21. Tillemont, Mem. Ecclesiastiques, tom. vi. pp. 669-759.

[5] For the history and expulsion of this bad man, see Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. 30. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. c. xvi., also this work, part ii. cap. v. sec 3, page 194.

SECTION II.—THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY UPON THE OUTER AND INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

Its influence upon the Church itself.

When Christianity became a *religio licita*, the mere fact of the fetters which had so long repressed its free action, being removed, would of itself account for much of that expansion, in matters of form, which this period has to show. We shall find, in addition, that, as God made the ways of Constantine to prosper, there resulted a gradual improvement in the position of the Christian community, as well as a bestowing of many important privileges, which led to considerable alterations in their political condition; though, in this account, we shall not confine ourselves to his single reign, but describe the general features of the period.

1. Power, privileges, and immunities of the Clergy.

Just as in times of persecution the bishops, as the faithful guardians of the Christian flock, had been marked men,[1] so when better days had come they were singled out for especial honour, and received a corresponding advance in dignity. In cases affecting ecclesiastics, the State recognized their peculiar jurisdiction, and so the foundations of the canon law were gradually laid. To them also was conceded the power of arbitration, and of adjudicating in causes voluntarily removed from the civil courts, their award being held binding in law.[2] In process of time was established the privilege known as *Intercessio Episcoporum*, by which they claimed to act as assessors to the civil judge, and when needful to interpose their mediation on the criminal's behalf. Moreover, "they alone," says Gibbon,[3] "under a despotic government, enjoyed the privilege of being tried only by their peers; and, even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence."

Though Œcumenical or General Councils of the Church might not be convened without the commandment and will of the prince, yet twice in every year the Provincial Synods were empowered to assemble under the direction of the archbishop or metropolitan, to consider whatever related to the welfare and discipline of their body. The right of sanctuary, of which we may find a precedent in Jewish history and the customs of Greece and Rome,[4] was transferred from the pagan temples to the Christian Churches; and by the edict of 319 the clergy were exempted from civil offices and oppressive burthens.[5]

2. Wealth and endowments of the Church.

The edict of Milan restored the property forfeited by the confiscations of former reigns. The alms and voluntary gifts of the early believers had sufficed for the public wants of religion; and greatly as the sphere of the Church's work was widened at this time, the increase of wealth and possessions more

[1] See the decree of Maximinus Thrax, c. iii. p. 47, vol. ii. of this work.

[2] Christian suitors would be reluctant to bring their cause before a heathen magistrate, if St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. vi. 5 did not actually forbid it.

[3] Decline and Fall, c. xx.

[4] 1 Kings i. 50. Concerning the *asylum* or *refugium* afforded by the heathen altars. cf. Virg. Æn. ii. 515 Ter. Heaut, v. 2. 22. Also Adam's Roman Antiquities.

[5] For the charter of immunities conferred on the clergy, see Theodosian Code, lib. xvi.

than kept pace with it. Besides the munificence of the Christian emperors, the bounty of the State was often liberally bestowed.[1] In many instances the Pagan temples with their lands and endowments were alienated to the service of the Church. An edict in 321 made valid all testamentary bequests for sacred purposes;[2] and among other sources which helped to swell the revenues of the Church at this period we may take into account the piety of individuals, who, embracing the monastic life, set apart their patrimony for holy uses. It may be mentioned that the payment of tithes, though not common until the 6th century, was now frequent. For the darker side of this picture, we have to note the attendant evils of luxury, pride, and ambition; and that even at this early date the Roman see was pre-eminent above all others for its splendour, opulence, and lust of power.[3]

3. Metropolitans, especially the bishop of Rome.

It is in this period we are first struck with the name and powers of the *Metropolitan* Bishops.[4] Much of their influence was owing to the state of things brought about by Constantine's changes in the old form of Roman government. The *imperium* and *potestas*, which had been united in the ancient proconsuls and proprætors, were now separated. The civil governors, and the lieutenants of the imperial armies, exercised distinct and divided jurisdiction.[5] Thus in many cases the influence of the spiritual rulers would preponderate, and the imperial officers would speak with less authority than the primate who dispensed the revenues of a great capital, and administered the affairs of a whole province.

There too we may trace signs of that greatness which one of these metropolitan sees was afterwards to attain, and find predisposing causes even in this age for the assumptions and usurpation of papal Rome. It is true that many of her worst innovations belong to later and darker times: and that to many of her bishops and teachers in this and the following age we owe it that the Western Churches bore witness to truths which were at peril in the East; nevertheless, it is in the fourth century that the thin end of the wedge was first

[1] Large donatives in money and corn were given on various occasions to the several Churches. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. 6. In Vit. Constantin. lib. iv. c. 28.

[2] Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 4. This privilege was sometimes abused. In 370 an edict of Valentinian was published to prevent testamentary donations to the clergy, and to stop the increasing withdrawal of landed property from the State. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 20. Jerome remarks (tom. i. p. 13), Nec de lege quesor; sed doleo cur meruerimas hanc legem.

[3] In the time of Damasus, Prætextatus, the pagan præfect, could say in jest, *Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus.* Jerome, tom. ii. p. 165.

[4] The titles of *Patriarch* and *Pope* were at first applied to any eminent bishop: thus Tertullian calls a bishop, "Bonus pastor et benedictus *papa*."—De Pudicit. c. xiii. Gregory Nypen, speaking of a collective assembly of bishops, says, ὀφεῖται τοὺς πατριάρχας τιθύστες—(Orat. Funeb. in Melet.), while such styles as *Metropolitan*, *Exarch*, *Archbishop*, were used to mark honorary distinctions of rank in the Episcopal order. Guerick's Antiquities of the Church, pt. i. c. 3. Bingham, book ii. c. xvi. § 12-20.

[5] Consult c. xvii. of Gibbon's Decline and Fall.

inserted, and to which we must look for explanation of the pretensions afterwards put forward. The donation of Constantine has long been discarded as the clumsy forgery of a later time;[1] the structure of Romish power was far more slow and accidental in building. From the first, that Church had been marked by an arrogant unbending temper.[2] The spirit of pride and dominion still lingered about the site of Jupiter Capitolinus, and dwelt in the city of Cato and of Cæsar. Presiding over the Church in the capital of the empire, at once the centre of the Christian and the civilized world, the Bishop of Rome filled a conspicuous place, and was heard with deference and respect. This accident of position explains why reference was so often made to his decision and arbitration,[3] on which was soon founded a claim to judge in appeals from other Churches. A decree of the Council of Sardica[4] seemed to give a partial acknowledgment of his right of supervision. The frequent contentions which raged in the East from this century gave many occasions for the Popes to interfere, while the jealousy of the suffragan Bishops too often preferred to pay nominal allegiance to a foreign master, than to bow to the authority of an immediate superior. The honours of the *pallium*, at first a mark of distinction, became in time the badge of subjection.

Causes which promoted the growth of power in the Roman Church.

Among other incidental causes, the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople must not be omitted. The feeble descendants of Theodosius, and the Greek Exarchs their successors, held their court at Ravenna, and Rome was seldom henceforth an imperial residence. This no doubt contributed to the importance and independence of the Roman Pontiff. At Constantinople the Patriarch would be controlled by the presence of the Emperor, the jealousy of his Eastern rivals would act as a check upon the ambition of the Alexandrian primate, but at Rome there was no one to dispute the pre-eminence.

Foundation of Constantinople, and its influence upon the position of the Roman Pontiff.

Still further, the invasion of the Gothic nations in the next century led to great results. Carthage, which had disputed the ecclesiastical as well as the political sway of Rome, fell before the Vandals; and the Arian heresy threatened rapidly to overspread the other Churches of the West. In this crisis she came to be regarded as the mainstay of Catholic truth, the common centre to which the Western Church, oppressed elsewhere, would look for

The Goths introduce Arianism into the West.

[1] Concerning the story of Constantine's baptism by Sylvester, and his cession to that Bishop of sovereign rights in Rome and Italy, see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c., c. xlix.

[2] *e. g.* The unconciliatory spirit shown by Victor in the second cent. on the Easter controversy. The angry tone adopted by Stephen in his contest with Saint Cyprian on the question of heretical baptism.

[3] In the case of Paul of Samosata it was decreed, that he should be Bishop of Antioch, to whom the Bishops of *Rome* and Italy should address their letters. Melchiades, Bishop of *Rome*, was appointed to convene the Synod which sat upon the Donatist schism.

[4] A.D. 347.

sympathy and support. Such were the beginnings of that spiritual tyranny, which Rome was afterwards to assume in Christendom; thus was the way paved for that dominion of which Gregory was to lay wide the foundations, and Hildebrand and Innocent to carry to an unexampled height.

4. Increase of rites and ceremonies in worship.

Though the development of Ritualism and outward forms in the fourth century properly belongs to the subject of archæology rather than of history, yet as indicating a feature of the Church in this age, we may briefly notice them. In their character some may be described as being only the natural expression of Church life, some were symbolical and ἀδιάφορα in themselves, others, indeed, contain the seeds of future errors in doctrine and practice,[1] and assumed an almost Judaical number and minuteness.[2]

Absence of Liturgical forms in the early Church explained.

So long as the Church was proscribed, and her worship attended with difficulty and danger, the careful observance of liturgical forms was next to impossible. Great secrecy was also maintained concerning the sacred rites, to guard them from the blasphemy and insult of the Pagans. A tone of mystery was particularly observed in speaking of the Communion Office (λειτουργία). Now that this necessity for silence no longer existed, liturgies were quickly published in the great Churches, which, with slight variations in the order of their contents, bear manifest tokens of being framed upon one common unwritten type in use among the members of the early Church.[3]

Influence of Paganism upon the external worship of the Church.

While bearing witness against the superstitions of an idolatrous world, the Church of the first three centuries would be inclined to reject all outward ceremony, and shun religious aids which might bear a semblance to the usages of heathen worship. There now begins a tendency to the other extreme, a desire to borrow from the pageantry of the Roman temples, and appeal more to the senses than to spiritual edification.[4] The great influx of heathen converts gave an impulse to this movement. To supply the loss of customs to which the multitude were attached, the Church provided herself with better things. The *feriæ* and *dies festi* of the Roman calendar were superseded by an augmentation of Christian festivals. Christian hymns took the place of the religious odes sung to Zeus and Apollo. The ornaments and purple robe of the *flamen* and *augur* were reproduced in the splendid vestments of the Christian clergy. But the tendency unfortunately did not stop here. The invocation of saints and martyrs, the adoration of relics, the meritorious

[1] Spanheim's Ecclesiastical Annals, cent. iv.

[2] So greatly was the number of ceremonial observances augmented that Augustine complains that the Jewish yoke was almost more tolerable than that laid upon Christians. Ep. 119, ad Januarium.

[3] Cf. Palmer's Orig. Liturgicæ. Introd. vol. i. pp. 42, 44, &c. Also Trollope's Greek Liturgy of S. James, Introd. p. 18.

[4] The assimilation of heathen customs in the Church, is the subject of Middleton's Letter from Rome.

opinion of pilgrimages, and ascetic vows, showed an assimilation to some of the worst forms of heathen life.[1] The *Genii* and *Penates* were in time replaced by the tutelary saints, their propitiation was invoked, and offerings made at their shrines.

A second cause of this tendency in the desire to instruct heathen and barbarian converts.

Very much was perhaps owing to the intention of instructing the more ignorant converts. The reverence paid to the visible cross, the great use of images and pictures, probably began from a desire of representing the historical facts of religion to the eye of the unlearned.[2] Almost all the great bishops from this age downwards, distinguished themselves by zeal as teachers, and as compilers of Church services. This was still further the case when the barbarian nations embraced Christianity.

A third cause of this tendency in the impulse given to church building.

The ritualistic tendency must have been not a little favoured by the encouragement now given to church building, and the external decoration of the religious service. This is especially the age of Ecclesiology. The aid of the arts was called in. Music, architecture, painting, became the handmaids of religion. Churches were built which rivalled the ancient fanes of Ephesus and Greece. The temples and *basilicæ* were often converted into houses of prayer, and Constantine, with Helena, the empress-mother, vied in zeal for the glory of God's house.

Penitential discipline.

This Formalism extended itself even to the penitential discipline of the Church. It became systematized. The *flentes*, *audientes*, *substrati*, and *consistentes*, marked the four stages through which excommunicate members had to pass before they could be readmitted to the full privileges of the Church.[3] In like manner the catechumens who were candidates for admission, (*competentes*) were required to undergo a long and careful discipline, preparatory to receiving baptism.

5. Effects upon the Christian life and character.

Before we close this section, we may ask in what way the altered circumstances in which the Church was now placed, acted upon Christian character? Cyprian and others had seen and lamented in their day, that ease and prosperity were more dangerous to the

[1] The invention of the Cross by Helena, mother of Constantine, (one of the Romish holy days in the calendar,) is a symptom of the enthusiasm for relics and pilgrimages about this time. Gregory of Nyssa seems to have lifted up his voice against them at the outset.—"It is not necessary to go from Cappadocia into Palestine to the temple of the Lord, for every one of the faithful is a temple of the Lord." There were not wanting others, who steadily opposed the tendency of this period. Vigilantius, a presbyter of the Gallic Church, has been styled, "the protestant of his age." He was angrily answered by Jerome. (tom. ii. pp. 120-126.) Helvidius of Rome, Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, and especially Jovinian, a Romish monk, denied the merits of celibacy and an ascetic life.

[2] On this ground they were advocated by Gregory the Great. Thus he writes to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, who had condemned their use in his diocese, that images were "the books of the ignorant." (Lib. viii. Ep. 10.) Again, speaking of pictures in churches, he says:—"Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras resciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quæ leque in codicibus non valent." Epist. lib. ix. c. 106. But he deprecates their receiving worship.

[3] προσκλαίοντες, ἀκροώμενοι, ὑποπίπτοντες, συνιστάμενοι. All these four grades are mentioned by S. Basil. Epist. ccxvii.

Christian than the sword of the Roman executioner.[1] So it was now. The world's smiles are worse than its frowns. The gain of rank, honour, power, was too often the loss of charity, union, and personal holiness. The angry passions and party spirit which the annals of the Church now display, have furnished taunts for those who seek to reflect upon the Truth the faults of its professors. We must remember that many of those who took part in these controversies had been confessors in the evil days. The former history of the Church had called for the graces of courage and constancy more than for those of meekness and forbearance. Thus the stout resolution which would have saved men from falling into the guilt of the *traditor* or *libellaticus*, when carried into religious contest, often made them harsh and angry disputants. Instead of our faith being shaken in the divine call of the Church by the evil conduct of its members, we may rather find firmest evidence of its being upheld by a higher power, when, amid so much of corruption and error, it could spread and take deep root around.

We must remember, too, that at this time the ranks of the Church were filled by many who differed widely from the early converts. They had given up all for the gospel's sake; but of those who now entered in crowds, some were led by ambition and the wishes of their sovereign, some fell in with the tide of opinion which had set that way, many were unconvinced and unconverted men.[2] Doubtless, the dangerous errors which arose in the Church were aggravated by many insincere disciples, who carried into theology the love of wrangling they had learnt in the schools of the sophists and rhetoricians. Yet we must not judge the character of the period by taking the conduct of a few intriguing bishops at an intriguing court. This period, like others in the history of the Church, will show instances of men who resisted the prevailing spirit; and Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose, yield to none of the Ante-Nicene Church, as examples of primitive excellence. On its better side, the monastic life, which now became very prevalent, may be regarded as a reaction against the worldly objects and worldly life by which so many were entangled. They felt that the absence of external persecution, and the free enjoyment of outward peace, was in truth the most subtle persecution of all.[3] The religious dissensions of the time confirmed their love of solitude. And though

Prevalence of the monastic life accounted for.

[1] See Remarks, vol. ii. pp. 50, 62.

[2] The following picture would seem to show that a large class of such persons were in the Church,—"At the council of Nicæa, besides the bishops summoned by Constantine, many were attracted thither from a desire of displaying their skill in argument. These men, says Socrates, spent their time previous to the meeting of the council in discussions, calculated to amuse rather than to edify, until they were at last silenced by a layman, who had been a confessor in the persecution, and who reminded them that Christ came not to teach dialectics, but to inculcate faith and good works."—Socrates, lib. i. c. 8. Sozomen, lib. i. c. 18. Bishop Kaye on the Council of Nicæa.

[3] "Erras, mi frater, erras, si putas unquam Christianum persecutionem non pati. Tunc maximè oppugnasis, si te oppugnasi nescis." S. Hier ad. Heliod.

they often carried the world with them,—though to escape temptation they sometimes forsook their duty to society,—yet it was a trial which earnest, self-denying men were making to assert the spiritual life of the Church,—to make that living sacrifice of self, which the politician Churchmen of the day were forgetting.

SECTION III.—RESULTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY UPON THE EMPIRE GENERALLY.

The speedy dismemberment of the Western Empire after the Fourth Century, suggests an inquiry whether it was in anywise accelerated by the great acts of Constantine's reign? It was a common objection of the Pagan writers, that the misfortunes of the Republic might be laid to the door of the Christians, that the national calamities were in retribution for neglecting the ancient veneration for the gods of Olympus. Such was the frequent complaint in the time of Saint Augustin, and to which he replies in his work *De Civitate Dei*. Writers unfriendly to Christianity, are not slack to speak of the policy of Constantine as disastrous to the Roman state, and that by this event it was chiefly weakened.[1] But so far from the one being dependent upon the other, they have little or no relation. The germ of decay was in its own soil and constitution. How could it be otherwise? Public spirit and social virtues were no more; labour was deemed degrading, and left to slaves with no stake in the country for which they toiled; the martial spirit of Rome had fled; the pride of citizenship, which had made the legions invincible, was an empty name; the army was recruited from the barbarian tribes. How can we wonder then that the fabric of Roman greatness tottered and fell before the rude shock of the Gothic nations? Another, and higher mission was appointed for the Church, than to quicken the lifeless forms of a past age. It was to evangelize the barbarian conquerors,—to prepare the way for the civilization of modern Europe,—to impart of her life and character to the young and vigorous kingdoms which were to rise from the ruins of the Roman power.

That Christianity did not lead to the decay of the Roman Empire.

Not that we are to suppose that the influence of Christianity was previously unfelt upon the habits and manners of the empire. The truth, which is likened to leaven in its working, could not but be otherwise. We are no longer presented with such hideous pictures of human depravity, as Rome saw under a Commodus or Caligula. Wickedness, at least such boastful, capricious wickedness as theirs, is unknown: vice was constrained to pay at least an outward homage to the law of righteousness. A greater mercifulness showed itself in the character of the people,[2] a restraint was

[1] Thus the disingenuous author of the Decline and Fall, who insinuates on every occasion the ill-judged measure of placing power in ecclesiastical hands, or attaching importance to religious truths.

[2] The gladiatorial shows, *cruenta spectacula*, were suppressed by the Christian

often put upon the abuse of tyranny, and the passions of fierce men,[1] and it is a valuable testimony which the infidel historian unwillingly bears, that "the privileges of the Church had revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government."[2]

SECTION IV.—THE DECLINE OF PAGANISM.

With the reign of Constantine begins what is called the aggressive warfare of the Church: though noticed in the following pages, yet a few remarks may be given in introduction.

It was mainly as a political institution that Paganism had held its ground, that it did not expire when that support was withdrawn, owing to an element which roused it for a while into action. Philosophy had been the first to shake the popular belief in the old mythology; it had now become its firmest ally. The school of Alexandria had wedded Faith with speculation, and a section of this school, the Neo-Platonists, sought to revive the spirit of belief by understanding the gross fables of the heathen poets in an allegorical sense. They spoke of a Trinity as emanations of one sovereign source of light and creation; they said that the rational Pantheon did but represent the operations of that universal power, and the persons of the gods were symbolical of the great mysteries of nature and of being. From Plotinus, the founder of this sect, to Proclus, in whom it ended, the Neo-Platonists became the steadiest opponents of Christianity.[3] The more they were led to accept the old mythology as the basis of their mysteries, the more their hatred against the revelation by which it was displaced. From their ranks, in the last century, Porphyry had risen, and now in this, the Emperor Julian was to set it forth before the world. But the fruitless attempt of Julian showed how unreal the new Philosophy was, and how little it could do. Their theurgical pretensions ministered to intellectual pride, and widened the difference between the initiated and his fellows. The pantheistic dream of man absorbed in the divine contemplation, was a poor resting-place for the hungry soul. Their ecstatic doctrine of the grossness of matter was but a poor substitute for the great truths of the Incarnation and Resurrection. The Neo-Platonists soon sank into insignificance, their science became an unintelligible jargon, their boasted converse with the spiritual world changed into assertions of magical powers, and the arts of jugglers and impostors.

Antagonism of Philosophy and Christianity.

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emperors. Const. Cod. xi. 43. Prudent. contra Symm. ii. 11, 12. The punishment of crucifixion was abolished by Constantine. A regulation was made for the visitation of prisons on the Lord's day.

[1] Compare the clemency of Theodosius to the city of Antioch, and his public penitence on the massacre of Thessalonica. The conduct of Alaric on the sack of Rome, is told by Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, lib. i. c. 1-6; Orosius, lib. vii. c. 39.

[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xxi.

[3] Lactantius, Divin. Institut. lv. c. 2, 3.

Worship of Pagans proscribed by the successors of Constantine.

Now that Christianity had become the religion of the State, it was fenced in by penal enactments. Constantine, except in urgent cases, went no farther than to discountenance Pagan practices by his example. Though the more unclean and debasing ceremonies were prohibited, yet the worship of the temples was uninterrupted. But from Constantius to the reign of Valentinian III., a more aggressive spirit showed itself in the Church, and the statute books of Roman law were filled with acts of increasing severity. The temples were despoiled or demolished, the *sacrificia publica* discontinued, Theodosius prohibits the superstitious arts of the *haruspices*, and gives the deathblow to Paganism by forbidding the practice of immolation, and abolishing the relics of sacerdotal privileges. Later edicts made sacrifice, divination, or apostacy, a capital crime.

Aggressions partly provoked by taunts of heathen.

The work of destruction was sometimes urged on by the conduct of the Pagans themselves. They invited the zeal of the Christians by declaring moderation to be the effect of fear, lest the gods should avenge the insults offered to their shrines. The attacks on the temples, in which the monks were most active, were often in retaliation for some heathen tumult and outrage: while it was well known that the Pagans lived in expectation of another Julian, for whom they bided their time. It may be doubted whether the sufferings of the Pagans were such as these severities would lead us to expect. Theirs was not a Faith to resist unto blood, and they could accommodate themselves with loose and pliant morality to the circumstances of the time.[1] Their position at the close of the fourth century may be estimated by the name which they then acquired. Polytheism had been banished from nearly all the large cities, and, for the most part, had its head in the pagi or bye-places of the country.[2] A few orators and poets still preserved a lingering affection for the religious forms of ancient Rome, but it was more a matter of taste than devotion. Among the bulk of the people its traces were well-nigh gone.

Origin of the word *Pagan* descriptive of present state of Polytheism.

[1] Thus the long dissimulation of Julian's early years was even applauded by Libanius. Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

[2] For the derivation and history of the word *Pagan*, see Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xxi. note 173. Trench on the Study of Words, Lect iii. p. 66.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.—THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE.—A.D. 306-337.

A.D. 306.

Introductory Remarks.

THE prophecies of JESUS CHRIST regarding his Church,[1] the preparations made by Him, prior to His ascension, for its establishment,[2] the causes of the opposition to which His religion was subjected during the earlier ages of the Church,[3] the calumnies with which His disciples were assailed, and the persecutions which they heroically and patiently endured,[4] have already engaged our attention. The recollection of these things, taken in connection with the preliminary observations concerning the ecclesiastical history of the fourth century contained in the immediately preceding chapter, must have prepared the reader to expect some great change in the position of the Church. It had weathered a storm of "great tribulations." The ten persecutors—Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antonine, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian—had almost exhausted the virulence of hate against it, but without success. And though treated by the Roman state as "the off-scouring of all things,[5] the Christians had as yet presented a noble "spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men" of steadfastness and patient endurance. Is the era of Christ nearly run, then? The maxim by which that may be decided Christians themselves have uttered, viz., "for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." Judged upon this principle, grandly impartial in its spirit, what opinion must we form regarding the future of the Church? One would say;—such persecution cannot much longer be withstood without the whole body of sufferers being looked upon as leagued revolters against the civil power, and thus bringing down upon themselves the whole force of the iron despotism of the State to subdue or exterminate them all; and then, faith failing, defections must multiply, and apostacies increase, till the power and influence of the new faith be diminished; and, at last, utter and irretrievable disorganization must result in defeat and submission. In a contention for mastery in the State, such a minority must succumb.

[1] Hind's Rise and Early Progress of Christianity, part i. p. 44.
[2] Ibid, part ii. p. 62.
[3] Jeremie's Christian Church in the Third and Fourth Centuries, c. i. § 3.
[4] Ibid c. ii. and iii.
[5] 1 Cor. iv. 13.

A.D. 306. Such reasoning is perfectly valid, upon the hypothesis that Christianity is impregnated with no living energy beyond that of mere human opinion; and if so, the converse must be equally true. If it grew, flourished, and increased in potency, in a ratio precisely equalling the violence, injustice, and oppression of its antagonists, it must have been because it was permeated with the Life Divine.

The former state of the Church.

Hitherto we have seen the Church "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed;"[1] yea, rather, despite of these things, we now see that as years advance, "all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."[2] The manner in which the Church was rescued from violence, peril and danger, and "the kingdoms of this world" were led to become, nominally at least, "the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ," may not unfittingly be told in a biographical sketch of him by whom this strange revolution was effected, and by whom the doctrines and precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ were first recognized as the true ground and basis of all good government.

Parentage and birth of Constantine.

Caius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantine—whom his countrymen and historians generally have surnamed *the Great*,—son of the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, and his first wife Helena, was born, most probably, at Naissus, in Dacia, in A.D. 272.[3] His father was the son of Eutropius, a noble of Illyricum, and Dardania, a niece of the Emperor Claudius; his mother appears to have been the daughter of an innkeeper of Drepanum —now Trapani—in Sicily, with whom Constantius was legally united in marriage, as may be justly inferred from the fact, that Diocletian insisted upon a legal divorce between them, prior to the marriage of accommodation afterwards consummated between Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximian, and Constantius.

Cæsars appointed over the Empire.

As the dangers of Rome increased on every side, Diocletian thought it advisable to have some parties who had a personal stake in the prosperity of the empire, ready to resist any encroachments which might be attempted on its outskirts. To accomplish this, he bethought him of appointing two generals, each to have a share in the imperial sovereignty, with the title of Cæsar. In pursuance of this object, Maximian, his colleague, and he, chose respectively Constantius and Galerius. It was afterwards esteemed politic to increase the intimacy of the interests of the Cæsars and the Emperors by superadding family relationship thereto: hence, each adopted one of the young Cæsars as his son, and ratified the compact by marriage contract—Constan-

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 8, 9. [2] Eph. ii. 21.
[3] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c. xiv.

tius accepting Theodora as his wife, and Galerius becoming the husband of Valeria, daughter of Diocletian. To the heroic, war-disciplined Constantius, the government of the turbulent West —Hispania, Gaul, and Britain — was assigned. As a security for the faithful discharge of his duty, as well as an hostage for his subordination, his son, Constantine, was retained at the court, and under the care of Diocletian, where, though he was most carefully educated, he manifested much greater ability in warlike enterprises than in literary pursuits. In Egypt, under Galerius, he acquired honour, fame, the habit of command, and a reputation for affability and valour. On the first of May A.D. 305, Diocletian and Maximian simultaneously abdicated, and Constantius and Galerius were invested with the insignia of Empire. To Galerius, his son-in-law, Diocletian entrusted the election of two Cæsars to occupy the places from which they had been raised. Without waiting to consult his colleague, he nominated Daza, or Maximin, his nephew, and Severus, an officer of ability, entirely devoted to his interests and service. By this skilful arrangement, Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and the distinguished Constantine, whose bravery was well known, and whose ambition was both suspected and feared, were each excluded from the possession of that power to which they were both entitled to look.

A.D. 306.

Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian.

Constantius was mild in temper, moderate in ambition, unskilled in intrigue, and averse to civil contention. Moreover, ill-health had cooled the fiery aspirations of ambition, so he acquiesced, without remonstrance, in the appointments which Galerius had made. This virtual submission on the part of Constantius, to whom, in right of precedency, the nomination strictly belonged, so emboldened Galerius that he began to demean himself as if he were sole sovereign of the empire. The soldiery and the people disliking the arbitrary elevation thus conferred on the rustic Maximin, and the subservient Severus, to the special prejudice of their favourite Constantine, began to murmur. Absolutism is favourable to the commission of those crimes which decrease the number of aspiring competitors, and hence Constantius and Constantine began to entertain, perhaps unjustly, the worst suspicions concerning the designs of Galerius, more especially as a great many frivolous obstacles seemed to be raised up to impede Constantine's departure to aid his father in the West—a step considered requisite not only on account of the increasing infirmity of Constantius, and the growing insubordination of the Britons, but also as a preservative against the easy fulfilment of the machinations of a wily and unscrupulous monarch, who was more likely to hide one wrong by the performance of a greater, than to acknowledge it with regret, and amend it with promptitude and magnanimity. At last, however, leave was reluctantly granted, and Constantine, in great fear of the withdrawal of the grudgingly

Constantine departs to Britain to aid his father.

A.D. 306. given consent, hurried at an almost fabulous speed from Nicomedia (*Isnikmid*) to the Western coast of Gaul, where he arrived just in time to head, in company with his father, the legions about to wage war upon the rebels of Britain. In the objects of this war, Constantius succeeded. The Northern Barbarians were repressed, if not actually defeated; but just as success had crowned the expedition, his feeble health gave way, and he had to relinquish his power and honour. As he lay in the agonies of death in the imperial palace at York, he proclaimed Constantine his heir, and desired the legions to acknowledge him as Emperor. To this request they acceded, not more through love of their late leader, than admiration of the stately and valorous Constantine; and, therefore, as soon after the decease of his father as decency permitted, they hailed him as their chief. There is no way of opposing a foe—especially if armed with sovereign power and excited by envy—so good as that of placing one's self on an equality with him. Constantine knew that "if he wished to live, he must determine to reign;" not only ambition, but the instinct of self-preservation combined to make him accept the office, titles, and state, of which the imperial purple was but the outward symbol.

The soldiery elect Constantine Emperor.

In order to soften the hate and soothe the jealousy of Galerius, he thought it expedient to write to him disclaiming desire for an eminence so great, apologizing for the affectionate force to which he had yielded, and intimating his assumption of the sovereignty as desired. Galerius, heated by passion, refused to ratify the vote of the legions of the West, appointed Constantine the lowest Cæsar in the empire, and elevated his creature, Severus, to the throne of an Augustus. This slight Constantine did not think it politic to resent, and contented himself, in the meantime, with the jurisdiction awarded him, viz., the provinces which had been governed by his father. Passing from Britain into Gaul, he opposed and defeated the Alemanni and the Franks who had invaded that territory, and most barbarously, although quite in consonance with the customs of that time, delivered the captive leaders to the wild beasts "to make a Roman holiday."

Revolt of Maxentius

Maxentius, the son of Maximian, did not feel inclined to be pushed, by the elevation of Severus, so rudely from the throne to which rank, birth, and alliance gave him a prior and superior title; and could still less brook that Constantine should seize and hold dominion, while he remained in actionless obscurity. Moreover, the time seemed ripe for some movement. Galerius had offended the Roman citizens by daring to tax them like the common tributaries of the Empire; and, besides, he was opportunely absent in the East. Maxentius, who appears to have resided near Rome, put himself forward as the defender of the dignity and liberties of the Romans. The Senate, the soldiery,

and the populace besought Maximian to re-assume the purple—a request with which he not unwillingly complied. He then created Maxentius his imperial colleague; and an insurrection ensued. Severus was deputed to subdue this revolt; but his troops abandoned him, and the gates of Rome were strongly garrisoned by the revolters. In dismay, he fled to Ravenna, in the hope of receiving help from Galerius, by sea; disappointed in this, he capitulated, and, with many protestations of respect, was graciously permitted to choose the mode in which he wished to die. A.D. 307. Civil war.

Galerius was, however, hastening on, with the anxious eagerness of one who has wrongs to avenge as well as power to preserve; and the diplomatic Maximian saw the need of help from Constantine, if it could possibly be had. To gain this, despite of the infirmities of age, he crossed the Alps, entered Gaul, and began negotiations with the Cæsar of the West. Constantine perceived that each dissension among the candidates for empire increased the certainty of the success of his own designs, and cautiously permitted himself to be thought an ally, although he never led his troops beyond the frontier of the Western *Cæsarate*. Maximian offered to raise him to the office of Augustus, and he accepted the offer. By marrying Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, and the sister of Maxentius, he enhanced his own value in the State, drew them more closely to himself, and yet retained the right of independence. The marriage was celebrated with all due solemnity and magnificence, at Arles, A.D. 307. Maximian seeks the aid of Constantine.

When Galerius entered Italy, he found a powerful confederacy resolved on opposing him, and though he pushed impetuously forward as far as Narni—sixty miles from Rome—he found it impossible to achieve a single success, and decided on making advances toward a reconciliation, and gaining concessions. "When swords are out, soft words ne'er turn their edges;" so this offer of friendship, and these interested proposals for accommodation, were firmly rejected, and he found it necessary to retreat. Returning to the Illyrian provinces, he rewarded fidelity, and gained an important ally to himself, by bestowing the honour of Augustus upon his deputy Licinius, whom he had appointed to act as Cæsar during his absence. This proceeding displeased Maximin, and he demanded a similar honour from Galerius, who was compelled, somewhat reluctantly, to grant it. Thus Rome had the singular fate of being governed, or, more properly speaking, misgoverned by six parties, each holding imperial state, claiming imperial honour and obedience, yet divided from each other by interest or passion, and without fixed and definite relations amongst themselves, or towards the people. Such a state of things could not long continue. The nervous jealousy of men in power has become proverbial. A dispute soon arose between the hot-headed incapable Maxentius and his father, as to the right of sovereignty vested in the latter. On Galerius retreats. Six Emperors in the Roman Empire.

A.D. 309. the question being decided against him, Maximian retired to Illyria; but Galerius having no friendly feelings towards him, soon ejected him from his province of the Empire. He then sought, and obtained refuge with Constantine in Gaul; but there, during the absence of his son-in-law on a warlike expedition near the Rhine, he ungratefully attempted to excite the soldiery to revolt, and was just renewing negotiations with Maxentius, when Constantine, by forced marches, reached Massilia (Marseilles), and defeated the scheme. Although generously, or at least politicly, pardoned for this offence, he was afterwards permitted to choose the kind of death he preferred, for having attempted the assassination of Constantine: he was accordingly put to death, A.D. 309—and reported to have committed suicide.

The relations between Constantine and Maxentius were now changed. Lukewarm friendship became hostile rivalry. When, therefore, Galerius died, A.D. 311, of a loathsome and fearful disease,[1] Maxentius, having vented his spite by ordering all the statues raised in honour of Constantine to be defaced, prepared an army to assert his prerogative as the sole legitimate Augustus. The Romans had learned experimentally, that Maxentius was not a man fitted to dignify his office, and fearful of the miseries to which his rash and ill-designed measures might consign them, they sent an embassy to Constantine conjuring him, if he loved Rome, to come to the rescue of the Empire. This gave Constantine the very plea which his politic ambition wished. He placed himself at the head of ninety thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, led them across the Alps, captured Susa, defeated an army near Turin, marched triumphantly onwards towards Verona, where he fought a bravely contested battle, passed on to Rome, which he reached Oct. 28, A.D. 312, and on the same day found the army of Maxentius arranged in order of battle there. The warfare was fierce, and the contest severe, but at length the hardy veterans of the West overcame the soldiery of Rome, who only gained the last distinction of heroes,—that of covering the field with their bodies. In the subsequent retreat Maxentius, in attempting to cross a bridge of boats intentionally weakened by himself as a snare for Constantine, was drowned in the Tiber; and Constantine, entering Rome, was greeted by the Senate as Emperor. In commemoration of this event, the *arch* which bears his name was voted and erected. Moderation and clemency distinguished the victor, and his popularity increased rapidly. Meanwhile, the Emperors of the East, with deep personal interest, awaited the issue of this contest, well aware that its results would materially influence their fate. Prior to his commencing hostilities, Constantine had detached Licinius from Maximin, and gained him to his interests, by offering him his favourite step-sister, Constantia, in marriage. Licinius had ac-

Constantine is conjured to save the Empire.

Constantine proclaimed Emperor by the Senate.

[1] *Morbus pedicularis.* Euseb. Hist. E. lib. 8, c. 16.

cepted the offer. On this becoming known, Maxentius and Maximin thought it wise to equalize the balance of power, by entering into an arrangement of a similar description. While the marriage festivities of Licinius were going forward, at Milan, Constantine was called to the Rhine to drive back an irruption of the Allemanni; and Licinius himself shortly afterwards learned that Maximin was laying Bithynia waste, and threatened to despoil the richest portions of Asia Minor. Just as he had advanced as far as Adrianople with an army of seventy thousand men, the Illyrian cohorts, numbering thirty thousand, under the skilful leadership of Licinius, defeated the enormous host. Maximin fled to Tarsus, where he died by poison, A.D. 313. The glory of this conquest, however, was tarnished by wanton cruelty and unprovoked aggression. Licinius murdered the son of the late Emperor Severus, the son of his patron Galerius, the wife and the daughter of Diocletian, and many private individuals. A.D. 313.

These events had rid Rome of four of her superfluous sovereigns. But two such Emperors—the one insatiable in ambition, the other envious and full of treachery—could not long hold power in unity and friendship. A quarrel shortly afterwards ensued. Accounts differ as to the manner and matter of this quarrel; but they agree in the fact, that the two Emperors met in hostile array at Cibilae, in Pannonia, where, after a sanguinary conflict, Licinius was vanquished, and compelled to flee, A.D. 314. On his failure, he conferred the dignity of Cæsar on Valens, an Illyrian general. Of this appointment Constantine disapproved, and he insisted on the degradation of the new Cæsar. The trial of battle having gone against Licinius, he consented to resign Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Greece, and Macedon, reserving to himself dominion over Syria, Egypt, Asia, and Thrace; after which, he slew Valens. It was further stipulated that two sons of Constantine should be made Cæsars in the West, and the son of Licinius similarly elevated in the East.

Constantine defeats Licinius.

For eight years, no division between the rulers disturbed the tranquillity of the Roman Empire. But it is seldom that imperial greatness displays the magnanimity that can brook a rival; and Constantine, knowing that Licinius had lapsed into some unpopular vices, and had as a means of offending him, begun to persecute the Christians, declared war against him. Licinius, roused by the tidings, threw off his vices, and, re-assuming the character and habits of an able general, surprised his friends and astonished his enemies. He was, however, after an heroic resistance, defeated successively, at Adrianople, Byzantium, and Chalcedon, after which he besought pardon and life from the conqueror at Nicomedia. This request, seconded by the tears and entreaties of his wife, the step-sister of Constantine, was granted with insulting pity; he was removed to Thessalonica, and not long after, upon some ill-defined

Renewal of war between Licinius and Constantine.

A.D. 323. and not very clearly proven charge of traitorous conduct, he was condemned to death. The younger Licinius, Cæsar of the East, shortly afterwards underwent a similar fate, and Constantine became sole sovereign of the Empire of Rome, A.D. 323.

This succinct recital of the chief events by which Constantine —the first avowedly Christian Emperor—became "the foremost man in all the world," seemed necessary as a key to the comprehension of the various fortunes of the Church in its external relations to the State during the period included in this chapter.

The Relations between the Church and Society.

The Church is no visibly separate entity; it is intimately interwoven with the destiny of the human race. It is not an isolated community or empire with low aims and political jealousies; but an economy aggressive, progressive, and diffusive, which mingles with institutions and changes their character, superintends legal enactments and softens and refines them, influences the thoughts and the actions of men, and purifies and ennobles their whole nature. Its mild yet steady antagonism to all that has a tendency to deprave, whether in the heart of the individual or in the body politic, in the thoughts and designs of men or in their manners, laws, and institutions; its perpetual warfare against favourite and cherished vices, mistaken faiths, and inward or outward sins, give it a pre-eminence in interest over every other element in history. Yet, because it had not, at this time, been embodied in a corporate form, recognized as an agent in the production or regulation of events, or reckoned among the potencies by which society is led onwards, in honourable endeavour, to civilization and refinement: because its life was hid in the temporal activities which operated around and upon it, unconsciously acquiring from it the "leaven" of which they stood so much in need, it had not yet been regarded as an historic reality. Hence, we must trace in the temporal affairs of the time, the results in the production of which it mingled, and the occurrences in civil life which tended to the development of its functions, and enabled it, not only actively, but recognizedly, to enter upon its duties, and to discharge and fulfil its God-given and God-blessed mission.

Having before us, then, the record of the external life of the Roman Empire, let us endeavour to comprehend how it happened that in this time, of all others, the Christian Church first acquired a distinct, recognized position, its priesthood became the heirs of the heathen hierarchs, and pagan Rome the centre of Christian faith, ritual, and influence.

The persecutions, partly reaching into the period included in this chapter, to which Christians were exposed under the edict of Diocletian, have already been detailed:[1] it belongs to us here to describe the progress of that gradual revolution by which the Church,

[1] Jeremie's History of the Christian Church in the Second and Third Centuries, c. iii.

ceasing to be an object of persecution, became an organized power, first recognized by, then incorporated with, the State. A.D. 323.

How the Church becomes liable to persecution.

Christianity is, in its earlier developments, a *thought*—gradually it works itself into the *life*. Possessed of living energy, it assimilates and converts, as all life does, opposite things to its own uses —to itself. So soon as it begins to do so, conservatism becomes alarmed, "things as they are" are imperilled. The heathen *cultus* (religion) is uniformly a State agent, and any attempt at its subversion is easily brought under the category of treasonous acts. Hence the origin of persecution. The feeling thus called into active exercise is no doubt aggravated and intensified by the natural repugnance of the sinner to all that attempts to convince him of "sin, righteousness, and a judgment to come," as well as the egotism which induces the carnal man to entertain repellant hate towards those who assume, in act or speech, but especially in the privilege of advice-giving, an air of superiority, or pretend to rise above the common level of conduct prevalent, at any given era, among men. Other more patent causes have already been noticed,[1] and need not here be repeated.

The Mission of the Church.

Whenever men hold opinions which seek an outward embodiment in practice, the desire of propagation is felt, and those who are stirred by this wish cannot rest contented until they succeed, in some measure, in their design of ruling and swaying the activities of mankind. That which governs them as individuals, they are anxious to see controlling many, as a society, and, mayhap, ultimately conforming and subordinating to their given form of faith, a nation or the world. This is not only the desire, but the mission of Christians. Hence, in the early ages, the Church (ἐκκλησιά) was a company of saints,—(*coetus sanctorum,*) a collective term for an assemblage of (ἐκκλητοι) those who were *called* "from the power of Satan unto God."[2] When men so associate, especially in despotic States, with no visible organization except such as, being unrecognized by the government, seems to attach them to each other by detaching them from their fellow-subjects, and concentres their faith round a creed, which in some instances compels them, as if with one consent, to rebel against, and refuse to obey, or conform to, some legally recognized custom, ceremony, or observance, they become obnoxious to that hatred and suspicion which men feel against secret leagues, whose purpose they know not, whose aims they do not comprehend, and whose designs, if evil, they are powerless to circumvent. For a time, therefore, it seems inevitable that any such body should endure the malice of envy, the jealousy of power, the antagonism of custom, and the

[1] Jeremie's History of the Christian Church in the Second and Third Centuries, c. i. sec. 3.

[2] Ἐκκλησία—an assembly of men solemnly convoked. Thucyd. ii. 22. The great (Athenian) assembly of the people, Thucyd. viii. 97, Herod. iii. 143, Xenop. i. 68. οἶκος ἐκκλησίας—the house of the Church, Euseb. Hist. E. vii. 30.

A.D. 323. repression of law. But when trials, fiery and severe, have proven not only their steadfastness, but their innocence, and convinced the most jealous by meek submission to wrong of their honesty of purpose, however mistaken their zeal may appear, they "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men," and persecution becomes paralyzed. A plausible reason can no longer be given to the conscience, and those who have thus worn "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," at last receive "the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

No ambitious man could fail to perceive, while studying as he must have done "the signs of the times," that the olden superstitions of Rome, and the rituals founded upon them, had become effete, that new beliefs were requisite to infuse fresh life and renewed vigour into those things which were now mere mummeries, and that the gratitude of the oppressed, the approval of the merciful, the respect of the intelligent, and the tacit consent of the wavering, would become his who should countenance, and, if need were, patronize such opinions as might enable men to weave their religious creed around principles capable of guiding the practices of life. To such an one the patient endurance, general integrity, and superiority to worldly influences, for which the early Christians were remarkable, must have seemed strong evidences that some higher principle than that which regulated other men, was transfused into the Christian character.

Constantine a Christian.

Constantine was ambitious and politic, but we must not, therefore, hastily conclude that his early protection of, and ultimate adhesion to the religion of Jesus, were merely, or even chiefly, master-strokes of a consummate policy. We have almost every evidence to the contrary. We know that his father, Constantius Chlorus, respected the Christians, and had them about him in the most honourable offices both in his palace and personal retinue; that while he was Cæsar, though he was bound to execute the decrees of Diocletian and Maximian, he employed only the minimum of persecution, demolishing their churches, but respecting and protecting their persons. During his short enjoyment of imperial power, he inaugurated a tolerant policy, and left not only a general precept, but an operative example as a directory to his son. It does not appear that Constantine was at a very early age under those serious convictions of personal sin, and influenced by that true faith in Christ which some panegyrists ascribe to him. We cannot reconcile his treatment of the leaders of the Franks and Allemanni with this hypothesis, yet we must acknowledge that considerable progress in an acquaintance with the dictates of true humanity, if not in Christian enlightenment, is perceptible in the clement exercise of his victory over Maxentius. Indeed, in the interval which lies between these two events, religious faith seems to have been gradually growing up within him, although it is a

difficult thing to judge of the internal feelings of one between whose A.D. 313.
firmest convictions and *facile* policy, there seems to have been a continual struggle. At all events, he appears to have been the active agent in bringing about the tolerant policy towards Christianity, which resulted in the edict of A.D. 311, signed by Galerius, Licinius, and himself. Although, however, the precise date of his conversion, and even the motives which led to it, have been made topics of dispute, no one can doubt that the effects of that event, even yet, mightily influence the interests, progress, and fate of nations. The first distinct and visible sign of his changed opinions or new policy was given during his preparation for, or on his way towards the contest with Maxentius. To account for this, a story is recorded which seems too closely modelled in its essential, *i.e.*, miraculous, features on the calling of St. Paul,[1] to be *implicitly* believed. It runs somewhat thus:—While in his camp, resting after a lengthy march, and on the eve of engaging in a war, on which not only his fate, but that of the Empire and the Church depended, Constantine was favoured by the Most High with a special and heaven-sent dream, advising him to inscribe on the shields and banners of his soldiery the sacred monogram of Jesus Christ, (IHS,) and to go forth thus equipped, nothing doubting, to victory in the name of the Lord; in the heavens, too, just a little below the sun, a cross of flame appeared, with the words—"*In hoc signo vinces*"—"Under this standard thou shalt conquer," written thereon; afterwards, Jesus himself came to him, and commanded him to make a standard like unto the cross which he had seen, and conquer under it in His name; whereupon, "not disobedient unto the heavenly vision," he performed what was desired, and caused a standard—which he named Labarum—to be made in the form appointed; and the victory at the Milvian bridge rewarded his faith and obedience. Under the same standard, he afterwards overcame Licinius, and returning triumphant, planted the standard of the cross as the safeguard of the Empire, and appointed the religion of the cross as that which should hereafter consecrate the future of Rome.

Constantine's vision.

Without denying the whole of the agencies employed to give magnificence and glory to him who founded the Church on the throne of the Cæsars, impeaching the honesty of the original authorities, or doubting the royal word of Constantine, we may, without difficulty, so far as regards the historical results, dispense with the implied miracle.[2] It was a bold stroke of ingenuity and policy to make the symbol of ignominy, guilt, and pain, an honourable ensign, and could not have been undertaken by an ambitious man, but as the result of strong faith, an intimate acquaintance

Was it miraculous?

[1] Acts ix. 1-9, xxii. 1-21, and xxvi. 9-21.
[2] On the general question, see J. H. Newman's Miracles of Scripture.

A.D. 314. with the spirit of the times, and confidence in himself to become its leader and exponent. In saying this, we do not mean to insinuate that he attempted deceit, indeed we intend to draw quite a different inference.

An ambitious leader must carefully calculate the kind of feelings which may be most effectively employed to increase the enthusiasm of those through whose agency his schemes are to be accomplished. He will not use aught of which the result would be doubtful; but as he perceives that the power of old associations of thought has become weak, he will ally himself to those new ideas which are latent in all minds, and wait but for development, to assume the rank and importance of principles of action. Neither would a judicious general seek to enlist in his favour a spurious enthusiasm, or stake his success upon the effect upon others, of a symbol which upon himself was totally effectless. Hence, we have every reason to believe that Constantine really and truly felt impressed by the majestic spectacle of love, endurance, and purity, which the personal character of Jesus presented, fully believed in the sacredness of His office, and the truth of His divine claims. If he was so, it is but little to be wondered at, that in the hour of excitement, when he was about to hazard life, state, and reputation, upon success, he should feel a seemingly preternatural enthusiasm animating him; that an excited fancy should have painted the heavens with favourable omens, and blazoned a standard which told so expressly of "hope against hope" ultimately triumphant, and glorified. As after years rolled on, and success followed success—when memory had become obscured, in consequence of the multiplicity of objects and events which had graven their images upon it—when self-elation, the usual result of an unchequered career of conquest, had become developed, and glory and magnificence, flattery and homage, attended all his steps—there is still less to astonish us that, in an age when miracles, as almost every day occurrences, were devoutly believed in, he, too, should first fancy, then believe himself to be a favourite of Heaven, and speak to others of the strongly impressed excitements of that time, as if they had borne the stamp of well-authenticated facts.[1]

How it might be accounted for.

There can be as little doubt that if he ascribed his success to the fact, that he had "taken up his cross and followed Jesus," he must have felt some gratitude towards him to whom he confessed his obligations. He had already taken advantage of the illness of Galerius, A.D. 311, to prevail upon him to proclaim peace to the Christian Church. This beneficence he had now the power to extend, and he did so. He exempted the clergy from personal taxation, and from civil duties, granted privileges to the Church, and bestowed donations to aid its progress. When the Donatist

[1] Euseb. De Vit. Cons. lib. i. c. 28-30, ii. c. 7-9.

Schism[1] disturbed the Church, he called a Synod to meet at Arles A.D. 321.
to consider the question. At this council the Donatists were de- Synod of
feated, and some ill feeling was excited. Although he discoun- Arles, A.D.
tenanced, he did not prohibit, the practice of the olden rites of pagan worship; but he strove, by softening the laws, and ameliorating the condition of the people—avowedly under the influence of Christian principles—to place before his subjects the best possible grounds for forsaking the old, and embracing the new, religion. He abolished crucifixion—a punishment he thought none worthy to bear, since the cross had been hallowed by the death of Christ—forbade the flagellation of those who were in default to the revenue, suppressed establishments of debauchery, repealed the laws against celibates, prohibited concubinage, interdicted the nocturnal assemblies and obscene rites of the pagans, introduced a milder and more humane discipline into the prisons, ordered the children of the poor to be maintained at the public expense, and refused to enrich the imperial fisc with the wealth of criminals, but consigned it to the support of their wives and children. He increased the cost and difficulty of getting divorces, defrayed the expenses of ecclesiastical edifices out of his own treasury, devised a plan for the emancipation of slaves, and in many other ways, manifested a desire for the establishment of peace, the permanency of order, and the propagation of true religion.

In March, A.D. 321, he issued an edict for the observance of The Edicts of
the Sabbath; in A.D. 324, he published an exhortation in Latin, Constantine.
which Eusebius, his biographer, translated into Greek, to all his subjects, to forsake superstition and worship the one God and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and in A.D. 325, he summoned the first universal council of the Church at Nicæa (Nice) in Bithynia, for the purpose of settling the Arian controversy,[2] transported the bishops from their several sees at his own expense, and to add dignity to its councils, attended it himself. On July 25, A.D. 325, the first anniversary of his accession to the sole sovereignty of the Empire, he gave a grand banquet to the fathers of the council, presented them many gifts, and placed much alms at their disposal. In the same year, he abolished gladiatorial exhibitions, and replaced this inhuman punishment by condemnation for a term of years in the public works of the State. An edict of this same year invited any subject to address any complaint regarding the conduct of any of his governors or magistrates to him personally, and promised immediate attention to the cause thus brought before him. In A.D. 326, we find him at Milan, in Rome, and at Sirmium, in Pannonia. Constantine had by his first wife, Minervina, a son, named Crispus, whose bravery and ambition tended to harass his father, and especially to render his step-mother fretful and uneasy. The

[1] See this topic treated of in full, c. iv.
[2] See this heresy and its several sub-sections fully explained, c. iv.

A.D. 330. Death of Crispus.

jealous suspicion of the father seems to have encouraged the envy and hate of Fausta, to prefer a false accusation of having attempted to seduce her, against her step-son, for which offence he was decapitated; but when the falsity of his wife became apparent, Constantine, in revenge, had her suffocated by *the steam of her bath.* Many other executions gave plain evidence that Constantine was trembling for the security of his throne. He began to think that magnificence, prodigality, and unsparing severity in the execution of the law were the only means of imparting stability to his Empire, and glory to his name. To effect the first of these, he began to build a new capital, to be named after himself, on the site of the ancient Byzantium, which had been almost wholly destroyed, during the war with Licinius. The gorgeous city of Constantinople was solemnly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in May A.D. 330. The spot was most eligible, in mid-station, between Europe and Asia; the soil around it was fertile, the climate temperate, the harbour capacious, safe, and well guarded by the Hellespont and Bosphorus. The seven hills on which its multitudinous structures were reared, commanded a wide extent of Europe and Asia, while the entrance from the former continent admitted of ready and easy defence; it was thus most admirably adapted for becoming the centre and capital of a great monarch, under whom all southern Europe bowed, to whom Western Asia did homage, and by whom the provinces which margined the southern shores of the Mediterranean were governed. It was, besides, a Christian city. Although it was adorned and enriched with treasures of art taken from all parts of the Roman Empire, no heathen temple polluted its precincts, but fourteen churches, with palatial residences for the clergy, afforded the opportunity of worship to all its inhabitants. Grandeur, wealth, and security, all united and concentred to make the city worthy of the name it bore. Amid all these cares, he still had time for war and theological polemics. He defeated the Goths who dwelt on the north bank of the Ister, (Danube), and thus secured peace for his latter years. In A.D. 328, under the influence of Constantia, his step-sister, he recalled several Arian bishops whom he had exiled, and wished them re-admitted into the communion of the Church. This Athanasius opposed, and a controversy was waged between them on this subject, till the Emperor's death. This event happened at the palace of Aquyrion, in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of its more genial air, and to try, by the use of warm baths, to recruit his health, wasted by unintermitting fatigue, and perhaps still more by remorse, May 22, A.D. 337. He was sixty-four years of age, and had reigned thirty years and ten months. Although he had done so much for the advancement of Christianity, and although a professed convert to its truth, he was only a catechumen, and was not "baptized into Christ" until on his death-bed, when

Foundation of Constantinople.

Constantine an Arian.

Constantine's death.

that sacrament was administered to him, it is said, by an Arian bishop. His body was transferred to Constantinople, where, decked in the livery of monarchy, the mockery of homage was paid him, and the forms of court-life were theatrically gone through towards the dead body of one of the greatest monarchs who had swayed the sceptre of dominion over, and revived the ancient glory of, the Empire of Rome. A.D. 337.

Character of Constantine.

The character of Constantine has been represented in a manner so widely different by Christian and by Pagan writers, that the only safe path for the modern Historian seems to consist in choosing a medium between the praises of the one and the censures of the other. As a military commander, and, in many respects, as a statesman, his talents will ever be held in high estimation. Beset by extraordinary difficulties at the commencement of his career, he surmounted them with consummate dexterity and courage. His operations, no less vigorously executed than ably conceived, struck awe into the Barbarians, and arrested their destructive progress. Yet in the midst of the most active operations, as he moved from city to city, he still found time which he could devote to private study and composition. And, whatever opinion may be entertained of his own literary powers, it cannot be denied that he deserves to be considered as a patron of learning. His chastity and temperance, virtues very uncommon in a situation of unlimited power and in times of extreme degeneracy, were acknowledged. His natural love of justice and good government may be fairly inferred from the number of excellent laws of which he was the author.[1] At the same time, it must be allowed, that these brilliant qualities were not unaccompanied by defects. Fond of ostentatious parade to a degree surprising in a mind which was wont to outsoar the frivolousness of narrower spirits, he had recourse to means which oppressed his subjects, and alienated their affections.[2] A certain facility of disposition led him to commit important offices to men unworthy of his favour.[3] His faults, and particularly a tendency to cruelty and prodigality, were much more conspicuously displayed in the latter than in the earlier part of his life.[4]

SECTION II.—THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE—CONSTANTINUS II., CONSTANS, AND CONSTANTIUS.—A.D. 337-363.

The three sons of Constantine proclaimed Emperors.

Upon the death of Constantine, the army, and subsequently the Senate, expressed their determination to acknowledge no other emperors than his sons, although Dalmatius Cæsar and Hanni-

[1] Civilibus artibus et liberalibus studiis deditus, affectator justitiæ et amoris, quem omninò sibi et liberalitate et docilitate quæsivit. Eutropius. See Howell's History of the World, p. 2, and Lardner's Credib. part ii. c. lxx.

[2] Zosim. lib. ii. [3] Aur. Vict. Ammian. lib. xvi. Euseb. lib. v.

[4] Hence Aurelius Victor, though with more point than truth, has thus described his character during three different periods of his reign: Proverbio vulgari Trachala decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus Latro, decem novissimis Pupillus ob profusiones immodicas nominatus. Epit. c. 41.

A.D. 337. balianus, his nephew, had received from the late monarch a share in the partition of the empire. About four months afterwards, the three brothers assumed the title, to which their claim had been so readily admitted. A scene of blood[1] then followed. A tumultuous soldiery destroyed, in indiscriminate massacre, Julius Constantius, the deceased emperor's brother, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, the Patrician Optatus, who had married the sister of Constantine, five of his nephews, one of whom was the eldest son of Julius Constantius, the Præfect Ablavius, and others who, having been ministers in the late reign, excited either resentment or suspicion.[2] The numerous family of Constantine was thus reduced to his three sons and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the youngest children of Julius Constantius. Gallus, who was then twelve years old, owed his safety to a sickly state of health, from which it was not expected he would recover; Julian, who was but six, to his extreme youth.[3] The murder of Dalmatius and Hannibalianus was succeeded by a division of their dominions. For this purpose the three brothers, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, met in Pannonia. Constantine, the eldest, who fixed his imperial seat at Constantinople, had Thrace and Constans, Greece and Macedonia. Each of them retained the territories which had been assigned by the late emperor during his lifetime. Constantine kept Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantine appears to have ceded, this same year, Thrace to Constantius, and Constans Africa to Constantine. When they assumed the purple, the eldest of the brothers was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen years of age.

Massacre of the relatives of Constantine.

Division of the Empire.

Invasion by the Persians.

The throne of Persia was at this time occupied by Sapor, an able and enterprising prince, who had long desired to circumscribe the eastern possessions of Rome, but had hitherto been deterred from the prosecution of his ambitious schemes by the fame and power of Constantine. No sooner, however, was the object of his fears removed, than he invaded and ravaged the Roman dominions, and made himself master of several of the strongholds of Mesopotamia. He received support from the Armenians, who revolted, drove their king, who favoured the Romans, into exile, and destroyed or expelled the priests of the Christian religion, who, through the instrumentality of their late king, Tiridates, had been established in Armenia. Frequent irregular inroads spread continual alarm and desolation. Nine battles were fought, in which the Persians were generally successful. A signal engagement at

[1] Constantius is charged with the guilt of this massacre by Julian. (Ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270.) So also Athanasius, (Solit. p. 856,) and Zosimus, (p. 692.) But Eutropius (p. 558) and Socrates say he rather permitted than commanded it.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. 68. Zosim. lib. ii. Julian, Ep. ad Athen.

[3] Socrat. lib. iii. c. 1. Ammian.

length took place at Singara, a city of Mesopotamia, in which Sapor was successful. Aware, however, that victories in the field are insufficient to enable any one to retain conquests, he sought a material guarantee for the diminished power of Rome in the East, by besieging Nisibis in the years A.D. 338, 346, 350. This he did with great perseverance and much skill; but all his efforts were unavailing, and he was glad, after the loss of twenty thousand men, to abandon the siege and conclude a truce. A.D. 340.

Constantine invades the dominions of Constans, is surprised and slain.

About three years after the division of the empire, Constantine, the eldest brother, dissatisfied with his share, after having ineffectually attempted to obtain from Constans the cession of the whole, or at least some part of Italy, placed himself at the head of a tumultuous host, marched from Gaul, and, entering into his brother's territories by the Julian Alps, first exercised his vengeance on the country round Aquileia. Constans, who was then in Dacia, immediately detached a chosen portion of his forces, by whose skilful artifices the imprudent Constantine, having been drawn into an ambuscade, was encircled and slain. His body, which had been thrown into the river Ansa, at a small distance from Aquileia, was afterwards discovered and removed to Constantinople, where it was interred near the tomb of his father.[1] In consequence of this event, Constans, who refused to transfer to Constantius any part of the dominions of the deceased prince, became sole master of the provinces of the West, and remained in possession of upwards of two-thirds of the Roman empire.

Revolt of Magnentius and murder of Constans. A. D. 350. February.

Ten years after the death of his brother, Constans himself experienced a fate no less sudden and disastrous. Having by inactivity, depravity, favouritism, and ignorance, exposed himself to the contempt and hatred of the soldiery, Magnentius, a commander of barbarian birth, formed and executed a plot for seizing the reins of empire, and commissioned Gaiso to slay Constans. Gaiso overtook him near Helena, a small village at the foot of the Pyrenees, and murdered him with many wounds.

After the death of Constans, the title of Magnentius was soon recognized in Gaul, Italy, and the Western provinces. To insure assistance and support, he declared his brother Desiderius, and Decentius,[2] (who is, by some writers, called his brother, by others his cousin,) Cæsars. In Illyricum, the legions under the command of Vetranio prevailed upon him, after having manifested either real or apparent reluctance, grounded on his gratitude and fidelity to the family of Constantine, to allow himself to be invested with

Vetranio assumes the title of Emperor.

[1] Zonar. Vict. Epit. Eutrop., &c. Constantine is described by his panegyrist as an accomplished and pious prince. (Monod. seu Orat. in Constant. Junior Mort. p. 7, &c.) His unprovoked and ill-contrived invasion of his brother's dominions is not calculated to increase our idea either of his probity or of his abilities.

[2] Decentius assumed also the names of Magnentius and Magnus. He is likewise distinguished by the unusual title of Fortissimus.

A. D. 340. the imperial dignity. Constantina herself, the wife of the unfortunate Hannibalianus, placed the diadem on his head. Vetranio, a native of Upper Mæsia, descended from obscure parents, was now far advanced in years, and had served in the army from his infancy. His natural abilities were respected, but his deficiency in education was so great that it was after his elevation that he first learned to read.[1] His integrity and affability, however, joined to the success which had uniformly attended his arms, rendered him universally beloved by his forces.[2] A third aspirant arose, exasperated at the sight of a successful barbarian as master of the West, or dazzled by the seductive lustre which conceals the dangers of imperial, and more especially of usurped power. Nepotianus, the youthful son of Eutropia, sister to the great Constantine, having drawn together a company of gladiators and other desperate men, assumed the purple, and took possession of Rome, on which he wreaked his vengeance, and slaughtered among others the Præfect Anicetus, who, having been appointed by Magnentius to command in the city, had made an unsuccessful sally against him. His hopes were destined to be soon blasted. Marcellinus was despatched against him by Magnentius. A bloody battle was fought; but Nepotianus being betrayed by a senator named Heraclitus, his men were routed, and himself slain, after having reigned during the short period of twenty-eight days.[3] Marcellinus put to death such as had espoused his cause, and made a general massacre of all who were in any way related to the family of Constantine. Among those who fell victims in this scene of butchery, was Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus.[4]

Nepotianus takes the title of Emperor and seizes Rome.

His death.

Constantius rejects the terms of peace proposed by Magnentius. A.D. 350.

Magnentius having, by the most cruel and oppressive means, raised such sums as might enable him to meet the expenses of civil war, assembled a considerable army. Aware, however, of the uncertainty of the field, he resolved to try the effect of negotiation. Constantius was then at Antioch, in which city, on receiving intelligence of the death of his brother, he had asserted his claim to the empire of the West, and prepared to support it with a considerable army and a very powerful fleet.[5] Leaving Antioch about the beginning of autumn, and proceeding through Constantinople, he arrived at Heraclea, in Thrace, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetranio, who had joined for their mutual support. The conditions proposed were,—that they would assist him in the prosecution of the war against the Persians and other barbarians, and also acknowledge his pre-eminence in point of rank as Emperor of the East, provided he conceded to them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their titles. They further proposed, with a view to cement their alliance, two marriages,—one between

[1] Zosim. lib. ii. [2] Eutrop. p. 588.
[3] Zosim. lib. ii. Eutrop. 588. Aur. Vict. Ammian.
[4] Themist. Orat. ii. Julian, Orat. iii. [5] Julian, Orat. i.

Constantius and the daughter of Magnentius, and the other between Magnentius and Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus.[1] Constantius deferred his answer till the next day, when, having doubtless considered the most effectual method of inspiring the people with feelings correspondent to his own, he declared to them that, on the preceding night, the shade of his father Constantine had appeared to him in a vision, and, presenting the corpse of the slaughtered Constans, had warned him to avenge his murder, and assured him that in so just a cause his efforts would be crowned with success. The terms of accommodation were then indignantly rejected. One of the deputies was sent to communicate his resolution; the remainder, without regard to the law of nations, were thrown into confinement. Constantius advanced with the utmost speed from Heraclea to Sardica. Anxious, however, to avoid being engaged with two enemies at once, he offered to contract a separate treaty with Vetranio, whose conduct he pretended not disposed to regard with harshness and severity. But by a skilful management of the soldiery, he succeeded in frightening the aged Vetranio into abdication, A.D. 350. He appointed a retirement for him in Bithynia, assigned him an annual income, and Vetranio gratefully spent his remaining years free from the troublous anxieties of those "having authority." A.D. 350.

Magnentius was a far more formidable enemy than Vetranio. He assembled a considerable army, with which he crossed the Alps from Noricum to Pannonia, and prepared for battle on the plains of Sciscia. Here Constantius was routed, and made proposals of peace. These Magnentius arrogantly rejected, and demanded the abdication of Constantius. To this extremity it was impossible to yield, until the ultimate issue of the arbitration of war decided unambiguously against him; they, therefore, met again in battle at Mursa. After a severe, obstinate, and fluctuating contest, Constantius remained the conqueror, though he was unable to follow up the victory. He, therefore, judiciously suspended hostilities during the winter; but resumed the offensive in the following summer. The troops of Magnentius, being most signally defeated in the Cottian Alps, attempted to purchase their own safety by treacherously delivering their chief to the inflexible vengeance of the Emperor. He escaped at once from treachery and revenge by falling on his own sword.

Battle of Mursa, Sept. 28, A.D. 351.

No sooner was the revolt of Magnentius thus quelled, than a new danger threatened the empire. The Persians were preparing to invade the eastern provinces. To aid him in repelling this enemy, Constantius elevated his cousin Gallus to the rank of Cæsar of the East. This was an unfortunate choice. Gallus was inexperienced, and the sudden, unlooked-for elevation upset the

Gallus created Cæsar.

[1] Zonar. lib. v. c. 14. Them. Orat. iii. Julian, Orat. ii.

A.D. 351. balance of his mind. He became suspicious, cruel, haughty, extravagant, and misgoverned the province committed to his charge with all the recklessness of insanity,—caused the members of a commission sent to inquire into his maladministration to be put to death, and otherwise incensed both the people and the Emperor.

Julian created Cæsar.

He was recalled, tried, and executed, December, A.D. 354. After this, Julian, the brother of Gallus, was created Cæsar of the West, and Constantius undertook the conduct of the Persian war himself. Gaul became the prey of the barbarians, whom Constantius, in his eagerness to destroy a rival, had secretly invited to annoy Magnentius in the rear. This criminal act against the majesty of Rome afterwards met its just punishment. Julian, in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, cleared the empire of invaders, and carried the contest across the Rhine; and he who might have been a philosophic dreamer, was developed into a soldier—a hero. Visions of conquest, and the glories which result from conquest, for a time displaced the scholastic subtleties of his earlier days. The imperial

Then elected Augustus.

purple came within his grasp. The soldiery compelled him, not unreluctantly, perhaps, to assume the title of *Augustus*. Constantius, whose jealousy can scarcely be said to have slumbered, so soon as he was apprized of this event, taking advantage of his success over the Persian monarch—whom he had forced to retreat—prepared to contest Julian's accession. Having reached Tarsus, a fever, most probably resulting from mental anxiety, seized him; but he pushed forward to Mopsucrene, where, at length, all remedies proving ineffectual, he expired, 3d November, A.D. 361, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Before his death, yielding perhaps to the necessities which he could not control, he proclaimed Julian his successor in the Empire.

The true position of the Church cannot be well understood without having in view the political events amid which its external form was fashioning. From the establishment of the Church to the accession of Julian, and the renewal of those persecutions, in which the boldest held his breath for a time, many events of prime importance, so far as regards the spiritual history of man, took place. To these it is right that we should now devote our attention.

Condition of the Church.

The Church had hitherto been *in*, though not *of*, the world,—it was an invisible communion, the bonds by which its members were joined one to another, were spiritual, and "spiritually discerned." Visible embodiment was the only apparent way in which it could brave the dangers to which it was exposed. The State had felt its weakness without the Church, and had accepted it as the only means of producing and perpetuating that "righteousness which exalteth a nation," while the Church accepted the proffered hand of the State as the first fruit of the realization of the prophecy, "that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the

mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."[1] A.D. 338.

The Church in danger.

It was a dangerous time. How much more difficult is it to bear prosperity meekly than adversity bravely! As we admire the hardy zeal of the earlier believers, so do we lament the rise of those schisms which created so much dispeace among the churches of this time. It were ill our part to attempt to justify this before men. God, who in His own divine method educes good from evil, has made here, as elsewhere, "the wrath of man to praise Him;" for we have no greater guarantee for the purity with which our gospel has been transmitted from age to age, than that afforded by the careful jealousy of sects. Each sect acted as a check upon the other, and restrained each from setting up "a false balance." This fact, however much it redounds to the praise of "the good providence of God," by no means palliates the guilt of the schismatic, or excuses the corrupt heart of man. It seems apparent that the Church was now to undergo a probation of another and a more trying kind than any to which it had yet been exposed. But "the righteous and the wise, and their works, are in the hand of God," and the chastisements of His love are mingled with blessings to those who rightly use them. The Arian heresy, which had disturbed the peace of the Church under Constantine,—notwithstanding the death of its propounder, and the boldness with which Athanasius opposed its progress, even when encouraged by imperial favour,—continued fashionable at court, and among the worldly-minded. Many intrigues were employed to insure its success in degenerate Christendom. While Constantine II. held rule, Athanasius was restored to his see at Alexandria, A.D. 338. Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, and many others, who had been deposed by Arian influence, were at the same time recalled. But his early murder left the power in the hands of his next brother, Constantius, a man weaker in understanding, more corrupted by the lust of power, and less anxious to employ the Church as the instrument of spiritual regeneration, than as an engine to increase and establish his own dominance. When the desire for the ascendency of party becomes more potent than the love of truth, the weapons which are wielded by the secular arm, are much more likely to be appealed to than "the whole armour of God." Hence, we should expect that a greater tendency to use "the powers that be" for the furtherance of their own ends, and a greater degree of submission to the temporal ruler, so long as it suited its purposes, should characterize that party by which ascendency was most coveted. At this critical time, indeed, the Church had small need of foes, least of all did it require that these should be of its own household. The question of greatest interest to the temporal well-being of Christ's

Arianism popular.

[1] Isaiah ii. 2.

A.D. 340. Church was now to be adjusted, and instead of the calmness of reason, or the firm decisiveness of Christian holiness, passion had been evoked, intrigue took the helm from candour, and self-interest exerted its provoking persuasiveness. At this juncture, A.D. 340, Eusebius of Cæsarea, an able but ambitious and somewhat unscrupulous semi-Arian prelate, died, and but a brief period elapsed till Alexander of Constantinople followed him. This latter person saw the unhappy future which "loomed" but a little way "in the distance" for the Church; for when asked on his death-bed to nominate a successor, he said, "If you seek a man of exemplary life, and a capable instructor in righteousness, you have Paul; if you wish a man of politic discernment, able to maintain interest with the great, and conserve the outward appearances of religious life, Macedonius deserves the preference." The appointment was a great stake, and the Arian party played deeply; but the primitive faith was even yet predominant in the NEW ROME of the first Christian emperor, and Paul was chosen. Constantius, provoked at this decision, summoned an Arian council, indicated his pleasure to it, Paul was deposed, and the metropolitan see was conferred on Eusebius of Nicomedia. Against this deposition, Athanasius and a council of a hundred Egyptian bishops protested, whereupon a council was convened at Antioch, and at it, by the machinations of Eusebius and the influence of the Emperor, Athanasius was again ejected from Alexandria. Constantius, knowing the estimation in which the Alexandrian prelate was held throughout Egypt, ordered the prefect of that province to enforce the submission of the Church by arms. This was done. Athanasius retired to Rome; and Gregory of Cappadocia, who had been ordained his successor, was introduced to his see by the civil governor of the province, and inaugurated his appointment by ordering a number of the adherents of Athanasius to be scourged and imprisoned. Persecution, unfortunately, had not ceased, though paganism had been pushed from the imperial seat. The potency of the secular arm in things divine was here traitorously asserted in the Church. Violence had overcome charity.

An Arian Council called.

Eusebius of Constantinople died A.D. 342, and Paul was re-elected by one party, while Macedonius was chosen by another. The Emperor commanded Hermogenes to insist on the banishment of Paul; and his friends, forgetting the first principles of their faith in the first burst of their disappointment, slew Hermogenes.

Athanasius had remained eighteen months under the guardianship of Julius, bishop of Rome, when a council of the Western prelates, whom Julius summoned, justified Athanasius and his fellow-sufferers; and the Roman bishop wrote to the heads of the Eastern Church, kindly dissuading them from the employment of such unhallowed means of furthering the supposed interests of the Church. Athanasius maintained his uncompromising integrity,

and would agree to no inexplicit recognition of the Nicene creed. A.D. 346. Constans, who had protected him, now demanded from Constantius the power of calling a synod, to secure that justice which appeared to be denied to the exiled prelate and his friends. A joint order was issued, and the synod was convened A.D. 346, at Sardica in Illyria, on the boundary line between the respective dominions of the two emperors. This synod was intended to heal the divisions in the Church; but its effect, perhaps through the policy of Constantius, was wholly different—the breach was widened. The seventy-six oriental prelates retired to Philippopolis in Thrace, and excommunicated their brethren of the occident; and the ninety-four western bishops, who retained their seats at Sardica, acquitted Athanasius, and excommunicated all his opponents. Athanasius thereafter abode at Aquileia, protected by Constans, till the death of Gregory, A.D. 349, when, intimidated by the threats of his brother, Constantius, recalled Athanasius and his friends, restored him to his see, and them to their charges. His return to Alexandria was a triumph; many of his enemies recanted, and many of his friends, in their zealous joy, devoted themselves to the monastic life. A synod was convened at Alexandria, at which the decrees of that of Sardica were confirmed.

Synod of Sardica.

But the untimely death of Constans, A.D. 351, removed the need of diplomatic reserve; and although the civil troubles occasioned by the usurpations of Vetranio and Magnentius stayed for a time the vengeful arm of the Emperor, yet, so soon as the storm was over, and his sovereignty was safe, he returned with hot impatience to sate his hatred. Paul of Constantinople was in that same year sent, loaded with chains, first to Mesopotamia, and afterwards to the confines of Cappadocia, where, after enduring horrid cruelty, he was strangled. Macedonius, his rival, took possession of the see, aided by an armed force, and at the expense of much bloodshed. Many other cruelties were perpetrated, and many unjustifiable acts of indignity were put in force, against the adherents of the Nicene creed. But Athanasius was the great arch-rebel; he had excited enmity between the imperial brothers, was a malignant resister of the favourite doctrine of the court, and, therefore, both the theological and personal opponent of the Emperor. He must, therefore, be brought to a sense of his duty, and punished for his offences.

To effect this, Constantius summoned a Synod to meet at Arles, A.D. 353, and another at Milan, A.D. 355. The eyes of the whole empire were thus turned upon the Alexandrian prelate, and much of the sympathy of the people was excited in his behalf.

Synods of Arles and Milan.

The Emperor and the factions were in arms against him, yet neither did his spirit fail, nor his friends desert him. They insisted that the illegal decrees of the council of Tyre were nullified by the recantations of his enemies, his acquittal by the bishops of

A.D. 355. Egypt, and at the councils of Rome and Sardica, by the imperial edict of reinstallation, and by his undisturbed tenure of the see under that edict. Constantius was inflexible. "Obey, or be banished," was the imperious language he employed. A few of the Nicene prelates remained firm. Among these, Liberius of Rome, Hosius of Cordova, Paulanus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, in Sardinia, and Hilary, deacon of Poitiers, deserve especial notice. The Arians appeared so triumphant, that the pagans joined them in their persecutions, under the idea that they had seceded from the faith of Christ. Under the pretext of carrying out the decrees of the holy Catholic Church, Constantius permitted the most horrid cruelties to be perpetrated in Alexandria. One Syrianus entered the church, at night, while the people were at their devotions, killed many, and ordered others to be beaten or otherwise insulted. The clergy and monks forced their intrepid bishop from his chair, contrived means for his escape, and insisted on his flight. He fled, the people protested unavailingly against such violence, but the cup of their sorrows had not yet been fully drained.

George, of Cappadocia,[1] a man regardless alike of humanity or religion, was appointed to the episcopate; and those disgraceful scenes of bloodshed which, under the persecutions, were common, were renewed and repeated under the sanction, and in the very presence, of a professedly Christian prelate, in ninety of the cities of Egypt. The Alexandrians revolted, but the military subdued them, and though for a time they expelled the bishop, he was replaced—more relentless and vindictive than before. Athanasius, who had betaken himself to the deserts, was received, and, despite the threat of the severest penalties, protected by the monks, employed his time in composing his 'Apology to Constantius,' his 'Apology for his Flight,' &c.,—in writing circular letters to the bishops of Egypt and Lybia against the Arian heresy, and other controversial works.[2] The implacable hate with which Constantius and his Arian advisers pursued Athanasius, is the best evidence of his worth and their fear, of the real estimation in which he was held by the people, and the power he had wielded against them. His undaunted endurance of many evils, his strictly holy life, his modest yet dignified bearing in prosperity, his brave opposition of wrong-doing, even in the high places of power, procured him the honourable appellation of the "Father of Orthodoxy."

Revolt in Alexandria.

Constantius, while he was thus undermining all Christian discipline, munificently supported the most expensive "forms of godliness," strove by liberality to gild reputation, and sought to atone for his cruelties, and the corruptions he had forced upon

[1] For the evidence upon which the events at Alexandria, recorded above, rest, see E. Renaudot's Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum, p. 83.

[2] Gibbon, c. xxi. Cave's Life of Athanasius.

the Church, by presents of vessels of gold and silver, tissues of gold, curtains decked with precious stones, and liberal donatives. All Christendom groaned under the exhausting extortion to which it was subjected, that magnificence in the external rites of religion might hide the deficiency of true spirituality in the inner thoughts of the worshippers. The persecutions introduced by Macedonius into Constantinople, drew the sufferers closer to those who, like themselves, were subjected to distress for Christ's sake. Hence, the Nicene believers overtured the Novatians to join them, but unfortunately this union was not effected. The Novatians were expelled from Constantinople, and their churches demolished, by the orders of the Emperor. They were exposed to other indignities and personal violence; but their narrow-minded bigotry withheld them from uniting against the active secularizing heretics, whose day of prosperity bore so hardly on them and the adherents of the creed of the Council of Nice. A.D. 357.

Hosius of Cordova, oppressed with infirmity and the weight of a hundred years, subdued by the hardships of his exile at Sirmium, and weakened in mind by all these combined, was at length prevailed upon to sign the Arian creed, and was restored to his episcopate, A.D. 357. In the same year, Liberius of Rome, who had been banished to Thrace, not only embraced Arianism, but adhibited his signature to the condemnation of Athanasius, and thus regained the bishopric he had forfeited. It was a woeful time, when even such men as these could be subdued or tempted to apostatize; but this, as Gibbon remarks,[1] only "reflected a brighter lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered with unshaken fidelity to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth." Apostacy of Hosius and Liberius.

Two councils were held, one at Rimini, and another at Selucia, at which many persons were seduced from the Athanasian doctrines. Success intoxicated its leaders,—they became divided among themselves, and, embroiled in schemes of ambition, forgot the Christian in the priest, and the priest in the courtier. It was, doubtless, some gratification for the Pagans to perceive that the rival sects of Christ's Church so zealously hated each other. They saw they were preparing the public mind for a reaction; and they beheld in Julian, the star of the restoration of the gods of Rome.

We should do wrong were we to suppose, that amongst all these strivings and contendings of sects, true religion was altogether forgotten. Doubtless, in those classes whose station removed them from temptation, many held on "the even tenor of their way," in "the paths of righteousness," and were filled with "the faith of the gospel." Nominal Christianity was, indeed, too much exalted; and too little of the godly elements of living faith was conceived as

[1] Chap. xxi.

A.D. 358. needful to the attainment of membership in the visible Church. The agitations of doctrine, and the heroism of life which this period exhibits, are most important: the former, as accustoming the thoughts of men to thought and investigation; the latter, as demonstrating the faithfulness of God in "perfecting His strength" in the weakness of His followers. While, without doubt, the good providence of God was above His Church, we are quite justified in believing that the adversities of the succeeding reign were in a great measure invited, if not provoked, by the injudicious conduct of the hierarchs of the Church. Constantius certainly found more delight in speculative, than in practical Christianity, at least we may fairly infer this from the fact that he, like his father, was not baptized till he lay on the couch of death.

Character of Constantius.

The character of Constantius was marked by weakness, which unfitted him for the station in which he was destined to move. The slave of his eunuchs, who retained their ascendency over him from his earliest years, he suffered desert to be neglected, whilst appointments were bestowed on men, who purchased the favour of his Ministers, and who, in order to realize the profits which had tempted them to incur this expense, grievously oppressed the wretched people whom they were sent to govern and protect. Surrounded by heartless flatterers, he had not perhaps the opportunity of being convinced of the inexpediency and injustice of the measures which they suggested or approved. His capacity was limited, his vanity inordinate. Jealous of his power, and suspicious of danger, he lent a ready ear to informers, who prompted him to acts of atrocious cruelty, to which he appears not to have been naturally inclined. His proneness to mercy, except in cases of treason, where fear smothered feeling, though generally believed to be sincere, has been represented as feigned, but it has been so represented by an enemy. He was not, however, without virtues, which might have produced for him an unsullied reputation in private life, where his faults, perhaps, would not have been so glaringly exhibited. Frugal in his diet and temperate in his habits, he was remarkable for a chastity which suspicion has not aspersed. His filial deference is also an amiable trait, which redeems some of his failings. On the whole, he swells the catalogue of princes, whose good qualities have been repressed, and whose defects elicited by the arts of evil counsellors.

SECTION III.—JULIAN THE APOSTATE.—A.D. 331 TILL A.D. 363.

Julian's youth.

Julian, commonly, though perhaps erroneously surnamed *the apostate*, son of Julius Constantius, brother of Constantine the Great, was born at Constantinople, A.D. 331. At the death of his imperial uncle, A.D. 337, he had only attained his sixth year; and hence, in the general massacre of Constantine's relatives, Julian escaped on account of his youth, while Gallus, his elder brother,

was spared, because, being in ill health, he was not considered dangerous. He was taken under the guardianship of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, but was afterwards, at the command of Constantius, transferred to the care of Eusebius of Nicomedia—the friend and biographer of Constantine. He was educated in Greek Literature by Mardonius, who had been the instructor of Basilina, his mother. In all things, Julian displayed an exalted enthusiasm, and, for the time being, an unusual zeal. At an early age, he became a devoted student, and, as might be expected from the tutelage to which he had been subjected, became qualified, and was actually ordained, a reader in the church of Nicomedia. The jealousy of Constantius had deprived him of his share in the inheritance of his father's goods, and he had but a scanty allowance granted to him by that Emperor. A.D. 358.

When he had reached his fourteenth year, he was taken to the Castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea, where, along with his brother Gallus, he was treated like a prince, though retained under the strictest surveillance. When the death of Constans and Constantine II. had left Constantius sole sovereign of the Empire, the childless Emperor, feeling the need of help, created his nephew, Gallus, *Cæsar*, A.D. 351, and permitted Julian to resume his studies at Constantinople. Gallus soon showed himself unfit to reign, and unworthy to live; and when Constantius found it necessary to have him put to death, Julian became an object of suspicion, and was for a time imprisoned. He was, however, at the entreaty of the Empress Eusebia, recalled to favour and invited to the court, where he was strictly watched by a crowd of spies for six months before the suspicious Emperor granted him an interview. The same necessity which had made him clothe Gallus with ephemeral grandeur, compelled Constantius, despite of his dislike, to confer the honour of Cæsar on Julian. The army accepted him with joy; but he laid aside the stole of the scholar for the accoutrements of war with reluctance, and received the purple with hesitancy and foreboding doubt. This unwillingness, on his part, was all the more intense, as only the summer before, Sylvanus, a general of high reputation, had been slain, on a false charge of treachery, fabricated by the intriguing ministry who surrounded Constantius. When he was nominated *Cæsar*, Julian espoused Helena, the Emperor's sister. Despite of this new tie, jealousy was yet unexorcised; for that he might be held in complete dependence, Constantius made him governor of Gaul, a powerful province, now a prey to the barbarians, whose incursions were rendering the maintenance of the Roman sovereignty in that quarter doubtful. This had been brought about, in a great measure, by the injudicious ambition of Constantius himself, who had, during the civil wars between Magnentius, an usurper of the purple, and himself, employed the Allemanni to make a diversion in his favour, by invad- Julian made Cæsar.

A.D. 358. ing Gaul, in return for which he agreed to bestow upon them all the territory they could reduce. The civil wars being ended, he did not feel it quite convenient to adhere to his part of the contract, and the absurdity of that policy which had led him to introduce the natural enemies of the Empire within its very borders, became menacingly apparent in the dreadful and destructive ravages by which they began to enrich themselves. With the Rhine, from its source to its estuaries, for their base of operations, they poured the horrors of war over a vast extent of country. And it was over a province in such circumstances, that an inexperienced youth, whose days had been spent in seclusion and study, unaccustomed to the din of arms, and unacquainted with the forms or processes of war, was appointed to initiate his career of peril, and redeem from the hands of a rude and warlike people, a country strewn with carnage and devastation—the result of the treachery of that very Emperor under whose seal he held his commission. To make the matter worse, he was sent forth in the depth of winter into this badly provisioned district, attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers, whose lieutenants had received a discretionary power to obey or disobey as they saw fit.

Julian as a soldier.

It so happened that this literary, peaceable, and obscure prince, who, until he had attained his twenty-fifth year, had never seen an army, and then saw it as a general, had an ingenious and commanding mind. By earnest study and keen thought, he made himself master of the principles on which success depended, and carefully regulated the combinations of his forces, and his calculations on their effects by those principles. A few years sufficed, in spite of the ill-favour of Constantius, and the numerous obstacles surrounding him, to re-establish discipline in the army, arrange the finance of the province, and drive the barbarians from the Empire. Having succeeded so far, he assumed the offensive in his turn, raised a marine force, crossed the Rhine, carried the war into the settlements of the enemy, and established a name for fearlessness and ability round all the Western frontiers. In the midst of these victories, he did not neglect the duty of administration. He fortified fitting places, established a strict civil polity, which was calculated to secure and encourage the prosperity of the province. His name was not slow to spread over the whole Empire. His victorious career, his virtuous character, the high administrative capacity developed without experience or teaching, the massacre of his family, his obscure and persecuted youth, all tended to excite interest and admiration. As his fame increased, the disquietude of Constantius grew—the weak are generally envious—and he set himself to destroy the rival whom he had established against himself. Preferring to sacrifice the security and prosperity of an important province rather than exhibit the magnanimity which acknowledges and rewards merit even in a rival, he commanded

Julian to leave the army, and to send the better part of his troops forward to Persia. In this act he but precipitated his own fate; for the legions of Gaul and Germany had entered the Roman service under the condition that they should never be led beyond the Alps, while the people who inhabited those provinces became alarmed, lest by a renewal of the barbarian incursions, they should be again plunged into the desolating horrors of war. Discontent in the army, and disaffection among the people, increased rapidly. Julian, in this dilemma, resolved to demit his title and place, and to retire into the peacefulness of private life. He obeyed the mandate, gave orders for the immediate departure of the troops, and made every arrangement for their comfort on the way. On the evening of the day of their march, Julian, either through policy, or fidelity, or as he himself professed, under a feeling of disgust for the grandeurs of power, took farewell with the soldiery from a tribunal erected on a plain before the gateway of the city. He recalled the dangers and privations to which they had been exposed, the hazardous conquests in which they had been engaged, complimented them on the heroism they had displayed, and exhorted them to go forward willingly and cheerfully under the standard of the Emperor, who possessed not only the means to reward merit, but the will to do it. The dispirited soldiery received this address in sad silence, their home-feelings were keenly active, their love and respect for Julian was intense, and at last, at the hour of midnight, with tumultuous clamour, they besieged his palace, and greeted him as their *Augustus*. Julian ordered the gates to be closed, and steadfastly refused to see the excited soldiery till the morning. This delay only exasperated their impatience and heated their ardour, so that at day-dawn, they forcibly entered the palace, hailing Julian Emperor. He attempted dissuasion, but in vain. The excited soldiery gave him the choice of a grave or a throne, and he, of course, accepted the latter alternative. He was raised upon the shields of the veterans with whom he had fought, amidst the loud acclamations of the troops, and a golden collar, enriched with precious stones, supplied the place of a diadem. A donative was then promised to the soldiers, and Julian shut himself up in his palace, with the appearance of the utmost grief. How far such grief was sincere,[1] can hardly be determined. A high sense of honour and justice characterized his conduct; yet ambition held strong sway over his mind, and resentment may, perhaps, have had its influence. Julian himself calls

A.D. 358.

Julian chosen Emperor.

Considerations on Julian's conduct.

[1] The Christian writers, Gregory Nazianzenus, (p. 58, 67), Philostorgius, (lib. vi.) Theodoret, (lib. ii. c. 28,) and Sozomen, (p. 18,) seem to have thought that he was privy to the designs of the soldiery. Zonaras says that he privately gained the officers, who, by his direction, excited the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that he might appear to have accepted the purple in order to save his life, (p. 18.) See Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 219, note x.

A.D. 360. the Deities to witness, that he was unacquainted, till the close of the evening, with the intentions of the army. Yet it may be doubted whether his credulous reliance on certain dreams and predictions, which assured him that he would one day become Emperor, had not some effect in leading him to expect and desire a result, under existing circumstances so natural; and in inducing him, perhaps almost in such a manner as to escape his own consciousness, to court popularity with greater art and assiduity. On first receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, he retired to rest, and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen in a vision the Genius of the Empire, holding, as represented by paintings, the horn of abundance, and complaining that he had long waited at his door, and had often been forced to retire. On hearing the clamours of the soldiers, he besought Jupiter to signify his will, and he was directed by an omen to yield to the entreaties of the army. In these instances may be discerned that bias towards superstition, which is so rarely untinctured by duplicity.

His vision.

The resolution with which Julian rejected the advice of his soldiers to put to death the partizans of Constantius who had opposed his elevation, and the generosity with which he forgave an eunuch, who, it is said, was bribed to murder him, are traits calculated to confirm the high opinion entertained of his character. No blood was shed: Florentius fled from Gaul; Lupicinus, on returning from Britain, was arrested, but experienced humane treatment.

His letter to Constantius.

After having assembled his troops, and exhorted them to protect him whom they themselves had exalted to the imperial dignity, he wrote, in his name and that of the army, a conciliatory epistle to the Emperor, which he sent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. Assuming only the name of *Cæsar*, he detailed the circumstances of his promotion, and solicited that he might be permitted to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept; he allowed the supremacy of Constantius, to whom he promised to send yearly Spanish horses and some foreign troops, and to leave the nomination of the Prætorian Præfect. But he reserved to himself the appointment of the other officers; and, at the same time, represented that the state of Gaul was such, that so far from being able to spare any of the inhabitants of her wasted regions, she needed the assistance of the other Provinces.[1]

Negotiation between Julian and Constantius.

The ambassadors of Julian met the Emperor at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. The letters, with which they were charged, transported him with inordinate rage, and he dismissed them, trembling, from his presence, without interrogating or listening to them. In the height of his fury he hesitated whether he should prosecute

[1] Ammianus adds, that besides this public letter, Julian added a private one, filled with cutting reproaches, which he had not seen, and would have thought it unbecoming to insert in his History, (lib. xx. 167.)

his expedition against the Persians, or march without delay against his rival. On calmer thoughts, he despatched Leonas, his quæstor, into Gaul, with a threatening letter, in which, after annulling Julian's civil and military appointments, and nominating new officers, he required him to lay down the title which had been conferred by rebels, and, as he valued his own safety and that of his friends, to rest satisfied with the rank of *Cæsar*, which he was permitted to retain. Julian gave audience to Leonas, sitting on his tribunal, surrounded by the soldiers and people, purposely assembled, and the quæstor read with a loud voice the letter of Constantius. Julian then declared that he was willing to resign his new dignity, if he obtained the consent of the soldiery, by whom it had been bestowed. The words were scarcely uttered, when reiterated acclamations confirmed to him the title of *Augustus*. When that part of the letter was read, in which Julian was accused of ingratitude towards the Emperor, who observed, that he found him an orphan, and with all the tenderness of a father had taken care of his infancy and education, "An orphan!" cried the indignant Julian, "does it become the assassin of my father and of all my family, to reproach me that I was left an orphan? Does he wish to re-open wounds which are scarcely closed?" The assembly being dismissed, Leonas, who had been treated with the attention due to his rank and merit, was sent back with a letter, in which Julian expressed without disguise the feelings which he had long smothered. A.D. 361.

Constantius was engaged against Sapor, and was consequently ill able by force to disquiet Julian. The latter, to add new lustre to his dignity, again attacked the trans-Rhenic barbarians, destroyed great numbers, and obliged the rest to conclude a peace on conditions which he prescribed.

Civil war.

While Julian was thus engaged, Constantius had driven the Persian monarch to retreat; and as Julian fully appreciated the feelings which were entertained regarding him by the elder Emperor, he found it advisable to hasten forward in hostile fashion as speedily as possible, and thus either insure peace or success by the arbitration of arms. He made himself master of Illyricum, and hurried forward toward Sirmium, sending before him everywhere despatches, explaining and justifying his revolt against his unfriendly uncle, who was, on his side, advancing with almost equal rapidity. Mental anxiety had probably wrought its usual effects on an exhausted frame, for, when Constantius reached Tarsus, he was prostrated by fever, and in a few days after, at Mopsucrene, after bequeathing the successorship to Julian, he died.

Julian's entry into Constantinople, Dec. 11.

Upon intelligence of the death of his rival, Julian hastened to Constantinople, the place of his birth, into which he entered in triumph amid general rejoicings. The crowds which gathered round him with all the eagerness of curiosity were surprised at the

A.D. 362. small stature and youthful appearance of the conqueror of Barbarian kings and nations, whose fame was diffused through the vast extent of territory which had witnessed his extraordinary success. The attempt of the intriguer Eusebius and his adherents to oppose his career and maintain their own influence by electing another Emperor, were rejected by the army, who immediately acquainted Julian with their readiness to acknowledge his authority, which was thus established without bloodshed. The remains of the deceased Emperor were brought to Constantinople and solemnly interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Julian accompanied the funeral procession on foot, without a diadem, in a mourning habit. The tears which he shed seemed to evince that reflections on benefits conferred, predominating over the remembrance of past wrongs, had drawn forth the effusions of a feeling heart; yet, it cannot be denied, that policy, rather than sincerity, may have dictated this apparent burst of grief. The legionaries who occupied Aquileia, on learning the death of Constantius, submitted to the new Emperor, and obtained his pardon. Thus was Julian left, in his thirty-second year, sole master of the Roman Empire.

Universally acknowledged Emperor.

Although his power was now established on a secure basis, he continued unchanged in the habits of his life. He carried to the throne a frugality worthy of the olden days of Rome's renown, a simplicity more characteristic of a philosopher than a sovereign, and an ardour to see all things adjusted rightly, which might have commanded praise, if it had not been so rigorously and inflexibly enforced. He set himself to regulate the administration of justice, to retrench the expenditure of the palace, ameliorate the laws, consolidate the army, and restore its discipline. He soon found himself able to assume the offensive in the Persian war, which he hoped would form a grandly effective consummation to the long series of his triumphs. In this, however, as the sequel will show, he did not succeed.

In the midst of all the cares of State, Julian never lost sight of an enterprise on which he had set his heart—the mission, the work to which he believed Fate had especially ordained him—viz., the restoration of the Old Worship.

During the early part of the reign of his half-brother Gallus, he is said to have renounced Christianity. This statement coincides with his own letter to the Alexandrians, in which he assures them that he was a Christian till his twentieth year. Julian was of an ardent, poetic temperament,—he had been trained to an enthusiastic love of the literature of Greece. The "gods" of Homer had mingled in his boyish day-dreams, and the solitary student imparted to them a sublime grace and celestial radiance, derived from his own fervid fancy and cultured taste. When he, subsequently, pursued his studies at Constantinople, and listened to the esoteric allegorical interpretations by which the Neoplatonists showed that philosophy

drew into unity all systems of worship, blended them together, and harmonized them all, he was placed one remove farther from a true appreciation of Christianity. In Asia Minor, too, the anti-Christian Neoplatonists chiefly flourished, so that, when he visited Nicomedia, he was brought fully within the circle of their influences. One of these, Maximus, "an adroit juggler," feeling that if philosophy would successfully defend itself from Christianity, it must ally itself to the Pagan faiths, and work its way into political life, undertook a mission to Nicomedia, where, by many artifices and flatteries, he wound himself into the affections of Julian, played upon his susceptible mind, and having prevailed upon the prince to visit Ephesus with him, at last succeeded in gaining him over to the principles of his school, and had him initiated into those mysteries, to the adoption of which he was not so much led by reason, as impelled by feeling.

A.D. 362.

Julian's Apostacy.

After the murder of Gallus, and his own recall to court, he was permitted to visit Athens twice. There he saw the visible embodiments of the gods in whom the wisest nation in the world believed, —the symbols of Divinity stood around him in grace and majesty; and here, amidst the monuments of Greece's ancient glory, in the company of learned men, justly proud of their olden greatness, and full of regret that their glory had departed, and their kingdom had been given to others, the change in the thoughts and belief of Julian was completed and confirmed.

There were several circumstances in the life of Julian, in the fate of philosophy, and in the history of the Church, which favoured a reaction. The creed of Christianity was that of Constantius, the murderer of Julian's relatives, and the tyrannous oppressor of his own youth. The cruel crime and the criminal cruelty were alike unchecked, if not approved of, by the clergy. He was educated in Asia Minor, where the Arian controversy was waged with more zeal than discretion, and more hate than knowledge. There appeared, too, in these squabbles, a large amount of self-seeking ambition, which, to a mind already prejudiced against the faith of Christ, seemed a strong argument against either the sincerity of its professed followers, or the efficacy of its doctrines upon the life, character, and conduct. Unfortunately, it cannot be denied, that the Church, which had itself, by the bravery of its resistance, proven the impolicy of persecution, was no sooner placed on the right hand of the throne of Constantine, than it began to denounce *anathema*, not only against the adherents of the old worship, but against some of their own members, distinguished alike for learning, sanctity, and zeal. Neander remarks, that the arrogance and cupidity of the hierarchy, made them forget "the duties which they owed to the supreme magistrate;" and Warburton does not hesitate to affirm, that "their turbulent and insolent manners deserved all the severity of his justice." They were too intent on that disputa-

Reaction against Christianity.

The Church.

A.D. 362. tious strife, which attaches more importance to merely verbal distinctions than "the weightier matters of the law," and they appeared to forget the amenities of common humanity, rather than to exemplify that "charity" which "suffereth much, and is kind." Intolerance was alien alike to the philosophy of Athens and the religion of Rome, and apparently as well as really repugnant to the precepts of that Christ whom they professed to worship.

The Philosophers.

Then the philosophers, what could their sentiments be, who had for so long a time been the trusted expounders of the Pagan dogmas, but were now restricted to teaching the rhetorical arts, obliged to retire for practice under the shadows of religious mystery, deprived of their fortune and privileges, their consideration and importance, and threatened each instant with ruin? In the bitterness of their defeat, hatred must have mingled with their convictions, and they must often have sighed, not only for liberty, but dominion and revenge.

It was amid such circumstances that Julian's life-lot was cast,—it was under mingled influences such as these, that all his

> "Gorgeous dreams
> And beauteous fancies, hopes, and aspirations,
> Were born."

A great Fate seemed to lie before him, and he felt flattered. That which he accepted and recognized as his destiny, was an impossibility. The wheels of human progress are irreversible; they will not roll back how great soever is the monarch who commands them. When a belief has once lost its vitality, its moral power ceases, the pageant may continue and the rite may be performed, but its efficacy is clean gone, so far as it is sought to employ it as a motive, as an agency affecting the life. Formalism is death. And there comes a time when a new living faith shall dash it to the earth, and strew its ashes to the four winds of heaven. An effete philosophy had leagued itself to an equally effete paganism to resist the progress of the New Faith; but the attempt was unsuccessful.

Christianity *versus* philosophy.

Christianity claimed an origin from God, and rejected, because it superseded, every other belief. This is the essential feature of a true religion; but the heathen world did not then comprehend, nor was it in a state to comprehend, that there was only one Religion. Christians were looked upon as the contemners of the Gods and Faiths of all nations; and were persecuted, in this point of view, not so much because they worshipped their own God, as because they insulted the Divinities in which others believed. It would scarcely be fair to adjudicate on this topic from its appearance at first sight, as if it were a struggle between an acknowledgedly Divine Religion, revealed by the one living and true God, enforcing and producing purity of morals and perfection of life, and a vulgar polytheism which taught an absurd theogony, and permitted infamous immorality. To Julian it appeared far otherwise. He,

like the Christians, recognized the unity and omnipresence of the Deity; and not only advocated, but practised the noble morality of Plato. By a profound eclecticism, and a rationalizing interpretation, the Neoplatonists had succeeded, as they imagined, in gaining a higher platform of thought than Christianity—a system of faith which, when adopted, fused, harmonized, and reunited all religions,—all the essentials of ritual, belief, and action. The triumph of Christianity seemed to them fraught not only with personal humiliation, but with the destruction of everything rightly included in the terms culture, civilization, and philosophy. And Julian shared this belief. Besides, on his elevation to the sole sovereignty of the empire, he had another powerful reason for disliking and opposing Christianity. Not only were the hierarchy greedy of power, rank, and wealth, but the people believed that they sought these things rather as material guarantees for the safety of the Church than for their personal aggrandizement. Then, their peculiar belief which led their thoughts beyond the inheritances and pleasures of this life, made them impervious either to bribery or fear. They were knit together, too, by the enthusiasm of proselytism, and the recollection of the sore persecutions by which they had purchased their present success. Their organization had attained a perfection to which no political enginery in the empire had attained, so that not less from their immense numbers than their incomparable institutions, they were to be feared. A.D. 362.

Julian's edicts.

Julian perfectly comprehended how colossal was the power he was desirous of overthrowing, and he did not rush blindly or rashly into the struggle. He issued an edict which, considered by itself, displayed the prudent humanity and inflexible impartiality of a good prince, combined with the moderation and wisdom of a philosopher. In it he proclaimed a free and equal toleration to all creeds, so far as consisted with the security of the civil power, and accepted—as was the custom of his predecessors, on his accession to the throne—the sacred office and title of *Pontifex Maximus*, as a trust solemnly committed to him by the gods, and to be discharged with fidelity and diligence. He commanded the restoration and repair of the various temples which in the prior reigns had been confiscated, and devoted to the service of Christ, ordered them all to be reopened and dedicated anew to the worship of the several gods of the Empire. With a politic appearance of impartiality, he recalled the exiled heretics to their former stations, determined to make internal discord his auxiliary in the accomplishment of his inimical designs. While, however, he laboured to destroy Christianity, he endeavoured to elevate and purify paganism. For this purpose he instituted a college of priests, prescribed pompous ceremonials, founded hospitals, and established schools. In fact, he strove to infuse as large a portion as possible of the institutions and spirit of Christianity into the Pagan *cultus* and discipline.

A.D. 362. Acts and writings.

The attempt was vain. Nay! in that epoch of the world it was culpable. Paganism was thoroughly soulless, even infamous,—philosophy was in disrepute, public morality paralyzed, the restraints of virtue unknown, and the traditions and customs he sought to revive had become inefficacious and futile. Exasperated by failure, and misled by evil counsel, Julian forgot his own precepts of toleration, and not only lost the honour of being the protector, though not the disciple, of the New Faith, but rendered himself justly liable to the opprobrium of being its enemy and persecutor. He prohibited Christians from holding offices civil or military, confiscated the revenues of the churches, commanded those who had destroyed the temples to rebuild them, forbade the teaching or reading of the ancient Classics in Christian schools, interdicted the preaching of the gospel, disallowed proselytism, and denounced baptism as a crime, because it created division between the citizens of the Empire, and detracted from the homage due to the occupant of the imperial throne. All these things increased the bitterness of the struggle. The Emperor sarcastically defended his confiscations, by saying, he was only helping them to fulfil that delightful law of Christianity,—"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust may corrupt, and thieves break through and steal." To justify his dissent, he published an elaborate and able treatise against Christianity, and with all the skill of an accomplished polemic, with wit and learning, sophistry and reasoning combined, strove to defend himself and assail the doctrines and practices of the Church; while, as a retaliation of the burning of the writings of Porphyry in the time of Constantine, he ordained that all the Holy Books which could be found, should be treated in a similar manner. At last yielding, or feigning to yield, to the entreaties of his counsellors, and perhaps impelled by the arrogant provocation of those Christians who, with the instinct of a party confident of, nay, predestined, to success, wished to be either all-powerful or persecuted, he lighted again the fires of persecution in the Roman Empire.

Mark, bishop of Arethusa, the protector of Julian's youth, had been exceedingly zealous in proselytizing; and now that the Pagan magistrates were furnished with power, by the edict of Julian, to restore the temples and hold the Christian hierarchs as their debtors, they seized and scourged him, suspended his naked body, smeared with honey, to a tree, and left him a martyr to the stings of insects, and the burning rays of a Syrian sun. Julian, as a mark of gratitude, spared his life. He extended no similar mercy to Athanasius, who had resisted the great Constantine, escaped several trials, endured exile four times, and yet, amidst his degradation, had never lost the esteem of his friends, nor the respect of his enemies. George of Cappadocia, who had held the archiepiscopal see of Alexandria during the interregnum of Athanasius, had been assas-

sinated by the Pagan populace, A.D. 361; and Athanasius, amid A.D. 362.
the rejoicings of the Christians of the Egyptian capital, had resumed his seat. Julian opposed the resumption, or, as he styled it, the usurpation of the office, and renewed the sentence of exile. Athanasius resisted, the greater part of the people favoured the primate; and the timid Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, delayed pressing, or rather enforcing obedience, to the decree. Julian wrote to him most angrily, vituperating the archbishop, and expressing a wish that the whole venom of the Galileans, as he contemptuously called the Christians, were concentrated in the single person of that one brave, good man, as he would not, most probably, have scrupled much at any means which would have assured him so easy a triumph as getting him despatched; but the venerable primate lived long after the fury of his persecutor was stayed by the hand of death.

It is due, however, to Julian, to state here, that though his rewards may often have induced wavering or politic professors of Christ's religion to turn with facile minds to the Pagan worship, his terrors were seldom unbared against private, unostentatious believers, but against the members of the hierarchy, whom he feared for their influence, hated for their creed, and detested for their rivalry with himself.

Julian's superstition.

The Persians, who had so much annoyed his predecessors and himself, Julian was determined to chastise and tame. For this, therefore, he prepared; and no warnings could deter, no cautions could restrain, him from engaging in a warfare so tempting in its greatness. He laid his plans with much care, and on a scale of unprecedented magnificence; but his superstition interfered with the prompt execution of his schemes. On his route he visited Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Pessinus in Phrygia, near which stood the temple of Cybele. Here he composed and delivered his discourse, still extant, 'On the Mother of the Gods.' He subsequently passed on towards Antioch, where he had promised himself much gratification; for that place, in which the disciples had been first called Christians, was now rent and torn with dissensions regarding doctrine, and had wofully degenerated in morals. But though divided amongst themselves, they were united against the enemy of their faith, and his hopes were not only disappointed, but his person was subjected to ridicule, and his mission to raillery. To revenge himself for this, he wrote the 'Misopogon,' a violent satire against the Christians, and appointed over them an unjust, unscrupulous, and avaricious governor.

A short distance from Antioch stood the temple of Daphne, an oracle of Apollo; and when the festival of the "Light-producer" arrived, Julian attended, found the temple unprovided with victim or sacrifice, and was fearfully enraged. He ransacked earth and sea for fit offerings to the god, and with much profusion and

A.D. 363. excessive revelry performed the rites, consulted the oracle, and began to raise around the temple a magnificent perislyte. On the evening of October 20th, the building, with its splendid statue, took fire, and was destroyed. Although it is most probable, that this resulted from the carelessness of the curators of the shrine, Julian suspected, or rather professed to believe, that it was a trick of the Christians; and torture was unsuccessfully employed to induce the revelation of the means and persons. Hereupon Julian commanded the great Church of Antioch to be closed, and confiscated its treasures, commissioning Count Julian, his uncle, also an apostate, and Sallust the prefect, to execute his orders. Count Julian overstepped the limits of his commission, shut *all* the churches, executed Theodoret, and performed many acts of profanation, for which the emperor reprimanded him.

Apollo's temple burnt.

While residing at Antioch, a new passion seized the soul of Julian; viz., to rebuild the famous temple of Jerusalem, consecrate it to Paganism, and thus, at once, conciliate the Jews by restoring their ancient glory, and defeat Christianity by displacing, in the very "city of God," the worship which had hitherto been offered to him there. This work was interrupted by huge globes of fire bursting out of the earth, and hence the impious attempt, either naturally or miraculously, was most signally defeated.

His plans for the invasion of Persia being, in the meantime, completed, Julian left Antioch, crossed the Euphrates, and stood before the enemy in Mesopotamia, before they had heard of his projected departure, and looked forward most sanguinely to an easy conquest.

The Persian war.

In this expedition, he had a noble army of sixty-five thousand men, all enthusiastic, and, the men of Gaul especially, confident in the skill and valour of their leader. He captured several fortified towns of Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris, and took Ctesiphon; but here success failed him, conquest and a lingering defeat began. The Romans met in Persia an enemy more dreadful than its warlike hosts could ever have been—want.

> "Look at yon track
> Lined out along the desert by their ruin,
> What see you there? Dead horses, dying men;
> Women, that to the shattered carriages
> Cling shrieking; and afar the coming spoiler,
> There do they rest the while—poor worn anatomies,
> Fit for death only."

Yet, when battle presented itself, they were brave, fought nobly, and died like heroes. Julian bore his share of the fatigues and distresses of the campaign, as if he were unsubduable by toil, danger, or want. By continual devices and strategies, the Persians managed to set upon the Romans while in an unfavourable position, and in these skirmishes often did great damage. As the emperor marched unarmed at the head of his troops, he heard that they

had been attacked in flank. On the spur of the moment, he snatched his sword and shield, and, unarmed as he was, rushed into the thickest of the fight, waving his hand, and by animating words urged his soldiery on. A scene of merciless havoc ensued; and Julian, reckless of danger in the heat of such a contest, mingled with ardour in the formidable fight. A javelin shot by an unknown hand grazed his arm, and then pierced his side. In an attempt to tear out the weapon from this wound he mangled his fingers fearfully,—at last, exhausted by loss of blood, he fell from his horse, and was carried by his followers to his tent. At this sight the fury of the soldiery was redoubled, they no longer fought for victory but vengeance. With frantic ferocity and maddened despair they concentrated all their hate and courage in the effort, which they did not relax till the darkness of night ended the conflict, and they lay down to rest, wearied with their exertions, but with their rage unsated. The battle terminated doubtfully; for neither was able to pursue, or retain the glory of victorious arms. A.D. 363.

Credulous to the last, Julian did not consider his wound as mortal, because, according to his account, it was foretold by an oracle that he would close his days in Phrygia, which he understood to mean the province of Asia Minor, which bears that name. But on learning that the spot on which he lay was so called, he became sensible that all hopes of life must be resigned.

His friends then assembled in his tent round the dying chieftain, with looks in which the deepest dejection was impressed. Julian, stretched on a lion's skin, his customary couch, alone betrayed no symptom of weakness. "The time is arrived, my beloved friends," he said, "when I am summoned, though at an early season, to depart from life. The loan, which nature redemands, I return with all the cheerfulness of a faithful debtor, and not, as some might imagine, with reluctant sorrow. Taught by philosophy the surpassing excellence of the soul over the body, I find more reason to rejoice than to repine at the emancipation of the nobler from the baser substance. I likewise reflect that the gods have often sent death as the highest recompense of piety. I reckon it is a blessing which has prevented me from fainting under the pressure of difficulties, and from committing any action unworthy of myself. I have observed of all pains, that as they triumph over the weak and impatient, so they yield to those who resist them with perseverance and courage. I die without remorse. I am not stung with the recollection of having fallen into any heinous crime, either in the obscurity of early life or since the assumption of the purple. I have regarded the imperial authority as an emanation from the gods, which I trust I have preserved pure and unsullied, by governing my people with moderation, and avoiding to embark in war without mature deliberation. If my efforts have not always been successful, it is because success is at the disposal of a higher power. Julian's dying address.

A.D. 363. Convinced that the interest and happiness of his subjects ought to form the sole object of a good prince, I have always, as you know, leaned to tranquil and pacific views,[1] and I have banished from my conduct that licentiousness which is destructive alike of the moral principles and of the prosperity of states. But whenever the Republic, whom I venerate as a mother, has called me to open dangers, I have encountered them with the firmness of one accustomed to trample under foot the varied accidents of fortune. I will not conceal from you that it had been predicted to me that I should fall by a violent death. I offer thanks to the Everlasting Deity that I do not terminate my days through secret treason, or by the protracted torture of disease, or after the manner of condemned criminals,[2] but that I have earned a great and glorious end in the mid-career of brilliant achievements. In the opinion of all just judges, it is equally pusillanimous to long for death when it behoves us to live, or to regret life when it is time to die. My failing strength prevents me from speaking longer. I purposely abstain from naming my successor. My choice might be erroneous, and if rejected, it might perhaps expose to peril the person to whom it pointed. But as a faithful son of the Republic, I hope she may obtain after my death a virtuous ruler."[3]

Having thus spoken in the most composed manner, he ordered that his body should be removed to Tarsus in Cilicia, and distributed his private property among his most intimate friends. On learning the death of one of these, Anatolius, whom he had desired to see, he gave way to his affliction. Yet the same man had forbidden lamentations for himself, remarking to the melancholy circle by which he was surrounded, that it was but weak and abject to grieve over a prince who was about to be united to the heavens.[4] While they strove to stifle their emotions, he entered into a subtle dispute with Maximus[5] and Priscus, the philosophers, on the excellence of the soul. But, as his wound reopened and the inflammation increased, his breathing became embarrassed. He called for a draught of cold water, and had no sooner drunk it, than, about the middle of the night, he expired without pain.[6]

His death. June 26.

[1] The insincerity of this assertion is obvious. Lituos somniabat et prœlia. (Ammian. lib. xxii.)

[2] Vel damnatorum fine. Florent. MS. The common reading "delicatorum" is not inconsistent with the character of Julian.

[3] Ammianus. lib. xxv. c. 3.

[4] Humile esse cœlo sideribusque concilatum lugeri Principem dicens. (Ammian.)

[5] This philosopher, who had first inspired Julian with aversion for Christianity, had been invited to court by him, and received with marks of esteem, which Libanius has praised highly, (Orat. xii.) but which Ammianus thought below the Imperial dignity. (Ammian. lib. xxii.) He was so haughty as to be less easy of access than the Emperor himself. (Eunap. c. v.) Julian's "whole court," says Dr. Bentley, "in a manner consisted of haruspices, sacrificuli, and philosophers." Remarks on a late Discourse on Free-thinking.

[6] The above account rests on the testimony of the honest and well-informed Ammianus, with which the tales which are added by Christian writers seem inconsistent.

He was then in the thirty-second year of his age, having reigned A.D. 363. seven years and a-half from his elevation to the dignity of *Cæsar*, three years since his assumption of the title of *Augustus*, and one year, eight months, and twenty-one days since he had enjoyed the undisturbed possession of supreme power.

Thus perished, in the vigour of his age, after a brief but eventful Remarks. reign, one of the only princes who appeared capable, by the rare endowments which the vicissitudes of his checkered life developed, to call again into existence the ancient discipline of Rome, and to maintain the character of the Empire on the precarious elevation which it had reached. It has been justly remarked that his last moments were a copy of the death of Socrates, but without the ease and natural simplicity of the original. There is, indeed, in the whole scene a certain self-complacent, theatrical air, not very consonant with true greatness. It does not bear the gentle character of resignation. It exhibits itself too ambitiously by a studied display of phrases. And the visible effort to produce, as it were, the striking and the sublime of some grand catastrophe, tends to deprive the situation of the essential qualities of earnestness and solemnity.

In person Julian was of the middle size, but of a robust make, His character. and thoroughly well-proportioned frame. His eyes were full of fire, and his eyebrows handsome. His hair was peculiarly smooth; his beard long, and terminated in a point. His nose was straight; his mouth rather large, and his under lip hanging.[1] His neck short and bent; his shoulders thick and broad; and his countenance neither regular nor remarkable for beauty.[2] His public life was one unremitting struggle against the degenerate habits of the age, by the fatal influence of which the sinews of Roman greatness were gradually unstrung. Combining the utmost ability with heroic courage, he displayed the various qualifications of a consummate military commander no less in the conduct of sieges, the disposition of marches, and the management of encampments, than by the skilfulness of his plans, the fertility of his evolutions, and the boldness of his attempts in the field of battle. The terror of his arms continued long after the blows which they had inflicted were past; and the rugged tribes, which he had quelled into submission, remained tranquil until his death. Possessing that double art which

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It is pretended, that when Julian felt himself wounded, imagining he saw Jesus Christ, he filled his hand with blood, and cast it towards heaven with the blasphemous exclamation: "Glut thyself. Thou hast conquered, Galilæan, but I still renounce thee," &c. See Theodor. lib. iii. c. 20. Sozom. lib. vi. c. 2. See the different reports of his death in Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. iii. p. 374.

[1] Labro inferiore demisso, al. diviso. It was, probably, the pouting lip, like that of the imperial family of Austria. See Valesius and Wagner, in loc.

[2] Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 4. Comp. Misop. See also Greg. Nazianz. in Julian. Orat. ii.

A.D. 363. both inspires affection and enforces authority, he contrived to induce his troops, even without pay, to encounter the fiercest adversaries; and he succeeded in leading on bands of men, long accustomed and devotedly attached to the bleak regions of Gaul, into distant countries of vast extent, through the burning plains of Assyria to the very frontiers of Media. So singular, indeed, was the ascendency which he had acquired, that the mere threat of retiring into private life was sufficient, as it were, to silence the murmurs of the discontented. His well-built frame, hardened by long practice, enabled him to brave the severest changes of climate and to sustain the most harassing fatigues. Requiring but little sleep or sustenance, he divided the period which others lost in rest, between the duties of personal vigilance and the pursuits of literary composition. Of the less brilliant, but far more solid, qualities which constitute true greatness, his love of justice and moderation, with a few disgraceful exceptions, have appeared in the course of his history. The greater part of his time, when at Antioch, was devoted to judicial proceedings. Though he was apt during trials to put irrelevant questions respecting the sect to which the parties before the court belonged, his decisions are said to have been free from the bias of religious prejudice. They were generally marked by precision, though sometimes grounded rather on natural equity than on established law. Taught by experience the odious nature of calumny, he was slow to attend to the charges of informers; and he displayed the most dignified contempt for points to which weak and unjust princes would have attached considerable weight. He rejected accusations, even when directed against men for whom he entertained a personal dislike. Yet the impartial historian has stated as a circumstance which but ill accords with his character for equity, that in his reign, persons who complained against magistrates, however distinguished might be their own privileges, connections, and services, seldom obtained the redress they deserved, and found themselves compelled to purchase by secret bribes exemption from annoyance. His chastity,[1] a virtue which he considered as shedding as fair a lustre on the mind as beauty confers on the body, was not, even in the ardour of youth, exposed to the slightest suspicion from his most intimate followers. When in Assyria, a country no less remarkable for the seductive beauty than for the pliant morals of the female sex,[2] he preserved unimpeached the character of Stoical indifference by which he was distinguished, and refused even to venture on the sight of the fair captives whom the chances of war had placed in his possession.[3]

[1] Mamert. in Panegyr. Vet. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 88. Recolebat sæpè dictum Lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat jucundè, id adserentem, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 4.

[2] Quint. Curt. lib. v. &c.

[3] Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. 4.

In a word,[1] had his virtues, flowing in a more natural and equable course from genuine feeling, depended less on the forced and fitful suggestions of artificial self-schooling; had a proper sense of dignity imparted the minor attributes of grace to his demeanour, and true magnanimity enhanced the splendour of his exploits, by withdrawing from them all appearance of vanity and ostentation;[2] and above all, had right views of religion inspired a more just and benign, as well as more rational, spirit, to his policy and conduct; his name, uniting the military fame of Alexander with the virtuous reputation of Marcus Aurelius, the two objects of his imitation,[3] would have shone among the most illustrious in the annals of history.[4] A.D. 363.

His body was transported to Tarsus, and buried near that city. His monument, rising on the banks of the Cydnus, was regarded by the Pagans as a temple, and bore engraven on it the following simple distich:—

> Julian, having passed the rapid-rolling Tigris, lies here,
> He united the qualities of a good prince and a brave warrior.[5]

[1] Thomas, after having shown the difference between the character of Julian and that of Marcus Aurelius, whom he affected to imitate, justly observes: "Son extérieur était simple, son caractère ne l'était pas. Ses discours, ses actions avaient de l'appareil et semblaient avertir qu'il était grand. Suivez-le; sa passion pour la gloire perce partout. Il lui faut un thèâtre et des battemens de mains. Il s'indigne qu'on les refuse. Il se venge, il est vrai, plus en homme d'esprit qu'en prince irrité qui commandait à cent mille hommes; mais il se venge. Il court à la renommée; il l'apelle. Il flatte pour être flatté. Il veut être tout à la fois Platon, Marc-Aurèle, et Alexandre." (Essai sur les Eloges, ch. xx.)

[2] His character, as drawn by Prudentius, is well known:

> ——— Ductor fortissimus armis;
> Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manuque
> Consultor patriæ; sed non consultor habendæ
> Religionis; amans tercentûm millia Divûm.
> Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus Orbi.
>
> Apotheos. 450, &c.

Ammianus has thus candidly mentioned his defects: "Levioris ingenii: verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat, emendari se, cum deviaret à fruge bonâ, permittens. Linguæ fusioris et admodum raro silentis: præsagiorum sciscitationi nimiæ deditus, ut æquiparare videretur in hâc parte principem Hadrianum: superstitiosus magis, quàm sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimoniâ pecudes mactans: ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Cæsaris, in quem id accepimus dictum, Οἱ λιυκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἂν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα. Vulgi plausibus lætus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans adpetitor, popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui sæpe adfectans," &c. (lib. xxv.)

[3] Comp. Julian. Ep. ad Themist.

[4] In this account of Julian, besides the original text of Ammianus, we have chiefly followed the elegant work of La Bleterie, Vie de Julien. Additional information may be found in Jondot, Histoire de l'Empereur Julien, 2 vols. Paris, 1817. This latter work, though it contains many just strictures on the conduct of the Emperor, is for the most part written in a vein of declamatory detraction. The author is fond of drawing a parallel in his notes between the Russian expedition of Bonaparte and the Parthian war of Julian. M. Jondot has likewise given an account of Julian in the Biographie Universelle, tom. xxii. See also on the subject of Julian: Ueber den Kaiser Julianus und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches Gemälde, von A. Neander. Leips. 1812.

[5] Ὁ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΓΡΙΝ ΑΓΛΡΡΟΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ·
ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Γ' ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗΣ.

Zosimus.

A.D. 363. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN TO THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.—A.D. 363 to 400.

Policy of Jovian.

Jovian, the successor of Julian, a zealous Christian, conducted himself with great temper and moderation in ecclesiastical affairs. He lost no time in restoring the free exercise of the Christian religion, and in abolishing the laws enacted by Julian to degrade and oppress the sacerdotal order. He restored the privileges and immunities of the Church, placing it in nearly the same condition in which it had been left by Constantine. He recalled the prelates banished during the preceding reign. He manifested his attachment to the Orthodox believers in the Trinity by the attention which he paid to the illustrious Athanasius, who became his principal adviser on the affairs of the Church; and by checking the petulance[1] of the Arians when they pertinaciously attempted to regain the ascendency lost since the time of Constantius. But, though decidedly Orthodox, he wisely and magnanimously forbore to persecute either the Sectaries or the Pagans.[2] He granted a full and free toleration to all religious opinions and all modes of worship, and he showed a sincere desire to allay religious animosity,[3] and to promote peace and unity in the Church.[4]

Valentinian. His religious moderation.

Valentinian, whose great qualities as a sovereign and a legislator were strangely contrasted with the natural violence and ferocity of his disposition, steadily pursued the temperate and judicious policy of his predecessor. He, indeed, severely prohibited the nocturnal sacrifices of the Pagans, and magical incantations, and occasionally restrained those Sectaries[5] who were reputedly guilty of flagrant

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Cedrenus says: Τὸ δύστηνον σῶμα ἀπικομίσθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν λάρνακι τοιχυρᾷ κυλινδροειδεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψεν ἐλεγεῖον τόδε.

ΚΥΔΝΩ ΕΠ' ΑΡΓΥΡΟΕΝΤΙ, ΑΠ' ΕΥΦΡΗΤΑΟ ΡΟΑΩΝ
ΠΕΡΣΙΔΟΣ ΕΚ ΓΑΙΗΣ ΑΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΕΡΓΩ
ΚΙΝΗΣΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ, ΤΟΔΕ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΛΑΧΕ ΣΗΜΑ.
ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Τ' ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗΣ.

See Lindenbrog. not. in Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv. c. 10.

[1] Some original documents, containing a curious account of the conferences between Jovian and the Arian deputies from Alexandria, are inserted in the second volume of the works of Athanasius. Compare Bleterie, Histoire de Jovien, tom. i. pp. 138-147.

[2] Theodoret, (lib. v. c. 21,) represents Jovian as having interdicted the worship of idols, and this statement is adopted by many modern ecclesiastical historians. But Themistius, a contemporary orator, and himself a heathen, positively asserts the contrary; and his testimony is quoted, and not contradicted, by Socrates.

[3] It is probable that either the direct influence of the Emperor, or the knowledge of his pacific sentiments, brought about the Synod of Antioch, in which a sort of reconciliation took place between the Anomœan party of Acacius of Cæsarea, and the Catholics who adhered to Meletius, bishop of Antioch. The former agreed to receive the definitions of the Nicene Council, and the latter abated something of their rigour respecting the use of the term *consubstantial*. The consequence was that the sincerity of the Acacians was doubtful, and Meletius and his friends were stigmatized as Semi-Arians and Macedonians.

[4] For a more detailed account of Jovian's proceedings, the reader is referred to Socrates, lib. iii. c. 24, 25. Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 3, 4, 5. Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 1-4.

[5] Particularly the Manichæans and the Donatists, the former of whom were accused of licentiousness, and of practising magical incantations at their secret meetings. The

immorality, or obnoxious as disturbers of the public peace. But, with these few exceptions, he allowed the free exercise of religious worship to all, extending the equal protection of the law to heretics, Jews, and heathens.[1] In consequence of this moderation, and of the Emperor's strict and vigorous administration of the laws, the Western Churches, generally speaking, were little disturbed by the religious animosities or rancorous persecutions, so disgraceful to the reign of Constantius.[2] A.D. 366.

Affairs of the Church of Rome. Sept. 24.

The Church of Rome was at this time peaceably governed by Liberius, who, after his return from banishment, retracted his profession of Arianism and his condemnation of Athanasius, and adhered steadfastly to the Orthodox party. That party, superior in numbers, and no longer oppressed by the tyranny of Constantius, or the insidious policy of Julian, speedily regained the ascendency.[3] On the death of Liberius, a violent and disgraceful conflict arose between two rival candidates for the vacant see, hitherto unexampled in the annals of Christian Rome, though by no means uncommon in later ages. Damasus, a Spaniard by birth, was elected to succeed Liberius, an election made, it appears, in due form and with the sanction of the public authorities; but a considerable party in the Church, dissatisfied with his character and with his conduct during the Arian persecution, protested against his appointment, and elected one Ursicinus in opposition to him. The præfect Juventius endeavoured to put a stop to those irregular proceedings; upon which a popular commotion was excited, and a number of the friends of Ursicinus assembled in the Basilica of Sicininus. There they were attacked, and many cruelly massacred by the armed partizans[4] of Damasus. The popular fury on both sides was so great,

Schism between Damasus and Ursicinus.

Donatists were regarded, not only as rebels against the civil authority, but as guilty of sacrilege in rebaptizing the members of a different communion.

[1] After the death of Julian, the heathen temples were often attacked, and sometimes demolished in popular tumults. Valentinian allowed guards to be stationed for their protection, and at the same time consulted the feelings of his Christian subjects by forbidding any Christian soldier to be employed in that service.

[2] Socrates, lib. iv. c. 1. Sozom. lib. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 6.

[3] Liberius, in his epistle to those Eastern bishops who renounced Macedonianism and Semi-Arianism, (apud Socrat. lib. iv. c. 12) represents *all* the Western bishops as having disavowed the profession of Rimini, and embraced the doctrine of the Nicene Council. This, however, must be understood with some limitation, as the important see of Milan was then, and for some time after, occupied by the Arian prelate Auxentius. In the year 364, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, had a vigorous contest with Auxentius, endeavouring to prove that he was a heretic, and unworthy of the situation which he held. But Valentinian, to whom the matter was referred, being either deceived by an ambiguous Confession of Faith drawn up by Auxentius, or resolved to preserve a strict impartiality in those contests, not only maintained him in possession of his see, but ordered Hilary to quit Milan.

[4] In a petition presented to the Emperor by two Presbyters of the party of Ursicinus, it is asserted that Damasus marched in person to the attack, at the head of his clergy and a body of hired gladiators, and that of a hundred and sixty dead bodies which were found, not one belonged to his party. This accusation excites the choler of Baronius, and is discreetly passed over in silence by Fleury and other Roman Catholic historians. The reflections which the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus takes occasion

A.D. 373. that the præfect was compelled to provide for his safety by leaving the city; nor could the tumult be quelled but by the utmost exercise of imperial authority. The victory remained with Damasus;[1] his election was confirmed; and the rival Pope, with many of his abettors, was banished from Rome. With this exception, the tranquillity of the Western Churches experienced no material interruption during the reign of Valentinian, and Christianity continued to make silent but rapid advances, both in the Roman provinces and among the independent barbarians. By the vigorous, and, in the main, judicious enactments of Valentinian, the prosperity of the Western Church was greatly promoted, and increased dignity and importance were attached to the Christian profession.

Valens persecutes the Catholics.

Very different was the condition of the Eastern Churches under the rule of Valens, brother to Valentinian, but resembling him in nothing but his faults. A proselyte to the opinions of Eudoxius, the Arian archbishop of Constantinople, by whom he was baptized, he is said to have solemnly sworn, at the instigation of that prelate, to exert all his power in favour of the party espoused by him, and to the prejudice of Catholicism. It does not appear that he molested the pagans, or even the heretics; but all who adhered to the Nicene[2] opinions were exposed to a severe persecution. At Constantinople, and in many other places, the churches were forcibly taken away from the Orthodox and transferred to the Arians. Meletius, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius of Samosata, Gregory of Nyssa, and many other Catholic pastors, were banished, and the most arbitrary measures were employed to force persons of every age, sex, and condition to abjure their faith. In Cappadocia those measures were opposed, with some degree of success, by the zeal and activity of Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, and his friend Gregory Nazianzen; the high character and firm and intrepid conduct of both of whom commanded the respect, or excited the awe of the Emperor, and procured them an indulgence which was granted to few. At Alexandria, also, Athanasius was protected from the imperial officers by their fear of a popular commotion; and during his life his followers experienced comparatively little molestation. After his death, the Arians, supported by the præfect Palladius, forcibly introduced Lucius, a man previously conspicuous by his rancorous opposition to Athanasius, into the vacant see. Peter, who had been appointed to it by the unanimous consent of the Catholics, was imprisoned; all the clergy who espoused his cause

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from this incident to make on the ambition, luxury, and worldly-mindedness of the Roman Pontiffs, are too well known to need quoting.

[1] Socr. lib. iv. c. 29. Sozom. lib. vi. c. 23. Ammian. Marcellin lib. xxvii. c. 13.

[2] A copious, and, probably, somewhat exaggerated account of the sufferings of the Orthodox under Valens, is given by Socrates, lib. iv. c. 4. et seq., Sozom. lib. vi. c. 6. et seq., and particularly by Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 22-36.

were banished; and throughout Egypt innumerable acts of cruelty and oppression were exercised upon those who adhered to the Nicene doctrines, especially the monks, whose zealous opposition to Arianism[1] rendered them peculiarly obnoxious. A.D. 376.

Want of unity among the Arians.

The Arians might, perhaps, have been more successful in their efforts to secure a complete ascendency if they had not been weakened by their own dissensions. Their numerical strength was greatly increased by the accession of the Goths[2] of Mœsia and Thrace, who, as it is said, through the influence of their bishop, Ulphilas, embraced the doctrines of Arius in the time of Valens, and by their subsequent conquests disseminated them through a great part of Western Europe. But the divisions[3] among them were almost infinite, and (though frequently relating only to minor points of doctrine) effectually prevented all unanimity and concert in their proceedings. Many of the semi-Arians and Macedonians were so jealous of the ascendency of the pure Arians, that rather than hold any communion with them, they chose to reunite themselves to the Catholics.[4]

and Eunomians.

The Eunomians were at variance with all other sects, and even among themselves; so that though Valens was able for a time to harass and depress the Orthodox, he could not organize his own party, composed of such discordant materials, into a compact and permanent society.

Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, though of a mild and pacific disposition, did not exercise his father's impartiality in

[1] Gibbon (vol. iv. c. 25,) extenuates the persecution of Valens, and tries to make it appear that his agents often exceeded their master's instructions and intentions. In such matters it is almost impossible to discriminate between the portions of blame due to an arbitrary monarch, or to his advisers and agents; but the maxim, Qui facit per alterum, facit per se, seems as justly applicable to princes as to persons of an inferior class. It is certain that many severities were exercised against the Catholics, of which the rigorous prohibition of their religious worship was not the least. It is no less certain that Valens often interfered personally in the controversy in a busy meddling manner; and the character given of him by the impartial Marcellinus, who represents him as in crudelitatem proclivum, subagrestis ingenti, injuriosum, iracundum, criminantibus sine differentiâ veri et falsi facilè patentem, would not lead us to suppose that he greatly disapproved of the cruelties inflicted in his name on a body of men who thwarted his views and inclinations; but rather make us suspect that, on some occasions, his direct share in them was greater than Gibbon is willing to admit.

[2] The time of the first conversion of any considerable portion of the Goths to Christianity, and the immediate occasion of their embracing Arianism, are so variously stated by the ecclesiastical historians, that it is difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion on those points. The different accounts of the ancient writers are industriously brought together by Mascon, Geschichte der Teutschen, book vii. sec. 39, 40, pp. 317-322. However, there seems no reason for doubting that many of them embraced the Christian faith early in the 4th century; that about A.D. 372, the pagan king of the Visigoths, Athanaric, instituted a severe persecution against many of his subjects on account of their attachment to it; and that their lapse into Arianism took place during the reign of Valens.

[3] Socrates, lib. v. c. 20-24.

[4] This reconciliation, perhaps more apparent than real, took place in the year 365, chiefly through the influence of Eustathius of Sebaste, whose subsequent conduct made it appear that he acted more from policy than conviction, on this occasion.

A.D. 376. religious matters. Imbued by St. Ambrose,[1] bishop of Milan, with a strong attachment to the Catholic faith, and, perhaps, with something of an intolerant spirit, he soon showed a disposition to circumscribe[2] the liberty hitherto enjoyed by the Sectaries. He appears, indeed, to have tolerated the Arians;[3] but the Eunomians, the Photinians, and the Manichæans were prohibited from holding any public religious assembly; and the Donatists were commanded to surrender all the churches in their possession to the Catholics, and forbidden, under severe penalties, even to hold any private conventicle. When the death of Valens placed Gratian at the head of the Eastern empire, the exiled[4] prelates were immediately recalled; and though not immediately restored to their lost dignities and emoluments, especially where the Arians were numerous and powerful, it was not difficult to perceive that such a measure was in contemplation. The pagans,[5] though nominally tolerated, were subjected to various vexatious restrictions; their priests were deprived of many privileges and exemptions, hitherto enjoyed by them; and plain indications were given that the liberal policy observed by Jovian and Valentinian was about to be succeeded by a very different system.

Religious liberty greatly abridged by Gratian.

Policy and legislation of Theodosius.

It was reserved for Theodosius, a prince of greater talents than Gratian, but acting upon the same maxims, and under the influence of the same advisers, to carry this change into effect. Immediately after his baptism,[6] his zeal for the Catholic doctrines displayed itself

[1] Upon the death of Auxentius, A.D. 374, Ambrose, who was then governor of the province, was chosen to succeed him by popular acclamation. Though a layman, and not even baptized at the time of his election, he applied himself so zealously to his new profession, that he quickly surpassed most of his contemporaries, and became, through his talents, and his influence with the emperors, the great arbiter of the affairs of the Western Churches. It is easy to perceive that the authority of the bishops of Rome was very insignificant compared with that exercised by Ambrose.

[2] Sozom. lib. vii. c. 1; and for Gratian's Laws against Heretics, see Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 5. 1. 4, 5.

[3] The Arians would not have escaped, if the second constitution of Gratian, published A.D. 379, against heretics, 'Omnes vetitæ,' had been acted upon to the full extent of the letter. But this does not seem to have been the case; at least the Arians were allowed to retain their churches, even those which they had usurped from the Catholics, till some time after the accession of Theodosius.

[4] Though persons who have suffered under religious persecution are seldom disposed to show much forbearance towards those whom they regard as the authors of their misfortunes, some of the restored Catholic bishops had the magnanimity to offer to leave their Arian competitors in possession of their sees, in case they would consent to embrace the Nicene faith. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 2.

[5] Gratian's laws against the pagans do not now appear in the Theodosian Code. They are, however, mentioned by the heathen orator Symmachus, Relat. ad Valentin., as well as by Ambrose, in his reply to Symmachus, and are appealed to in a subsequent constitution of Honorius, Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 10. 1. 20, De Paganis.

[6] Theodosius was baptized in the beginning of the year 380, at Thessalonica, by Ascholius, bishop of that place. The famous law, 'Cunctos populos,' which declares the faith professed by Pope Damasus and Peter of Alexandria to be the only true one, and every departure from it to be impious and heretical, was promulgated a few days after. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 4, and compare Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 1. 1. 2. De Fide Catholicâ.

in a series of intolerant enactments against heretics.[1] On his arrival at Constantinople, where Arianism had predominated during forty years, Demophilus, the successor of Eudoxius, was immediately required to embrace the Nicene faith, or renounce his bishopric. As he refused to change his principles, he, and the clergy who adhered to him, were expelled from the city. Gregory Nazianzen, who, upon the death of Valens, had come to take charge of the oppressed and scattered Catholics[2] of Constantinople, was chosen to fill the vacant see, by the arbitrary interposition of the Emperor, rather than by a regular canonical appointment.[3] The Sectaries were prohibited from holding any religious assembly within the walls of towns, and a commission was issued, by which the imperial officers were empowered to eject them from the churches which they had usurped, and to reinstate the Catholics. This mandate was rigidly enforced, and, shortly after, the heretics were forbidden to consecrate bishops, or to erect places of worship, either in the cities or the country. Little opposition was made to these sweeping measures. In many districts the Arians were in a humiliating minority; in others, where their numbers were greater, they were so divided into factions, as to be incapable of unity of purpose. Their religious principles, moreover, were but ill calculated to support them in the hour of trial.[4] They were dispersed and intimidated, and gradually conformed to the established system; and thus the public profession of that doctrine, once triumphant throughout the Roman Empire, was suppressed almost without a struggle. A.D. 380.

Conduct of Ambrose.

While Theodosius, in the East, thus endeavoured to suppress heresy by penal enactments, and to unite the Orthodox (with whatever success) by the convocation of the Council of Constantinople,[5] Ambrose exerted himself zealously to the same purpose

[1] The Theodosian Code (lib. xvi. tit. 5, De Hæreticis) contains not fewer than fifteen rigorous constitutions by this Emperor against the various denominations of Sectaries.

[2] The exercise of the Catholic worship had been so completely suppressed at Constantinople that Gregory was forced to assemble his congregation in a private apartment; and even this proceeding was attended with some risk. The apartment was called Anastasia, as being the place of the resurrection of the Nicene faith. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 5.

[3] The question of the validity of Gregory's appointment was rendered still more perplexed, by Maximus the Cynic, a worthless person, who first insinuated himself into Gregory's favour, and then surreptitiously obtained consecration, as archbishop of Constantinople, by the Egyptian bishops. The Western prelates were at variance with those of the East about this time, and for a while they espoused the cause of Maximus, and opposed the promotion of Gregory.

[4] Gibbon's remarks on the cause of the want of firmness manifested by the Arians at this time, (vol. v. ch. xxvii.) though made in no friendly spirit, are, upon the whole, just and well worthy of attention. The whole tenor of ecclesiastical history shows that a Christian sect, denying the divinity of the Saviour, carries a principle of decay in its own bosom.

[5] This synod created more divisions than it healed. The Macedonians, whom the Emperor hoped to reconcile, were completely alienated; the differences already existing between the Western and the Eastern Churches were augmented, and the illus-

A.D. 385. in the West. Through his influence, Palladius and Secundianus, the only Arian bishops of note within Gratian's dominions, were condemned and deposed at the Synod of Aquileia. The accession of the younger Valentinian revived, however, the hopes and spirits of that sect. His mother, Justina, had long been a proselyte to their doctrines, though she concealed her sentiments during her husband's lifetime. The virtual sovereignty of Italy and Illyricum having fallen into her hands by the death of Gratian, she employed it to secure a free exercise of their religion,[1] and an equality of privileges for her own party. But when, in pursuance of those objects, she demanded that one of the principal churches in Milan, in the possession of the Catholics, should be surrendered for her accommodation, she was encountered by Ambrose, who declared himself ready to suffer every extremity rather than allow the churches of God to be contaminated by the worship of heretics. The Empress strained every nerve, not neglecting intimidation, to carry her point, but the firmness and intrepidity of the archbishop prevailed. Shortly after, Justina, or her ministers, contrived to obtain a sentence of banishment against Ambrose, apparently under the pretext that he had infringed the toleration granted by the Emperor to his Arian subjects. But the archbishop, foreseeing the dangers to which his flock would be exposed during his absence, boldly refused to obey the sentence, and though matters proceeded to such an extremity that he was actually besieged in his cathedral by the imperial troops, his firmness, aided by the enthusiastic zeal of the people of Milan in his cause, and by the dexterous interposition of a few miracles,[2] (a species of machinery already extensively employed,) finally triumphed over all opposition.[3] The influence which Theodosius soon after obtained in the affairs of Italy, finally extinguished the hopes and completed the downfall of the Arian faction in the West.

The Arians favoured by the Empress Justina.

Her plans are counteracted by Ambrose.

Though Theodosius was severe in enacting penalties against heretics, he was, upon the whole, lenient in enforcing them, and was satisfied with preventing the public profession of obnoxious opinions. It was reserved for the usurper Maximus, aided by two

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trious and amiable Gregory Nazianzen fell a victim to the jealousy of his brother prelates, being forced to resign his archbishopric in order to make room for Nectarius, a man much inferior to Gregory in every respect, and elected under circumstances highly discreditable, both to himself, and those who patronized him. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 7, 8.

[1] It is extraordinary that the Constitution whereby Valentinian grants his Arian subjects the most ample liberty of conscience, and in which he even seems to admit the Orthodoxy of the Creed of Rimini, is still extant in the Theodosian Code, under the title 'De Fide Catholicâ.'

[2] He was directed, in a dream, to the bodies of two unknown martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, by which holy relics the usual miraculous cures were wrought. The Arians discerned the artifice, and exclaimed against it; but the Empress and her advisers dared not contend against the religious frenzy of the people.

[3] We have a circumstantial account of these contests with Justina from the pen of Ambrose himself. Epist. 20, 21, 22, &c. Compare Sozom. lib. vii. c. 13.

Catholic prelates of very equivocal character, to set the first example,—one, alas! too fatally followed, of persecuting Christians to death for their religious opinions. Their victims were Priscillian, bishop of Avila, in Spain, with several of his followers, male and female. He had imbibed a system, compounded, it is said, of the errors of the Manichæans and of the Gnostics, first introduced into Spain by an Egyptian named Mark; and he had made many proselytes by his eloquence and address. His errors, or his popularity, excited the alarm of Idacius, bishop of Meriola, and Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba, by whose joint influence his doctrines were condemned at the Council of Saragossa. Not satisfied with this triumph, they obtained, after much importunity, a sentence of banishment from the Emperor Gratian against Priscillian and his followers. The leaders of the party, however, contrived to procure the revocation of that sentence, and the restoration of their churches. On their reinstallation they engaged the people and the imperial officers so completely in their interest, that Ithacius was in his turn compelled to fly. Full of resentment, he applied to Maximus, as soon as the death of Gratian had left that usurper in possession of Spain and Gaul, and represented the principles and conduct of the Priscillianists in the most odious light. Maximus warmly espoused his cause, and ordered Priscillian and his principal associates to be apprehended and tried by an Ecclesiastical Synod at Bourdeaux. Priscillian having appealed to the Emperor, the cause was carried before the Civil Tribunal, and, notwithstanding the humane intercession of St. Martin of Tours, who represented that exclusion from the pale of the Church would be a sufficient punishment, and that it was a thing unheard of, that secular judges should take cognizance of errors in faith and doctrine, he was finally condemned and executed. Six of his associates, among whom were Euchrocia, a noble Aquitanian matron, and Latronianus, an eminent poet, shared the same fate. Instantius, a Spanish prelate, already condemned by the Synod of Bourdeaux, was deposed and banished to Sicily; the meaner disciples were dispersed through various parts of Gaul.[1] These proceedings, equally irregular and barbarous, excited general reprobation; and it is to the honour of Ambrose and St. Martin, whose zeal for the Catholic faith sometimes amounted to intolerance, that they openly and fearlessly expressed their abhorrence of the sanguinary conduct of Maximus, and for a long time refused to hold religious communion either with him, or his instigators, Idacius and Ithacius.

A.D. 388.

Fate of Priscillian and his followers.

The religious liberty of the Pagans, though considerably abridged by Gratian, was yet greater than had been allowed by the laws of Constantine and his immediate successors. The priests and vestals were deprived of their immunities; the revenues of the temples

Downfall of Paganism.

[1] Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacr. lib. ii. c. 65.

A.D. 391. were confiscated for the service of the State; but the heathen rites of their forefathers were still allowed to those who were conscientiously attached to them, provided they abstained from nocturnal sacrifices and magical incantations. But when Theodosius,[1] in the early part of his reign, prohibited the immolation of victims, their superstition was attacked in its most vital part,[2] and, in the course of a few years, the success of his measures against heresy, and his triumph over Maximus, emboldened him to proceed to steps of a still more decisive kind, and to attempt the entire subversion of the already tottering fabric of paganism. A commission was issued to the præfect of the East, directing him to close all heathen temples within his jurisdiction; and while the imperial officers were engaged in this task,[3] assisted by the clergy, and especially by the monks, with a vigour not always strictly legal, Theodosius gradually increased the rigour of his legislative prohibitions. A law was passed in the year 391, declaring that to enter a heathen temple, with a religious purpose, was an offence liable to a fine of fifteen pounds of gold; and in the following year, not only all public, but even all private and domestic, exercise of heathen rites was interdicted under the severest penalties.[4] In some few instances, the intemperate and tumultuous proceedings of the monks in destroying the temples, excited the opposition of the fanatical heathen peasantry, and at Alexandria a serious commotion, fatal to many Christians, was occasioned by the injudicious measures of the patriarch Theophilus. But, generally speaking, the pagans showed little disposition to incur the rigorous penalties of the laws, still less to become martyrs for a religion so little calculated to inspire real faith or fortitude. Some show of zeal in the cause of paganism was made at Rome, where the votaries of the ancient superstition still had a strong party, both among the senate and populace. But the eloquent exertions of Symmachus, the champion of heathenism, were easily baffled by Ambrose,[5] who

[1] The laws of this Emperor and his successors against heathenism, which are numerous, are preserved in the Theodosian Code, lib. xvi. tit. 10. De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis.

[2] There is an ambiguity in the law published A.D. 381, Si quis vetitis sacrificiis, (Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 7. De Paganis) which might seem to justify the inference that every species of sacrificing was not prohibited. Zosimus and Libanius both concur in affirming, that the immolation of victims was forbidden about this time, and that only the use of incense was allowed; but it is not quite clear whether they allude to the above law, or to the one addressed to Cynegius, A.D. 385. Vid. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 9, with Godefroy's commentary.

[3] Theodoret, lib. v. c. 21, and Sozomen, lib. vii. c. 15, give an account of the destruction of idolatry in the Eastern Empire.

[4] The terms of the law are sufficiently comprehensive: "Nullus omnino . . . . sensu carentibus simulachris, vel insontem victimam cædat; vel secretiore piaculo, Larem igne, meno Genium, Penates nidore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat tura, serta suspendat." Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 12. The penalty imposed was confiscation of the house or property where the offence was committed, or, in certain cases, a fine of twenty-five pounds of gold.

[5] Ambrose. Epist. 17, 18.

encountered him with equal ability, better argument, and a confident reliance on the support of his sovereign; and not long after, a more important victory was gained, in an enactment by the senate, carried, through the influence of Theodosius, by an overwhelming majority, that Christianity should for the future be the sole religion of the Roman State. This decisive measure sealed the ruin of paganism in Rome and its dependencies. The senators and nobles hastened to conform, nominally at least, to the dominant religion; the inferior citizens followed their example, and St. Jerome was in a little while able to boast that every heathen altar in Rome was forsaken, and every temple had become a place of desolation. Arcadius and Honorius, the sons and successors of Theodosius, trod closely in his steps; the zealous efforts of the clergy, especially of St. Martin of Tours, in the work of conversion and instruction, powerfully seconded the vigorous measures of the emperors, so that, at the close of the fourth century, the open profession of paganism was confined to the inhabitants of some obscure provinces, and to a few philosophers and men of rank, whose talents, on the one hand, or whose civil and military services, on the other, induced their governors to tolerate or connive at their religious opinions. Of the converts thus obtained to Christianity, many, doubtless, were honestly and fairly convinced by force of argument, and thus far were the interests of true religion promoted. But it is to be feared that the arbitrary measures of Theodosius were, upon the whole, injurious to the purity and welfare of the Catholic Church. The churches were filled with hypocritical pretenders, who, influenced by secular force or sordid self-interest, assumed the denomination of Christians, while their hearts were still attached to their former superstitions. It would have been happy for the Christian Church if the evil had been confined to the mere admission of these spurious members. But, unfortunately, their spiritual rulers, aware of the insincerity of this portion of their converts, and anxious to conciliate them, rashly compromised the dignity and truth of Christianity, by adulterating it with pagan superstitions and human inventions. The evils caused by thus alloying pure religion with superstition and falsehood have subsisted ever since; and most of the gross and debasing practices which deform Christianity in Roman Catholic countries, may be distinctly traced to this source. A.D. 396.

Progress of Christianity during the fourth century.

The retrospect of the fourth century, the most important period, perhaps, between the first promulgation of Christianity and the Reformation, is in some points of view not unfavourable. The boundaries of the visible Church were extended, and the numbers of her subjects were considerably increased. In the earlier part of this century the gospel was preached with success, and Churches were organized in Armenia, Iberia, and Abyssinia. A considerable tribe of Saracens, also, subject to Queen Mavia, or Moavia, is said

A.D. 396. to have embraced Christianity in the reign of Valens. Many of the pagan Gauls were converted, chiefly through the exertions of St. Martin of Tours. In the time of Theodosius the gospel began to make some progress in the frontier provinces of Germany; and if the Irish annalists may be credited, the Culdees formed various establishments on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, and laboured diligently to instruct and enlighten the barbarous natives. It must be admitted that this gratifying picture of the triumphs of the gospel has its dark side: indeed, a full and impartial view of the subject is calculated to give the enlightened and pious Christian almost as much pain as pleasure. As the Church increased in numbers, she also increased rapidly in wealth, power, and influence, and the evils which seldom fail to follow in the train of prosperity, soon began to manifest themselves. Artful and unprincipled men perceived the power of the Christian religion upon the human mind, and abused it to their own evil purposes. Ambitious sovereigns learned to make the Church an engine of State, and equally ambitious ecclesiastics conceived the bold design of subjecting the civil power to spiritual tyranny. Errors in doctrine were made inveterate by severity and injudicious opposition; errors in practice were frequently connived at through sordid and selfish motives. Thus schisms and heresies were multiplied and perpetuated; seeds of corruption were sown, which speedily grew up in rank and mischievous luxuriance; and, perhaps, it is not too much to affirm, that nearly all the erroneous doctrines, corrupt practices, and religious factions of the present day may be traced to this period.

After the death of Julian, the Church suffered but little from external violence, at least within the limits of the Roman Empire. If we except the persecution under Valens, the effects of which were transient, she was uniformly protected by the civil power, and her worst foes were those of her own household. The sufferings of the Christian subjects of Athanaric the Goth, are probably exaggerated; but there seems no reason to doubt that martyrdoms occurred among them. Nicetas and Sabbas are spoken of as the most eminent victims: of the former, little is known; the *Acts* of the latter have been preserved, and, making allowance for an alloy of the marvellous, from which few histories of martyrdom are exempt, there seems no reason to doubt their authenticity. The last persecution under Sapor, king of Persia,[1] between the years 330 and 370, was of a more serious character. That monarch, exasperated by political and religious causes against his Christian subjects, pursued them with such unrelenting rigour, that the

[1] The best account of the Persian persecutions is contained in the Syrian Martyrology, published by Stephen Assemanni. In the first part of the work, attributed to Maruthas, the sufferings of the Christians under Sapor are described in a simple, unaffected manner, and without the garnish of improbable miracles, so usual in narratives of this kind.

Church in that country never completely recovered from its effects. A.D. 398.

Succession of Prelates in the principal Churches.

The disposition already shown by the bishops of Rome to encroach upon the rights of their brethren, was held in check during the lives of Theodosius and Ambrose. The pontiff Damasus was succeeded, in 385, by Siricius, a man of moderate abilities, and remarkable only as the first pope of whom we have any genuine Decretal epistles. He was succeeded, A.D. 398, by Anastatius, whose claim to notice rests only on his condemnation of the works of Origen, which he probably did not understand, and on his persecution of the learned Ruffinus, Origen's apologist and translator. At the same time, the patriarchs of Constantinople, placed by a decree of the Second General Council on an equality with the Roman pontiffs, began to extend their jurisdiction and their prerogatives. Their views were greatly promoted by the celebrated Chrysostom, who succeeded Nectarius in 398, and who soon showed that his ambition equalled his genius. On the death of Peter of Alexandria, Timothy, a man of little note or influence, governed that see for about four years. He was succeeded by Theophilus, an able, bold, active, ambitious, and unprincipled man, famous for his vigorous proceedings against heathenism, and still more so for his cruel treatment of the Origenists, and his rancorous persecution of Chrysostom. In the meantime the Church of Antioch was disturbed by a singular schism. When Eudoxius was translated from Antioch to Constantinople, Meletius was regularly ordained in his room. A small faction, however, called the Eustathians, suspecting his orthodoxy, refused to acknowledge him as their lawful pastor, and persuaded Lucifer, bishop of Calaris, to consecrate a presbyter named Paulinus, in opposition to him. The schism was prolonged and aggravated, first by the obstinacy of the popes and other Western bishops, who adhered to the cause of Paulinus; and afterwards by the perverseness and bad faith of the fathers of the Council of Constantinople, in appointing Flavian as Meletius's successor, in spite of an express pledge, that upon the demise of one of the rival prelates, the survivor should be allowed to remain in possession of the disputed see. After the death of Paulinus in 389, his party, not choosing to acknowledge Flavian, elected one Evagrius. The dispute was not terminated till the year 398, when, upon the death of Evagrius, Theophilus of Alexandria had the address to prevail upon his party not to appoint any successor; and Chrysostom persuaded the Western bishops to admit Flavian to their communion.

Condition of the principal Sects.

The death of Theodosius was of no advantage to the Sectaries, as Arcadius and Honorius rather increased than relaxed the severity of their father's laws against heresy. At the close of the fourth century, the different denominations of Arians, and the Macedonians, weakened by their own dissensions and by the want of able leaders,

A.D. 400. dwindled into comparative insignificance, and in many places conformed, outwardly at least, to the Catholic Church. The Manichæans, though proscribed and declared infamous, were still numerous, and, to the best of their power, evaded the rigorous laws directed against them, by dissembling their opinions, and disguising themselves under a variety of appellations. The steadfastness with which the Novatians adhered to the Nicene faith during the Arian persecution, procured them a degree of indulgence scarcely experienced by any other sect; and their Church at Constantinople, under the direction of Sisinnius, an able and accomplished prelate, is described as being in a flourishing condition in the time of Arcadius. The numbers and the factious spirit of the African Donatists, rendered them exceedingly troublesome both to the civil and ecclesiastical power. The rise and progress of this sect, and the various synods which were assembled in order to repress them, are treated of in another chapter.[1]

[1] See c. iv.

CHAPTER III.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE Christian writers of the fourth century are much more numerous than those of the second and third; and their works are, generally speaking, more voluminous and of a more elaborate nature. We deem it unnecessary to dilate much on their general character as authors, since the greater part of the remarks already made on the merits and defects of their predecessors are no less applicable to them. In learning, eloquence, and the graces of composition, many of them equalled, or perhaps even excelled, their most eminent heathen contemporaries: but these excellences are greatly obscured by their want of method and precision; their frequent substitution of declamation for argument; and, most of all, by their willingness to adopt or connive at the growing superstitions of the age, and to adulterate the purity and simplicity of the gospel with human inventions. A.D. 300-400.

As it would greatly exceed the limits of a work like this to furnish regular biographical accounts of all the theological writers of this century, and to enter into a detailed examination of their voluminous productions, we shall omit those of whom no writings, or only a few inconsiderable fragments, have been preserved, and we shall compress our remarks upon the others into as brief a space as possible. Instead of making two distinct classes of the Greek and Latin authors, we shall henceforth arrange them all according to the strict chronological order, as nearly as it can be ascertained.

Greek Writers.

EUSEBIUS.
ATHANASIUS.
CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.
EPIPHANIUS.
BASIL.
GREGORY NAZIANZEN.
GREGORY OF NYSSA.
MACARIUS.

Syriac Writer.

EPHREM.

Latin Writers.

ARNOBIUS.
LACTANTIUS.
COMMODIANUS.
JUVENCUS.
JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.
HILARY.
LUCIFER.
PHŒBADIUS.
VICTORINUS.
OPTATUS.
PACIAN.
AMBROSE.
HILARY.
DAMASUS.
PHILASTRIUS.

SECTION II.—BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY NOTICES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

ARNOBIUS.

CIRCITER A.D. 303.

A.D. 330. Arnobius was a native of Africa. The date of his birth and that of his death are equally unknown. Little, indeed, can be ascertained respecting his personal history, except that he was originally educated in the principles of heathenism, and that he taught rhetoric at Sicca Venerea, a city of Numidia. Being convinced of the falsehood and folly of paganism, and of the truth of Christianity, he composed his work, 'Adversus Gentes,' while yet a catechumen, chiefly, as St. Jerome[1] informs us, with the view of satisfying his spiritual instructors of the sincerity of his conversion. This work consists of seven books. It is of a polemical character throughout, being a direct attack on the whole system of heathenism. After refuting the popular calumnies against Christianity, and vindicating the character of our Saviour and some of the principal doctrines of the gospel, he exposes, at considerable length, and with all the acrimony of a new convert, the absurdities of polytheism, and the irrational nature of the religious services of the pagans. As might be expected of a catechumen, he shows himself only moderately acquainted with the genuine doctrines of the gospel; and is, throughout his treatise, much more successful in attacking the system which he had renounced than in pleading the cause of that which he had recently embraced. His style is of a declamatory cast, somewhat harsh, and occasionally disfigured by African barbarism and an affectation of antiquated words. It is, however, animated, nervous, and forcible; and the whole work plainly shows that the author possessed a vigorous and comprehensive mind, and that he was a person of considerable research and information.

'Adversus Gentes.'

Style.

Editions. The early editions of Arnobius were printed from faulty manuscripts, and are consequently very incorrect. The Plantin edition, printed at Antwerp in 1582, is much superior to all preceding ones, and the editor (Canter) has appended a number of useful notes. A good variorum edition was published at Leyden, in 1652, by Le Maire, under the superintendence of Thysius, and reprinted in 1657. A copious analysis of the work, together with many judicious remarks on its merits and defects, is inserted in Le Nourry's 'Apparatus ad Bibliothecam Maximam Patrum,' tom. ii. dissertat. ii. p. 257, *et seq.* Consult, also, Tillemont, 'Mémoires Ecclés.' vol. iv. art. 'Arnobe;' Dupin, 'Biblioth,' vol. i. cent. iii.; and Fabricius, 'Bibl. Lat.' lib. iv. c. iii. p. 728.

Commentary on the Psalms. There is a short commentary on the Psalms bearing the name of Arnobius, which is evidently a production of the fifth or sixth century.

[1] Hieron. Chron. ad an. 327.

LACTANTIUS.

A.D. 303-320.

Lucius Cælius Firmianus Lactantius was, it is said, a native of Italy, but the exact place of his birth is unknown. He studied under Arnobius, at Sicca Venerea, where his talents displayed themselves to so much advantage that he was invited to open a school of rhetoric at Nicomedia, in Bithynia, which, in the time of Diocletian, was one of the most flourishing cities of the empire. Not meeting with the success which he expected, he commenced author by profession, and during Diocletian's persecution laudably exerted his talents in behalf of his fellow-Christians, in vindication of whom he wrote several spirited treatises. Upon the accession of Constantine, he went into Gaul, and received the honourable appointment of tutor to Crispus, Constantine's eldest son. Notwithstanding his fame as an author, and his credit with the emperor, Eusebius and Jerome assure us that he was so poor as frequently to want the common necessaries of life.[1] He died at an advanced age, probably a short time before the Nicene Council. A.D. 313.

The most considerable work of Lactantius is the treatise 'De Divinis Institutionibus,' which professes to be a complete exposition of the errors of heathenism, and of the truth and excellence of Christianity. It is divided into seven books, the first two of which are entitled, 'De Falsa Religione,' and 'De Origine Erroris.' In these he undertakes to demonstrate the unity of the Godhead, to explode the fabulous deities of the heathens, and to expose the absurdity of the idolatrous worship paid to them by their deluded votaries. In the third book, 'De Falsa Sapientia,' he attacks the whole system of pagan philosophy as vain and futile; and from his demonstration of its utter worthlessness concludes that the knowledge and worship of God is the only true wisdom. In the fourth book, 'De Vera Sapientia,' he delivers a succinct account of the principal doctrines of the gospel, occasionally vindicating them from the objections of the heathens. The chief object of the fifth book, 'De Justitia,' is to claim a toleration for the professors of Christianity, and to show the cruelty and injustice of the severities inflicted on them by their persecutors. In the sixth book, 'De Vero Cultu Dei,' he shows that the true worship of God consists in the inward purity and devout dispositions of the heart, and in the active discharge of moral duties, dilating at considerable length on the necessity and excellence of the latter. The last book, 'De Vita Beata,' is a discourse on the immortality of the soul, the reality and nature of a future state, and the certainty and awfulness of the last judgment. The whole concludes with an eloquent and solemn exhortation to mankind to be converted, and

'De Divinis Institutionibus.'

[1] Euseb. Chron. An. 318. Hieron. Ep. ad Paulinum, p. 104.

A.D. 314. embrace the salvation offered by the gospel while they have the opportunity. The epitome of this work, executed by Lactantius himself, is lost, with the exception of the last three books.

Other Works. We have, moreover, a short treatise by Lactantius, 'De Ira Dei;' and another, 'De Opificio Hominis,' in which he undertakes to prove the reality of a Divine providence by a review of the bodily powers and mental faculties of man, the most excellent of God's works. The small work, 'De Mortibus Persecutorum,' though known to have existed in the time of Jerome, was long supposed to be lost, till it was rescued from oblivion by Baluze, who published it from an ancient manuscript in the second volume of his 'Miscellanea.' It is written with spirit and elegance, and is of value, from containing several historical facts not to be met with elsewhere. But the general tone of it is too acrimonious and uncharitable, and the author falls into the same error of which the Christians of that period justly accused their pagan adversaries—of being too ready to interpret every signal calamity as a token of Divine vengeance on the sufferers.

The following works of this author are no longer extant:—'Symposium' (a juvenile production); Ὁδοιπορικόν, a poem in which he described his journey from Africa to Nicomedia; 'Ad Asclepiadem,' lib. ii.; eight books of epistles.[1]

Style. In classical elegance of style Lactantius far excels all his contemporaries. Indeed it may be doubted whether he does not surpass every Latin prose writer since the time of Augustus. His language is at once clear, copious, flowing, and energetic; and of all imitators of Cicero he is, undoubtedly, the most successful. With respect to his matter, his ethics are generally sufficiently pure and rational, but his theology is too often erroneous and unsound. Like his master Arnobius, he was less versed in the doctrines of the gospel than in the religion and philosophy of the heathens, whose errors and superstitions he attacked while he was as yet but imperfectly emancipated from them. Hence he is to be read with some degree of caution, and must be regarded as a very indifferent authority on religious subjects, particularly on points of dogmatic theology.

Editions. Many editions of Lactantius have been printed. The Geneva edition of 1613 and the Leyden one of 1660 are esteemed for their accuracy. They want, however, the treatise 'De Mortibus Persecutorum, as do all editions published before the end of the seventeenth century. This defect is supplied in the Oxford edition of 1684, and in all subsequent to it.

Vide Tillemont, 'Mem. Eccles.' tom. vi. art. 'Lactance;' Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iii.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. sec. 4, p. 161, et seq.; Nourry, 'Apparat.' tom. ii. 'Dissert. 3, c. 1, art. 2.

[1] There are a few poems still extant bearing the name of Lactantius, but undoubtedly spurious.

COMMODIANUS.

DATE UNCERTAIN.

The country and the personal history of Commodianus are equally unknown; nor is it, perhaps, certain that he ought to be classed among the ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century.[1] From the peculiarities of his diction it is conjectured that he was a native of Africa; and he represents himself as a convert from paganism to Christianity. His only work, entitled 'Instructionum Opus adversus Paganos,' is one of the most singular monuments of antiquity. It is divided into eighty strophes or sections, each of which is an acrostic, the initial letters of the lines being so arranged as to compose the title or subject of the section. It is, strictly speaking, neither verse nor prose. A sort of rhythmical modulation is observed; and the lines have generally something approaching to the cadence of the hexameter, but without the smallest regard being paid to the laws of prosody or metre. We have now no means of ascertaining whether this uncouth versification, if it deserves the name, was invented by Commodianus, or whether he imitated the poetry of some barbarous nation, constructed, like that of most modern languages, according to certain rules of rhythm and accent, without any regard to syllabic quantity. A.D. 326. 'Instructiones.'

The 'Instructions' of Commodianus are partly of a polemical and partly of a didactic nature. In the first division of the work he demonstrates the absurdity of paganism, and the superior purity and excellence of Christianity. In the second part he shows the Jews that the Law was only a shadow of better things to come, and that it is superseded by the Gospel. The third part consists of a series of moral and religious instructions, addressed to professors of Christianity, strongly enforcing the necessity of strict holiness of life, and the duty of bearing all the calamities inflicted on them by their pagan persecutors with fortitude rather than renounce the faith.

The style of Commodianus is harsh, his diction barbarous and impure, nor does his work display much originality or elevation of thought. His theology is infected with the prevalent errors of the period in which he wrote; and his morality, though pure, is of a rigorous and ascetic cast. Upon the whole, he appears to have been a man of excellent intentions, and by no means destitute of information, but of little genius, of still less taste, and of more zeal than judgment. They who can overlook these defects will, however, find in his work a good deal of curious and valuable

[1] Rigaltius supposes him to have flourished about the year 326, on the ground of a fancied allusion to Pope Sylvester. Cave and Dodwell think that he flourished in the latter part of the third century, being contemporary, or nearly so, with Cyprian. This latter opinion seems most probable, and best supported by internal evidence.

A.D. 364. information respecting the manners and opinions of the age in which he flourished.

Editions. This work was long unknown to the moderns, except through the slight mention made of the author by Gennadius.[1] It was first published by Pigault, from a manuscript in the possession of Sirmond (Toul. 1650, in 4to), afterwards, together with Cyprian, Paris, 1666, and separately, by Heischius, Wittenberg, 1705. This last edition contains the notes of Rigault, and Dodwell's 'Dissertation on the Age of Commodianus.'

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 136—138; Fabricius, 'Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat.' lib. iii. p. 1139.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA.

CIRCITER A.D. 264 TO CIRCITER A.D. 338.

Eusebius was a native of Palestine, most probably of Cæsarea. The precise date of his birth is unknown; but, from his describing various transactions of the reign of Gallienus as having occurred in his time, it is supposed to have taken place about A.D. 264. Nothing is known of his parentage, and very little of his early life. It is thought, but without sufficient evidence, that he studied at Antioch, under a priest named Dorotheus, and that he was ordained priest by Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea. Early in the fourth century he became intimately attached to Pamphilus of Cæsarea, whose name he adopted, and in whose company he indefatigably prosecuted his studies in sacred and profane literature. During the persecution under Galerius and Maximin, Pamphilus was thrown into prison, where Eusebius courageously continued to visit him, and to pay him every friendly attention in his power, until the time of his martyrdom. He himself did not escape persecution, being imprisoned, as it is commonly supposed, in Egypt; at least we know that Potamon, an Egyptian bishop, was his companion in captivity. Some time after his release, he was appointed to succeed Agapius in the see of Cæsarea, which he governed till his death. After taking an active and prominent part in the affairs of the Christian Church, especially in the Arian controversy, he finished his laborious and useful career about the year 338.

In extent and variety of learning Eusebius far excelled all his Christian contemporaries; and his talents as a writer, a theologian, and a man of business, were of a very high order. Though his influence with the Emperor Constantine was almost unbounded, he never availed himself of it to enrich or aggrandize himself; and he gave a signal proof of disinterestedness, by refusing to accept the Patriarchate of Antioch, when vacant by the deposition of Eustathius. The moderation and forbearance which he showed towards Arius and his followers caused his orthodoxy to be suspected; and

[1] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 15.

though the charge of Arianism, so confidently made against him both by ancient and modern writers,[1] has never been substantiated, it must be confessed that some expressions in his works, and his conduct towards the latter end of his life, gave some sort of countenance to it. A.D. 338.

Of the multifarious writings of Eusebius, some have come down to us in a mutilated state; others are only known to us through the medium of Latin translations, and by far the greater number have entirely perished. Those, however, which we have the good fortune to possess are highly creditable monuments of his talents and industry. We have already[2] treated copiously of the merits and defects of the 'Ecclesiastical History,' which may be regarded as his principal work. Next to this may be placed the 'Præparatio Evangelica,' the avowed object of which, as the title implies, is to dispose men's minds to think favourably of Christianity. This work, which is perhaps the ablest, the most methodical, and the best argued treatise on natural and revealed religion of which Christian antiquity can boast, is divided into fifteen books, and is addressed to one Theodorus, who, it is supposed, was bishop of Laodicea. The leading propositions which the author undertakes to establish are, that paganism is a pernicious system, totally repugnant to right reason; and that Christianity is not only agreeable to reason, but suitable to the wants and conducive to the happiness of mankind. The 'Demonstratio Evangelica' is an elaborate treatise on the direct and positive evidences of Christianity. It consisted originally of twenty books, the last ten of which are unfortunately lost. In those which are still extant Eusebius chiefly combats the prejudices of the Jews, to whom he shows at great length, from the evidence of their own Scriptures, that Christ must be the true Messiah. This latter work, though written with considerable ability, is inferior to the 'Præparatio' in originality of matter and variety and copiousness of learning. In the five books 'Against Marcellus of Ancyra,' Eusebius appears to have departed a little from his usual temperance and moderation. His object is to convict his opponent of Sabellianism; in labouring to effect which, he affords some ground for questioning his own orthodoxy, as, though he explicitly asserts the divinity of the Son, he appears to deny his perfect equality with the Father. The treatise 'Against Hierocles' is a short, but spirited production, in which Eusebius effectually chastises the audacity of that philosopher in presuming to compare the life and miracles of Apollonius of Tyana with those of Christ. His life of Constantine, in four

'Historia Ecclesiastica.'

'Præparatio Evangelica.'

'Demonstratio Evangelica.'

'Adversus Marcellum.'

[1] Particularly by Jerome, Baronius, and Le Clerc. Those who are desirous of investigating the matter more fully may consult Le Clerc's Epistolæ Ecclesiast. et Crit. ep. 2, and Cave's Epistola Apologetica, the latter of which is a formal and elaborate vindication of Eusebius from the accusations of Le Clerc.

[2] Jeremie's History of the Christian Church in the Second and Third Centuries, p. 1.

A.D. 338. books, is written in a more florid and elaborate style than the generality of his compositions; and may be regarded more as a panegyric than an impartial narrative of facts. This, together with an 'Oration' in praise of the same Emperor, and a concise account of the 'Martyrs of Palestine,' is usually appended to his 'Ecclesiastical History.' The original text of his 'Chronology,' a work of immense research and erudition, is unfortunately lost.[1] A Latin version of the second part of it is still extant, but greatly altered and interpolated by the translator, Jerome, and by subsequent compilers. His treatise 'De Locis Hebraicis' is a short topographical index of the places mentioned in Scripture. His 'Commentary on the Psalms,' and on 'Isaiah,' which were long supposed to be lost, were published, though in a defective state, by Montfaucon in his 'Collectio Nova Græcorum Patrum,' tom. i. and ii. Paris, 1706. The 'Apology for Origen,' written in conjunction with his friend Pamphilus, consisted originally of six books. The Latin version of the first book by Ruffinus is still extant; but there is reason to believe that the translator, according to his usual practice, has taken great liberties with his original. For an account of the works of Eusebius which are entirely lost, the titles of which alone would occupy a considerable space, the reader is referred to Cave, Tillemont, and Dupin. His great work 'Against Porphyry' is, perhaps, the one which we have most cause to regret. It would be interesting to see the learning of that formidable opponent of Christianity encountered by the equal or superior learning and talent of Eusebius.

'Chronologia.'

'De Locis Hebraicis.'

'Commentaria in Psalmos et Esaiam.'

'Apologia pro Origine.'

Style. It is evident that this illustrious and learned writer never studied the graces of composition, nor took much pains in polishing and revising his works. His style is harsh, dry, and repulsive, and his periods are embarrassed and obscure. These defects are, however, amply compensated by his good sense, and the general interest of his subjects, and excellence of his matter.

Editions. A complete edition of the works of Eusebius, similar to those editions of the other Greek and Latin Fathers published by the Benedictines of St. Maur, is still a desideratum in literature. The best editions of the 'Ecclesiastical History' are that of Valesius, including also the histories of Socrates, Sozomenes, &c., Paris, 1659, 3 vols. folio, and that of Reading, Cambridge, 1720, 3 vols. folio, which is little more than a reprint of the former, with a few additional notes. The 'Præparatio' and 'Demonstratio Evangelica'[2] were published by Robert Stephens, Paris, 1544, 1545, folio,

[1] An Armenian version of Eusebius's Chronicle has been recently published by Aucher, Venice, 1818. If it may be relied on as a faithful representation of the original (and there seems no reason for doubting that it is substantially so), it is undoubtedly an important accession to literature.

[2] The beginning of the 1st book of the Demonstratio, and the conclusion of the 10th, which are wanting in both those editions, were first published by Fabricius, De Verit. Christ. Relig. p. 1.

and by Vigerus, Paris, 1628, 2 vols. folio. The latter edition contains also the treatises 'Against Hierocles,' and 'Marcellus of Ancyra.' The book 'De Locis Hebraicis' was published by Bonfrerius, Paris, 1631. Jerome's version of the 'Chronicle' has been frequently printed. The best edition is that contained in Scaliger's 'Thesaurus Temporum,' Amsterdam, 1658, who published at the same time all the fragments of the original Greek which could be recovered. A.D. 348.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 175-183; Dupin, 'Biblioth.' vol. ii. 'Cent.' iv. pp. 1-11; Tillemont, 'Mem. Eccles.' tom. ii. pp. 39-76.

ATHANASIUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 371.

The life and character of this illustrious prelate belong rather to the entire ecclesiastical history of the period in which he flourished than to a mere literary notice. He was born at Alexandria towards the close of the third century. At an early age his talents and virtues attracted the notice of Alexander, bishop of that important see, who appointed him his secretary. It is said that he accompanied Alexander to the Nicene Council, and that the zeal and ability which he there manifested against the Arians laid the foundation of the rancour and animosity with which that sect afterwards pursued him. In the year 326 he was chosen by the unanimous suffrage of the Catholics to succeed his patron, to the great mortification of the Arians, who, from that time, used every exertion to compass his disgrace and downfall. After various unsuccessful attempts to prejudice the Emperor Constantine against him, they contrived, by laying a number of fictitious crimes to his charge, to obtain his deposition by the Council of Tyre, A.D. 335, and the year following Constantine was prevailed upon to banish him into Gaul. Soon after the death of that emperor he was recalled by Constantine the younger; but the intrigues of his restless adversaries again prevailing, he was a second time deposed by the Synod of Antioch, A.D. 341, and one Gregory, a mere creature of the Arian faction, appointed in his stead. On this occasion Athanasius took refuge at Rome, where his cause was warmly espoused by Pope Julius and the majority of the Western bishops, who used all their influence to obtain his restoration, but without success. Even the decision of the Council of Sardica in his favour was disregarded by the adverse faction. The emperors were, however, favourably disposed towards him; and on the death of Gregory, A.D. 348, Constantius restored him to his archbishopric, which he governed peaceably for several years. This calm was but the precursor of a more violent storm. A powerful party was formed, which, being openly supported by the imperial officers, forcibly ejected him, A.D. 356, and introduced one George, a Cappa-

A.D. 370. docian of low birth and disreputable character, as his successor. These tumultuous and irregular proceedings received the sanction of Constantius, who had entirely surrendered himself to the guidance of the Arians, and was then exerting himself to the utmost to depress, and if possible to extirpate Catholicism. Athanasius was compelled to seek safety from the violence of his enemies in the deserts of the Thebaid, where he remained concealed till the death of Constantius. He was once more exiled during the reign of Julian; after whose death, with the exception of some slight molestation under Valens, he was allowed to enjoy his bishopric peaceably till the end of his days. According to Socrates, his death took place in the year 371: other authorities place it two years later.

Among all those members of the Church who distinguished themselves during this eventful period, no one acted a more honourably conspicuous part than Athanasius. His talents marked him out as the champion of orthodoxy; and he sustained that character through evil and good report, with a zeal, integrity, consistency, and firmness, which proved that he was actuated by no unworthy or selfish motive, and which, while they excited the hatred of his enemies, commanded also their admiration. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that his writings and personal exertions did as much for the Trinitarian cause in the East, at a time when it seemed to be struggling for its very existence, as those of Luther did afterwards for the doctrines of the Reformation in Europe.

'Adversus Gentes.' 'De Incarnatione.'

'Epistolæ.' 'Orationes.'

'Apologia.'

'Vita S. Antonii.'

The writings of Athanasius are voluminous, and almost exclusively of a polemical nature. The 'Oratio adversus Gentes,' and the treatise 'De Incarnatione,' supposed to be his earliest productions, are chiefly directed against the superstition of the Gentiles. In nearly all the others he defends the doctrine of the Trinity, or refutes the errors of the Arians. Most of his productions are in the form of 'Orations' or 'Epistles;' and, though generally written on the spur of the moment, and under most unfavourable circumstances, they are calculated to give the reader a high opinion of the skill and talents of the author. The 'Apology' addressed to the Emperor Constantius, which is an eloquent and spirited vindication of his own conduct against the calumnies of his adversaries, may be regarded as his most finished composition. The 'Life of St. Antony,' the famous Egyptian solitary, is the production which reflects the least credit on his taste and judgment. Indeed several critics, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, suspect that it has been interpolated by some later author.

Style.

Athanasius, though not to be compared to Eusebius in depth and variety of learning, greatly excels him in the graces of composition. His style is elegant, perspicuous, and flowing; eloquent and forcible, and at the same time free from tumour and affectation. As a controversialist he was eminently calculated to excel; his manner is insinuating and persuasive, and his arguments are

commonly well chosen, judiciously arranged, and happily and forcibly expressed. Sometimes his reasonings are more plausible than solid, and not unfrequently he lays a good deal of stress on interpretations of Scripture which a little more skill in biblical criticism would have shown him to be utterly untenable. The occasional vehemence of his invective may be pardoned, when we consider that it is directed against persons who had not scrupled to employ every sort of fraud and violence to effect his ruin. A.D. 363.

The early editions of Athanasius are both defective and inaccurate. Indeed all published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are merely Latin versions of a few of his principal treatises. The Greek text was first printed by Commelinus, Heidelberg, 1601, 2 vols. folio. It was published again at Paris, 1627, 2 vols. folio, and at Cologne, 1686, folio. The only critical edition is the Benedictine, Paris, 1698, 3 vols. folio, Gr. Lat. The first two volumes contain the genuine works of Athanasius. Those which are regarded as doubtful or spurious are inserted in the third. The preface, apparently by the learned Montfaucon, contains a mass of valuable information respecting the life and writings of Athanasius. Editions.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 189-198; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 28-34. Tillemont, 'Memoires,' tom. viii. art. 'Athanase,' and 'Histoire des Ariens, passim.'

JUVENCUS.

UNDER CONSTANTINE.

Caius Vectius Aquilinus Juvencus was a Spaniard of noble birth, and, as St. Jerome informs us, a presbyter. This is all that we know of his personal history. He flourished in the time of Constantine, and wrote a number of poems, all of which are lost, except his 'Historia Evangelica.' This is an account of our Saviour's life and actions, in four books. It is written in hexameters, and closely adheres to the narrative of the evangelists. The flow of his verse is not inharmonious, but, as might be expected from the age in which he lived, his diction is occasionally inelegant and unclassical, nor does he display much poetical genius or elevation of sentiment. He is, however, entitled to the credit of having embodied the facts related by the four evangelists in one clear, faithful, and not unpleasing narrative. 'Historia Evangelica.' Style.

This poem has been frequently printed. The principal editions are those of Basle, 1541, 1564; Lyons, 1588; Paris, 1543, 1575, 1581, 1624; Frankfort, 1710. It is also to be found in the collections of the Christian poets published by Fabricius and Aldus, and in most editions of the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' Editions.

Vide Cave, 'Histor. Lit.' vol. i. p. 200; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 20, 21; Hieron. 'de Script. Ecclesiast.' c. 84; and 'Chronic. ad ann.' 330.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

UNDER CONSTANS AND CONSTANTIUS.

A.D. 360. Though this writer is supposed to have been a person of rank and consideration, he is not mentioned by any of the ancients, and is only known as the author of a book against paganism, entitled 'De Errore profanarum Religionum.' This work, which is undoubtedly a genuine production of the fourth century, is addressed to Constans and Constantius, the sons and successors of Constantine. It is written with some degree of force and elegance, and a good deal of learned research is displayed in the author's historical development of the origin of the different heathen systems. His reasonings are, however, occasionally weak and superficial, and his zeal against idolatry frequently amounts to intolerance.

'De Errore profanarum Religionum.'

Style.

Editions. This treatise was first printed at Venice, 1499; afterwards at Basle, 1533; Strasburg, 1562; Paris, 1575, 1589, 1610; Leyden, 1652; also in the Paris edition of Cyprian, 1666, and the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.'

Treatise on Astronomy. A treatise on astronomy, bearing the name of Julius Firmicus Maternus, is extant. It is supposed by several critics to have been written by the same author before his conversion to Christianity.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 204; Dupin, 'Biblioth.' vol. i. 'Cent.' iii. pp. 170, 171; Baronii, 'Annales ad ann.' 337.

CYRILLUS OF JERUSALEM.

DIED A.D 386.

Cyril was probably a native of Jerusalem, or of its immediate vicinity. He was ordained deacon by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, and priest by his successor Maximus, during whose episcopacy he held the office of catechist, or theological lecturer. On the death of Maximus he was appointed to the vacant see, chiefly through the influence of Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea. Not long after, however, a violent dissension broke out between these two prelates, occasioned by Cyril's attempting to exercise an independent jurisdiction within his diocese of Jerusalem. This encroachment on the prerogatives of the Metropolitan Church of Cæsarea was warmly resented by Acacius, who contrived, soon after, to procure the deposition of Cyril by a synod of the bishops of Palestine. He appealed from their sentence to the Emperor Constantius, and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. The Synod of Seleucia gave a decree in Cyril's favour; but Acacius had sufficient interest to obtain his condemnation and deposition once more by a council assembled at Constantinople. He returned to Jerusalem upon the accession of Julian, but he was not formally restored to his see till the reign of Theodosius, when his cause was espoused by the Second General

Ordination.

Deposition.

Council, and the sentence of deposition reversed. After this, he retained undisturbed possession of his dignity till the time of his death, which took place A.D. 386. A.D. 386.

Cyril appears to have been a man of moderate abilities, who acquired a certain degree of notoriety by happening to make himself obnoxious to a prelate at the head of a numerous party. His early connection with Acacius, and the intercourse which he held with the semi-Arian bishops at the Council of Seleucia, caused his orthodoxy to be suspected; in fact, Jerome and others accuse him of Arianism in direct terms. No traces, however, of this heresy appear in his writings; and it is not unlikely that his greatest crime, in Jerome's eyes, consisted in espousing the cause of Meletius of Antioch, in opposition to Damasus and the Western bishops.

Twenty-three of Cyril's Catechetical Discourses are still extant. They are divided into two classes; the first eighteen, addressed to the *competentes*, or catechumens deemed worthy of baptism, are brief expositions of the general doctrines of Christianity; the remaining five, addressed to persons already baptised, and distinguished by the name of 'Mystagogical Lectures,' are chiefly devoted to an explanation of the nature of the sacraments. They are written throughout in a plain, familiar, and unadorned style, and, generally speaking, are well calculated to answer the purpose for which they were intended. It is, however, easy to perceive that a superstitious spirit, and a disposition to find mysteries where none were intended by the sacred writers, had already made great progress in the Christian Church. Catechetical Discourses. Style.

There is also extant an 'Epistle to Constantius' respecting an apparition of a luminous cross at Jerusalem. An 'Oration on the Presentation of our Lord,' and an 'Epistle to St. Augustine,' have been published under his name, but they are evidently spurious. Other Works

The principal editions of Cyril are those of Petavius, Paris, 1622, folio, and again Paris, 1631, folio, along with Synesius; Miller, Oxford, 1703, folio; and the Benedictine edition superintended by Touttée, Paris, 1720, folio. Editions.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 211-213; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 107-115; Tillemont, 'Mém. Ecclés.' tom. viii. art. 'S. Cyrille.'

HILARIUS.

DIED A.D. 367.

Hilary was born at Poitiers early in the fourth century, and was educated in the principles of heathenism. His own reflections first made him dissatisfied with the inconsistency and absurdity of that system; and his inquiries after truth, together with a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, induced him to become a Christian. After his elevation to the bishopric of Poitiers, which is supposed

A.D. 367. to have taken place about A.D. 354, he quickly began to distinguish himself by his zeal in the discharge of his pastoral duties, and also by his activity in opposing the progress of Arianism. His warmth in defending Athanasius at the Synod of Beziers against his persecutors Ursacius and Valens, excited the displeasure of the Emperor Constantius, who banished him into Phrygia. Nevertheless he continued to uphold the Catholic cause, both by his writings and his personal influence. His character and conduct appear to have gained the respect of the public authorities, as he met with more indulgent treatment than the generality of his brethren. He was permitted to attend the Synod of Seleucia, and was also allowed to accompany the deputies of the Council to the Imperial Court. Here, according to Sulpicius Severus, he presented several memorials to Constantius on behalf of the oppressed Catholic Church, and even ventured to challenge the Arians to a public disputation. The leaders of that sect declined the proposal; and, fearful of the ascendency which Hilary's zeal and talents might gain over the mind of the Emperor, they contrived that he should be sent back to Gaul. The death of Constantius, which happened shortly after Hilary's return to his diocese, leaving him at liberty to act with vigour, he exerted himself with diligence and success in checking the further spread of Arianism, and in reorganizing the Catholic Church in Gaul and in the North of Italy. He assembled a number of Provincial Synods, in which the Acts of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia were disavowed and reprobated, and the principal Arian prelates condemned. The historians of that period, indeed, do not scruple to say, that the suppression of Arianism in Gaul was almost entirely the work of Hilary. He continued actively engaged in these and similar occupations till the time of his death, in the year 367.

Works. The writings of Hilary are all controversial, except his Commentaries on the Psalms and on the Gospel of St. Matthew. They consist of a treatise 'On the Trinity,' in twelve books; three addresses to Constantius; a book on Synods, addressed to the Western bishops when the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia were pending, and a tract against Auxentius, bishop of Milan. The two books of 'Fragments' are a series of extracts from Hilary's 'History of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia,' which is no longer extant in a complete state. These Fragments furnish a number of facts and documents not to be found elsewhere, and throw considerable light on the Ecclesiastical History of that period. His 'Commentaries on the Psalms' are chiefly borrowed from Origen, and are, consequently, a good deal infected with the spirit of allegory and mysticism. The 'Commentaries on St. Matthew' are of a more plain and practical nature, but they are neither wholly free from fanciful interpretations nor from erroneous opinions.

Hilary is not a writer of first-rate eminence, but he deserves a respectable rank among those of the second class. His learning and talents were considerable, and his style, though not always pure or perspicuous, is spirited, eloquent, and forcible. He indulges too much in the turgid declamation characteristic of the Gallic School of Rhetoricians, but he uniformly writes in a tone of honest warmth and sincerity, like a person fully persuaded of the truth and importance of what he says. If he appears occasionally too violent and acrimonious, we must consider that he believed the vital interests of religion to be at stake, and that his adversaries did not use the power placed in their hands in such a manner as to be entitled to expect much forbearance from a man of Hilary's warm temperament. A.D. 370. Style.

Many editions of Hilary's works were published during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The best and only complete one is the Benedictine, Paris, 1693, principally superintended by Father Constant. It was reprinted at Verona, 1730, 2 vols. folio. Editions.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 213-215; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 64-79; Hieron. 'De Scriptor, Eccles.' c. 100; Tillemont, 'Mém. Ecclés.' tom. vii. art. 'S. Hilaire.'

VICTORINUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D 370.

Fabius Marius Victorinus, an African by birth, was an eminent professor of rhetoric at Rome, during the reign of Constantius. He was a great admirer of Plato, many of whose writings he translated into Latin. Being accidentally led to compare the doctrines of that philosopher with the Holy Scriptures, he was convinced of the superior excellence and truth of Christianity, and became a convert in his old age. He kept the change of his sentiments secret for a time, but at last, by the persuasion of his friend Simplicianus, he was induced to be baptized, and to make open profession of his faith. In the year 362, when Julian published an edict forbidding the Christians to teach oratory, or any of the liberal sciences, Victorinus magnanimously chose rather to forego the emoluments of his profession, than to renounce or dissemble his principles. It is supposed that he died about A.D. 370.

The only claim which Victorinus has to be ranked among Ecclesiastical writers, rests on a few controversial tracts against the Arians and Manichæans, and some poems on sacred subjects. None of these possess any great merit. His style is harsh, affected, and involved, and his fondness for the dialectical subtleties of the school in which he was brought up, gives an air of studied obscurity to everything that he says. It requires close and painful attention to comprehend his meaning, which is seldom of sufficient value to repay the reader for his Works. Style.

A.D. 371. trouble. His poetry is of a very ordinary description, inferior even to his prose.

Editions. Several of the philosophical and grammatical works of Victorinus are still extant: his theological tracts are inserted in the fourth volume of the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' He wrote 'Commentaries on some of St. Paul's Epistles,' which existed in manuscript in the fourteenth century. The disparaging terms in which Jerome speaks of them gives us no cause to regret that they have never been printed.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 228, 229; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 80, 81; Hieron. 'De Scriptor. Eccles.' c. 101.

LUCIFER.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 371.

Lucifer was bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, about the middle of the fourth century. Having distinguished himself by his zeal in the Trinitarian cause, he was deputed by Liberius, bishop of Rome, to attend the Synod of Milan. He there defended the person and cause of Athanasius with great zeal and vehemence, and received the usual reward of the champions of orthodoxy in those days, namely banishment into Asia. The harsh treatment which he

Exile. experienced during his exile, together with the natural violence of his temper, drew from him several polemical tracts, still extant. They are chiefly directed against Constantius, and are written throughout with such virulence and want of decency, that we know not whether to wonder more at his audacity in addressing his sovereign in such a strain, or at the forbearance of the latter in not subjecting him to the penalties of treason. It appears that he was removed from Palestine into Upper Egypt, and the writers of that period speak of some other place of banishment which they do not specify. After the death of Constantius, he visited Antioch, and finding the rigid Catholics dissatisfied with the appointment of Meletius to that see on account of his supposed connection with the Arians, he took upon himself to ordain Paulinus, with the express view of setting Meletius aside. This hasty and ill-judged measure not only gave great offence to the more moderate Catholics, but caused a serious division between the Eastern and Western bishops, and finally led to Lucifer's own separation from the Church. Irritated by the disapprobation which his conduct excited, and also by a decree passed by the Synod of Alexandria re-admitting those bishops into the Church who had communicated with the Arians during the persecution, he returned to Sardinia, and during the remainder of his life, obstinately refused to hold any intercourse with those who had ever shown any condescension or favour to the heretics. He thus became the head of a small and obscure sect of schismatics, who limited the true Church to

their own narrow pale, and stigmatized the great body of the Catholics as apostates from the faith. He died about the year 371, and the sect of Luciferians did not long survive him. A.D. 392.

Lucifer was one of those sincere, wrong-headed men, whose zeal and courage would be respectable were they tempered with a little more charity and judgment. As a writer, he is entitled to little praise. His compositions are destitute of argument, method, and elegance, and are remarkable only for their violence and acrimony. He is indeed chiefly memorable for the mischief and dissension which he caused in the Church. Style.

The works of Lucifer were first collected and published by John Du Tillet, bishop of Meaux, Paris, 1568, 8vo. They were afterwards inserted in the fourth volume of the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' Editions.

Vide Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 216; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 79, 80; Tillemont, 'Mém. Ecclés.' tom. vii. art. 'Lucifer;' Baronii, 'Annales ad ann.' 356.

PHŒBADIUS.

LATTER HALF OF FOURTH CENTURY.

Phœbadius was a native of Aquitania, and became bishop of Agen about the middle of the fourth century. In common with his ecclesiastical brethren, he was involved in the all-absorbing vortex of the Arian controversy. He first entered the lists by writing an elaborate refutation of the second Creed of Sirmium, which is still extant. In the year 359, he attended the Council of Rimini, where he exerted himself with great zeal and energy on behalf of the Nicene doctrines. When all the other Catholic bishops had been prevailed upon by threats or artifice to assent to the Arian declaration of faith, Phœbadius and Servatio, bishop of Tongres, alone refused to comply. They at last, however, agreed to sign it, provided an explanatory clause were added; but finding that this clause had been nullified by a subsequent alteration, they disavowed their concurrence, as obtained by fraud and treachery. Jerome speaks of Phœbadius as living when he wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors, about A.D. 392; little, however, is known of his personal history during the latter part of his life.

The tract against the Creed of Sirmium is the only work of Phœbadius which has reached our times. It is written with some elegance and force, but does not display much genius or originality. Jerome professes his inability to give an account of this author's other works, because he never read them. It is, therefore, most probable that they never attracted much attention. Tract against the Creed of Sirmium.

This treatise of Phœbadius was published by Beza, 1570; and by Pithou, Paris, 1586. It was afterwards inserted in the fourth volume of the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' Editions.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 217, 218; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 85-87, Hieron. 'De Scriptor. Eccles.' c. 108.

PACIANUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 390.

A.D. 390. Pacianus was a Spaniard, and bishop of Barcelona, about the time of Valentinian, or as some authors think, towards the latter end of the reign of Gratian. Scarcely anything is known of his public or private life, except that he had a son named Flavius Dexter, commander of the prætorian cohorts in the time of Jerome, and on terms of intimacy with that Father. Pacian died at an advanced age, a little before the year 390, leaving behind him a high reputation for eloquence and sanctity.

On Repentance. Many of the works of this author are lost; those which remain consist of an 'Exhortation to Repentance,' a short 'Treatise on

On Baptism. Baptism,' for the use of the catechumens, and three 'Epistles

Epistles. against the Errors of the Novatians.' These compositions give a favourable idea of the talents of the writer, and make us regret the loss of his other works. His manner is animated, his arguments are well-chosen and pointedly expressed, and he writes with a terseness and elegance seldom found in the Latin authors of the period in which he lived.

Style.

Editions. Pacian's works were first collected and edited by Du Tillet, Paris, 1538, 4to. Another edition was printed by Paulus Manutius, Rome, 1564, folio. They are also to be found in the 'Bibliotheca Patrum,' and in D'Aguirre's 'Collectio Conciliorum Hispanorum.'

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 234, 235; Dupin, 'Cent.' iv. pp. 81-85; Hieron. 'De Scriptor. Eccles.' c. 106.

EPIPHANIUS.

DIED A.D. 403.

Epiphanius was a native of Palestine, and, as it is supposed, of Jewish extraction. In his early youth he narrowly escaped being seduced by some Egyptian Gnostics, but, having extricated himself from their snares, he adopted an ascetic course of life. This he pursued for a number of years, partly under the auspices of the celebrated Hilarion, and partly as the superintendent of a considerable monastery near Eleutheropolis in Palestine. About the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was ordained bishop of Salamis in the Isle of Cyprus, the duties of which office he appears to have discharged in a diligent and conscientious manner. The concluding years of his life were imbittered by a series of unfortunate disputes, first with John, bishop of Jerusalem, and afterwards with the illustrious Chrysostom, respecting the disciples of Origen, against whom Epiphanius had conceived a violent prejudice, so that he pursued them with a virulence and acrimony highly discreditable to his charity and judgment. He died A.D. 402 or 403, on his return from Constantinople to Cyprus, being about seventy years of age.

Credulous in the extreme, and rash in controversy, he exposed himself to the attacks of his adversaries, and to the censure of sober-minded and impartial men. Violent in temper, weak in style, and inconclusive in reasoning, he did more injury than good to the truths which he espoused. Nevertheless, much curious information may be obtained from his work on heresies, by a discriminating reader. A.D. 378. Style.

The best edition of Epiphanius is that published by the Jesuit Petavius, Paris, 1622, 2 vols. folio. It was reprinted at Cologne, 1682, 2 vols. fol.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 231-234; Dupin, 'Cent.' iv. pp. 234-240; Tillemont, 'Mém. Ecclés.' tom. x. art. 'S Epiphane;' Hieron. 'De Scriptor. Eccles.' c. 114.

OPTATUS.

DIED UNDER VALENTINIAN.

Nothing whatever is recorded of the personal history of Optatus, except that he was bishop of Milevi in Numidia, and that he died under the reign of the Emperor Valentinian. As an author, he is advantageously known by a work against the schism of the Donatists, addressed to Parmenianus, the Donatist bishop of Carthage. It is divided into seven books,[1] and furnishes the most elaborate and authentic account which we possess of the origin, progress, and opinions of that turbulent sect. The author writes, indeed, like a partizan, and indulges too freely in declamation and invective; but, while he censures the violence and insubordination of his opponents, he does not dissemble that many arbitrary and unjustifiable severities were exercised upon them by the civil authorities. His style is deficient in elegance, purity, and terseness, and he abounds in strained allegorical interpretations of Scripture, nor is his reasoning always of the most cogent and conclusive kind. But he writes with vivacity and force, and his work abounds with valuable information respecting the state of the African Church and of religion in general. Against the Donatists.

The best edition of Optatus is that superintended by Dupin, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Paris, 1700, folio. The reprint of 1702, though bearing the name of Paris on the title-page, was in reality executed at Amsterdam.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 234; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 87-97; Hieron. 'De Scriptor. Eccles.' c. 120.

[1] Jerome describes it as consisting only of six books; indeed, the seventh book differs so materially from the others, both in style and sentiment, that there is strong reason to believe it has been added by some later writer.

EPHREM SYRUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 378.

A.D. 378. Ephrem was a native of Nisibis, but, as he passed the greatest part of his life at Edessa, the metropolis of Osrhoëne, he is frequently called Ephrem of Edessa. His youth was spent in monastic exercises and abstruse studies, in the latter of which he is said to have acquired great proficiency, without the aid of a teacher. He became, in process of time, deacon of the Church of Edessa, but, that he might have more leisure for devout meditation and literary pursuits, he would never take any higher function. After maintaining, during many years, the highest reputation throughout the East for piety and genius, he died about A.D. 378.

Ephrem was the most laborious and voluminous writer of his time. Besides a copious commentary on all the books of the Old and New Testament, and a multitude of homilies and sermons, he is said to have written twelve thousand metrical compositions. Many of his works are extant in the original Syriac, and a number in Greek and Arabic versions. The most valuable and important of his productions, is his 'Commentary on the Books of the Old Testament.' He had, indeed, no pretensions to the varied erudition and critical skill of Jerome, but he is in general a judicious and rational expositor, with clear views of the literal sense of the sacred text. He was also well acquainted with the geography, history, and antiquities of Eastern nations. The remainder of his Syriac compositions are chiefly metrical, if a division into lines of a certain number of syllables, without attention to rhythm, may be allowed to constitute metre. Some of those pieces are devotional hymns, others are controversial, written to counteract the prevailing heresies of the time. They contain some valuable and curious matter; but though they raised his fame very high among his countrymen, they seem to us more creditable to his diligence and piety than to his poetical genius. Indeed, if his talent for poetry had been of a higher description, it would have been difficult to display it to advantage in the prosaic and unmusical language in which he wrote.

Commentary on the Scriptures.

Metrical compositions.

Many Greek homilies and tracts bearing the name of Ephrem are still extant. Some are written in a strain of simple and fervent piety, not unworthy of the author to whom they are attributed. There is reason to suspect that the greater part of them have been interpolated by translators, and some are altogether spurious.

The only edition of the works of Ephrem is that published at Rome 1743, by Stephen Enodius Assemanni, 6 vols. fol. Its greatest defect is, (and it is a very great one,) that the Latin version of the Syriac text is so unfaithful as to be almost useless.

Editions. Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 235-238, and vol. ii. Appen. ii. pp. 19-24; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 115-120; Assemanni, 'Biblioth. Orientalis,' vol. i. p. 25, et seq.

BASIL OF CÆSAREA.

BORN CIRCITER A.D. 328. DIED A.D. 378.

Basil, a native of Cappadocia, or as some authors think of Pontus, was born about A.D. 328, of highly respectable Christian parents, who spared no pains in his instruction in every elegant and useful branch of learning. He studied successively under the best masters of Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Athens, where he acquired a proficiency both in sacred and profane literature unrivalled by any of his contemporaries, except his friend Gregory Nazianzen. The afflicted state of the Church during the Arian persecution induced him to retire, shortly after his ordination, to a solitary spot in his native province. The fame of his piety and austerities attracting a number of devout persons to the place, he drew up a body of laws for the regulation of the society so formed, and thus became the founder of Monasticism in Pontus and the neighbouring provinces. Towards the end of the year 369, he was appointed bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he speedily showed that his talents for business of the most arduous kind were not inferior to his other qualifications. After governing his diocese in the most able and exemplary manner eight years, he died A.D. 378. A.D. 378.

Basil was unquestionably one of the most eminent men of his time. To a capacious and powerful mind, richly stored with original conceptions and acquired knowledge, he united great activity, presence of mind, and moral courage, and he was neither disheartened by difficulties, nor intimidated by dangers. In a variety of arduous contests, and most trying circumstances, he universally acquitted himself with dignity and firmness, and even when unsuccessful, he maintained the respectability of his character and station.

Works and style.

As a writer, Basil is distinguished by a noble and majestic gravity, and by striking and original thoughts expressed in pure and elevated language. If he does not equal Gregory Nazianzen in his occasional bursts of sublimity and pathos, he has the taste and discretion to avoid his faults: he is copious without redundancy, and eloquent without being declamatory. His expository, his homiletical, and his moral works are all excellent in their way; and we have, moreover, upwards of four hundred of his letters, which are models of epistolary style, and replete with valuable information respecting the history of the eventful times in which he lived.

Editions.

The best edition of the works of Basil is the Benedictine, superintended by Garnier, Paris, 1721, 1730, 3 vols. fol. All those which preceded are incomplete and badly arranged.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 233-243; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 122-159. Tillemont, 'Mém. Ecclés.' tom. ix. art. 'S. Basile.'

GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS.

DIED A.D. 389.

A.D. 326. An insignificant village in Cappadocia, Nazianzum, or Diocæsarea, had the honour of being the birthplace of this pre-eminent divine of the fourth century, pre-eminent alike in every branch of learning and in every Christian excellence.

Birth. The date of his birth has been the subject of much controversy, but is now important only as it involves the question of episcopal celibacy in the early ages. It is clear from a passage in his own works,[1] that his father had entered on episcopal functions prior to A.D. 326, the best attested date of the birth of this celebrated son. Yet Suidas and some Romish writers have so antedated it as to save a Christian bishop, what they considered, the *disgrace* of having produced the most exemplary Christian of the age. Tillemont, with candour worthy of imitation, has refuted the error and exposed the motive.

Education. From Gregory's own account, it appears that his parents were orthodox and pious, though his father, in early life, had been tainted with the Hypsistarian heresy. From their tuition, he departed first for Cæsarea in Cappadocia, then for Palestine, afterwards for Alexandria, and subsequently for Athens, where he perfected himself in scholastic accomplishments, and entered into the closest friendship with Basil, the future archbishop of Cæsarea: a friendship the pleasures and pains of which he has exquisitely described in his letters, and in his poem on his own life.

Gregory Nazianzen would have quitted Athens with his friend in 355, had he not been detained by the solicitations of the scholars to remain there as teacher of rhetoric. In the following year, however, his ardour for literary fame yielding to filial affection, he returned to his father, and assisted him in the management of his patrimony. Some writers defer his reception into the Church by baptism to this period; none place it later.

Ordination. An interval of five or six years having been spent in domestic duties, or in studious retirement with Basil, he was ordained priest by his father, in 361 or 362. His notions, however of the importance of the priestly office and of his own inadequacy, led him to a second retirement from society—a retirement again passed in the company of Basil, whom he then assisted in drawing up his *Ascetic Rules*. But the commands of his father, backed by the voice of his countrymen, soon recalled him to Nazianzum, and enlisted him in the active discharge of his ministerial functions.

His first effort as a minister was as successful as it was important. His father, in obedience to the general edict of Constantius,

[1] In his poem de Vitâ suâ, Gregory introduces his father speaking to him thus:—

Οὕτω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον,
Ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.

but in opposition to his own pure doctrine, as was afterwards allowed by his opponents, had signed the Arian formulary of Ariminum.[1] A schism in his Church followed; which was healed by his son, before, in accordance with the practice of the age, it became a subject of dispute and disgrace to Christianity in general. The succeeding six or seven years were spent by Gregory unobtrusively in assisting his father in his pastoral duties; a mode of life most congenial to his disposition, but eventually disturbed by his dearest friend, about 370. A.D. 370.

Basil, at that time bishop of Cæsarea, had to contend for the integrity of his Metropolitan jurisdiction over Cappadocia, against Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, who asserted that, as a civil division of that province had taken place, an ecclesiastical one ought to follow. In order to bring the matter to issue, Basil created a see within the disputed district. The place selected was Sasima; than which, if Gregory Nazianzen's description of it be correct,[2] a more inhospitable spot cannot be conceived: and here Basil resolved that his friend Gregory should be bishop. The latter, urged by his father, reluctantly consented to be consecrated, and the ceremony was performed at Cæsarea, but the forcible seizure of his new church by Anthimus afforded him a pretext for deserting it, which he eagerly embraced; and in so doing he was justified by the Eighteenth Canon of the Council of Antioch. Made Bishop of Sasima.

This affair so offended Gregory, that his friendship with Basil was all but finally extinguished. A reconciliation, however, must have taken place within two years, as, at the end of that interval, we find Basil his smypathetic visitor in affliction. Yet many years afterwards, the wound to his feelings, *ὑπερζεόντος ὡσαεὶ νεοῦ*, "festered as though it were new;" and he complains of it in his poem on his own life, in a style of sarcasm and invective, not less foreign to, than unbecoming of his character. This is the more inexplicable, as in his funeral oration over Basil he not only alludes to it without bitterness, but ascribes this breach of friendship (as he still terms it) to Basil's preference of "things heavenly" to "things destructible," *λυομένων*; and in one of his epitaphs he lavishes the most unqualified and affectionate praise on him.[3]

After a few months' solitude, being now a bishop, he undertook the subordinate charge of his father's see at Nazianzum, in which

[1] The Rimini of Tillemont and other writers.

[2] Σταθμὸς τίς ἐστιν ἐν μίσηλιωφόρῳ
Γῆς Καππαδοκῶν, ὃς σχίζει' εἰς τρισσὴν ὁδὸν
Ἄνυδρος, ἄχλης, οὐδόλως ἐλεύθερος,
Δεινῶς, ἀπευκτὸν, καὶ στενὸν, κωμύδριον·
Κόνις τὰ πάντα, καὶ ψόφοι, σὺν ἅρμασι,
Θερῆνοι, στιναγμοὶ, πράκτορες, στρέβλαι, πίδαι,
Λαὸς δ' ὅσοι ξένοι τε καὶ πλανωμένοι.
Αὕτη Σασίμοων τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκκλησία.

Greg. Naz. Carmen de Vitâ suâ.

[3] Gibbon has employed this complaint of Gregory as a charge of pride and base envy against Basil. The facts do not bear him out. The whole affair is utterly inexplicable.

A.D. 378. capacity he distinguished himself by calming the inhabitants in a revolt, and by averting their punishment. On his father's death, in 374, he continued, for a short time, in the charge of that Church; but he denies any regular appointment to it, although such appointment is supported by the authority of Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoritus, and Hieronymus. It is certain, however, that he was subsequently expelled from Constantinople A.D. 378. on the plea of his being bishop of the former see. He now withdrew to Seleucia, where he remained till invited to Constantinople, for the purpose of defending pure Christianity against the predominating influence of the Arians.

Anastasia. Here, in a private room, known by the name of *Anastasia*, which was shortly to be changed into a magnificent temple, and before a small and persecuted assembly, which was rapidly to increase to a dominant Church, he advocated the cause of the true Christian faith with Athenian eloquence,[1] and with true Christian fortitude and meekness.

The plan pursued by him in his difficult task, remains a brilliant example to all those who may at any time be called on to confirm truth and dissipate error. He exhorted true believers to beware of bewildering themselves with reasonings on things incomprehensible to human nature, lest they should be lost in heretical fancies; he insisted on the absurdity of attempting to reduce to a "trade and an art" the great and invisible mysteries of God; and while he taught that God should ever be in their hearts, he deprecated unreasonable disquisitions on His nature, observing that such discussions are not appropriate before all companies, or in all places, nor within the province of all understandings. On the other hand, he abstained from violent and contumelious language, and especially from personalities towards his adversaries; contending, that to imitate the gentleness and meekness of Christ, is among the surest tokens of a defender of the true Christian faith. Yet he did not by any means compromise truth: on the contrary, he possessed himself of the errors of the heretics by occasionally listening to their preachers, in order that he might the more effectually refute them; laying down for his rule, neither to repel them by harshness, nor elate them by concession.

Yet, in spite of this moderation, the more attractive on account of its singularity in those times, and supported by the most conciliatory personal bearing, Gregory Nazianzen, or rather the cause which he defended, was not to triumph without a fearful struggle, nor without the contaminating aid of the secular arm.

[1] On this subject we have a singular proof of the tendency to inaccuracy induced by the love of the marvellous. Tillemont, the great admirer of Gregory Nazianzen's eloquence, tries to enhance the miraculous effect of his discourses against the Arians, by describing him in this instance, and this only, as a man d'un parler rude et champestre.

Instigated by a report that Gregory Nazianzen was a Tritheist, A.D. 330.
animated also by a partiality for the Arian Bishop Demophilus, the rabble of Constantinople, of each sex and of every sect, headed by some furious monks, attacked Gregory and his congregation while celebrating our Saviour's baptism in the *Anastasia*. The Arian riot.
weapons usual to the mob were abundantly employed, many of the Catholics were dreadfully beaten, some nearly stoned to death, and one, who appears to have been Theodorus, afterwards bishop of Tyana, was left for dead in the streets. Gregory himself, after a narrow escape, was thrown into prison, but speadily released. Drunkenness and obscene dances closed the disgusting spectacle.

The subsequent conduct of Gregory in relation to this affair is too exemplary to be passed over in silence. Theodorus, incensed at the outrage and his own sufferings, resolved to demand justice on the perpetrators at the hands of Theodosius, a demand not likely to be refused by that anti-Arian prince. But Gregory, hearing of his intention, wrote to him to the following effect: that it was not surprising that Theodorus should demand justice, considering the enormity of the offence, and that punishment indeed might prevent its recurrence; but that it was better to give an example of long-suffering which might make bad men really good, while punishment would only restrain them, through fear, from crime. "Let us," says this genuine Christian, "let us overcome them by gentleness and win them by piety; let their punishment be found in their own consciences, not in our resentment. Dry not up the fig-tree that may yet bear fruit; condemn it not as useless, since an able husbandman may yet restore it to vigour; let us not ruin a glorious and important work on account of a circumstance that may have been a device of the devil."

His infant Church was soon to be troubled by internal disorders, more dangerous and infinitely more difficult of remedy than external violence. A dispute at Antioch concerning Paulinus and Meletius, rival claimants to that see, extended to Constantinople, and was warmly taken up with opposite views by Gregory Nazianzen's congregation. His Fourteenth Oration, in which he applies himself to the cure of this schism, contains some ever-to-be-remembered rules of toleration. He even contends that minor points of doctrine should be sunk in peace, if unanimity prevails in those more important. In this spirit he condemned the error of the Apollinarians, yet did not withhold from communicating with them.

This danger avoided, another and more important one followed. Maximus, by birth an Egyptian, a Cynic philosopher by profession, an Apollinarian in doctrine, and in practice infamous, came to Constantinople under the pretence of a pious desire for Gregory's instruction, but, in fact, with the purpose of defeating his claims to the metropolitan chair. Having deceived Gregory, and being

A.D. 381. assisted by seven Egyptian bishops[1] in the first place, and subsequently by others sent by Peter of Alexandria, Maximus was clandestinely consecrated in the church of Sophia; the ceremony took place in the night, and was further disgraced by the hired attendance of rude Egyptian sailors. This measure provoked general disgust, even among the heretics, most of whom admired the eloquence and loved the character of Gregory Nazianzen, though they might not admit the validity of his arguments.

A proposal on his part to retire from Constantinople, was effectually opposed for a time, and his refusal to be placed in the metropolitan chair was followed by complaints almost amounting to invectives. Ill health, however, or agitation of mind, compelled a temporary retirement and suspension of his duties. The term of his absence must have been short, as we find him again preaching in Constantinople before the entrance of Theodosius. In the meantime, his adversary Maximus, driven from Constantinople, and rejected by the Italian bishops and by Theodosius, returned to Egypt.

Shortly afterwards, the Arian Bishop Demophilus was deposed, and Gregory placed in his stead, at the command and with the personal assistance of the same prince (Theodosius). This event, the death-blow to Arian ascendency, took place amidst the execrations of one party, and the joyful acclamations of the other; public security was insured by the presence of the military, and the judicious interference of Gregory.[2]

In the following year his appointment was confirmed by a council of 150 bishops, convened by Theodosius at Constantinople; yet this very council, a few weeks afterwards, urged his deposition,

Resignation. and accepted his resignation, A.D. 381.

Of the causes of this anomalous transaction, or the motives of the agents, it is difficult to give a satisfactory account. That Gregory Nazianzen, careless of worldly honour and riches, harassed by infirmity of body and excessive mental exertion, disappointed in his hope of allaying schism in the Eastern Churches, finding himself in his metropolitan character a subject of further dispute, and estimating Christian unity above all things—that he should sacrifice ecclesiastical dignity, influence, and wealth, to what he considered the peace of the Church, is not to be wondered at.[3] But that those who summoned him from retirement to defend the pure faith, and those who, in establishing him in the Chair of

[1] Ammon, Apammon, Harpocras, Stippas, Rhodon, Anubis, and Hermanubis. A question whether these persons were bishops has been mooted. Bollandus and Hermant assert that they were so. Vallois is of the contrary opinion. Tillemont doubts. The first two writers contend that one mission only came over from Egypt on this occasion; an opinion refuted by a passage in Gregory Nazianzen's poem on his life.

[2] The offensive features of this scene are highly finished by the hand of Gibbon, while those of a gratifying cast are totally overlooked.

[3] Our own Reformed Episcopal Church affords a brilliant parallel to this conduct of Gregory in that of Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow.

Constantinople, acknowledged him as the successful champion of A.D. 381.
that faith, should rejoice at his resignation, or seek to depose him, must be laid to the account of levity, jealousy, or envy.

The only facts transmitted to us are these. A schism, likely to affect the whole Church, (as has been mentioned,) had arisen on the relative claims of Meletius and Paulinus to the see of Antioch. It had been checked, not healed, by an understanding that the rivals should be equally received, and that the survivor should be sole Bishop. Meletius died while President of the Council of which we are speaking. Gregory Nazianzen succeeded him in the Council, and wished to enforce the stipulation that Paulinus should be unmolested at Antioch. He failed: the schism increased: and Gregory finding himself unequal to check it, offered to resign the situation, the healing influence of which he had overrated. Immediately on this, followed the accession to the Council of some Macedonian and Egyptian bishops. These persons impugned the validity of Gregory's metropolitan appointment, on the ground, that he was already Bishop of Nazianzum, and that translation was forbidden by the decrees of the Council of Antioch. This motive has been generally ascribed, even by Gregory himself, to jealousy in the Egyptian Church of the Eastern bishops who had principally promoted his elevation. A more natural cause may be found in the intrigues of Maximus, whose return in discomfiture to Alexandria has been already mentioned. Be this as it may, Gregory's resignation was received with pleasure by the Council, and accepted by Theodosius.

He returned to Nazianzum, and in the following year, A.D. 382, undertook the episcopal duties there, having previously visited Cæsarea for the purpose of delivering his celebrated Funeral Oration over Basil. In A.D. 383 he resigned them to Eulalius, whose appointment he had himself procured. The six remaining years of his life were occupied in literary and devotional pursuits. In A.D. 389 he sank beneath the complication of bodily disease and mental anxiety. Of his death we have no particulars; but we learn that his corpse was laid by the side of his father's. Many centuries afterwards the tomb was opened, and his supposed remains removed to Constantinople by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

As a writer, Gregory Nazianzen, though sometimes diffuse, was Style.
always eloquent, and often sublime. Hieronymos terms his style τὸ Ἰσοκράτικον, while others compare it to Polemon's; and one of his admirers observes, "that the epithet μεγαλοφωνότατος, applied by Gregory Nazianzen to the prophet Isaiah, is not inapplicable to himself." As a divine he so far outstripped his age, that he was entitled ὁ θεολόγος κατ' ἐξοχήν; and a difference from his doctrine was identified with heresy. A dutiful son, a faithful friend, and universally beneficent, he would have been a model for society, had he not been too sensitive, and, perhaps, too ascetic. Humble,

A.D. 382. though full of energy; despising worldly advantages unless he could apply them to the advancement of religion; untainted by immorality, forgiving injuries,[1] and indefatigable in his ministry, he may be accounted the most exemplary, as well as the most able, Christian, on record, in the fourth century.

Editions. The genuine works of Gregory Nazianzen are his Orations, in number about forty-seven; Epistles 240; and a vast number of Poems. Nineteen of his poems were first discovered in 1690 by Jacob Tollius, a German, who published them in 1696 in his 'Insignia Itinerarii Italici.' One hundred and forty Epitaphs were afterwards discovered by Muratori, and were published by him, in 1709, in his 'Anecdota Græca.' The first edition, a very bad and rare one, of the great body of his works is that of Basle, 1550. The next in time, and the first in merit, (as a whole,) appeared at Paris in 1609, under the care of Jacobus Billius; but even in this there are many typographical errors. This was republished in 1630, with all the old, and some additional errors. In 1690, the 'Editio Princeps' was reprinted *verbatim* in beautiful type at Cologne. An edition was prepared by the Benedictines; but the first volume only has appeared. It contains his 'Orations and Letters,' and is unrivalled as far as it goes. The MS. of the second volume is in existence, and for sale. The purchase and publication of it would be worthy of either of our Universities. In England, R. Montagu, the friend of Sir Henry Saville, editor of St. Chrysostom, published two of Gregory's 'Orations,' entitled 'In Julianum Invectivæ Duæ,' Etonæ in Collegio Regali, 1610; and a copy of his 'Apologeticus' was edited by E. S. Thirlby, and published at Cambridge in 1712.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 246-249; Dupin 'Biblioth Cent.' iv. pp. 159-176; Tillemont, vol. ix. art. 'Gregoire de Nazianze;' Fabricus, 'Biblioth. Græc.' vol. vii. p. 508, et seq.

GREGORIUS NYSSENUS.

BORN A.D. 330.

Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, and brother of Basil of Cæsarea, was born in 330 or 331. He was educated in all the refined learning of his age, and pursued the science of rhetoric so eagerly, that he brought on himself, after he had been appointed Reader, a strong remonstrance on the subject from Nazianzen.

He married a lady named Theodosia, as much distinguished as himself for birth and piety. As this marriage cannot be disputed, some Romish writers affirm that after Gregorius Nyssenus had

[1] A striking instance of his forgiving disposition occurred during his short episcopate at Constantinople. The Arians, in their rage at his appointment, proposed his assassination, and a young man was found to undertake the crime. On entering Gregory's apartment he repented, confessed, and was not only forgiven by Gregory, but received into his intimate friendship.

been promoted to the Episcopate it was virtually nullified, by total absence of conjugal intimacy. In support of this fable, Tillemont cites a passage from Nazianzen, where Theodosia is called Nyssenus's sister instead of his wife. But this passage is almost immediately succeeded by the following one. Applying the word ἐμὴν to Theodosia, Nazianzen thus explains himself: ἐμὴν γὰρ ὀνομάζω τὴν κατὰ θεοῦ ζησᾶσαν· ἐπειδὴ κρείττων ἡ πνευματικὴ συγγενεία τῆς σωματικῆς.[1] This casuistry in Tillemont is the more remarkable, as we have seen his candour, on the same point of celibacy, in the life of Nazianzen. A.D. 381.

In 372, Gregory was consecrated Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, and as such became the victim of the Arian persecution under Valens. An imperial edict banished him in 376: but on the death of Valens, and the accession of Gratian, in 378, he was restored to his Church. In the same year, being deputed by the Council of Antioch to visit the Eastern Churches, which were sorely afflicted by the Arians, he travelled through Arabia to Jerusalem. His opinion of the state of these Churches appears, from his own writings, to have been most unfavourable. Of his success in reforming any of them we have not any knowledge; but that he totally failed at Jerusalem he himself informs us. The most important result of his journey was his consequent declaration of the inutility and disadvantage of pilgrimages, a declaration decisive on the erroneous practice, in that respect, of the Romish Church. In 381, he attended the great Council at Constantinople, where he first produced his celebrated work against the Arian Eunomius. He is also supposed to have been the author of the Creed then drawn up, but known under the name of the Nicene Creed. The remainder of his life was distinguished only by a quarrel with Helladius, his metropolitan, a person of no learning and little piety, who grossly insulted him: the issue of the dispute is not known. The date of his death may be placed towards the end of the fourth century. Ordination.

As the text of this father's works is supposed to have been much interpolated by the Heretics, no decided opinion can be formed on his style. Dupin has denounced it as affected, declamatory, allegorical, and philosophical rather than theological. But he says, at the same time, that it resembles Aristotle's, and therefore he is clearly wrong. Other critics have admired it as inferior only to those of Basil, Nazianzen, and Chrysostom. Photius, speaking of his work against Eunomius, thus describes it: τὴν μὲν φράσιν, εἴ τίς ἄλλος ῥητόρων, λαμπρὸς, καὶ ἡδονῆς ὡσὶν ἀποστάζων. Style.

Gregory of Nyssa appears in his youth to have been more attached to the world than was the custom with the great divines of those times. As a bishop he was a zealous defender of the true

[1] Naz. Ep. 95. This letter was written by Nazianzen to Gregory of Nyssa to comfort him on the death of Theodosia.

A.D. 374. faith. His ability is proved by his being chosen to reform the Arabian Churches, as is his piety by the patient firmness with which he endured persecution.

The works of Gregory of Nyssa do not admit of exact classification; yet they may be generally divided into 'Homilies, Orations, and Letters.' His twelve books against Eunomius are his best work. Some critics have made thirteen, either by dividing one into two, or by adding a spurious one. His spurious works are, 'two Orations on the Creation of Man;' 'a Letter on the Trinity;' another on the difference between 'the Substance and the Hypostasis;' and eight books on 'Philosophy.' These last were written by Nemesius.

Against Eunomius.

Editions.

The earlier editions of this father's works are extremely defective, no individual one containing more than a few detached treatises. The edition published by Morel, with the notes of Fronton le Duc, Paris, 1609, 2 vols. fol. though much fuller than any preceding one, wants the first book against Eunomius, and the Greek text of several of the moral 'Orations,' which were first published by Gretsen, in 1618, as an appendix to the Paris edition of St. Basil. The edition of 1638, though more complete than that of 1602, is carelessly executed, and abounds with typographical errors.

Cave 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 244-246; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 176-183; Fabricius, 'Biblioth. Græc.' vol. viii. p. 144, et seq.

AMBROSIUS.

BORN A.D. 340. DIED A.D. 397.

Birth.

The three ancient cities of Arles, Treves, and Lyons dispute the honour of having given birth to this bold defender of the faith. The date also of his birth is uncertain. Dupin and Tillemont place it in 340.[1] Baronius and Cave in 333.

Parentage.

His father, præfect of Gaul, having died while Ambrose was yet a child, he was removed by his mother to Rome, where his education was highly finished.[2] As a pleader in the Prætorian Court he attracted the attention of Anicius Probus, præfect of Italy, and was appointed by him, first a member of his Council, and then Governor, with Consular powers, of Insubria, Æmyliai, and Liguria. He performed the duties of this office for five years, residing always at Milan. But at the end of that period, A.D. 374, he was unanimously called on to succeed Auxentius in the Episcopal chair of that city. Vain was every attempt in his power to

[1] 340 is the most probable date. For Ambrose appears to have been quite young when appointed to govern a province, which government he retained only for five years, yet it was not till A.D. 374 that he resigned it.

[2] A remarkable anecdote, partaking of true legendary spirit, and paralleled, as every reader will call to mind, in profane literature, is related of him by all writers of his life. A swarm of bees, it is said, settled on his face while he was sleeping in a cradle, and crept in and out of his mouth without hurting him.

avoid the unexpected honour: he was baptized, (for as yet he was only a catechumen,) and consecrated amidst the acclamations of the people, and with the sanction, if not in the presence, of the Emperor Valentinian I. A.D. 383. Consecration

That this abrupt transition from secular to holy office, from an imperfect state of outward Christianity to the highest dignity of the Christian Church, was contrary both to the custom and Canons of the Church, cannot be denied. But the assent of all parties, especially of the bishops, proves beyond doubt the fitness, if not the necessity of the election: Θεῦ ἔργον and Θεῖα ψῆφος are the terms applied to it by Socrates and Theodoritus.

To supply his deficiency in theological learning, he took to himself a learned presbyter of Rome, by name Simplicianus,[1] as his instructor. To remove the interfering burden of worldly cares, he gave his money to the poor, his estates to his sister and to the Church, and the management of his household to his brother Satyrus. He immediately undertook the duty of preaching, confessing that he taught others what he himself had scarcely learned; and within two years from his consecration he commenced his written labours by a 'Treatise on Paradise.'[2]

In A.D. 377 he fled into Illyricum, from fear of the invading Goths, and thence visited Rome; but soon returned to his diocese on the defeat of the barbarians by Frigeridus. On this occasion, preferring practical charity to ecclesiastical pomp, he sold the Church plate and employed the proceeds in the ramsom of prisoners. In the meantime, the arts of the Arians, aided by the power of Justina, widow of Valentinian, threatened all the Italian Churches. But Ambrose having first suppressed them at Milan, defeated them at Sirmium by consecrating a true Catholic bishop there, in open opposition to the Empress, and completed his victory (though not a decisive one) by the deposition from their respective sees, of Secundianus and Paulinus,[3] the principal leaders of the Arians in Italy.

The political talent, so early evinced by Ambrose, was now to be exercised in the preservation of public peace, and the defence of youth and justice. Maximus had been proclaimed Emperor in Britain, had compassed the death of Gratian, overrun Gaul, and with a powerful host was separated from Italy only by the Alps. Justina, alarmed for the Italian dominions and the safety of her child Valentinian II., implored Ambrose to undertake an embassy to Maximus, and to avert his design on Italy. He did so. As his success is a proof of his political skill, so his regard for the dignity of his sacred office is shown by his refusal to admit to communion Talents.

[1] Simplicianus, though older than himself, succeeded him in his diocese.

[2] Cave says de Virginibus. This work, however, appears not to have been written till A.D. 378, and to have been preceded by those on Paradise, Cain and Abel, and Tobias. Tillemont.

[3] At a council held in Aquileia.

A.D. 385. the unrepenting murderer of Gratian, though he himself was in the grasp of the tyrant. On his return, his eloquence and wisdom were as necessary as they were effectual in suppressing an attempt, A.D. 384, by Symmachus, to re-establish heathenism at Milan, at that time the seat of the young Emperor's court.

But neither eloquence nor wisdom unsupported by truth and personal courage, would have borne him through his approaching trial. Justina, still devoted to Arianism, and provoked by the boldness of Ambrose, had recourse to every intrigue and all the violence that despotism could command, in support of her favourite heresy. Plans were laid for the abduction of Ambrose, and even for his assassination; some churches were forcibly seized by the military—heavy fines were levied on the refractory—and the Emperor's authority was exhausted in denunciations against all who called in question the decrees of the Arian Council of Ariminum. But Ambrose, always alert and firm, and supported by popular feeling, resisted every attempt; and, after two years' unremitted persecution, obtained a complete triumph; though, according to some writers, not without the interposition of miracles.[1]

In the following year Ambrose undertook a second embassy to Maximus. His object was, as before, to prevent an invasion of Italy: but the issue was far different; for he not only utterly failed, but was received with haughty coldness, and dismissed with insult. On his return he visited Aquileia, but his object in doing so is not known.

His unbending spirit next led him into a hazardous conflict with Theodosius, then (A.D. 388) master of the Western provinces, and resident at Milan. Some monks, provoked by the Jews, burned a synagogue at Leontopolis, and Theodosius ordered that it should be rebuilt at the expense of the offending party. Ambrose, indignant that Christian funds should be employed for the erection of an unchristian temple, remonstrated against the Emperor's order. The Emperor, however, thinking that destroyers were liable to the cost of their destruction, and that all persons, of whatever religion, had claim to civil protection of their property, was not willing to rescind the offensive order. Ambrose preached against Theodosius in his presence, and publicly refused communion to him unless he altogether countermanded the measure—an alternative immediately agreed to by Theodosius. About the same time he endeavoured to procure for the clergy immunity from the imperial imposts, but it does not appear that he succeeded.

Boldness.

In A.D. 389, a frightful and unjust massacre having been com-

[1] St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, Paulinus. A less wonderful, but not less effectual interposition, may be found in a letter from Maximus to Valentinian, threatening him with invasion if he continued to persecute the Catholics. Tillemont has in vain attempted to invalidate the authenticity of this letter, in opposition to Theodoritus and Sozomen.

mitted at Thessalonica by the orders of Theodosius, Ambrose wrote A.D. 389.
to him, and informed him that he would not be admitted to the communion of any of the divine offices until he would sincerely and publicly repent. Theodosius, on his return to Milan, presented himself at the church, but Ambrose refused him entrance, and rebuked him with great boldness and severity. For eight months the Emperor submitted with grief to the humiliating ban; nor did Ambrose then remove it without wresting from him a law, that all warrants affecting life or forfeiture of estates, should be kept back thirty days after they were signed, in order for their deliberate reconsideration. This done, Ambrose absolved his imperial penitent, but kept in reserve a finishing stroke of humiliation: for when Theodosius went within the rails protecting the altar, as was the custom with the emperors, to receive the communion, the stern prelate sent a deacon to order him to stand without, among the people, "*for though the Purple made men Emperors, it did not make them Priests.*" Theodosius apologized and obeyed!

In A.D. 392, Valentinian, being at Vienne, sent for Ambrose to baptize him; but scarcely had the Bishop crossed the Alps, when he found that his journey was useless, for Valentinian had been murdered. Having returned to Milan, he visited Bononia, Faventia, and Florence; or, perhaps, he *fled* to those places on account of the approach of Eugenius. On the defeat and death of that usurper, he returned to Milan, having passed through Aquileia for the purpose of interceding with Theodosius in favour of the conquered rebels. On the accession of Honorius, his zeal for the privileges of the Church was again roused in defence of some culprits who had sought refuge in the sanctuary. His remaining years were undisturbed, excepting by his vigilant inspection of all the churches under his jurisdiction. In A.D. 397 he died, and such was Death.
the admiration in which he was held, that his funeral was attended by Jews and Gentiles, as well as by Christians; many of whom sought to touch his corpse as a preservative against the assaults of the Evil One. His posthumous reappearance is also stoutly contended for: and the following example of it is the most extraordinary on record. On the removal of the remains of two saints to Milan, Ambrose, some months after his death, *appeared* to a *blind* man of Dalmatia; and predicting the day on which the saints' remains would arrive, desired him to be present at their coming, in which case he would recover his sight. Baronius and Tillemont relate the circumstance, and add that the blind man recovered.

The true character of Ambrose cannot be drawn without offence Character.
either to custom or to truth; all ecclesiastical historians, ancient or modern, Romish or Protestant, having, without any exception

[1] The strictures of Hieronymus on his style and plagiarism do not form an exception; as they were incidental, and form no part of a history of Ambrose's life.

A.D. 346. known to us,[1] agreed in unqualified praise of it. That he was rigidly virtuous, exemplary in all spiritual functions, orthodox in doctrine, and sincerely pious, cannot be denied. Neither does it admit of doubt that he was in his own time the main prop, and was so considered by his contemporaries, of the true Catholic faith in the Western Church. But, that his boldness in defence of the faith verged upon arrogance, and his preservation of discipline on ostentation, has been sufficiently shown by his treatment of Theodosius, in the affairs of the Jewish synagogue, and the massacre at Thessalonica. His interference, too, with civil concerns, and his excitement of the secular authority to suppress heathenism, may, in conjunction with his haughty bearing to the Emperor and his assumption of miraculous power, be considered by some persons as the first spark of that Italian fire, the fatal effects of which are not within our present range as historians.

In passing this judgment, we should not conceal that the violence of the times, the fury of the Arians, and the insolence of the heathen military, were such as could not have been surmounted by a spirit less bold and haughty than that of Ambrose. Nor should it be forgotten, that his equestrian birth and early habits of consular command, were bad teachers of the meekness and humility, which we are too apt to expect as a mere matter of course in bishops, who lived in times and nations incapable of estimating these virtues.

Style. As a writer, Ambrose was more indefatigable than learned; yet more learned than original. Suddenly and unexpectedly called from civil to ecclesiastical office, he preferred the matured maxims of the Greek fathers to his own crude lucubrations; and in this he showed good sense and modesty. His style, though incorrect, is pleasing, and, though not always clear, abounds with point. He was a composer of 'Hymns,' and is understood to have been the first who introduced regular choral music into the Christian Church.

Editions. The works of Ambrose have been frequently printed, but the earlier editions are very incomplete, and most of them carelessly and inaccurately executed. Coster's edition, (Basle, 1555,) and Gillo's, (Paris, 1568,) are esteemed the most correct of those published in the sixteenth century. A magnificent edition was published at Rome in six volumes, folio, 1579-1587, under the auspices of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.; but it is of little value in a critical point of view, the editors having taken many unwarrantable liberties with the text. The Benedictine edition (Paris, 1686-1690, 2 vols. fol.) is much superior to all that precede, being, in fact, the only complete and faithful one that has hitherto appeared.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. pp. 261-265; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 198-234; Tillemont, vol. x. art. 'S. Ambroise.'

HILARIUS THE DEACON.

FLOURISHED A.D. 354-384.

Hilary was a native of Sardinia, and a deacon of the Roman Church, during the pontificate of Liberius. After enduring persecution and exile for the Orthodox faith with great constancy, he became a Luciferian. He carried the exclusive system of his master so far as to insist upon rebaptizing all who had received heretical baptism; whence he was sarcastically called by St. Jerome, 'Deucalion Orbis.' It is now generally agreed that the 'Quæstiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum,' usually published together with St. Augustine's works, and the 'Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles,' commonly attributed to St. Ambrose, are in reality the productions of Hilary. The 'Questions' are of little value; the 'Commentary,' without being remarkable for erudition or acumen, is a plain, literal, and tolerably faithful exposition of St. Paul's meaning. A.D. 384.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 217; Dupin, 'Biblio. Cent.' iv. p. 189.

DAMASUS.

A.D. 366-384.

We have already treated of the character of Damasus,[1] and of the extraordinary circumstances attending his elevation to the pontificate. As a writer he is only known by a few epistles and some short poems on religious subjects. They show him not to have been destitute of ability, but display no great depth of erudition or theological knowledge. An edition of his works was published by Ubaldini, Rome, 1638, 4to, and reprinted at Paris, 1652, 8vo.

The 'Liber Pontificalis,' or biographical account of the earlier popes of Rome, attributed to Damasus, is now universally admitted to be spurious. It was, nevertheless, long looked upon as an authentic document, and thus it became the means of introducing much confusion and error into the History of the Church.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 230; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. p. 121; Hieron. 'De Script. Eccles.' c. 103.

DIDYMUS.

A.D. 370-392.

Didymus was a native of Alexandria, where he long exercised the office of a public teacher, with the highest reputation. Jerome and Rufinus were among the number of his pupils. Though blind almost from his infancy, he made an extraordinary proficiency in nearly every department of literature, sacred and profane. He was

[1] Chap. ii.

A.D. 386. a zealous Trinitarian, and at the same time a warm admirer of Origen, with some of whose errors he is said to have been infected. He wrote an infinite number of books, particularly 'Commentaries on the Old and New Testament;' but none of them have reached us, except a short treatise 'on the Holy Spirit,' another 'against the Manichæans,' and some brief 'Annotations on the Canonical Epistles,' of which the Latin verses are still extant. The first treatise was translated by Jerome, and is usually printed together with his works; the latter two are in Canisius's 'Lectiones Antiquæ,' and the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' They are clearly and methodically written, and show that the author was an able and dexterous reasoner, and by no means deficient in penetration.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 253; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. p. 103; Hieron. 'De Script. Eccles.' c. 109.

MACARIUS.

There were at least two eminent Egyptian solitaries of this name, who lived during the latter part of the fourth century, and concerning whose austerities and miracles many strange and incredible stories are related. A number of Greek 'Homilies,' and 'Discourses' are extant, bearing the name of Macarius; but it is not easy to ascertain with precision by whom they were written. They are certainly ancient, and have every appearance of being the productions of some ascetic author of the fourth or fifth century. They contain many devout sentiments, simply and beautifully expressed, but blended with many unscriptural notions, and a great deal of allegory and mysticism.

The works attributed to Macarius were collected and published by Pritius, Leipsic, 1698, 8vo. A second edition was printed at the same place, 1714.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 256; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv. pp. 55-58; Tillemont, vol. viii. art. 'Macaire.'

PHILASTRIUS.

A.D. 386.

Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, was the contemporary and friend of Ambrose, whom he actively assisted in opposing and suppressing Arianism in the West. He wrote a work 'on Heresies,' still extant, which does not give a favourable idea either of his talents or his acquirements. His knowledge of his subject is extremely limited, his reasonings are contemptible, and he betrays throughout an unwarrantable eagerness to magnify errors of the most harmless description into dangerous heresies; he is a writer of no authority, and only calculated to mislead those who rely on his statements.

The best edition of the work of Philastrius is that published by Fabricius, Hamburg, 1721, 8vo.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i. p. 276; Dupin, 'Biblio. Cent.' iv. p. 193.

CHAPTER IV.

HERESIES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

MANY of the sects of earlier birth continued to retain their vigour during the fourth century, and others arose which, unhappily, struck yet more permanent roots than their predecessors. The severe laws enacted against the Manichæans, compelled them to assume other names, by which they concealed themselves for a time, but could not ultimately escape the vigilance of their enemies. The chief heresies which date their origin in this century, and demand notice, are as follows:— A.D. 315.

DONATISTS.	PRISCILLIANISTS.
ARIANS.	ARDÆANS.
APOLLINARIANS.	MESSALIANS, or EUCHITES.
PHOTINIANS.	ANTIDICO-MARIANITES.
MACEDONIANS.	COLLYRIDIANS.

THE DONATISTS.

Persecution had scarcely ceased in the Western Church, and it still raged in the East, when this new and dangerous faction arose in Africa. On the death of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, a council of neighbouring clergy and laity was convoked, for the appointment of a successor. The assembly was less numerously attended than usual, through the management of Botrus and Celesius, two presbyters, who aspired to the vacant dignity. Both these competitors, however, were disappointed, and the election fell on Cæcilian the deacon. All the forms essential to the canonical appointment of a bishop were observed, and Cæcilian had confessedly the suffrage of the whole Church. Nevertheless the two defeated candidates protested against the validity of the election, on the ground that the subsequent consecration of Cæcilian was performed without the concurrence of the Numidian bishops. They were joined in their opposition by Lucilla, a rich and powerful lady, who had been reprimanded formerly by Cæcilian for her superstitious practices, but who was too haughty to submit to ecclesiastical censures.[1] Animated by the representations of Botrus and Celesius, and swayed, it is said, by the bribery of Lucilla, the bishops of Numidia, assembling at Carthage, summoned Cæcilian before them. Secundus, bishop of Tigisis, and the Numidian primate, presided in the assembly, and Cæcilian refusing to submit to its judgment, was declared unworthy of the episcopal office, and formally deposed. Seventy prelates concurred in the deposition, and with the same unanimity

Origin.

Cæcilian chosen bishop of Carthage.

Cæcilian deposed.

[1] Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutrivit; avaritia roboravit. Optat. Hist. lib. i. c. 19.

A.D. 313. they elected, in the place of the degraded prelate, Majorinus, a domestic of Lucilla.

Two important reasons were urged by the Numidian prelates to justify this violent measure; first, that Felix of Aptungus, the chief of the bishops who assisted at the consecration, was a *traditor*, or one who in the time of persecution had apostatized from the Christian faith; secondly, that Cæcilian, in the subordinate office of a deacon, had displayed harshness, and even cruelty, towards the Christian confessors and martyrs in the time of persecution.

If, however, Cæcilian had been consecrated by a *traditor*, it is equally certain that a number of the bishops who undertook to depose him, were liable to the same imputation. No one was more active in the affair than Donatus, bishop of Casa Nigra, who had always been known as a schismatic, and a man of vehement and unruly temper. From him, according to the best authorities, the faction of the Donatists derived its name; for this disgrace has been divided between Donatus, bishop of Casa Nigra, and Donatus, the successor of Majorinus in the see of Carthage. Of a question of such trivial importance, the probable solution may be offered, that the Donatists were so called from both.[1]

Name of Donatists whence derived.

The deposition of Cæcilian was far from obtaining general acquiescence. He had a considerable number of adherents, and the sentence of the Numidian bishops was brought before Constantine the Great, with a view to its revision and reversal. No sooner had that Emperor professed Christianity, than he exercised a supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, and the appeal of Cæcilian was accepted by Constantine. He referred the decision of the question to Melchiades, bishop of Rome, assisted by Reticius, Maternus, and Marinus, three bishops of Gaul. Three days were consumed in the investigation, and the result was favourable to Cæcilian. He was entirely and honourably acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge, and the Synod decreed that he should be reinstated in the dignity of which he had been unjustly deprived.

Cæcilian reinstated by a Synod at Rome.

Such a decree, it may be supposed, was received with disgust and indignation by the Donatists with the Bishop of Casa Nigra at their head. The small number of bishops associated with Melchiades, excited in a particular manner their reproaches, and even their contempt. They looked upon the decision of seventy Numidian prelates as infinitely more weighty than that pronounced by the bishops at Rome, who, besides their inferiority in point of numbers, were unacquainted with African affairs. Constantine, willing to remove these complaints, ordered a second and a far more numerous council to meet at Arles, composed of bishops from various provinces, from Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain.

[1] See Valesius, de Schismate Donatistarum, commonly appended to Euseb. Eccles. Hist. This tract relates the progress of the heresy till the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.

While the council was sitting at Arles, an inquiry was instituted in Africa, under Ælian the proconsul, concerning the accusation brought against Aptungus, the prelate by whom Cæcilian had been consecrated, and these were decided to be without foundation. At Arles, likewise, the Donatists were defeated, but they renewed their efforts by appealing to the personal decision of the Emperor. Constantine examined the whole affair at Milan in the presence of the contending parties, and confirmed the decrees which the two preceding councils had pronounced. A.D. 314. The decree confirmed by a Synod at Arles, A.D. 316, and by the Emperor Constantine at Milan.

Nothing remained to the discomfited Donatists but to load the Emperor with the bitterest reproaches, and the most unfounded accusations of interested partiality towards Cæcilian. Constantine, incensed at their conduct, deprived them of their churches, and sent their factious bishops into banishment. He carried his resentment so far as to put some of them to death; a proceeding which aggravated their discontent into actual rebellion.

The consequent commotions gave rise to a formidable confederacy of ruffians, distinguished as a branch of the Donatist faction, and known by the name of Circumcelliones. They were a mere banditti, who valued their own lives as little as those of their neighbours, and were remarkable for committing suicide in their frenzy. This sanguinary and fearless sect filled Africa with slaughter and rapine, and perpetrated the most wanton acts of cruelty against the followers of Cæcilian. It daily acquired strength, and seemed to threaten a civil war, till Constantine, having tried every mode of accommodation, abolished the laws which had been enacted against the Donatists, and allowed the people a full liberty of adhering to that party which they preferred. The Circumcelliones.

But the flame of discord burst forth with renewed fury after the death of Constantine; and his son Constans, to whom Africa was allotted in the division of the Empire, found it necessary to have recourse to arms. Donatus, the successor of Majorinus, surnamed most inappropriately the Great, opposed all attempts at reconciliation, and the Circumcelliones continued to extend their power by assassinations and massacres, executed with the most unrelenting fury. Their lawless and bloody career was at length stopped by Macarius, a general of Constans. A battle took place at Bagnia, in which the Donatists were defeated; a great number saved themselves by flight, and, except a few who submitted, the remainder were slaughtered or made prisoners. The captives were punished with the utmost severity, numbers were sent into banishment, and among the exiles was Donatus himself, the chief author of the schismatical rebellion.

It is impossible to vindicate the rigorous treatment shown towards the Donatists under the government of Constans, however atrocious might have been their conduct. Optatus, the Catholic historian, and a firm defender of Orthodoxy, though he imputes the

A.D. 362. sufferings of the sect principally to its own malignancy, confesses that the proceedings against it were too severe to admit of excuse.

During thirteen years the Donatists remained under persecution, but with the accession of Julian a more favourable prospect was opened to their view. The exiles were permitted to return to their country, and the sect exercised its worship without molestation. This lenity infused vigour into the expiring faction, and in a short time the larger part of the province of Africa submitted to its discipline, or rather to its despotism. In Numidia its predominance was decided, and four hundred bishops acknowledged the superiority of the Donatist Primate.

Divisions of the Donatists

Before we speak of the tenets of the Donatists, it is necessary to premise that there were several divisions of the sect. The Circumcelliones have been already mentioned, and they ought to be considered as the military force of the faction, which by its practices demonstrated the erroneous opinions of the speculative Donatists. The Circumcelliones strengthened the cause, but there were other intestine dissensions which weakened it. A fourth part of the Donatist prelates followed the standard of Maximin, and a large body was distinguished by the name of Rogatians.

Their tenets.

The tenets of the Donatists were conformable to those of the Catholic Church, according to the acknowledgment of their adversaries, and the testimony of their most active and able opponent, Augustine, afterwards the celebrated bishop of Hippo.[1] They differed from the Church only concerning a matter of fact, namely, whether Cæcilian had been legally consecrated. But the denial of this legality led them into many practical errors. They asserted that the Apostolical succession throughout Christendom was interrupted; that all the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt or schism; and that the privileges of the Christian Church were confined exclusively to themselves. This erroneous and rigid theory was supported by a correspondent conduct. They pronounced the sacred rites and institutions of all other Christians to be devoid of virtue and efficacy. They not only rebaptized their proselytes, but obliged those who had been already ordained ministers of the gospel, to be ordained a second time. Bishops and infants were alike submitted to the disgrace of a public penance before admission into their communion. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed temple with jealous care. They burned the altar, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs, with all possible ignominy.

Conduct of Augustine towards the Donatists.

Among the other public and private labours of Augustine, his opposition to the Donatists cannot be passed over in silence. It

[1] See his Letters to the Donatists, especially Lett. 48, 50, 61, 127.

is notorious that they had a peculiar malice against the pastors of the Catholic Church, and that this malice vented itself in open violence. Augustine himself was several times waylaid by these miserable men, and on one occasion escaped an ambush which they had placed for him, only through the mistake of his guide, by whom he was led into a different road from that which he had intended to travel. An excuse, though not a justification, may be offered for the measures of severity against these factious heretics, of which he was the advocate and the adviser. On account of their enormities, the imperial court issued several edicts for the imposition of fines on the Donatists, and the infliction of banishment on their bishops. These edicts Augustine vindicated in his writings, and strenuously urged the justice and expediency of repressing the Donatists by the civil sword. But candour requires the historian to state, that Donatism received its death-blow rather from the charitable persuasions and powerful arguments of Augustine, than from the penal laws of the imperial court. The sect gradually dwindled into insignificance, and as its extension was partial, its duration was not permanent.[1] A.D. 362.

THE ARIANS.

BRANCHES.—SEMI-ARIANS—ACACIANS—EUNOMIANS—EXOCONTIANS—DULIANI—PSATHYRIANS.

Whether we consider the number, learning, and influence of its adherents, or the speciousness and subtlety of its tenets, the Arian heresy claims a more distinguished rank than any other in the history of heterodoxy. It began to disturb and divide the Church soon after the conversion of Constantine, and who, even in the present age, can assign the period of its suppression? A.D. 300. Arian.

Its author Arius was first a deacon, and afterwards a presbyter in the Church of Alexandria, and Libya was the province of his birth, as it was the birth-place of Sabellius.[2] He was first known as a partizan of Meletius, an Egyptian bishop, who had created a schism in the Church but without any corruption of doctrine. His adherence to the Meletian party was of short continuance, for he was reconciled to Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, and was by that prelate ordained a deacon. But his pertinacity in allowing the validity of Meletian baptism drew on him the censure of Peter, and he was again expelled from the communion of the Catholic Church.[3] Account of Arius

Peter, soon after the expulsion of Arius, suffered martyrdom in

[1] The principal writers on the heresy of the Donatists are Optatus, bishop of Milevi, whose copious History was written against Parmenius, one of their bishops; Hen. Valesius, Dissert. de Schism. Donatistarum; and Long, in a curious Tract, Hist. of the Donatists, 1677.

[2] A description of the figure and manners of Arius is given by Epiphanius, Hæres. 69.

[3] Socrat. Hist. lib. i. c. 6.

A.D. 313. the Diocletian Persecution, and was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Achillas. To the new bishop, Arius offered such a satisfactory explanation of his conduct, that he was advanced to the rank of a presbyter. The episcopate of Achillas was of short duration, and soon after the conversion of Constantine, Alexander was promoted to the important station, contrary, it is alleged, to the expectation of Arius, who aspired to the dignity.[1]

Origin of the Arian heresy.

The erudition, the eloquence, and the morals of Arius have commanded the reluctant acknowledgment of his powerful and implacable adversaries. But historians have differed as to his motives, whether his heresy originated in a sincere conviction of the truth of his opinions or in personal resentment against his bishop. It is equally undecided, whether the beginning of the controversy should be attributed to Arius or to Alexander. Yet all accounts agree that the temper of Alexander was cool and cautious; and therefore it may be presumed, that unless Arius had given some provocation by the boldness and activity with which he disseminated his peculiar tenets, the bishop of Alexandria would not have formally and authoritatively condemned them, neither would he have dogmatically promulgated his own opinions on a subject so abstruse as that of the blessed Trinity.[2]

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria.

In an assembly of the presbyters, Alexander maintained, among other things, that the Son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but of the same essence with the Father.[3] This assertion

Is opposed by Arius.

was censured by Arius as being an approximation to Sabellianism. He eagerly espoused the opposite extreme, and said, "If the Father begat the Son, the begotten had a beginning of existence; hence it is evident, that there was a time when he was not."[4] Many of the assembled clergy sided with the Presbyter in opposition to the Bishop; and no sooner were the opinions of Arius divulged than they found in Egypt and the neighbouring province a multitude of converts.

Arius is condemned in a Synod at Alexandria.

But Alexander, seated in the chair of authority, instituted a solemn and public investigation of the controversy. Having already exhibited himself as a disputant, he now assumed the office of a judge. He convened a Synod at Alexandria, in which the doctrines of Arius were condemned, and the heretic himself, with nine of his adherents, were expelled from the communion of the Church.[5]

Progress of Arianism.

The sentence of the Alexandrian Synod was received by Arius with an undaunted mind. He retired into Palestine, and from this retreat wrote letters to the most eminent men of his times,

[1] According to the principal Arian historian, he declined the episcopal throne. Philostorgius, lib. i. c. 3.

[2] Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15. Socrat. lib. i. c. 5.

[3] Ὁμότιμον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν. Theodoret, lib. i. c. 11.

[4] Socrat. lib. i. c. 5. [5] Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15.

in defence of his conduct. So great was his success, that he could reckon among his immediate followers, two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, and twelve deacons. A majority of Asiatic bishops soon declared in his favour, and among these Eusebius of Nicomedia, a man distinguished for his influence.[1] On the other hand, Alexander, in repeated epistles and public appeals, maintained the justice of the proceedings against his refractory and contumacious presbyter.[2] A.D. 324.

Conduct of Constantine.

The Emperor Constantine at first regarded this controversy as a matter of no political or religious importance, and contented himself with an attempt to suppress it, by recommending to both parties mutual concession. He wrote to both Alexander and Arius, and after censuring each, advised a reconciliation. He also employed the mediation of Hosius, bishop of Corduba, who ineffectually laboured to promote peace between the disputants.[3]

Council of Nice.

When the Emperor saw that his admonitions and remonstrances were unavailing, and that the commotions too frequently the consequence of theological disputes were spreading throughout the Empire, he adopted other methods, and the famous Council of Nice met in obedience to his command, A.D. 325. The bishops assembled from all parts of the Christian world at Nice, in Bithynia, and their number, according to the testimony of Athanasius, who was present, amounted to three hundred and eighteen. They were transported to the place of meeting in public conveyances, at the Emperor's expense, and were maintained at his cost; and to add dignity to the proceedings, Constantine himself was present.[4]

High, but not more than merited, praise has been bestowed on the temper of Constantine at this Council.[5] He exhorted the venerable fathers to peace and unanimity; and a number of mutual accusations having been presented to him, he consigned them to the fire, protesting that he had not read one of them. After this magnanimous action he gave permission for immediate deliberation. The doctrines of Arius were minutely canvassed, and the disputable propositions contained in his writings were argued with great warmth. Constantine acted as moderator, and endeavoured to bring the parties to some agreement, but his endeavours were vain. After several keen debates, the Orthodox party expressed

[1] The epistle of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, representing his own opinions and conduct, is preserved by Theodoret, lib. i. c. 5.

[2] Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15.

[3] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. ii. c. 64-72.

[4] No part of the History of the Church has been written with such negligence, or passed over with such rapidity as the Council of Nice.—Mosheim. The history of this Council was written by Marathus the Syrian, but his work is lost. The accounts which the Eastern writers give of this Council have been collected by Remandot, History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, p. 69.

[5] Constantine is called the political, Hosius of Corduba the ecclesiastical, president of the Nicene Council. Spanheim, Hist. Sac. iv.

A.D. 325. its collective opinion on the controversy in the following manner. The different passages of Scripture which attest the divinity of the Son of God having been selected, a conclusion was drawn, that these passages taken together amounted to a proof that the Son was of THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Father; and the epithet ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΣ, derived from the Platonic school, was adopted into the Nicene Confession.[1]

The Homo-ousion.

Eusebius of Nicomedia, the great patron of the Arians, wrote a letter to the Council in which he censured the notion that the Son was uncreated; and the Arians drew up a written confession of their faith. Both these documents were pronounced by the Council to be heretical. Hosius of Corduba was appointed to draw up a creed, which in substance is the same as that which at this day is called *the Nicene Creed*. It soon received the sanction of the Council, and of Constantine himself, who declared that such as refused to comply with its decrees must prepare themselves for immediate exile.

Nicene Creed.

Arius was deposed, excommunicated, and forbidden from entering Alexandria. The minority who were attached to Arianism at first refused to subscribe the Nicene Confession, but being persuaded by Constantia, the Emperor's sister, and a patroness of Arius, they at length consented. But by the insertion of a single letter[2] the Arians reserved to themselves their own sense, subscribing that the Son is ΟΜΟΙΟΥΣΙΟΣ, not of the *same* but of a *similar* essence with the Father.[3] There were two, however, out of twenty-two Arian bishops who would not join in this act of duplicity. These were Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarica, the former of whom bluntly reproved the courtly Eusebius of Nicomedia for his dishonesty. The Arian prelate did not escape by his compliance; for three months after the dissolution of the Council he was banished by the imperial order for secretly attempting to support the Arian cause.

The Homoi-ousion of the Arians.

The see of Alexandria was vacated by the death of Alexander within a few months after his return from the Nicene Council, and the integrity as well as the abilities of the famous Athanasius pointed him out as the proper successor. At that time he was not above twenty-eight years of age, and he sat forty-six years in the episcopal chair of Alexandria. His whole episcopate was a combat with Arianism, conducted with unremitted zeal, but with unequal success.

Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.

Three years had scarcely elapsed since the Council of Nice, before Constantine, prevailed upon by his favourite sister Constantia,

Constantine relents in favour of the Arians.

[1] Athanasius shows that this epithet is the discriminative mark of the orthodox faith, in contradistinction to Arianism, of which the grand tenet is, that the Son is ΕΤΕΡΟΟΥΣΙΟΣ. Epist. de Nicæn. Synod. Decretis.

[2] And that letter an iota.

[3] This duplicity of the Arians is recorded by their own historian, Philostorgius. See Cave, Life of Athanasius.

discovered some sentiments of indulgence towards the sect which he had proscribed. It was suggested to him that Arius and his friends were unjustly treated, and Constantia on her death-bed implored that their sentence might be mitigated or reversed. Constantine complied with a request thus solemnly preferred. He recalled Arius from exile, repealed the laws which had been enacted against his followers, and restored Eusebius of Nicomedia to the episcopal throne from which he had been ignominiously degraded.[1] A.D. 328.

Athanasius refuses to restore Arius.

An epistle from Eusebius to Athanasius demanded rather than solicited the readmission of Arius into the communion of the Church, and restoration to his former rank. But the Bishop of Alexandria, firm in his purpose, and deaf to the most powerful entreaties, perseveringly refused. The Arians, determined on the ruin of their opponents, procured the deposition and banishment of the three principal leaders of the Catholics, Eustathius of Antioch, Paul of Constantinople, and above all Athanasius. A Synod was convened at Tyre, by the Emperor's command, not to examine the speculative principles, but the moral crimes of the Bishop of Alexandria. He was accused of rebellion, cruelty, unchastity, and even murder. Notwithstanding the most convincing proofs of his innocence, his enemies prevailed. He sought safety in flight, and by a judicial sentence he was degraded from his bishopric. In vain did he appeal to Constantine, and solicit a fair trial. His inveterate enemy, Eusebius of Nicomedia, infused the most unfounded calumnies into the mind of the Emperor, and Athanasius was banished to Treves in Gaul.[2]

Synod of Tyre, A.D. 335.

First banishment of Athanasius.

Return of Arius.

Elated with success, Arius returned to Alexandria; but the fidelity of the people to the principles and person of their exiled Bishop was shown by a refusal to receive the heresiarch into his place among the presbyters. Constantine commanded him to repair to Constantinople; but its bishop, Alexander, hesitated to receive him as a sound member of the Catholic Church. Constantine again, previously to his admission, required him to prove his orthodoxy by subscription to the Nicene decrees, confirmed by an oath,[3] and Arius readily agreed to the requisition. In the meantime Alexander, prostrate before the altar, and attended only by Macarius, a presbyter belonging to Athanasius, offered the most fervent supplications for guidance from Heaven in this difficult conjuncture. The imperial decree was delivered, commanding him to receive Arius into the Church on the next day; and the pious Bishop implored God, that if Arius was right, he himself might not live to see the day of contest; but that if his own faith were true, Arius might suffer the just punishment of his profaneness. The next day appeared to be a day of triumph for Arianism. Its chief par-

[1] Sozomen, lib. ii. c. 16, 27. [2] Cave, Life of Athanasius. [3] Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

A.D. 342. tizans paraded the streets, with their leader in the midst; but when the procession approached the forum of Constantine, a sudden terror, with a disorder of the intestines, seized Arius; he retired from the crowd, and expired in a manner which it has been disingenuously insinuated must be attributed either to poison or to a miracle.[1]

Death of Arius, A.D. 336.

Death of Constantine, A.D. 337.

What effect this awful event produced on the mind of Constantine does not appear, for he died shortly after. He was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans; the first of whom ruled in Spain and Gaul, the second in the East, and the third in Africa. Of the elder son little is known, but that little is laudable. He sent back Athanasius from his place of exile with every mark of respect, and declared that by so doing he only fulfilled the intentions of his father. Thus, after a banishment of two years and four months,[2] the distinguished Bishop returned from Treves to Alexandria, where he was received with general acclamations.

Recall of Athanasius, A.D. 338.

The death of the younger Constantine exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; for Constantius, the sovereign of the eastern part of the empire, provoked at the election of Paul to the see of Constantinople, took the Arian party under his protection.[3] Ninety bishops of that sect, instigated by the Nicomedian, Eusebius, and supported by the Emperor, assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed a creed verging towards Arianism,[4] and erected twenty-five canons favourable to orthodoxy. One of these canons decided, with an appearance of equity, that any bishop deprived by a synod should not resume his episcopal functions till he had been absolved by the sentence of an equal synod. The rule was immediately applied to the person against whom it was made; the degradation of Athanasius by a former Council of Tyre was confirmed; a stranger named Gregory was placed on the episcopal throne of Alexandria; and Philagrius, the Egyptian præfect, was instructed to support the usurper with the civil and military powers of the province.

Synod of Antioch, A.D. 341.

Athanasius withdraws to Rome, A.D. 342.

Oppressed by this conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius, though he wanted neither courage nor capacity to make a formidable resistance, withdrew from the place of contention to Rome.

[1] Athanasius has recorded the death of Arius, but without attempting to stigmatize his memory. His account is confirmed by Socrates and Sozomen. Might not the secondary cause of the death of Arius be ascribed to mental agitation? The spot in which Arius met his death was memorable to posterity, and shown in the times of Socrates. Lib. i. c. 8.

[2] Ετη δύο καὶ μῆνας τεσσάρας. Theodoret, lib. xi. c. 1. Valesius maintains that the banishment of Athanasius to Treves lasted not quite two years.

[3] Socrat. lib. c. c. 2. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 18.

[4] There were not less than four formulæ promulged by this council. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 5.

There he passed a considerable time,[1] and assiduously devoted himself to the study of the Latin language. He was thus qualified to negotiate with the Western clergy, and Julius, the Roman pontiff, was induced to protect and espouse his cause. Fifty Italian bishops declared the innocence and the orthodoxy of the persecuted Athanasius. During this his second exile, he was frequently admitted into the imperial presence, and he exhorted Constans to emulate the glory of his father by repudiating the errors of his brother. A.D. 350.

By the joint order of the two brothers, a Council met at Sardica, in Illyria, a city seated on the borders of their respective dominions. Its object was to promote union, but in effect it placed the two parties at a greater distance from each other than before. The doctrine of the Trinity was treated as a matter of speculation, and each party therefore retired unconvinced and unreconciled. Hosius of Corduba, the venerable president of the Council of Nice, presided here also, and the cause of Athanasius and of orthodoxy was once more triumphant. Constans declared his resolution of supporting orthodoxy by the arms and treasure of Europe, and signified in a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantine his demand that Athanasius should be reinstated in the see of Alexandria. Council of Sardica, A.D. 347.

The timely compliance of Constantine averted an appeal to arms, and the Emperor of the East condescended to sue for a reconciliation with the exiled primate. Athanasius waited till he had received three successive epistles, full of gracious assurances; and he then quitted Rome and travelled to Antioch, in which city Constantius was at that time resident. The Emperor observed, that as Athanasius was to be put in possession of all the Egyptian churches, he ought to leave one at Alexandria for the Arians. The primate confessed the proposal to be just, on condition that the same indulgence should be granted to his own party at Antioch and the other cities of the empire. The Arians, however, sensible of their superior popularity, forbore to press the proposition.[2]

A triumphal procession graced the return of Athanasius to his own city, in which absence and persecution had endeared him to its inhabitants, and a number of his enemies retracted and gave an honourable testimony to his Christian virtues. His authority was more firmly established than ever, and his fame was diffused throughout the whole Christian world. Return of Athanasius to Alexandria, A.D. 349.

Though the tragical death of Constans deprived Athanasius of a powerful friend, yet a civil war between his assassin and his only surviving brother secured an interval of repose to the Church. Death of Constans, A.D. 350.

[1] There are insuperable chronological difficulties respecting the residence of Athanasius at Rome. They are stated by Valesius, Observ. Oper. tom. ii. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1-5.

[2] Socrat. lib. ii. c. 18. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 19. Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 11, 12. Philostorgius, lib. iii. c. 12.

A.D. 356. Both the contending aspirants to the vacant throne courted the friendship of the Alexandrian primate, but unhappily Athanasius embraced the cause of Magnentius, the murderer of Constans. Constantius, however, was the victor, and on the first winter after his victory he resolved to consummate the ruin of a man whom he hated or feared more than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul.[1]

Councils of Arles and Milan, A.D. 353.

The customary mode of convening a synod was adopted by the Emperor, and two successive Councils met at Arles and Milan. They were held in the presence of the Emperor, who proposed to the assembly at Milan an Arian creed, which he recommended by the argument, that God had declared in its favour, by the late victory conferred on himself. Several bishops[2] had the courage to answer that the Nicene faith had always been the faith of the Church, and the people rejected the creed which Constantius prescribed. But the condemnation of Athanasius was pressed with greater success; remonstrance was silenced by the alternative of obedience or exile; and the majority of the bishops were compelled or seduced to subscribe an instrument deposing him from his bishopric.

Second banishment of Athanasius.

Again was Athanasius an outcast from Alexandria, and his expulsion was executed with a violence correspondent to its injustice. His place was usurped by the infamous George of Cappadocia; and the excellent Bishop, after exhibiting traits of heroism scarcely ever surpassed, found a retreat in the deserts of Thebais.[3] To enlarge on his dangerous and romantic adventures would far exceed the limits prescribed to us; but it is fit to mention, that even in his inaccessible retirement he carried on his opposition against the Arians. Adversity could neither change the principles nor bend the spirit of Athanasius.[4]

Compliance of Liberius and Hosius.

The persecution of Constantius was not confined to a single prelate or a single province; and some of its victims were destitute of the firmness of Athanasius. The resolution of Liberius and Hosius was subdued by the hardships of exile and imprisonment. The former purchased his release by some criminal compliances, for which he afterwards expressed a sincere contrition. The fall of the venerable Hosius is a remarkable instance of human in-

[1] Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

[2] Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, and Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli in Italy. Dionysius, bishop of Milan, refused to subscribe an Anti-Nicene confession. Hosius of Corduba was detained a year at Sirmium by the emperor's command. Hilary of Poitiers mentions with indignation the bribes offered to seduce the members of the council. He said of Constantius, "Non dorsa cædit, sed ventrem palpat." Hilar. contra Constant. c. 5. Liberius, bishop of Rome, defended the Nicene doctrine at this Council.

[3] Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, Præfecti, Comites, exercitus quoque ad pervestigandum eum moventur Edictis Imperialibus; præmia delatoribus proponuntur si quis eum vivum, si id minus caput certè Athanasii detulisset. Rufin. lib. i. c. 16.

[4] Cave, Life of Athanasius.

firmity, which awakens compassion rather than censure. He had suffered confinement for a year, joined with the infliction of corporal torture; he had reached the extraordinary age of 100 years, when both persuasion and violence were employed in extorting his reluctant signature to an Arian Confession of Faith: but neither menace nor entreaty could induce him to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius.[1] A.D. 362.

The fall of Liberius and Hosius reflected greater lustre on those bishops whose fidelity remained unshaken, and the persecution of so many virtuous men excited the discontent of all Christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. On the death of Constantius, therefore, the strength and influence of the Arian party were considerably diminished. George of Alexandria, having been murdered by the pagans of that city, Athanasius, in the following year, ventured to return openly to his bishopric. The Arians were then obliged to hold their meetings in private houses, and the general voice of the people was in favour of the Athanasian and Nicene doctrine.

Death of Constantius, A.D. 361.

Athanasius returns to his Bishopric, A.D. 362.

Not long, however, was the Primate allowed to enjoy security. He had already suffered from the Christian heresy of Constantius, he was now to suffer from the pagan infidelity of Julian.[2] He was obliged, therefore, to leave Alexandria a third time; but he had no sooner heard of the death of Julian, than he suddenly reappeared, equally to the surprise and joy of his flock. A letter from Jovian confirmed him in his office,[3] and the new Emperor having declared in favour of the Nicene doctrine, all the Western, with a considerable part of the Eastern provinces abjured the Arian system.

Withdraws a third time.

Returns on the death of Julian.

The scene once more changed during the life of Athanasius, when Valentinian and his brother Valens were raised to the Empire. Valentinian adhered to the decrees of the Nicene Council, and hence the whole Arian sect, with the exception of a few Churches, was extirpated in the West. Valens, on the other hand, favoured the Arians, and the Nicenians were exposed to many severe trials in the Eastern provinces. At the solicitation of Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, this Emperor issued a mandate, commanding that all the bishops who had been deposed in the reign of Constantius should be expelled from their churches. By virtue of this order, Tatian, the governor of Alexandria, vainly attempted to drive Athanasius from that city; but the Primate voluntarily withdrew himself a fourth time, and found a place of concealment in the sepulchre of his father.[4] His last banishment

Valentinian and Valens.

Athanasius withdraws from Alexandria a fourth time.

[1] The life of Hosius is contained in the Works of Tillemont, tom. vii.

[2] "I order Athanasius to leave the city on the receipt of my letter." Jul. Epist. 26. "That such an intriguer should preside over the people is dangerous, one who deserves not the name of a man." Jul. Epist. 51.

[3] Opera, Athanas. v. i. Bleterie, Life of Jovian.

[4] Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 12. Cave, Life of Athanasius.

A.D. 374. was short, for Valens, dreading popular discontent, commanded him to be recalled, and no persuasion of the Arian party could induce the Emperor to offer any further molestation. Athanasius
Death. died at Alexandria in honour and peace,[1] and with his death the early history of Arianism will properly terminate.

Arian sects. The hostility of the Arians to the Catholic doctrine would have been more dangerous to the Church if the members of their sect had not formed divisions among themselves. Not less than eighteen modifications of the Arian creed are in existence; but the divisions of Arianism itself are reducible to three classes: 1. the genuine or primitive Arians; 2. the Semi-arians; 3. the Acacians, who are known under other appellations.

Arian tenets. 1. The tenets of pure Arianism, according to the representations of Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, and Epiphanius, together with the historians Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, are these: Christ is God, but inferior to the Father, in regard to His divinity, substance, properties, and dignity. Christ is a creature, whose existence had a beginning, but He was created out of nothing, before the foundation of the world. Christ, of consequence, is God, by the will of the Father, not by nature, but by adoption, yet made after the express likeness of the Creator: Christ is, therefore, of a different essence from the Father; He is not co-eternal with the Father, because He is begotten; He is not co-equal nor consubstantial with the Father. The Holy Ghost is not God, but a creature of the Son, inferior to the Son as well as the Father, but co-operating with both in the work of creation.

Semi-arian tenets. 2. The Semi-arians, it is said, maintained the Son to be ὁμοιούσιος, *i.e.* similar to the Father in essence, not by nature but by a peculiar privilege.

Acacian tenets. 3. There were some who took a middle course, and contented themselves with asserting simply, that the Son is like to the Father, without any specification of properties or substance. The head of this sect was Acacius, the successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea, but Acacius is said to have retracted this opinion, and to have subscribed the Catholic doctrine at the Synod of Antioch.

Eunomians. The Eunomians and Exocontians may be comprehended under
Exocontians. the first class. Eunomius was a disciple of Aetius, a deacon of the Church of Antioch, expelled on account of his heresy, and whose followers were called Aetians. Exocontian is a synonyme of Arian, because the Arians maintained that Christ was created ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων,
Eusebians. *i.e.* before the beginning of things. Eusebius also, bishop of Nicomedia, has given his name to a branch of the Arian sect.
Duliani. The Semi-arians were also called Duliani, because they affirmed

[1] Gregory of Nazianzen has praised Athanasius in a single sentence more forcibly than he could have done in a long and laboured panegyric, Ἀθανάσιον ἐπαινῶν ἀξιστὴν ἐπαινέσομαι. Op. tom. i.

that the Son was δοῦλος, the servant of the Father; and Theodoret[1] has noticed them under the denomination of Psathyrians. It is needless to enumerate more of these obscure modifications of the Arian and Semi-arian heresy. A.D. 380. Psathyrians.

The fundamental article of the opposite Nicene doctrine is the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. The Son not only proceeds from the Father, He is not only in the similitude of the Father, but also of the same essence. He is not a creature, for He existed before the foundation of the world. The Holy Ghost is not of the Son only, but of the Father and of the Son together. Athanasius has both asserted the Nicene doctrine, and ably defended it against objections. He has also carefully discriminated it, not only from Arianism, but from Tritheism and Sabellianism. Nicene doctrine.

THE APOLLINARIANS.

It is erroneous to consider this sect as a ramification of Arianism, although the Arian heresy gave rise to it. Its author was Apollinaris the Younger, bishop of Laodicea, a man of distinguished merit, and whose early life had been signalized by his services to the Christian religion.[2] He had combated the infidelity of Porphyry, and attacked the heresy of Arius; but by indulging too freely in philosophical distinctions and subtleties, he was led to deny, in some measure, the humanity of Christ. He maintained that the body with which Christ was endowed, or which Christ assumed, had a sensitive, but not a rational soul, and that the Divine nature performed the functions of reason, supplying the place of intellectual principle. From this hypothesis it followed that the Divine nature in Christ was blended with the human, and suffered with it the pains of crucifixion and death. Other errors have been charged on Apollinaris, but from the accusation of Sabellianism he has been vindicated. His doctrines were received in many of the Eastern provinces, but as they were capable of different explanations, his followers were subdivided into various ramifications. The Apollinarian heresy, at least in name, did not maintain its ground long, but sank under the united force of authority and argument. Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, may be ranked in the same class with Apollinaris, or, at least, the difference between them is too trivial to be ascertained. Account of Apollinaris. His tenets.

PHOTINIANS.

Photinus was bishop of Sirmium, a man of learning, and possessed of considerable influence.[3] His opinions concerning the Deity were equally repugnant to the Catholic and Arian systems. Account of Photinus.

[1] Theodoret, Hæres. Fab. lib. iv. c. 4.
[2] Socrat. lib. xi. c. 46. Epiphan. Hæres. 76.
[3] Socrat. lib. xi. c. 18. Epiphan. Hæres. 71. Sozomen, lib. iv. c. 6.

A.D. 380. His tenets. He asserted that Christ was a mere man, that He derived his beginning at His birth; that then a certain emanation, or Divine ray, descended upon Him, styled the *Word;* that on account of the union of the Divine Word with His human nature, Jesus was called the Son of God, or God himself; and that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, but a celestial virtue proceeding from the Divinity. The opinions of Photinus were condemned by the Councils of Antioch and Milan, and in consequence he was degraded from his episcopal dignity, and died in exile.

THE MACEDONIANS.

Account of Macedonius. Macedonius was bishop of Constantinople, and a celebrated Semi-arian teacher, but through the influence of the Eunomians, he was sent into exile, in which he formed the sect of the Macedonians, or Pneumatomachians. He considered the Holy His tenets. Ghost as a Divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and not as a person distinct from the Father and the Son.[1] The opinions of Macedonius were condemned in a general Council at Constantinople, which completed that which the Council of Nice had left imperfect, and fixed in a full and determinate manner the doctrine of three persons in one God.

THE PRISCILLIANISTS.

Origin of the Priscillianists. This sect, which seems to have combined in one all the most pernicious heresies of former times, first appeared in the reign of Gratian, and the country in which it chiefly flourished was Spain. It had been transported thither by a person named Marc of Memphis in Egypt, but his converts were not numerous. In process of time they increased, and comprehended many persons of distinguished learning. Of these, Priscillian, a laic, a man endowed with great eloquence and erudition, was at the head, and ultimately gave his name to the whole sect.[2] He was afterwards bishop of Abila, but was accused by several bishops of Spain of the most dangerous opinions. Idacius and Ithacius, the one an aged presbyter, the other bishop of Sessuba, in consequence of a sentence pronounced against Priscillian and some of his followers, at a Synod convened at Saragossa, obtained from the Emperor Gratian a rescript of banishment against the Priscillianists and their chief. They were restored to their country, however, some time after by an edict of the same prince, though their tenets were too corrupt to procure them favour and popularity.

On the death of Gratian, Maximus, who had procured the assassination of that emperor, and had usurped the government of

[1] Epiphan. Hæres. 74. Augustin, de Hæres. c. 52.
[2] Sulp. Sever. Hist. lib. ii. c. 49.

Gaul, was courted both by the Priscillianists and their enemies. A.D. 384. The usurper entered the city of Treves, where Ithacius earnestly solicited him to suppress the odious heresy, while the Heresiarch himself boldly appealed to his judgment and his feelings. Maximus willingly accepted the office of deciding the controversy.

The conduct of Ithacius was not approved by many of those who condemned the erroneous tenets of Priscillian. Martin, bishop of Tours, strongly reprehended Ithacius for bringing the Priscillian heretics as criminals before a civil tribunal, and earnestly implored Maximus not to imbrue his hands in the blood of these unhappy men. Martin persevered with such pious zeal in opposing the tenets of Priscillian, that his supplications for mercy towards the heretics had the effect which they deserved. The usurper promised that he would not take their lives.

It is to be lamented that a resolution founded on wisdom and humanity was not maintained. Two bishops, Magnus and Rufus, prevailed on Maximus to summon Priscillian and some of his followers before a court in which Euodius, the præfect of Treves, presided. They were found guilty, but were remanded by Euodius to prison, and their final sentence was referred to Maximus. In the issue, Priscillian, with four other leaders of his sect, were put to death, and some others, who escaped extreme punishment, were banished.[1]

Persecution and death of Priscillian and some of his followers. A.D. 384.

The agents who procured the infliction of so sanguinary a punishment were regarded with the utmost abhorrence, and the heresy of Priscillian was rather promoted than extinguished by it. Priscillian himself was honoured as a martyr, and Martin of Tours, though strongly opposed to his doctrines, testified equal abhorrence of the party of Ithacius who had procured his condemnation.

Their tenets.

A fair statement of the Priscillian doctrines has not been given by Sulpitius Severus, who has minutely related the history of this heresy. It appears, however, that the difference between the Priscillianists and the Manichæans was inconsiderable. The former denied the reality of Christ's birth and incarnation, maintained that the visible universe was the production of some evil principle, and considered human bodies as prisons formed by the author of evil to enslave celestial minds. Their rule of life was severe, and the accusations against them of lasciviousness and intemperance are destitute of evidence and authority. The charge of dissimulation has, however, some foundation, though exaggerated into an open vindication of a correspondent practice of perjury and falsehood.[2]

[1] Sulp. Sever. Hist. Dial. 3 de Vitâ Martini, c. 15.

[2] Modern authors who have written concerning the Priscillianists are Beausobre, in his History of the Manichæans; Simon de Vries, Dissert. de Priscillianistis; Girvesii, Histor. Priscillanist. Chronologica.

ARDÆANS—MESSALIANS, OR EUCHITES—ANTIDICO-MARIANITES—COLLYRIDIANS.

A.D. 386.

Ardæans.

A few minor sects deserve to be enumerated, but a detail of their history or their doctrines is unnecessary. The ARDÆANS, so named from their founder Ardæus, were remarkable for celebrating Easter according to the practice of the Jews in contradiction to the Council of Nice,[1] and they are said to have attributed a human form to the Deity.

Messalians, or Euchites.

The MESSALIANS, or EUCHITES, were a sort of mystics, and derived their second name from their continual habit of prayer,[2] by which they imagined the evil demon, who dwelt in the human mind, was expelled, so that the pure mind, returning to God, might be united to his Divine Essence.

Antidico-Marianites and Collyridians.

The ANTIDICO-MARIANITES and the COLLYRIDIANS maintained opposite doctrines concerning the Virgin Mary. The former asserted that the Virgin did not preserve her immaculate state after the birth of Christ; the latter worshipped her as a goddess by libations and sacrifices. They derived their name from the oblations of cakes (*collyridæ*) which they made to the object of their adoration,[3] and they enrolled numerous women among their adherents.

[1] Epiphan. Hæres. 70. [2] Ibid. 80. [3] Ibid. 78, 79.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

FROM THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS TO THE REIGN OF PHOCAS, A.D. 395-610.

AFTER the death of Theodosius, the Roman Empire was divided into two distinct sovereignties, of which one comprehended the Eastern, the other the Western provinces. Honorius, who governed the Western Empire, fixed the seat of his government at Ravenna, while his brother Arcadius reigned at Constantinople. A.D. 420. Roman Empire divided.

Honorius, whose virtues would have graced a private station, consigned the reins of government to his ministers, who followed the policy of Theodosius in protecting the Church, in extirpating the remains of idolatry, and in supporting Orthodoxy against the Donatists and all other heretics. The benign influence of Christianity, even when it had declined from its primitive purity, was visible in a number of imperial edicts, abolishing the impure and savage rites of paganism, and providing for the destitute and the miserable. One of these humane laws has been particularly eulogized, which directed the judges, every Lord's day, to examine into the state of prisons, and to inquire into the wants of the criminals confined within them.[1]

But the weakness of Honorius gave advantage to the barbarians of the North; and the Goths, under the command of Alaric, laid waste the fairest provinces of Italy, and carried their devastations to Rome itself. The plunder of the imperial city, and the consequent miseries inflicted on the Empire, gave an occasion for calumniating Christianity. The pagans accused the new religion as the cause of the declension of the Empire; and this argument, which has been used speciously, though not successfully, in the present times, was originally employed with no little force. So weighty did it then appear, so eagerly was it received, that it called forth the indefatigable pen of Augustine, and occasioned his celebrated treatise 'De Civitate Dei.' The Christian religion accused as the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire.

The barbarian conquerors of the Western Empire pretended to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperors who resided at Constantinople, but that supremacy was the mere shadow of power. In the countries which they conquered, the invaders ruled with despotic authority, and particularly in Gaul, where the Franks established a monarchy on the ruins of the Roman Empire. This warlike nation first passed the Rhine under the conduct of Phara-

[1] Milner, History of the Church of Christ. vol. ii. ch. xi.

A.D. 432. mond, and his successors advanced gradually in their conquests, until Clovis completed them, and became the founder of the French monarchy. That prince, whose signal bravery was stained by cruelty, perfidy, and ambition, is said to have been converted to the Christian faith partly through the influence of his queen Clotilda, partly in consequence of a decisive triumph gained by him over the Allemanni, at a village called Tolbiacum. Finding himself in the greatest extremity, and his whole army in danger of destruction, he solemnly engaged himself by a vow, to worship Christ as his God if victory decided in his favour. The Allemanni were defeated, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, after having been instructed by Remigius, bishop of Rheims, in the doctrines of the gospel, received baptism in that city. The conversion of Clovis forms an era in the history of the Franks, and was accompanied by an unusual number of not altogether veracious prodigies.[1]

Conversion of the Franks.

Of the German nations.

The German nations, by whom the Western Empire was dismembered, in process of time were converted to Christianity, but at different periods. Some of them had embraced it before their incursion, others after having established their independent kingdoms. The Goths, the Vandals, the Sueves, the Huns, and the Allemanni, all yielded to the established religion of the Roman Empire.

Of the Irish.

Christianity in the fifth century extended itself even into the British isles.[2] Palladius, who had been ordained bishop of Scotland, was sent by Celestine, the Roman pontiff, into Ireland, to propagate the Christian religion among its rude inhabitants.[3] Death soon terminated his labours, but Celestine found a successor, likewise of Scottish birth, whose name Ireland has greatly acknowledged. Patric was born near Dumbarton. His first visit to Ireland was as a captive, his second as a missionary. His early labours among the Irish were so unsuccessful, that he returned to Gaul in disappointment, though not in despair. From Gaul he proceeded to Rome, where the authority and advice of Celestine confirmed his wavering resolution. Revisiting the country which he quitted without hope, he renewed his missionary labours, and so complete was his success, that he is still regarded as the apostle of the Irish nation. The number and importance of his pious exploits, are undoubted proofs of his courage, of his perseverance, and of his dexterity. He is said to have taught the Irish the use of letters, and after having brought over great numbers from barbarism and superstition to civilization and Christianity, he fixed a metropolitan see at Armagh, which has ever since continued to be the seat of the Irish primacy.[4]

[1] They are related by Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. lib. xi. c. 30, 31.

[2] See chap. xx.

[3] Archbishop Usher, in his Antiquities of the British Church, contends that Palladius was not the first bishop of the Irish Church.

[4] Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. iii. Wilkins. Conc. tom. i.

The history of the Western Church during the fifth century is distinguished both by the extension and the persecution of the Christian religion; but the history of the Eastern Church is remarkable for its persecutions only. During the reign of Theodosius the Younger, the son and successor of Arcadius, a grievous persecution of the Christians took place in Persia. The calamity was occasioned by the indiscreet zeal of a Christian bishop named Abdas, who destroyed one of the native temples.[1] Isdegerdes, the Persian monarch, on the complaint of the Magi, commanded Abdas to repair the injury by rebuilding the edifice which he had wantonly demolished. Abdas refused compliance with this reasonable command, and Isdegerdes, on a principle of retaliatory justice, ordered all the Christian churches within his dominions to be razed. Thus the misconduct of one Christian bishop laid the foundation of a persecution against Christianity which continued with little intermission during a period of thirty years. Isdegerdes began it, and his son and successor Varanes, inflamed by the Magi, pursued it with unrelenting cruelty.

A.D. 450.

Persecution in Persia.

The afflicted Christians implored the aid of Theodosius, and their entreaties were seconded by the humane interference of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. A war ensued, in which Theodosius had a decisive superiority, as far as the honour of Christianity is concerned. An action of Acacius, bishop of Amida, in the course of this war, fully compensated the rash conduct of Abdas. The Romans had taken seven thousand prisoners, whom they refused to release, though the wretched captives were perishing by famine. Acacius, touched with their distress, assembled his clergy, and persuaded them to sell the consecrated vessels for the redemption of their captive enemies. The prisoners were ransomed, and the Persian king returned his grateful acknowledgments to the Christian bishop.[2]

The reign of Theodosius was of uncommon length, though he died at the age of forty-nine. The feebleness of his government was strengthened by the wisdom of his sister Pulcheria, who maintained an ascendant over the Emperor during his life, and at his death remained sole mistress of the Eastern Empire. For political reasons she gave herself in marriage to Marcian, whom she made emperor, and who, like herself, was an example of Christian piety. The preservation of Orthodoxy, the encouragement of good morals, and the suppression of idolatry, were the objects of his government.

During the fifth century the external condition of the Eastern Church was on the whole prosperous; and in the century which succeeded, the zeal of the bishops of Constantinople, seconded by

[1] The Pyræum, a temple dedicated to fire. Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. lib. v. c. 22. Bayle, Dict. vol. i. art. Abdas.

[2] Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. c. 22.

A.D. 492. the protection and influence of the emperors, contributed greatly to the extension of Christianity. The Greek historians have preserved the names of several obscure tribes living on the borders of the Euxine Sea, which were brought at least to a nominal profession of their faith in Christ. Under the reign of Justinian, the Heruli and the Eruli, who dwelt beyond the Danube, the Alani, the Lazi, and Zani, with other barbarous nations, are said to have renounced the rites of paganism, and to have submitted to Christian baptism.[1] The people of Ethiopia and Arabia, whose names are more celebrated, but whose geographical boundaries are undefined, were invited, by a solemn embassy from the Emperor Justin, to form a political as well as a religious union.[2]

In the Western Church the conversion of pagan nations was carried on with similar success. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, was so distinguished for his zeal, that he has obtained the appellation of the Apostle of the Gauls. But the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, attempted by Augustine, merits a larger and more distinct account than is consistent with the present general view, and it will be inserted with more propriety in a disquisition on the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy and Church.[3]

State of learning.

In making a transition from the external to the internal history the attention is called in the first place to the state of literature. In almost all the great cities of the divided empire schools were erected, and schools are truly said to be the seminaries of the Church.[4] Rome and Constantinople each boasted of institutions worthy of the two first cities of the civilized world. But the incursion of the barbarous nations, though it did not destroy, yet materially injured, these excellent establishments. Wherever these hordes extended their conquests, ignorance and superstition followed their steps, so that towards the conclusion of the fifth century the sciences were almost extinguished, and that system, which was generally called the seven liberal arts,[5] was calculated to perplex the memory rather than to improve the judgment. To the monastic establishments alone we are indebted for the preservation of all the ancient authors, either sacred or profane, which escaped the savage fury of Gothic ignorance. The fate of learning was less deplorable among the Greeks and Orientals than in the provinces of the West; and in the schools of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Edessa, poetry, philosophy, and the other liberal arts, occupied a place in the education of youth. Platonism was adopted by many of the Christian doctors, and this circumstance diminished the credit of the pagan schools.

Doctrine of the Church.

The doctrine of the Church during these two centuries must be collected from its established formularies, from the acts and canons

[1] Procopius, de Bello Gothico, lib. iv. c. 3. [2] Procopius, de Bello Persico, lib. i. c. 20.
[3] Chap. xx. [4] Spanheim, Eccl. Hist. sæc. v.
[5] Grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

promulgated in its councils, and from the writings of its orthodox fathers. Many points of religion were more clearly explained, and many of its doctrines stated with greater accuracy than they had been in the preceding ages. Controversies were multiplied, and controversy brings with it this advantage, that disputants find it necessary to state their tenets with precision. The sum of Christian doctrine was the same in these ages with that which is now professed in the purest of the reformed Churches, the Church of England. The authority of the Holy Scriptures, as a sufficient rule in matters of controversy, and as a perfect guide in matters of practice, was fully set forth by Augustine, in his treatises against the Arians, Pelagians, and Donatists.[1] Though in his enumeration of the canonical Scriptures he inserted those books which are by Protestants styled apocryphal, yet he did not assign to them an equal value or authority with the Inspired Writings.[2] Tradition he did not entirely reject; but he laid down sound criteria, by which apostolical tradition might be distinguished from that which was novel and corrupt.[3]

A.D. 496.

Writings of Augustin in defence of the Scriptures.

To the corruption of the Holy Scriptures and the multiplication of spurious writings in this age, may be traced the departure from sound doctrine and Christian purity which fearfully increased. A rule borrowed from the Roman law, which referred all matters of a doubtful nature to the decision of the aged lawyers, was adopted by Christian councils. According to this procedure reason and common sense were excluded from the determination of every question; and that was approved and admitted as truth which appeared such to the greatest number, or had been sanctioned by a majority of suffrages in preceding times. This absurd imitation of the Roman law in matters of religious controversy was a fruitful source of spurious productions. Many audacious impostors were hence encouraged to publish their own pernicious writings under the names of the apostles, and even of Christ himself, in order that they might have authorities to oppose to authorities in defence of their respective opinions. Such was the extent of this practice, that it is said to have caused Gelasius, the Roman pontiff, to convoke a council, composed of seventy bishops of the Latin Church, in which assembly a decree was passed, depriving a multitude of those apocryphal books of their pretended authority. The decree, attributed to Gelasius, labours under the same stigma with the books which it condemns; since learned men have not scrupled to assert that it was not a real enactment of the Pontiff, but of some impostor usurping his name.[4]

Multiplication of spurious writings.

Decree of Gelasius.

[1] Augustine, de Unitate Eccles. c. 3, 16. [2] Augustine, de Doctr. Christ. lib. xi. c. 8.

[3] De Doctr. Christ. lib. xi. c. 10. Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, and other Greek writers, make a distinction between the τὰ γεγράμμενα, or the θεία γραφή, and the τὰ σεσίγμενα, or the ἄγραφα.

[4] Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. 4.

A.D. 532. When the purity of the Sacred Oracles had once been polluted by the admixture of spurious and heretical writings, the corruption of Christian doctrine advanced with a rapid pace. Abuses were multiplied, and in the place of practical piety was substituted a furious zeal for superstitious rites. The sum of Christian morality was made to consist in the worship of images and saints and the adoration of relics. Even those who enforced the duties of Christianity, by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue in the lives of the saints, executed their task in a manner calculated to mislead rather than to instruct. The models proposed for imitation were ignorant fanatics, who offered violence to reason and nature, and disgraced the religion which their lives professed to follow and to recommend.

Corruption of Christianity.

Controversy concerning the system of Origen.

Of the heresies which arose at this time a separate account will be given, but under the present head of Christian doctrine the controversy concerning the system of Origen will most properly find a place. Though the errors of that great man had been condemned by repeated synods and councils, yet they were regarded by many, and especially by the monks, with the highest veneration. In the West, Bellator translated the works of Origen into the Latin language; in the East, Theodore of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, defended Origenism with more than common vehemence. The question was at length brought before Justinian, who in a verbose edict, addressed to Minnas, patriarch of Constantinople, passed a severe condemnation on the doctrines of Origen, and commanded their suppression.[1]

But the effects of this edict were rendered nugatory by a controversy which shortly arose. The Emperor Justinian had a stronger animosity against a branch of the Monophysites, called Acephali, than against the disciples of Origen, and, strange to say, consulted about the means of accomplishing his design with Theodore, who was both a Monophysite and an Origenist. The artful prelate considered this a favourable opportunity for indirectly promoting the opinions of Origen, without injuring the cause of the Acephali. He persuaded the Emperor that the latter would gladly return to the bosom of the Church on the following reasonable conditions:—that the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, in which Theodore of Monsuistia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, had been pronounced orthodox, should be expunged; and that the writings of those three prelates, known by the appellation of the 'Three Chapters,'[2] should be condemned and prohibited. As the writings now specified had a manifest tendency towards the errors of the Nestorians, the Emperor willingly listened to this

The Three Chapters.

[1] Harduin, Concilia, tom. iii. p. 243.

[2] For copious and authentic accounts of the Three Chapters the reader is referred to Harduin, Concil. tom. iii. pp. 283-287. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 38. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. x. c. 6. Dupin, Biblioth. tom. v.

advice, and issued an edict condemning the chapters, yet without prejudice to the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. This edict was strongly opposed both by the African and the Western bishops, and above all by Vigilius, the Roman pontiff. But Vigilius, being summoned by Justinian to Constantinople, at last yielded, and joined in a condemnation of the Three Chapters. The Bishops of Africa and Illyricum resented this conduct, and obliged the vacillating pontiff to retract a second time, and the retractation of Vigilius instigated Justinian to summon at Constantinople the Fifth Œcumenical or General Council, A.D. 553. A.D. 560. Fifth General Council.

The decisions of this Assembly were favourable to the wishes of the Emperor, for the Three Chapters were declared to be heretical and impious. The decree was enacted chiefly by the bishops of the East; but among the few Western bishops, Vigilius was present, refused his assent, and, for his contumacy, was condemned to exile. He was not permitted to return till he had declared his approbation of the decree of the Council; and changing his side (for to call it his opinion would be absurd) a fourth time, he pronounced the Three Chapters to be execrable blasphemies. His successors in the pontifical chair steadily maintained the last profession of assent to the decree of the Fifth General Council, which Vigilius had been compelled to express. But the Western bishops, unawed by the authority of the Roman pontiffs or the Emperors, persisted in their dissent from the Council of Constantinople. Condemnation of the Three Chapters.

Having taken this summary view of the doctrine, we proceed to consider the discipline of the Church, and during the period under consideration many important changes took place in its polity. The power of the superior order of bishops gradually increased, and the office and dignity of patriarch was first acknowledged. In the preceding century the Council of Constantinople, in consideration of the privileges of the imperial city, had conferred on its bishops a pre-eminence among the rulers of the Christian Church, yet at first five sees were acknowledged by the Eastern Christians to be patriarchal. These were Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.[1] In this century the Bishops of Constantinople extended their views of supremacy; for, by a canon of a Council holden at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, it was resolved that the same rights and honours which had been conferred on the Bishops of Rome were due to the Bishops of Constantinople, because the two cities were alike imperial. The same Council confirmed to the Bishop of Constantinople the government of the provinces of Asia, Thrace, and Pontus. Polity of the Church.

Leo the Great, a vigorous assertor of the rights of the Roman see, opposed with vehemence these decrees, and was seconded in Increasing power of the Bishops of Rome.

[1] The Oriental historians mention a sixth, viz. the Bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Mich. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. p. 110.

A.D. 580. his opposition by several other prelates. He was supported, though not by co-operation or concert, by the bishops of those cities to which the patriarchal dignity was annexed. Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, or rather of Ælia, attempted to withdraw himself and his Church from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Cæsarea, and aspired at a rank in Christendom, which the mother of the Jewish Church demanded. Encouraged by the protection of Theodosius the younger, this ambitious prelate not only assumed the dignity of Patriarch of all Palestine, but invaded the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antioch.

None of the Patriarchs gained so much by these contentions as did the Bishop of Rome. A variety of circumstances contributed to the augmentation of his power. The Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch frequently applied to the Roman Pontiff for succour against the aggressions of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the inferior bishops appealed in the same manner when oppressed by their superiors of Alexandria and Antioch. By accepting this mediation, and by protecting the appellants alternately, the bishops of Rome imperceptibly established the supremacy of the Roman see.

Contest between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

Between the Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople, who divided the spiritual empire of Christendom, the contest for superiority was long, and the issue doubtful. The Bishop of Constantinople not only claimed an undisputed sovereignty over all the bishops of the East, but maintained that his Church was in no way inferior to that of Rome. The Roman pontiffs, on the other hand, strenuously resisted this pretension, and asserted their pre-eminence over the Church of Constantinople. Both the contending parties relied on the prerogatives of ancient and modern Rome; the spiritual governor of the latter could not bear a superior, and the former would not tolerate an equal.

After many years of dissembled friendship, or of remitted hostility, the enmity of these two aspirants to spiritual dominion was brought to an open rupture. John, bishop of Constantinople, surnamed *the Faster*, on account of his extraordinary abstinence and austerity, assembled, by his own authority, a Council in the imperial city of the East, to inquire into an accusation preferred against Gregory, the patriarch of Antioch. On that occasion, he assumed the title of Œcumenical, or Universal Bishop. Pelagius II., who at that time filled the see of Rome, sent forth a strong protest against the unwarrantable assumption, and his successor, Gregory the Great, resisted it with greater vehemence, though not with greater success. This celebrated Pontiff addressed letters to the Emperor, and to such other persons as he judged likely to co-operate in his opposition; but his efforts were ineffectual, and the Constantinopolitan patriarchs persisted in styling themselves Œcumenical.[1]

[1] Greg. Epist. lib. iv. 5, 7. Tempe Helvet. tom. iv.

Gregory adhered to his purpose with a tenacity suitable to his character, and succeeded so far as to create a considerable party among the clergy, who favoured his cause. In the West he gained a decisive triumph, but in the East, his arrogance and ambition were met by scorn, except by those who were at enmity with the Bishop of Constantinople. But in the plenitude of his indignation, he unwarily uttered sentiments which have been carefully recorded, and quoted against his successors in the papal chair, in their aim at universal spiritual sovereignty. "I speak it confidently," he says, "that whosoever calls himself Universal Priest, or desires to be so called, in the pride of his heart, he foreruns Antichrist."[1] A.D. 602.

The disputes about pre-eminence between the two Patriarchs proceeded to such an extremity, that it laid the foundation of the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches. It is generally agreed that the tyrant Phocas, who ascended the imperial throne by the murder of the Emperor Mauritius, deprived the Bishop of Constantinople of his ancient title of Œcumenical, and bestowed it exclusively on Boniface III., the Roman pontiff. The fact has been adopted by ecclesiastical historians, on the authority of Baronius alone, and has therefore been questioned by many modern writers. But it has been received without hesitation by most of the Protestant commentators on the Apocalypse, for the purpose of establishing a synchronism between the rise of the Papal and the Mohammedan power. Grant of the Emperor Phocas to Boniface III.

[1] Ergo fidenter dico quod quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit. Lib. vi. Epist. 30. See Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy Suppos. v. p. 123. Ed. 1683.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

Fifth Century.

CHRYSOSTOM.
AUGUSTINE.
JEROME.
CYRIL.
ISIDORE.
THEODORET.
SOCRATES.
SOZOMEN.
CASSIAN.
LEO I. THE GREAT.
HILARY.
PROSPER.
PRIMASIUS.
BASIL OF SELEUCIA.
THEODOTUS OF ANCYRA.
GELASIUS.
THEODORE OF MOPSUESTA.
PALLADIUS.

Sixth Century.

PROCOPIUS.
MAXENTIUS.
THEODORE OF BYZANTIUM.
JOHN OF CONSTANTINOPLE.
EULOGIUS.
LEONTIUS.
ANASTASIUS.
GREGORY I. THE GREAT.
GREGORY OF TOURS.
CÆSARIUS.
FULGENTIUS.
EUNODIUS.
BOETHIUS.
CASSIODORUS.

A.D. 354. Following the plan already adopted, of briefly noticing the works of inconsiderable writers, and of giving biographical notices only of the most eminent, the catalogue will begin with that ornament of the Greek Church—

CHRYSOSTOM.[1]

A.D. 354-407.

Birth. At Antioch, that city in which "the disciples were first called Christians," was this eloquent expositor of Christian doctrine born. His parents were persons of no mean rank, but having lost his father soon after his birth, the superintendence of his education devolved solely on his mother. Through her, he was instructed in the rudiments of Christianity, but having a natural inclination for the study of oratory, he was placed under the tuition of that great master of the art, Libanius of Antioch. Even at this period he gave indications of his peculiar talent, and of his future greatness; for Libanius being asked which of his disciples would be capable of succeeding him in his school, replied, "John, if the Christians had not stolen him from us."

Education. Having pleaded in the forum for a short time, he relinquished

[1] This biographical account of Chrysostom is extracted chiefly from Cave's life of that father.

his secular pursuits, and devoted himself with undistracted assiduity to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Under the care of Diodorus, afterwards bishop of Tarsus, he was taught to investigate the literal sense of the sacred writings, in opposition to the fanciful interpretations of the school of Origen. Notwithstanding the entreaties of his excellent mother, he lived for a long time in monastic seclusion, but was at length promoted to the office of a presbyter by Flavian, bishop of Antioch. In a rebellion which broke out at Antioch, under the reign of the younger Theodosius, Chrysostom conspicuously showed his prudence and his piety. The populace had contemptuously thrown down the statues of Theodosius and his consort Flaccilla, but their audacity soon gave place to fear, and they deprecated in the most submissive manner the imperial resentment. Flavian the bishop, though oppressed by age and infirmities, undertook a journey to Constantinople, to plead with Theodosius in behalf of the deluded people, and Libanius the sophist followed his example. Chrysostom continuing at Antioch, endeavoured to turn these temporal calamities to the spiritual edification of the people. From a consideration of the severe proceedings of the imperial tribunal, and the fruitless intercessions of relatives in behalf of their husbands and fathers, he took occasion to inculcate the awful solemnity of the great day of judgment, when no solicitation can arrest the arm of Divine Justice.

A.D. 398.

He is ordained a presbyter at Antioch.

It was not until he had attained the middle age of life, and till his long tried abilities fully justified the promotion, that Chrysostom was appointed Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 398. The appointment was made by the Emperor Arcadius, in consequence of the recommendation of Eutropius, chamberlain of the imperial household. The newly elected prelate immediately applied himself to the reformation of his diocese. A visible improvement of manners, in a city which had long suffered by religious contention, and in which relaxation of discipline was followed by corruption of morals, was the result of his labours. Those who had thronged the public shows, were attracted, by the eloquence of Chrysostom, to the Church. So great were the crowds, that the preacher was obliged to abandon his usual station, on the steps of the altar, and to place himself in the middle of the Church, in the reader's desk, in order that he might be more generally heard.

Appointed Bishop of Constantinople.

"The common people heard him gladly," and heretics were reclaimed by his preaching, but the clergy, indolent and corrupt, felt reproved by his zeal, and the wealthy, offended at the plainness of his remonstrances against their vices, were not less incensed than the clergy. Chrysostom, however, persevered, nor did he confine his labours to the imperial city. He visited the neighbouring provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and prevailed on the clergy under his authority to do the same, thus attempting to spread the gospel among barbarous nations.

His diligence in his office.

A.D. 400. Incurs the censure of the Novatians.

It was on a point of discipline which Chrysostom endeavoured to restore in its primitive strictness, that his enemies were enabled to attack him with most prospect of success. During the negligent administration of his predecessor Nectarius, the Lord's Supper was indiscriminately administered even to the most profligate and profane, no other rules for their admission being prescribed than such as they voluntarily imposed on themselves. In times of greater purity, and more wholesome discipline, a presbyter had been appointed whose special office it was to receive the confession of penitents, and by his authority they were admitted to the holy table. It was not in the power of Chrysostom to revive this office, but he supplied the defect by his exhortations. He energetically inculcated on his hearers the duty of repentance, and then recommended their attendance on the Lord's Supper. His expressions were wrested from their true meaning by two classes of men of opposite characters: the Novatians, who still maintained their favourite point of rejecting from the communion all whom they termed *lapsed;* and the dissolute, who accused him of giving a license to sin. Chrysostom incurred the censure of both; he was publicly accused by some profligate bishops, and Sisinnius, a Novatian prelate in Constantinople, attacked him in a treatise with uncommon severity.[1]

Attacked by Sisinnius, a Novatian bishop.

Various circumstances concurred to strengthen these accusations, and to occasion the temporal ruin of the Bishop of Constantinople. A Synod convened under the management of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, a man who disgraced the episcopal order, but who was supported by the Empress Eudoxia, passed a sentence of condemnation on Chrysostom. Seeing the probable effect of the storm which was gathering around him, the injured prelate called together a few bishops who still adhered to him, and delivered to them an impressive address. He earnestly exorted them not to desert their charge, on account of the danger which threatened himself. "I am ready," he said, "to be offered up like St. Paul, and the time of my departure is at hand. I am prepared to quit this troublesome life, but by your constancy, you will find mercy at the hand of God. Only remember me in your prayers." The assembly being touched sensibly by this address, he besought his brethren to moderate their grief, and reminded them of the lessons which he had constantly inculcated in his homilies. When Eulysius, bishop of Apamia, suggested that if they kept their churches, they should be compelled to communicate with heretics, "Communicate you may," returned Chrysostom, "that you make not a schism in the Church, but subscribe not the decrees, for I am conscious that I have not deserved deposition."

Condemned in a Synod at Constantinople.

Behaviour.

Deposed.

Not satisfied with this solemn declaration of his innocence,

[1] Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. c. 21.

Chrysostom refused to acknowledge the authority of the tribunal which sat in judgment on him; but his enemies deposed him for contumacy, and in order to support their views, accused him before the Emperor Arcadius of treason. The people of Constantinople, however, who entertained a high veneration for their bishop, insisted that the cause should be heard before more impartial judges; and so strong was the popular feeling in his favour, that Chrysostom, fearing an insurrection, delivered himself up secretly to the officer who came to execute the imperial warrant against him. He was conveyed immediately to a port in the Black Sea. A.D. 404. Removed from Constantinople.

No sooner was the intelligence of the banishment of Chrysostom made public, than the whole city was filled with indignation. Public clamour was loud against the Emperor, who had thus weakly given up so bright an ornament of the Christian Church to the malice of Eudoxia and Theophilus. The tumult increased to such a degree of violence, that Eudoxia herself, terrified at the danger, implored the Emperor to revoke the sentence of banishment, and even wrote to Chrysostom a letter couched in terms of respect and expressive of contrition.

The people of Constantinople saw with the most lively emotions of joy the return of their beloved pastor to his bishopric, but the season of triumph was of short duration. Soon after his restoration, a silver statue of the Empress was erected in the street before the great Church of Sta. Sophia, and was solemnly dedicated with Pagan rites. Chrysostom, impatient of this act of profanation, reprehended it from the pulpit, and began his sermon as follows: "Now, again, Herodias raves, and is vexed, again she dances, again she desires John's head in a charger." Such imprudence could not fail of gratifying his enemies, and they turned it to their advantage. The resentment of Eudoxia was unbounded, and Arcadius, overcome by importunity, again commanded the Bishop's deposition. He was not only deposed, but committed to prison, and his friends and followers were scattered, and even put to death. Edicts were issued, commanding all persons to renounce communion with him, and three thousand of his catechumens, who had assembled in the fields to keep the festival of Easter, were rudely dispersed by the Emperor himself at the head of a military force. At last Chrysostom received a mandate to leave the city, and he was obliged to relinquish the government of his diocese to Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius. He had earnestly recommended his flock to communicate with the bishop who might be chosen in his room, but the advice was disregarded. They refused to submit, formed separate assemblies, and were severely persecuted under the name of Joannites. Restored. Provokes the resentment of the Empress Eudoxia. Leaves his see.

Chrysostom himself was conveyed to Cucusus in Armenia, an uncultivated country, infested by robbers, and disgracefully known as the spot in which Paul, a former bishop of Constantinople, had Banished to Cucusus.

A.D. 407. been murdered. His journey to this desolate region was attended with many hardships, though his sufferings were alleviated by the sympathy and kind offices of his numerous friends. At Cucusus he experienced a treatment, which neither himself, his friends, nor his enemies, had reason to expect. He preached frequently to the people, who heard him with reverence; by the liberality of a female disciple, Olympias, who faithfully adhered to his fortunes, and who had been banished to Nicomedia for her devotedness to his cause, he was supplied with money, and wealth in the hands of Chrysostom was used only as an instrument of beneficence. He relieved the poor who were suffering under a grievous famine, and he redeemed many captives who had been taken by the Isaurian robbers. He projected a plan for converting the pagans of Phœnicia, and he contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and the support of missionaries.

But the implacable enmity which had condemned him to banishment, pursued him even to the inhospitable climate of Isauria. His enemies, beholding with jealous malignity the respect shown to his virtues and his misfortunes, procured an order for his removal to Pityus, on the extreme shore of the Black Sea. On his way thither, he was brought to an oratory of Basiliscus, who had suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian. Here he entreated to rest, but the indulgence was refused by his guards. Nature, however, was exhausted, he had not proceeded far before his conductors were compelled to return with him to the desired oratory. Here he received the Lord's Supper, uttered his last prayer, and, having concluded with his usual doxology, "Glory be to God for all events," tranquilly expired, A.D. 407.

Death.

Works.

This great man, however, "though dead, yet speaketh" by his works. As an expositor of Scripture, though he adopted the views of Origen, he is judicious and energetic. As a preacher he was eminently useful, because he was practical; and though his discourses were directed against the prevailing vices of his own age, and of the city in which he presided, yet they may be read with advantage even in these later times. As a devotional writer he was not less excellent than as a preacher; and the beautiful 'Collect,' which concludes the daily service of the Church of England, is a proof that he was endowed in a peculiar manner with "the gift of prayer." In parenetic theology his rank is deservedly high, and his treatise 'De Sacerdotio' must excite in young minds a serious awe of the danger of miscarrying in an office of so fearful importance, and cannot fail to check the levity and presumption of any that would undertake it without due preparation.

The best edition of the complete works of Chrysostom is that published by Montfaucon in eleven volumes folio. But it would be an unpardonable omission in an English divine to pass over the edition projected by Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton college,

Oxford, and superintended by the "ever memorable" John Hales, Greek professor in that university. A.D. 354.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i.; Dupin, 'Biblioth. Cent.' iv.; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. iv. and v.

AUGUSTINE.[1]

A.D. 354-430.

This great master of polemics was born in the city of Tagasta, in Numidia, of respectable parentage. His father, Patricius, continued a pagan till nearly the time of his death; his mother, Monica, was renowned for Christian piety. Augustine in his 'Confessions' accuses himself of a natural indolence, and says, that he improved in learning only through necessity. He had an aversion to Greek literature, though it is by no means to be inferred, that he never attained a knowledge of the Greek language. In the neighbouring city of Madaura, he received the first rudiments of education, and devoted himself to the study of oratory. His father, with a spirit above his circumstances, determined to send Augustine, then in his seventeenth year, to the famous school at Carthage. There he continued to cultivate his favourite study, till in the course of his reading he met with the 'Hortensius' of Cicero. This treatise effected a remarkable change in his views, and renouncing the fantastic hope of gaining reputation by eloquence, he felt an ardent desire after wisdom. Though at this time unacquainted with the apostolical admonition, "Take heed, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit," yet he resolved to seek wisdom, not by ranging himself under any particular sect, but by making an impartial search wherever it might be found. In this investigation he did not overlook the Holy Scriptures, but at first he read them without delight. "My pride," he says, "was disgusted with their manner, and my penetration could not enter into their meaning."

Birth.

Education.

In this situation he fell in with the Manichees, men who were always talking of truth, and yet formed the most absurd opinions on the works of nature and the dispensations of Providence. Augustine was seduced by these heretics, partly through their subtle and captious questions concerning the origin of evil, partly through their blasphemies against the holy men recorded in the Old Testament. During the space of nine years, "deceived and deceiving," he lived, infatuated with the Manichæan follies, and even a believer in the dotages of astrology.

Embraces Manichæism.

The loss of a beloved friend after his return from Carthage to his native city, first staggered his confidence in the opinions which he had embraced. In the violence of early sorrow, he quitted

[1] This biographical account is extracted principally from his own Confessions.

A.D. 386. Tagasta, and again returned to Carthage. Here some circumstances connected with a Manichæan bishop named Faustus, who had come to that city, contributed to strengthen his doubts concerning the soundness of the whole system; but he still remained a Manichæan, because he despaired of finding a better road to truth.

Settles at Rome.

From Carthage he was induced to go to Rome, still a disciple of Manichæism. The Manichees were divided into two classes, the hearers or novices, and the elect. Augustine belonged to the latter; but at Rome his attachment to his sect was considerably weakened, and he began to entertain a secret predilection for the academic philosophy. Some unexpected disappointments at Rome, or some expected advantages at Milan in his capacity of teacher of rhetoric, led him thither. Its bishop, Ambrose, received the new professor with paternal affection, and Augustine was gradually brought to attend to his doctrine. The possibility of finding truth in the Church of Christ appeared, and he began to consider how he might convict Manichæism of falsehood. In conclusion, he determined to remain a catechumen in the Church, till he saw his way more clearly.

Suspects the truth of Manichæan doctrines.

The state of his mind was now somewhat altered, and, ashamed of his former delusions, he became exceedingly sceptical. His most intimate associates were Alypius and Nebridius, the former of whom had studied under him at Tagasta and at Carthage, and the latter had left a paternal estate in the vicinity of that city for the pleasure and instruction of Augustine's society. The arguments of Nebridius seem to have cleared his mind entirely of Manichæism and of astrology, and he was prepared, by his renunciation of those pernicious errors, to approach the oracles of divine truth.

Renounces them.

With eagerness, tempered by awe, he took up the inspired volume, and particularly the writings of St. Paul. He read, and truth flashed irresistibly on his mind. Deeply affected, he went to Simplician, the spiritual father of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, and described his religious state. Simplician confirmed his resolution by relating a similar conversion in Victorinus, a Roman rhetorician.

Augustine now resolved to relinquish his employment of teaching, not abruptly but gradually; and he wrote to Ambrose, with a request that the Bishop would point out those parts of the Sacred Writings which were the best preparation for baptism. Ambrose called his attention to the prophecies of Isaiah, but to Augustine the other and plainer parts of Scripture seemed preferable.

Receives Christian baptism at Milan. Returns to Africa.

At Milan Augustine received the sacred rite of baptism together with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus. In company with Euodius, a Milanese citizen, and a Christian convert, Augustine with his son and friend determined to return to Africa. At the mouth of the Tiber his mother, who had been the faithful companion of his travels, who had witnessed his spiritual conflicts, who

had supported him in the hour of despair by her counsel and by her prayers, expired. Not long before her death she said, "Son, I have now no delight in life. One thing only, your conversion, was an object for which I wished to live. That is granted. What do I here?" A.D. 428.

Removes to Hippo.

Augustine, after his return to Africa, lived on his own estate for almost three years in a state of retirement; but at the solicitation of a person of some consequence in Hippo, who requested his instructions, he removed to that city. Valerius was its bishop, a man of great piety, but on account of his slender acquaintance with the Latin tongue unfit for the situation in which he was placed. Augustine, through the urgent desires of the people, and in compliance with the earnest wishes of Valerius, was ordained a presbyter. In this station his ministry was highly useful, in the edification of the faithful, and the confutation of heretics. Fortunatus, the great leader of the Manichees, was obliged to leave Hippo in confusion, when he found himself, by the unanimous suffrage of the audience, vanquished in a conference with Augustine.

Is ordained a presbyter.

Valerius, solicitous to preserve so invaluable an accession to his Church, procured the election of Augustine as coadjutor to himself. Augustine, after having long resisted, at length accepted the episcopal office, the duties of which he fulfilled alone, after the decease of Valerius. His activity increased with his elevation. To his indefatigable zeal in preaching he added the laborious employment of hearing causes, and in their examination and decision he often spent the whole day. In attendance on councils he was punctual, and in them he distinguished himself in the defence both of Christian doctrine and discipline. His dress, furniture, and diet were moderated between the extremes of luxury and penuriousness. He was "a lover of hospitality," and during meals encouraged reading or useful conversation; but he had a strong aversion to detraction and slander, and he caused a distich[1] to be inscribed on his table, intimating that whoever attacked the characters of the absent should be excluded. He was conscientiously attentive to the wants of the poor, and relieved them out of the revenues of the Church or the oblations of the faithful.

Elected Bishop of Hippo.

Conduct in his bishopric.

A short time before his death he was employed in the revisal and correction of his works, and the fruits of his labour were his 'Retractations,' which were intended to give to the world his last and matured opinions. It pleased God, however, that he should not depart without passing through a cloud of temporal affliction, and thus his hope of immortality was quickened by a bitter taste of the evils of this life. Genseric, king of the Vandals, invaded Africa, and ravaged it with all the horrors of uncivilized warfare.

Invasion of Genseric.

[1] "Quisquis amat dictis absentium rodere vitam
Hanc mensam vetitam, noverit esse sibi."
Posid. Vit. August.

A.D. 430. Augustine was compelled to witness, in addition to the usual desolation, the destruction of the Christian churches and the persecution of their pastors. Count Boniface, one of the greatest Roman heroes of those times, undertook the defence of Hippo against the barbarians, and bravely protracted its capture for fourteen months, when, with the rest of Africa, it fell under the power of the Vandals.

But Augustine was taken away before the consummation of this calamity. While he mourned under the disasters of the times in company with Posidienus and several bishops who had fled for shelter to Hippo, he told them that his earnest prayer had been offered to God, that his servants might be rescued from the siege, or that they might be endued with patience to bear the approaching evil, or that himself might be removed to another world. In

Death. the third month of the siege his last wish was granted. He was seized with a fever, A.D. 430, which ended in his dissolution, having lived seventy-six years, forty of which he had been a presbyter or a bishop. It was his common saying, that a Christian should never cease to repent even to the hour of his death, and he caused the Penitential Psalms of David to be inscribed on the wall in his last sickness. He left no will, for he had neither money nor lands. His only earthly possession was his library, which he bequeathed to the Church.

Works. With the polemical life of Augustine the present chapter has no concern, since it will be brought under consideration in treating of the heresies to which he was opposed. The same remark may be applied to his controversial writings. Of his practical writings that volume which is best known to the English reader is his 'Meditations,' though doubts have been entertained of its genuineness. His sermons are far inferior to his other compositions in learning and eloquence; but they were addressed to the people, and not to the literati. They are plain and simple, but weighty and serious.

The editions of Augustine's detached treatises are too numerous to be inserted here, but an accurate and splendid edition of his whole works was published by the Benedictines.

Posidienus, 'Vita Augustini;' Augustine, 'Confessiones;' Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. iv. and v.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i.

JEROME.[1]

A.D. 331-420.

Birth and education. This renowned monk and celebrated father of the Latin Church was born under the reign of the Emperor Constantine, at Stridon,[2] a town on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia. So obscure, however, was this place that geographers have not determined whether or not it ought to be considered as a part of Italy. From

[1] The life of Jerome has been written by Erasmus, and is prefixed to Jerome's works.
[2] Or Strigon.

the care bestowed on his education, it is certain that he was born of an opulent family. He was sent to Rome, and there acquired the graces of the Latin tongue, and he was in his infancy instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith. After his baptism at Rome, he travelled into France in company with Bonosus, a fellow-student. He passed his time in study, or in conversation with learned men, and thence returning into Italy, he determined to follow the profession of a monk, a term which at that time did not convey the modern idea of the word. It meant only the life of a private, recluse Christian, but unfettered by rules and vows. Such a life suited the contemplative temper of Jerome. He was, however, ordained a presbyter, but would not accept any higher ecclesiastical dignity. A.D. 444. Embraces a monastic life.

Not less than four years were passed by him in the deserts of Syria, where his application to study was intense. By the assistance of a Jew, who visited him clandestinely, he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, to which he added the dialects of Syria and Chaldea. On his return to Rome, he cultivated the society of Paula (an illustrious descendant of the Pauli, so famous in Roman story), Marcella, and other opulent ladies. By the advice and assistance of Jerome, a monastery was formed, and the conventual life became fashionable at Rome. But his temper, being highly choleric and imperious, could not patiently bear the spleen and calumny by which he was attacked. Unjust aspersions against his character provoked him to an acrimonious and uncharitable recrimination. He retired again to the East, followed by several of his female admirers. Bethlehem was selected as the residence of his old age, where Paula erected four monasteries, three for women, over which she presided, and one for men, in which Jerome passed the remainder of his life, occasionally enjoying the society of his learned friends. Paula died after having lived twenty years in the monastery, and Jerome after he had reached the unusual term of ninety-one years. Resides at Rome. Retires from Rome and settles in Palestine. Death.

His writings are voluminous, but not particularly instructive; his learning was considerable, but ill-digested; and his piety was debased by superstition. His 'Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures' and his 'Epistles' are the most esteemed of his works. The Benedictines have published an edition of the works of this father in five folio volumes. Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' vol. i.; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. iv. Works.

CYRIL.

A.D. 413-444.

The biography of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, will be comprised under the Nestorian heresy. His works, in six folio volumes, were published by Aubert at Paris, in the year 1638. Dupin, 'Biblioth.' vol. iv.; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. v.

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.

DIED A.D. 431.

A.D. 410. Character.

This writer was a monk of Pelusium in Egypt, who conferred honour on the monastic life. He lived in the practice of serious piety, and appears to have known the world much better, and to have been more useful in the Church, than might have been expected from a recluse. He was the disciple and the vindicator of Chrysostom. His works consist of five books of 'Epistles.' They are admirably written, and are to be recommended equally for the solidity of the matter and the elegance of the style. They have been published in a folio volume by the Jesuit Scott at Paris in 1638. Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. v.

THEODORET.

A.D. 386-457.

SOCRATES.—SOZOMEN.

History of the Church.

These three contemporary writers continued the history of the Church from the point at which the work of Eusebius ended. Socrates is a judicious writer, remarkable for his candour towards the Novatians and for his general impartiality. Sozomen is inferior to Socrates in judgment, and is favourable to a monastic life. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, was an eloquent and a copious writer in other works besides his history. In consequence of his supposed attachment to the Nestorian errors, he was condemned by the Synod of Ephesus, but was restored at the Fourth General Council held at Chalcedon. The works of Theodoret were edited by the Jesuit Sismond, in four folio volumes, and a fifth was added by Garnier. The histories of Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, added to that of Eusebius, form three folio volumes. Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. v.

CASSIAN.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 410.

Doctrines.

This writer, who has been styled the founder of the Semi-pelagian school, was a disciple of Chrysostom. He spent the latter part of his life at Marseilles, and probably quitted Constantinople at the time at which his master was banished from it. He asserted an inward grace, subject to freedom of the will, and that the first conversion of the soul to God is merely an effect of its free choice. The followers of Augustine allowed that Semi-pelagianism found in Cassian a powerful defender, and that his learning and morals were unquestionable. The works of Cassian were published at Frankfort in 1722, with a Commentary by Alardus Gazaus. Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. v.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Leo I., surnamed the Great, is at the head of the writers in the Latin Church in this century, but his talents were chiefly applied to the extension of the pontifical authority. Hilary, bishop of Arles, famous for his quarrel with Leo, was a man of eloquence and humble piety. Prosper, a layman, and Primasius, an African bishop, are recorded as the disciples of Augustine. Among the Greek writers may be enumerated Basil of Seleucia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Gelasius of Cyzicum, Theodore of Mopsuesta, and Palladius, the biographer of Chrysostom. A.D. 590. Enumeration.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

The catalogue of this century is rather numerous than interesting, and in vain shall we seek in it for a Chrysostom, an Augustine, or a Jerome. The most celebrated Greek and Oriental writers were Procopius of Gaza, a professor of oratory, and a useful commentator on Scripture; Maxentius, a monk and a presbyter of Antioch, an opponent of the Nestorians and Acephali; Theodorus of Byzantium, a writer on ecclesiastical history; John, patriarch of Constantinople, surnamed the Faster, remembered chiefly for his 'Penitential;' Eulogius of Antioch, Leontius of Byzantium, and Anastasius of Sinai, all of them controversial writers. Enumeration.

The Latin writers are more worthy of a distinct notice; and among them, on account of his station, the precedence is due to

GREGORY I. THE GREAT.

A.D. 544-604.

Gregory was born in Rome of a patrician family, about the year 544. He early distinguished himself by his great powers of memory, and his acquirements in grammar, logic, rhetoric, and civil law. In the languages he was not equally versed, for he was wholly unacquainted even with Greek. Having filled the office of præfect of Rome, he retired to a monastery of his own foundation, but not long after was appointed by Pope Pelagius II. to many honourable public stations, especially that of nuncio and secretary. On the death of that pontiff in 590, Gregory most reluctantly ascended the papal throne, which he filled with consummate ability. Among other points of ecclesiastical reform, his attention was much devoted to church music; and it is to him that we are indebted for simplifying the characters and language of that art by introducing a notation by the first seven letters of the alphabet. The name of Gregory is celebrated in English history from his Birth. Pontificate.

A.D. 604. mission for the conversion of our Islands. Notwithstanding the great aversion to letters with which he has been, perhaps unjustly, taxed, (for Brucker has accused him of burning the Palatine Library, which among other treasures contained the entire history of Livy), no Pope has written so largely. His chief works are 'Letters,' of which there are more than 800. A 'Commentary on Job,' a 'Pastoral,' or treatise on 'Pastoral Duties,' 'Homilies,' and 'Dialogues.' The genuineness of the last-named work is doubted; it is a storehouse of pseudo-miracles and marvels, and once enjoyed very great popularity. A splendid edition of his works was published at Paris in 1705, in four volumes folio, by St. Marthe, a Benedictine monk. 'Acta Sanct.' tom. ii. Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. vi.

Works.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF TOURS.

This prelate is esteemed the father of Gallic history; his writings discover considerable diligence, but little judgment. Levity and credulity are the characteristics of his 'Annals of the Franks,' his 'Miracles,' or 'Lives of the Saints,' and other writings. The best edition of his works is by Don Ruinart, 1699, folio.

Character.

OTHER LATIN WRITERS.

It is sufficient to enumerate without comment, Cæsarius of Arles, a moral writer; Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspina, a noted polemic; Eunodius, bishop of Pavia, an author both in prose and verse; and at the close of the list, Boethius and Cassiodorus, the former of whom is conspicuous as an orator and philosopher as well as a divine.

Enumeration.

CHAPTER VII.

HERESIES OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

NESTORIANS.
EUTYCHIANS, OR MONOPHYSITES.
- ACEPHALI.
  - ANTHROPOMORPHITES.
  - BARSANUMORPHITES.
  - ESSAIANISTS.
- JACOBITES.
- SEVERITES.
- MARONITES.
- AGNOETÆ.
- ARMINIANS.
- EGYPTIANS OR COPTS.

} BRANCHES OF EUTYCHIANISM.

PELAGIANS.
SEMI-PELAGIANS.
PREDESTINARIANS.

IN the beginning of the fifth century, the Donatists were defeated by the writings of Augustine, and the Arians, oppressed by the imperial edicts, were compelled to seek refuge among those barbarous nations who overturned the Western Empire. Under this depression of two dangerous heresies, a new sect, the cause of a fatal division in the Church, arose, known by the name of A.D. 428.

NESTORIANS.

Account of the Nestorians.

Nestorius was a native of Germanicia, a monk of Antioch, and a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuesta.[1] After the peaceable and mild usurpation of the episcopal throne of Chrysostom by Atticus, and the short and turbulent patriarchate of Sisinnius, the factions of the clergy and people were appeased by the choice which the Emperor made of a successor, A.D. 428. Theodosius selected a stranger, and Nestorius was indebted for his elevation to the austerity of his life, and the eloquence of his sermons. But the first homily which he delivered before his imperial patron, evinced that humility and charity were not among the number of his virtues. His accession to the see of Constantinople was marked by a fierce persecution of the Arians; he discovered one of their secret conventicles, attacked it by force, and burned it to the ground. Rigid was the commencement of his episcopal career, fierce was his zeal against every kind and degree of heresy, till the sword of persecution which he had so recklessly wielded against others was turned against himself.

Nestorius bishop of Constantinople.

His intolerance.

[1] For an account of Nestorius see Socrat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 29.

A.D. 430. Educated in the Syrian school, Nestorius had been early taught to repudiate the confusion of the human with the Divine nature of Christ. The heresy of Apollinaris had blended these two natures; for he maintained that the man Christ was not endowed with a human soul, but that the Divine spirit was substituted in its place. The Syrian doctors, in order that they might avoid the errors of Apollinaris, were careful in establishing a distinction between the Divine and human nature in the Son of God. Nestorius, who had adopted the sentiments of the teachers of his own country, was a violent enemy of the Apollinarian heresy, and the ruin of that sect was the first object of his government. He therefore strenuously enforced the Syrian doctrine in his own discourses, and strictly enjoined his disciples to discriminate accurately between the actions and passions of the Son of God, and those of the Son of man.

His heresy. From the pulpit at Constantinople, the presbyter Anastasius, a friend of Nestorius, and his successor in the patriarchate, repeatedly declaimed against the use of the title of Mother of God, bestowed on the Virgin Mary.[1] It was a term, he asserted, unknown to the apostles, unauthorized by the Church, and adopted by the followers of Apollinaris in their controversy with the Arians. He, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the Virgin Mary ought to be styled the Mother of Christ, rather than the Mother of God, since the Divinity can neither be born nor die. Nestorius applauded these sentiments, and re-echoed them.

A vigorous opposition was soon begun against the patriarch and his presbyter, by some monks of Constantinople, who maintained that the Son of Mary was God incarnate; they excited the populace against Nestorius, but without much effect. On the contrary, the monks of Egypt, after having perused the discourses of Nestorius, were converted to his opinions, and accordingly ceased to call the Virgin the Mother of God.

Cyril bishop of Alexandria. The individual who at this time presided in the see of Alexandria was Cyril, a prelate who had been trained in the Alexandrian school. Under this discipline, he inclined rather to the sentiments of Apollinaris, than to the opposite extremity, at which his antagonists had taken their position. His early life had been passed in monastic austerity, and indefatigable application to scholastic theology; but his natural disposition fitted him for the tumults of cities and synods. By the voice of the people he had been seated on the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, and the prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, he enjoyed the influence and authority of a civil magistrate.[2]

His character. Cyril opened his patriarchal reign in the same manner as Nesto-

[1] Basnage, Hist. de l' Eglise, tom. i. p. 505. [2] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 7.

rius, by the persecution of heresy; and he began by oppressing the Novatians. He interdicted their religious worship, and confiscated their sacred vessels. But his wrath was directed not only against Christian heretics, he expelled from Alexandria the Jews; and the inhuman murder of Hypatia, a female heathen philosopher, who taught at Alexandria, will leave an indelible stain on his character,[1] if we admit the charge brought against him by Demascius, that he was privy to the intention, and stimulated the fury of the zealots, who tore her to pieces in the streets. A.D. 431.

Opposes Nestorius.

As soon as the opinions of Nestorius were known to Cyril, his pride and ambition prompted him to interfere. The successor of Athanasius thought it suitable to his station and character to encounter a second Arius. After a short correspondence between the rival patriarchs, and after having engaged on his side Celestine the Roman pontiff, Cyril assembled a Synod at Alexandria, and denounced the heretical opinions of the Byzantine by not less than twelve anathemata. Celestine, meantime, at the head of an Italian Synod, condemned not only the opinions of Nestorius, but degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, and left the execution of the sentence to the Alexandrian patriarch.

Appeals to Celestine, bishop of Rome.

Nestorius is supported by the Emperor.

Nestorius, undaunted by this rash proceeding, retorted on his adversary the charge of heresy, charged him with the Apollinarian errors, and loaded him with the same number of censures as had been levelled against himself. The Emperor Arcadius was equally indisposed with the patriarch of Constantinople to obey the sentence of an Italian Bishop, and a Synod of the Catholic Church was unanimously demanded as the sole remedy which could decide this unintelligible controversy. Theodosius called a Council at Ephesus, which is known in the annals of the Church as the third General Council.[2]

First Council of Ephesus.

The festival of Pentecost was chosen for the time of meeting. Both Nestorius and Cyril were summoned in their capacity of metropolitans, and though, contrary to fairness, Cyril presided, yet Nestorius appeared not as a criminal, but as a judge. Impatient of delay, Cyril proposed to examine and determine the matters in debate before the arrival of the patriarch of Antioch and the Eastern bishops; but Nestorius objected against this proceeding as irregular and unjust. The trial, however, was begun; sixty-eight bishops out of probably less than three hundred, defended the cause of Nestorius by a modest and temperate protest, but they were excluded from the deliberations of their brethren. Candidian, in the name of the Emperor, requested a delay of four days, but this magistrate was expelled from the assembly with insult and outrage. The whole of this important transaction was

[1] Suid. Lexicon, art. Hypatia. Tillemont, Hist. Eccles. tom. xv.
[2] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. Evagr. Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

A.D. 433. concluded in a single day. Nestorius was convicted of blasphemy against the Divine majesty, was degraded from his episcopal dignity, and ultimately sent into exile.[1]

Nestorius is condemned.

Opposition of the Orientals.

On the fifth day after the promulgation of this sentence, the triumph of Cyril was clouded by the arrival of the Eastern bishops. With equal haste and violence the Oriental Synod, composed of fifty bishops, with John, patriarch of Antioch, at their head, degraded the patriarch of Alexandria, and his creature Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, from their episcopal honours, and described Cyril as a monster born and educated for the destruction of the Church. They appointed without delay another Bishop of Ephesus, but by the vigilance of Memnon a strong garrison was stationed in the cathedral; the troops under the command of Candidian vainly endeavoured to assault it, the place was impregnable, and the besiegers were repulsed with severe loss.

Compromise between Cyril and John of Antioch.

The disputes between the Egyptian and Syrian theologians reached the imperial court, and Theodosius tried every method to reconcile the controversialists. He summoned from each party eight deputies to a free conference in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, but he was compelled to dissolve the assembly, and the deputies returned to their provinces. After a long and equal contest, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria came to an agreement, and Cyril was contented to receive from John certain 'Articles of Faith,' in which particular phrases and expressions liable to misinterpretation were abandoned, and was brought to acknowledge, though with reluctance, a twofold nature in Christ.

Last days and death of Nestorius.

The unfortunate Nestorius finding himself abandoned, thought it more honourable to abdicate his office than to be forcibly expelled from it, and his request that he might be allowed to withdraw to a life of privacy was granted. He was conducted from Ephesus to his old monastery of Antioch, and after a short interval, the patriarchate of Constantinople was filled successively by Maximian and Proclus. But in the retirement of a monastery, Nestorius was not long permitted to find repose. After a residence of four years at Antioch, Theodosius signed an edict, proscribing his opinions, and consigning him to banishment; first to Tetra in Arabia, and at length to Oasis, one of the places metaphorically called Islands in the Libyan desert. While he was thus secluded, a wandering tribe of the Blemmyes, or Nubians, invaded the place of his confinement; Nestorius fled from these barbarians to the banks of the Nile, and his flight was punished as a new crime. Cyril incited against him the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt, by whom he was forcibly reconveyed as far as the confines of Ethiopia. Yet his mind was unsubdued, he survived his

[1] Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concil. Ephes. pertinentes. Louvain, 1682. Tillemont, Ecclés. Mém. tom. xiv.

implacable enemy, and his death alone prevented the Council of Chalcedon from restoring him to the communion of the Church, if not to his former honours.[1] A.D. 451.

The persecution of Nestorius was far from stopping the progress of his opinions. They spread with rapidity through all the Oriental provinces, and separate congregations were formed in decided hostility to the Council of Ephesus. The Persians opposed Cyril in the most vigorous manner, and charged him with confounding the two natures of Christ. But nothing tended so much to perpetuate the Nestorian doctrines, as their reception in the school of Edessa. In this school was educated Barsumas, afterwards bishop of Niphilis. This prelate laboured with incredible assiduity to procure for the Nestorians a settlement in Persia, and his efforts were seconded by Maanes, bishop of Ardascira. Barsumas not only persuaded Pherozes, the Persian monarch, to expel from his dominions such Christians as had adopted the opinions of the Greeks, but also engaged him to put the Nestorians in possession of the see of Seleucia, the principal seat of ecclesiastical authority in Persia.[2] Extension of Nestorianism.

The tenets of the Nestorians, as they were determined in several Seleucian Councils, are in substance these: 1. That in the Saviour of the world, there were two hypostases, or persons, of which the one was Divine, or the Eternal Word, and the other human, or the man Christ Jesus. 2. That these two hypostases had only one outward appearance. 3. That the union between the Son of God and the Son of man was formed in the moment of the Virgin's conception, and was never to be dissolved. 4. That this union was not of nature or person, but of will and affection. 5. That Christ was to be carefully distinguished from God who dwelt in him as in a temple. 6. That Mary was to be called the mother of Christ, (Χριστοτόκος,) and not the mother of God, (Θεοτόκος.) Nestorian tenets.

EUTYCHIANS.

One heresy begets another, and the heresy of Eutyches probably had never been known, if that of Nestorius had not previously subsisted. Its author was the abbot, or archimandrite of a convent at Constantinople. In the Council of Ephesus, he had signalized himself in disputation against the errors of Nestorius; but in his old age he was himself proscribed as a heretic. In exerting himself with undue vehemence against the Nestorian hypothesis, he taught that in Christ there was but one nature, namely, the Incarnate Word. The Byzantine pontiff, scandalized at this doctrine, assembled a Synod in which Eutyches was condemned; but he made his appeal to a General Council, and his cause was vigorously espoused by his godson Chrysaphius. By the special summons of the Emperor, a second Council was convened at Ephesus. Eutyches. Second Council of Ephesus, A.D. 499.

[1] Evagr. lib. ii. c. 2.

[2] Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. v.

A.D. 451. It was composed of ten metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the Eastern Empire, but the entire number was afterwards increased to one hundred and thirty-five. The Syrian Barsumas,[1] as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote in the assembly.[2]

Eutyches is pronounced Orthodox.

But the influence of the Alexandrian patriarch predominated in the second Council of Ephesus as well as in the first. The orthodoxy of Eutyches was acknowledged without hesitation. "May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword," was the charitable wish of the Ephesian Synod. The patriarch of Constantinople was not without his adherents; but Dioscorus, the faithful imitator of the arrogance of Cyril, as well as his successor in the patriarchate, triumphed on this occasion. Flavian, the Constantinopolitan pontiff, by the decree of this Synod, was scourged in the most inhuman manner, and banished to Epipas, a city of Lydia. Rightly did the Greeks denominate this assembly Σύνοδον Ληστρικὸν, a synod of robbers.[3]

Conventus Latronum.

At Ephesus, the Egyptian tenets prevailed, but the vanquished party engaged in their interest Leo the Great, bishop of Rome. Flavian also had courage to remonstrate with the Emperor, and to demand that the decision of so important a matter should be referred to an Œcumenical Council. Leo seconded the request; but though Theodosius would not accede, his successor Marcian consented to the proposal. The Council of Chalcedon met, which is reckoned the fourth General Council.[4]

Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

Epistle of Leo.

Leo had already declared his creed in an epistle, or rather volume, on the mystery of the 'Incarnation,' but his condemnation of the Eutychian doctrine had been disregarded by the Council of Ephesus. In the grand Council of Chalcedon Leo presided, and in consequence of his great influence, Dioscorus was condemned, deposed, and banished into Paphlagonia, the acts of the Council of Ephesus were annulled, and the 'Epistle' of Leo, having been subscribed by the Oriental bishops, was received as a rule of faith. In the Western Churches this letter was received with still more deference, for it was publicly read during the season of Advent. The Emperor Marcian supported the Roman pontiff, and was prepared to enforce the edicts of the Chalcedonian Council by the sword.

Progress of the Eutychian doctrines.

Different were the sentiments of the Egyptian theologians. Though they entertained contradictory opinions on many other questions, yet they concurred in opposing the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of Leo. On the death of the Emperor Marcian, the populace assembled tumultuously in Egypt, massacred Porterius,

[1] This person must be distinguished from Barsumas, bishop of Niphilis.
[2] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1413. [3] Niceph. Eccl. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 67.
[4] This Council, by the summons of the Emperor, first assembled at Nice in Bithynia, and afterwards removed to Chalcedon. Its Acts are contained in Concil. tom. iv. pp. 761-2071.

the successor of Dioscorus, and substituted in his place Timotheus Ælurus, a defender of the Monophysite or Eutychian doctrine. The triumph of the Chalcedonians was decided in the choice of a successor, but that triumph was of short duration. The see of Alexandria was finally filled by Mongus, a noted Eutychian. A.D. 482.

Syria also and Armenia were theatres of Eutychian contention. The abbot Barsumas, having been condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, chose Syria as the place of his residence, and diligently propagated his opinions. By the assistance of his disciple Samuel, he spread them among the Armenians.

Theopaschites.

The patriarchal see of Antioch, as well as that of Alexandria, was filled by a Monophysite. Fullo, or, as he was more generally called, Peter the Fuller, having, after a violent opposition, been fixed there by the authority of the Emperor Zeno, excited a new discord, by attempting to form a new sect. In the hymn called 'Trisagium,' after the words "O God most holy," he ordered the following phrase to be added, "who hast suffered for us on the cross;" and the addition was adopted by the Eastern Churches. His design was to impress on the people the Monophysite doctrine; but his adversaries charged him with maintaining the passion of the Godhead, and opprobriously called his adherents Theopaschites.[1]

Henoticon of Zeno.

To put an end to this controversy, which during the space of thirty years had occasioned great disorders in Church and State, the Emperor Zeno, by the advice of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, published the famous 'Henoticon,' or 'Decree of Union.' This decree contained a solemn anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and all heretics by whom Christ is either divided or confounded. The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus were confirmed, but the fourth Council was annulled by the censure of all doctrines contrary to its decrees. Thus the friends and enemies of the last Council of Chalcedon were invited to a reconciliation; and both Mongus and Fullo subscribed the Decree of Union.[2]

Eutychian tenets.

The distinguishing tenet of the Eutychian or Monophysite sect was, that in Christ there was but one nature, that of the Incarnate Word. This tenet was modified by Barsumas, and having rejected the Eutychian definition, that the human nature of Christ was absorbed by the Divine, he framed the following proposition,—That in the Son of God there was one nature, which, notwithstanding its unity, was double and compounded. The definition of Leo, which is still esteemed to be the orthodox doctrine, is to this effect: That in Christ two distinct natures were united in one person, without any change, mixture, or confusion.

[1] Norris, Lib. de uno ex Trinitate carne passo. Opera, tom. iii.
[2] Evagr. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 14.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE EUTYCHIAN HERESY.

A.D. 400.

Modes of Eutychianism.

1. The term Monophysites has been already mentioned as synonymous with Eutychians. 2. The Acephali. Certain Eutychians looking on the conduct of Mongus, patriarch of Alexandria, as highly criminal, because he had subscribed the 'Henoticon,' formed themselves into a new faction, under the title of Acephali, or headless, since by the submission of Mongus they were deprived of their chief. 3. Subdivisions of this branch took place into Anthropomorphites, Barsanumorphites, and Essaianists. 4. The Jacobites, who derived their name from James Baradæus or Zanzalus,[1] although the sect affect to derive their origin from James the Apostle. 5. The Severites, called from one Severus of Antioch. 6. Maronites, from Maron the founder; and Monothelites, because they asserted a unity of will. 7. Agnoetæ, because they maintained that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment. 8. Arminians, who, by the instigation of Ethanius, rejected the Council of Chalcedon, and who have always maintained the Monophysite or Eutychian doctrine. 9. Egyptians, or Copts, who long maintained the same doctrine, till the theological labours of Eulogius, and the diffusive charity of John, successively patriarchs of Alexandria, brought them to the orthodox faith.

PELAGIANS.

Account of Pelagius and Cælestius.

Pelagius[2] was a native of Wales, and was in his own time called Brito. His associate Cælestius, according to the testimony of Jerome, was an Irishman, or, according to the common phraseology, a Scot; though others assert that he was born in Campania in Italy. They were both laymen; the former by profession a monk; the latter having in early life applied himself to the study of the law, quitted it for a monastic life. Their morals were not only unimpeached, but exemplary; for though Jerome in the heat of controversy accused Pelagius of gluttony and intemperance, yet the more candid Augustine bears testimony to the virtues of the heresiarch. Augustine also frankly admits that the genius and capacity of Pelagius and Cælestius were of the first order.

They settle at Rome.

Pelagius had travelled from monastery to monastery through various parts of the Empire, and at length, with his companion, fixed his residence at Rome. Both of them enjoyed a high reputation, and not the least suspicion was attached to their orthodoxy. According to the testimony of Isidore of Pelusium and Chrysostom, the heretical opinions of Pelagius did not appear

[1] Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133.

[2] In the Welsh language Morgan, *i.e.* born near the sea. Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. v. vi. vii.

till he was far advanced in life. His peculiar notions were propagated at Rome, but under privacy and in disguise; for Augustine himself owned that his first works were so artfully composed as to deceive even *his* penetration. Pelagius was accustomed to insinuate his peculiar notions by proposing them under the modest form of queries, while Cælestius, more open and daring, pursued a method which exposed him to detection. A.D. 415.

On the approach of the Goths to Rome, A.D. 410, the two friends were obliged to retire from that city, and went first into Sicily, whence they passed over to Africa. Pelagius was received at Hippo, in the absence of Augustine, but his stay was short; Augustine saw him once or twice at Carthage, but nothing material passed between them. Quitting Africa, Pelagius settled in Palestine, and there his writings attracted the notice and the censure of Jerome. Jerome wrote against him, calling on him to explain his doctrine of grace more clearly, and not to conceal it under ambiguous expressions.[1] They retire from Rome. Pelagius resides in Palestine,

In the meantime, Cælestius, who remained in Africa, more openly discovered his sentiments, and made such undisguised attempts to propagate them in Carthage itself, that he was summoned to appear before a Synod, convened by Aurelius, bishop of that city. He was accused of denying original sin, and when he was pressed with the practice of the Church in baptizing infants before the commission of actual sin, he declared that infants had no need of remission, and that their baptism implied their sanctification in Christ, or admission into the kingdom of heaven. Cælestius was not only condemned as a heretic, but disappointed of his hope of rising in the Church, for he had obtained, or was about to obtain, the rank of presbyter. and Cælestius in Africa. He is condemned by a Synod at Carthage.

Under this censure, Cælestius retired from Africa, and fixed himself once more in Sicily, A.D. 412. Pelagius in the East had better success, since he enjoyed the friendship and protection of John, bishop of Jerusalem. That prelate being attached to the doctrines of Origen, was naturally induced to countenance those of Pelagius, on account of the seeming conformity between the two systems. Under the favour of this powerful friend, Pelagius made a public profession of his creed, and gained disciples in several places. Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, scandalized at his conduct, was his public accuser, and he was summoned to answer the accusation before an assembly of bishops at Jerusalem, but was dismissed without censure. He was next cited, A.D. 415, before a Synod of fourteen Bishops of Palestine at Lydda, then called Diospolis. At this Synod, John of Jerusalem defended Pelagius with earnestness and eloquence, and the result was an acquittal of Leaves Africa and settles in Sicily. Pelagius makes a public profession of his creed. Synod of Diospolis. Pelagius is acquitted.

[1] It is impossible to obtain an impartial history of this heresy from the works of Augustine and Jerome, the opponents of Pelagius himself, or those of Jansenius and Usher, the opponents of the Pelagian doctrines.

A.D. 418. the accused heretic.[1] He was pronounced uninfected with error, and received as a Christian brother. Pelagius wrote to Augustine an account of his acquittal, and more openly asserted his opinion against original sin.

Council of Carthage.

A Council having met at Carthage in the succeeding year, on various exigencies of the Church, Orosius brought the conduct of Pelagius before it. The acts of the Synod of Diospolis were not formally produced, yet the information of Orosius was deemed a sufficient ground for proceeding. The Council transmitted to

Epistle to Innocent.

Innocent, the Roman pontiff, its decision on the merits of the dispute. It was to this effect: that unless Pelagius and his followers explicitly rejected the opinions ascribed to them, they should be excommunicated. Another Synod, composed of Numidian bishops, and assembled at Milevum, wrote also to Rome to the same purpose. Augustine and his two friends, Alypius, bishop of Tagasta, and Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, wrote letters in their own names to Innocent, intimating that the Synod of Diospolis had probably been imposed on by the subtilty of Pelagius, and expressing a fear lest Rome itself, having been the place of his residence, should become the seat of his heresy.

Innocent, in his answer, fully coincided with the views of the African prelates, and in the same conditional manner condemned

Zosimus succeeds to the Roman pontificate.

Pelagius and Zosimus succeeded to the pontificate, and Cælestius, who had then obtained the degree of presbyter, visited Rome at the commencement of the new pontiff's reign. Zosimus appears to have been gained over by the ambiguous and artful Confession of Faith which Cælestius had drawn up and presented. He was not less influenced by the letters and protestations of Pelagius. He therefore wrote to the African prelates, declaring that unless he should hear more decisive proofs against Cælestius, he should receive him as a Christian brother.[2]

The Bishops of Africa, with Augustine at their head, were little affected by this declaration, and persevered in maintaining their former judgment. Zosimus at length yielded to the strength of their arguments, and Cælestius, fearing a trial, declined to submit to an examination. The pontiff pronounced a severe condemnation against Pelagius and Cælestius, whom he had honoured by his approbation, and secured by his protection.

Pelagius and Cælestius censured by Zosimus.

This public censure of Zosimus was succeeded by a number of edicts and anathemata. The Emperor Honorius passed a sentence of banishment on the followers of Pelagius in the same year in which Zosimus censured their doctrines. Cælestius retired to

[1] Daniel, Histoire de Concile de Diospolis.

[2] Wall, in his History of Infant Baptism, gives a good account of the Pelagian controversy.

Constantinople, where his tenets were opposed by Atticus, the bishop who denounced the sect in letters to Rome. Pelagius, who was still in Palestine, complained of the treatment which he had received, and being there interrogated concerning the disputed points, answered with such art and ambiguity that he again imposed on his examiners, who explained in writing the result to Augustine. The indefatigable bishop of Hippo wrote his treatise 'on Original Sin,' and 'the Grace of Christ,' in which he detected and exposed the Pelagian artifices. A.D. 420.

Notwithstanding the decree of the Emperor, Cælestius ventured again to show himself in Rome, and again drew on himself an edict of expulsion, A.D. 420. The two heretics were afterwards reduced to a state the most humiliating to ardent and aspiring minds—a state of obscurity. The British islands were, it is certain, afterwards disturbed by the Pelagian doctrines, which were overcome by the skill and authority of Germanus. Hence it is probable that Cælestius accompanied Pelagius to those countries; but this is no more than a probable supposition, for their fate is involved in uncertainty. Their end uncertain.

The tenets of Pelagius, as charged upon him by the Council of Carthage, are comprised in the following particulars. 1. That Adam had mortality in his nature, and whether he had sinned or not would certainly have died. 2. That the consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his own person, and the rest of mankind were not involved in it. 3. That the law qualified men for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded on equal promises with the gospel. 4. That before the coming of our Saviour, there were some men who lived without sin. 5. That newly born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his fall. 6. That the death and disobedience of Adam is not the necessary cause of death to all mankind, neither does the general resurrection of the dead follow in virtue of our Saviour's resurrection. 7. That if man exert himself to the utmost, he may keep the Divine commands without difficulty, and preserve himself in a state of innocence. 8. That unless rich men parted with their whole estates, their virtues would be of no avail, notwithstanding the advantage of their baptism, neither could they be qualified for the kingdom of heaven. 9. That the grace and assistance of God are not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will and information in the points of duty being sufficient for this purpose. 10. That the grace of God is given in proportion to human merit. 11. That none can be called the sons of God unless they are perfectly free from sin. 12. That our victory over temptation is not gained by God's assistance, but by the liberty of the will. These were the tenets ascribed to Pelagius, which, it is said, he recanted or explained away at the Synod of Diospolis. Pelagian tenets.

SEMI-PELAGIANS.

A.D. 440. A more palatable modification of the doctrines of Pelagius was given by Cassian, a monk, who came from the East into France, and erected a monastery near Marseilles. Vitatis of Carthage, who taught that our obedience to the gospel was no otherwise the effect of grace than that men cannot believe unless the word be preached to them, has, however, been thought by some to be its author. Yet to Cassian is generally attributed the honour or disgrace of founding the Semi-pelagian school. In Gaul, the doctrines of Cassian spread with great rapidity, but they were combated by Prosper and Hilary. The sect arose in the latter days of Augustine, and in opposition to it, this celebrated father wrote his last two books on 'Predestination' and the 'Gift of Perseverance.'

Cassian the founder of the Semi-pelagian heresy, A.D. 430.

Semi-pelagian tenets.

Many divines have attempted to fix on a middle way between the errors of Pelagius and the opinions of Augustine. The leading principles of the Semi-pelagians have been thus stated:—1. That God did not dispense his grace to one more than another, in consequence of an absolute and eternal decree, but was willing to save all men, if they complied with the terms of the gospel. 2. That Christ died for all mankind. 3. That the grace purchased by Christ and necessary to salvation was offered to all men. 4. That man before he received this grace was capable of faith and holy desires. 5. That man was born free, and was consequently capable of resisting the influences of grace, or of complying with its suggestions.[1]

PREDESTINARIANS.

Doctrines.

As there were some who attempted to define a middle way between Augustine and Pelagius, there were others who went beyond them to either extremity. Among those who might be termed Ultra-Augustinians were the Predestinarians. In the course of his controversy with Pelagius, Augustine had delivered his opinion concerning the necessity of divine grace to human salvation, and the decrees of God with respect to the future condition of man, in a manner not always consistent with himself or intelligible to others. Hence certain monks of Adrumetum and others were led into a notion that "God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to the guilt and transgression for which they were punished." Hence it followed, that all the good and evil actions of men were determined from eternity by a divine decree, and fixed by an invincible necessity.

Those who embraced this opinion were styled Predestinarians. Augustine exerted all his weight to prevent the dissemination of

[1] Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. v.

this doctrine, and, in order to avoid the imputation of having favoured it, explained his sentiments with greater perspicuity. His efforts were seconded by the Councils of Arles and Lyons, in which the Predestinarian doctrine was publicly condemned. The existence of this sect has been denied by many, and its invention regarded as an artifice of the Semi-pelagians.[1] A.D. 450. Existence of this sect denied.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The heresies of the fifth and sixth centuries have been divided into two classes, those which regard the incarnation, and those which relate to the extent of divine grace, and its interference with human liberty, and both continued to disturb the peace of the Church during the century which succeeded. In addition to the new sects which arose within this period, it must be observed that many of those which had sprung up in the earlier ages of the Church were far from being extirpated. The Manichæans were said to have gained such an influence in Persia as to have corrupted the son of Cabades, the monarch of that nation. The Arians were triumphant in several parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They were secretly favoured by many of the Asiatic bishops, and their cause was openly espoused by the Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Italy, and the Suevi in Gaul. The state of Christian heresies, as well as of the Catholic Church, was materially changed by an event of vast importance in the history of the world—the rise and progress of the Mohammedan power.[2] Remarks.

[1] Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Cent. v. c. 5.
[2] Vide Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, by Col. Procter, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

A.D. 684. Western Church increases in power as the Eastern Church declines.

At the time when the rapid success of the Mohammedan religion threatened the destruction, not only of the Greek Church, but of the Eastern Empire, the Latin Church was gaining an accession to its power and privileges, and also an extension of its limits. Besides the danger which threatened the Greeks from the military conquests of a new religious sect, they were so entirely occupied by their theological disputes, that they had little solicitude for the propagation of Christianity among infidel nations. The Bishops of Rome, and the Church over which they presided, neglecting the cultivation of letters and philosophy, were intent on the enlargement and the extension of their pre-eminence and authority. But that disposition, as it led them to establish their supremacy over the barbarous nations of the north and west of Europe, incited them to attempt also the necessary preliminary of converting those nations to the Christian faith.

The foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the encroachments of the popes, both on the absolute independence of the ancient British and Irish Churches, and also on the limited dependence which subsisted between the original Saxon Church and the see of Rome, will be related subsequently. The ambitious views of the Romish bishops over the other parts of the Western Empire, though at first resisted, were ultimately successful. It is affirmed by the Latin historians, that the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus formally abandoned the privilege of confirming by his approbation the election of the Bishops of Rome, A.D. 684; and it is indisputable that he abated or remitted the sum which, since the time of Theodoric, they had been obliged to pay into the imperial treasury before their election was confirmed.[1]

Constantine Pogonatus abandons the imperial power of confirming the election of the popes.

Degeneracy of monastic institutions,

Nothing contributed more to the extension of the papal power than the increase and the degeneracy of monachism. In the establishments originally consecrated to the service of God there was a lamentable decay both of learning and morality. The most bitter dissensions also took place between the seculars and monastics, during which the latter had recourse to the alliance of the Roman pontiffs. The popes gradually exempted the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and the monks, in return for this

[1] Muratori, Scriptor. Rerum Italic. tom. iii. Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. vii. sec. 13. Anastas. Vit. Pontif. in Benedic. II.

immunity, devoted themselves to advance the interest and dignity of the popedom.[1] A.D. 751.

The opulence of the clergy, augmented as it now was by extravagant bequests and donations, occasioned a general corruption of manners in the Church. An opinion generally prevailed that the punishments of another world might be averted by liberal donations to churches and ecclesiastics; and the great and wealthy, who had been remarkable for their flagitious lives, thought to appease the divine wrath by their munificence to the ministers of religion. The Roman pontiff was the chief gainer by this lavish secular bounty during the seventh and eighth centuries. The barbarous nations who received the gospel regarded the Bishop of Rome as the successor of their chief druid or high priest, and paid to him similar honours. Hence arose the popular notion, that such persons as were excluded from the Church by the pontiff or by any other bishop forfeited not only their civil rights but the common privileges of humanity. This opinion, which was the prolific source of wars and rebellions, was borrowed from the pagan superstitions and encouraged by Christian Rome. And of the Secular Clergy.

Constantine, at the commencement of the eighth century, was the first pope who assumed those lofty titles which his successors persevered in claiming, and arrogated a right of confirming temporal princes in their dominions. When Felix, the exarch of Ravenna, journeyed to Rome for consecration by the pontiff, and refused to pay a tribute demanded on that occasion, the unfortunate prince was sent to Constantinople, where the Emperor deprived him of sight, and sent him back to Rome, as a rebel against the apostolic see.[2] The same emperor, Justinian II., offered the pontiff the homage of prostration and kissing his feet. Felix, exarch of Ravenna, cruelly treated by Justinian II.

It was not, however, from the Emperor that the Roman pontiffs derived the largest accessions of authority, but from the French nation. Pepin, who was originally mayor of the palace to Childeric III., and in this capacity virtually possessed regal power, aspired to the title, as well as the authority, of sovereign, and formed the design of dethroning his master. For that purpose the estates of the realm were convened by the usurper, and probably by his instigation they delivered an opinion that the Bishop of Rome was to be consulted, whether such a project were lawful or not.[3] In consequence of that opinion ambassadors were sent, A.D. 751, by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning pontiff, with the following question:—Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and a warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one who was more worthy Pepin advances the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs.

[1] Muratori, Antiq. Italic. tom. ii. pp. 944-949.
[2] Anastas. Vit. Pontif. Vit. Constant. I.

A.D. 774. to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state? Zachary, who stood in need of the assistance of Pepin against his enemies the Greeks and Lombards, returned a favourable answer to the usurper. In pursuance of an opinion delivered by an authority now esteemed sacred, the unhappy Childeric was deposed, and Pepin, without the smallest opposition, seated himself on the throne of France. The decision of Zachary was confirmed by his successor, Stephen II., who undertook a journey into France to solicit assistance against the Lombards, and at the same time dissolved the oath of allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, but which he had shamelessly violated.[1]

Roman pontiffs gain the Grecian provinces in Italy.

The advantages derived by the Roman pontiffs from their attachment to the kings of France were important. They gradually became masters of the Grecian provinces in Italy, which had been subject to the exarchs of Ravenna. When Astolpho, king of the Lombards, meditated the conquest of Rome and its territory, Stephen II. addressed himself to Pepin. The French monarch espoused the cause of the terrified pontiff with zeal. He crossed the Alps with a numerous army, and having defeated Astolpho, obliged the vanquished king to deliver up to the see of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna and all the cities which he had seized belonging to the Roman dukedom. The Lombard king having violated this treaty shortly after its conclusion, Pepin returned into Italy, compelled Astolpho to execute the terms, and made a formal grant of the exarchate to the Roman pontiff and his successors in the apostolic see of Saint Peter.[2]

Grants of Pepin confirmed by Charlemagne.

Dideric, king of the Lombards, renewed an attack on the patrimony of Saint Peter after the death of Pepin, and Adrian I., who was at that time pontiff, applied to Charlemagne, the son of Pepin. That prince, whose veneration for the Roman see was rather the offspring of policy than of superstition, declared himself without hesitation on the side of the pontiff. He crossed the Alps with a formidable army, and terminated the contest between the Bishops of Rome and the kings of Lombardy for ever. The exarchate of Ravenna was overthrown; its vanquished prince was sent into France, and Charlemagne proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. The conqueror visited Rome, where it is said he not only confirmed the grants which Pepin had made to its bishops, but added to them new donations. By these acts he opened a way to the attainment of an object which Pepin had contemplated, but was unable to accomplish, he was enabled to gain the authority, as well as to assume the title, of Emperor of the West. While he reserved to himself the nominal sovereignty over the metropolis of

He overturns the exarchate of Ravenna, A.D. 774.

[1] This remarkable event is differently related by different historians. See Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. Cent. viii. p. 2. Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. viii. sec. 4.

[2] The existence of the grant by Pepin has been hotly controverted. Ariosto slyly places it among the *deperdita* treasured in the moon.

the West, he granted to the Church a subordinate jurisdiction over the city and the adjacent territory.[1] A.D. 688.

It is impossible to deny that the progress of Christianity in the West was simultaneous with the growth of the papal power; but the work of conversion was not undertaken by the popes. The British, Scottish, and Irish ecclesiastics were the principal missionaries. Through them Germany was brought to the knowledge of Christianity, and the Scottish and Irish convents still subsisting in Germany attest the pious zeal of those nations.

Missionary exertions of Columban.

Columban, an Irish monk, aided by a few companions, had, in the preceding century, extirpated the ancient superstitions of Gaul, in which country idolatry had taken its deepest root. He then extended his travels among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations, and persevered in his pious labours until his death, A.D. 615. Saint Gal, one of his companions, laboured in the same cause among the Helvetii around the lakes of Zurich and Constance. Near the latter lake, at a small distance from Bregent, he erected a monastery which still bears his name. In fortitude and zeal he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, although little is recorded of his virtues.

Death.

Saint Gal.

Saint Killan

The history of Killan, another Irish missionary, is better known. He received a commission from the Bishop of Rome to preach the gospel among the infidels, and with some of his disciples he came to Wirtzburg upon the Mayne, a city under the government of a pagan duke called Gosbert. Gosbert embraced Christianity and was baptized; but having married his brother's wife, Killan ventured to imitate the example of John the Baptist towards Herod, and experienced a similar fate, A.D. 688. In the absence of Gosbert, Grilana, the German Herodias, procured the murder of Killan and his companions, and Gosbert was prevailed on by the artifices of his consort to suffer the murderers to escape with impunity.

Murdered with his companions

Willebrod.

Towards the conclusion of this century Willebrod, a native of England, with eleven of his countrymen,[2] crossed over into Holland to preach the gospel among the Frieslanders; thence they passed into Fosteland, but having been cruelly treated by Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, who put Wigbert, one of the company, to death, they visited Cimbria and the adjacent parts of Denmark, and returned to Friesland. Their second visit was more prosperous than the first. Willebrod was ordained Bishop of Wilteburg (Utrecht) by the Roman pontiff, and died among the Batavians

[1] The extent of Charlemagne's grant is disputed between the partizans of the popes and those of the emperors. Adrian affirms that Charlemagne intended to atone for his sins by his liberality to the Church. A letter from that pontiff to the Emperor is contained in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italic. tom. iii. p. 11.

[2] Suidbert, Wigbert, Acca, Wilibald, Unibald, Lebwin, the two Ewalds, Werenfrid, Marcellin, and Adalbert.

A.D. 700. in a good old age, while his associates continued their labours in Westphalia and the neighbouring countries.

Winfrid. But the greatest luminary of Germany in this century was an Englishman named Winfrid, born at Kirton in Devonshire. From his infancy he was brought up in monastic habits, and the place of his education was Nutrell, in the diocese of Winchester. There he was instructed in the sacred and profane learning of the times. At the age of thirty he was ordained priest by the recommendation of his abbot, and his inclinations led him to exercise his ministry in the conversion of pagan nations. He went to Friesland, accompanied by two monks, and immediately proceeded to Utrecht, where Willebrod had already displayed his Christian zeal. But a war breaking out between Radbod, king of Friesland, and Charles Martel, Winfrid thought it prudent to return to England, and settled himself once more in his monastery.

Goes to Friesland.

On the death of the abbot of Nutrell, the fraternity would have elected Winfrid into the vacant seat; but the missionary, keeping his purposed destination in view, declined the proffered dignity. Having obtained recommendatory letters from the Bishop of Winchester, he went to Rome and presented himself to the pope, expressing a desire of being employed in the conversion of infidels. Gregory II. approved his undertaking, and gave him a commission of the most ample and unlimited nature.

Receives a commission from Gregory II.

With that commission Winfrid passed into Bavaria and Thuringia. In the first country he reformed Churches which had been already planted, in the second he planted Churches where none had previously existed. But his stay in either of them was not long. He learned that the obstacles which opposed his labours in Friesland were removed, and thither he immediately hastened. Radbod, king of the Frisons, a patron of idolatry, was dead. Winfrid, therefore, joined the venerable Willebrod, and these two missionaries co-operated in their labours.

Settles in Friesland.

Willebrod, declining in strength, chose Winfrid for his successor; but the latter refused the offer, since the pope had commissioned him to preach the gospel in the eastern parts of Germany. Willebrod acquiesced in the resolution of Winfrid, and dismissed his coadjutor with a blessing. The younger missionary departed immediately, and went to Hesse, where his preaching was eminently successful, although he was occasionally obliged to support himself by the labour of his own hands, and was exposed to imminent peril from the rage of barbarous infidels.

Returns to Rome

After some time he returned to Rome, was received with great kindness by Gregory II., consecrated Bishop of the newly-founded German Churches, under the name of Boniface (a Roman name, seeming more likely to procure respect than one of English origin), and took an oath of subjection to the papal authority. Boniface, encouraged by the addition of fresh missionaries from England,

returned with alacrity to the scene of his pastoral care. Passing through Hesse, he confirmed by imposition of hands several converts who had already been baptized, and exerted himself vigorously in suppressing idolatry. Charles Martel, whose dominions extended over Germany, distinguished the zealous Bishop by the protection of regal authority. A.D. 738. And lastly to Friesland.

Boniface, however, retained a strong attachment for his native country and his early friends. His intimacy with Daniel, bishop of Winchester, was never interrupted; and the epistolary correspondence of those two prelates is highly interesting. From England Boniface was constantly supplied with fellow-labourers, in whom he found consolation under the difficulties by which he was surrounded. His mission was obstructed by the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics under his government, and he was often involved in doubts how he should regulate his own conduct towards them. If he avoided all communication with them, he might offend the court of France, upon whose protection he was obliged to rely. If he preserved an intercourse with them, he was fearful of incurring guilt. He laid his doubts before his ancient friend the Bishop of Winchester, who advised him to endure with patience those evils which he could not amend, not to make a schism in the Church under the hope of purifying it, yet, notwithstanding, to exercise ecclesiastical discipline against notorious offenders. His correspondence with Daniel, bishop of Winchester.

The assiduity of Boniface was rewarded by an advancement to the archiepiscopal see of Mentz, A.D. 723. To that dignity he was raised by Gregory III., by whose authority, and under the protection of Carloman and Pepin, the sons of Charles Martel, he founded in Germany the bishoprics of Wurtzburg, Buraburg, Erfurth, and Aichstadt. The see of Wurtzburg was filled by Burchard, an Englishman, who laboured for ten years with unceasing assiduity, and having exhausted his strength resigned his bishopric. Boniface created archbishop of Mentz.

When Boniface was far advanced in life, he once more visited Rome, and after some stay there induced several of his countrymen, who resided in that celebrated city, to join him in his German mission, A.D. 738. Returning into Bavaria by the desire of Duke Odilo, he established in that country three new bishoprics, Saltzburg, Freisingen, and Ratisbon. Visits Rome.

At last he settled at Mentz, but his activity was not diminished, and his connection with England was constantly preserved. He often wrote for books, especially for the works of Bede, whom he styled "The Lamp of the Church." He addressed a circular letter to the bishops and people of England, entreating their prayers for the success of his missions. Having laboured throughout a long life, he was resolved to labour even to its close. Quitting his archiepiscopal dignity, to which he appointed Lullus, an Englishman, he determined to end his life at the spot on which he had Settles at Mentz. Quits his archbishopric.

A.D. 780. Returns to Friesland.

begun his missionary undertakings. He returned to Friesland by the Rhine; and there, with the assistance of Eoban, the second bishop of Utrecht, he brought numerous pagans to the profession of Christianity. He had appointed a day to confirm those whom he had previously baptized; and, in expectation of their attendance, he had encamped with his followers on the banks of the Bordne, a river which was then the boundary between East and West Friesland. On the appointed day he beheld not the new converts whom he expected, but a troop of fierce pagans armed with shields and lances. His servants prepared for resistance, but Boniface repressed their ardour, and prepared his companions, as he himself was prepared, for martyrdom. The pagans attacked them with fury, and slew the whole company, fifty-two in number, besides Boniface himself. The Christian Germans resented his death by an attack upon the murderers, and the memory of Boniface is still reverently preserved by the honourable appellation of the Apostle of the Germans.

Murdered by the pagans.

Boniface was not the only missionary who attempted to deliver the nations of Germany from the bondage of pagan superstition. Many others signalized their zeal in the same pious undertaking. Corbinian, a French Benedictine monk, after having laboured with great diligence in planting the gospel in Bavaria and other countries, became Bishop of Freisingen. Firmin, a native of Gaul, preached the gospel under various kinds of suffering and opposition in Alsatia and Helvetia. The missionaries of this century would fill a numerous catalogue, but as they are of no great reputation, they may be passed over in silence.

Corbinian.

Firmin.

Charlemagne turns his arms against the pagans.

But idolatry experienced the attacks of a more formidable adversary than any Christian priest, in the person of Charlemagne. At the conclusion of this century, that Emperor turned his arms against the German Saxons, not only for the purpose of chastising their rebellious spirit, but of abolishing their idolatrous worship. He expected that their conversion to Christianity would soften their ferocity. This project, however wise in theory, was difficult in practice; his first attempt to convert the vanquished Saxons was defeated, for he made use of bishops and monks whose exhortations were vain. More forcible means were afterwards used, and that warlike people, allured by promises of favour, or awed by threats of punishment, suffered themselves to be baptized by missionaries expressly sent by the Emperor. Widekind and Albion, two of the most valiant among the Saxon chiefs, attempted to extirpate the profession of Christianity by the same violent methods through which it had been planted; but the courage and wisdom of Charlemagne ultimately engaged those two warriors to make a public and solemn confession of their Christian faith, and to promise an adherence to it during the remainder of their days. Bishops were appointed, and monasteries and schools were founded,

in order to preserve the knowledge and continue the propagation of Christianity. A.D. 780.

Such is a general outline of the state of the Western Church in the seventh and eighth centuries. To enter minutely into the history of the Eastern Church, would involve a detailed account of the Mohammedan and Byzantine histories, which we cannot in this work attempt,[1] or would anticipate unnecessarily and uselessly the biographical notices of ecclesiastical writers, and the narrative of the controversies and hersies which, according to our ordinary plan, we have reserved for succeeding chapters.

General remarks.

It may, however, at least be remarked that the civil commotions which raged in the Byzantine Empire—the controversies on images and image-worship which embroiled the Eastern Church—and the irruptions of the Saracens, rendered easy by these combined evils, were highly detrimental both to Church and State. The invasion of the Turks, by which the Saracens were driven into Spain, exposed the Church to a twofold source of persecution; while, as the borders of the Church were pressed forward into Germany, those tribes who still retained their ancient superstitions treated the converts to Christianity with cruelty and scorn. Great injury was thus inflicted on the Christian cause, many weak disciples purchased peace and comfort by apostacy, while others were reduced through poverty and tyranny into a state of supine ignorance or formal ritualism. The unsettled condition, too, of almost all Europe so excited the minds of men that they were unable to reason calmly or feel rightly upon the important topics which distinguish "the kingdoms of this world" from the pure spiritual kingdom of the Most High. It may be doubted, too, how far Charlemagne's imitation of the Turks and Saracens in propagating religious opinion by the sword was ultimately beneficial to that cause he seemed to support, and it can never be forgotten that while he made them nominally subject to Christ, he made them really subjects of his own power.

[1] See Hist. Ottoman Empire, by Col. Procter, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

SEVENTH CENTURY.	EIGHTH CENTURY.
Greek Writers.	*Greek Writers.*
Sophronius.	Germanus.
Antiochus.	Cosmas.
Maximus.	Johannes Damascenus.
	Syncellus.
	Theophanes.
Latin Writers.	*Latin Writers.*
Isidore of Seville.	Bede.
Aldhelm.	Alcuin.
Theodore.	Johannes Erigena.
Julian Pomerius.	Paulinus.
Crisconius.	

A.D. 637. General remarks.

The seventh century is remarkably barren of writers, and several circumstances contributed to the declension of learning. Firstly, may be reckoned the irruption of the Saracens; secondly, the prevalence of the Monothelite heresy; and thirdly, the increasing corruptions of the Romish Church. The eighth century is of the same complexion, and we shall find few writers distinguished either for erudition or genius.[1] The Eastern Church was distracted by the image controversy, and among the Westerns, Iconoduli destroyed or suppressed all writings which opposed their superstitions. From this catalogue of obscure authors, we will notice the most remarkable.

SOPHRONIUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 637.

A native of Damascus, who first applied himself to the study of philosophy, then became a monk, and was finally raised to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. He was chiefly remarkable for the controversies which he carried on against the Monothelites. When Jerusalem was taken by the Khalif Omar, A.D. 637, Sophronius, by the terms of capitulation, was allowed the free exercise of his religion, but he died shortly after that calamitous event.

Dupin, tom. i. p. 261; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 579.

[1] The seventh century is styled Sæculum Monotheliticum; the eighth century Sæculum Eiconoclasticum.

ANTIOCHUS.

A monk of Palestine, who belonged to the celebrated monastery of St. Saba. He was of a very superstitious disposition, and composed a pandect of the Holy Scriptures, or a summary of Christian doctrine, contained in one hundred and thirty homilies. This is his only work extant, except a 'Life of St. Euphrosyne,' a member of the monastery of St. Saba. A.D. 740.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 576.

ISYCHIUS, OR HESYCHIUS,

was bishop of Jerusalem. He wrote a commentary on several books of Scripture, and some homilies which are still extant, besides an ecclesiastical history which is lost.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 572.

MAXIMUS,

A.D. 580-662,

holds the first rank among the Greeks of the seventh century. He was born at Constantinople, and held a confidential situation in the court of the Emperor Heraclius. When that prince was seduced by the Monothelite heresy, Maximus indignantly left the court, and retired into a monastery near Constantinople. His literary labours were almost entirely devoted to the Monothelite controversy, with the exception of some illustrations of the Holy Scriptures. His style, on account of its involutions, is obscure, and, moreover, tumid.

Cave. 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 586.

GERMANUS,

FL. A.D. 715-740,

was a bishop of Constantinople, who obtained notoriety for his violent zeal in favour of image-worship. For his pertinacity in opposing the edicts of the Emperor Leo, he was removed from his bishopric, but ended his life in retirement and peace.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 621.

COSMAS

acquired the appellation of Hagiopolites, on account of his proficiency in polite literature. Having been captured by the Saracens, he was carried to Damascus, and had the honour to be preceptor of that consummate master of the peripatetic philosophy, whom we are next about to notice.

JOHANNES DAMASCENUS.

DIED A.D. 750.

A.D. 750. This eminent writer, who was called Damascenus from the place of his birth, and Chrysorrhoas from his extraordinary eloquence, was also known by the appellation of Mansus, that being his patronymic.[1] His father held a station in the Saracenic court, to which he himself succeeded. Having with some difficulty obtained from the khalif an embassy to Jerusalem, his preceptor Cosmas was the companion of his journey. At Jerusalem he was advanced to the order of priesthood, and soon after he retired to the monastery of St. Saba, where he passed the remainder of his days.

Works. His writings are numerous, and illustrate the leading doctrines of Christianity, but he was tinctured with the superstition of his age, and was a warm advocate for image-worship.[2] His works have been collected in two volumes folio; the best edition is that of Paris, 1712.

Bayle, 'Dict.' tom. ii. p. 950; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. viii. and 'Hist. Imag. Restit.' sec. 2. num. 13; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 624.

SYNCELLUS AND THEOPHANES

were two writers on Byzantine history. The 'Chronicon' of Syncellus was in a great measure borrowed without acknowledgment from the work of Eusebius. That of Theophanes in its style is rude, and in its matter replete with contradictions.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 641.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

A.D. 570-636.

The Latin writers of the seventh and eighth centuries were of a higher order than the Greeks. Isidore governed the Church of Seville for forty years. He was born in the sixth century, but flourished at the beginning of the seventh. He was a voluminous writer, but perhaps the most useful part of his works is his 'Collection of Sentences' out of Gregory. The 'Mosarabic Liturgy,' which became the text book of Spanish worship, was principally from his hand.

[1] Τοῦ Μανσύρ, Mansuris filius. Thus he is named in the Acts of the Nicene Council, in which he bore a distinguished part, and by Suidas. Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. viii.

[2] Baronius, a favourable witness, confesses of him, In multis ejus scriptis fidem vacillare, et compluribus ipsum scatere mendaciis. Cave, Hist. Lit. tom. i. p. 624.

ALDHELM,

DIED A.D. 709,

was of English birth, and of regal descent, but received his early education in France and Italy. Returning to his native country, he embraced the monastic life, and became abbot of Malmesbury. Having passed more than thirty years in this seclusion, he was promoted to the bishopric of Sherborn. In the Paschal controversy which so long divided the British and Saxon churches, he sustained a distinguished part. According to Camden, he was the first Englishman who wrote in Latin, and according to the testimony of Bede,[1] his erudition was various. His book on the 'Paschal Controversy' is lost, but several poems remain, 'Concerning the Christian Life,' which exhibit no striking marks of genius. A.D. 690.

Cave, 'Hist.' Lit.' tom. i. p. 595; Collier, 'Eccl. Hist.' vol. i. p. 121.

THEODORE

was the seventh archbishop of Canterbury. The biography of this prelate will be found in our chapter on the 'History of the Anglo-Saxon Church.' Besides his famous 'Penitentiale,' there are extant of his writings, 1. 'Capitula Ecclesiastica,' 120. 2. 'Epistola Theodori ad Æthelredum Merciorum Regem de amicitiâ inter se et Wilfridum Episcopum Eboracensem quam injustè deponi curaverat Theodorus redintegratâ.' 'Apud' Guil. Malmsbur. 'de Gest. Pontif.' lib. iii. fol. 151. 'et Concil.' tom. vi. p. 1383.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 592.

JULIAN POMERIUS,

a native of Toledo, who was ultimately elevated to its archbishopric. Such of his writings as are still extant, are chiefly in confutation of the Jews, and several of his tracts both in prose and verse are lost. Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 596.

CRISCONIUS,

FL. A.D. 690,

was an African bishop, but of what city does not appear. He was the author of two books on Ecclesiastical Law, the one being an abridgment and the other a concordance of the Canons. He also wrote a poem on the wars and victories of Patricius over the Saracens, which is lost. Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 600.

[1] Vir undecunque doctissimus; nam est sermone nitidus, et scripturarum tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus. Bede, Eccl. Hist. lib. v. c. 19.

BEDE.

A.D. 672-735.

A.D. 672. Youth. The Venerable Bede, as he is universally and justly styled,[1] was born in the neighbourhood of Durham, in a village now called Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. Concerning his parents, biography is silent, but it is probable that they were poor. It is however certain, that he was deprived of them in his infancy, and that he was placed by his kindred in the monastery of Wearmouth. His youthful days were passed in that retirement, until he became capable of professing the discipline in which he had been educated: he was then removed to the neighbouring monastery of Jerrow. In those two religious houses, situated scarcely five miles from each other, Bede passed and ended his days.

Ordination. In the nineteenth year of his age, he was ordained a deacon, and in his thirtieth year was admitted to the order of priesthood. We are not informed who the instructors of Bede were, but some notion may be formed of the ability of the teachers in the Benedictine monasteries from the noble libraries with which they were furnished. So great was the progress of Bede both in sacred and profane learning, that his fame had spread to the Continent, and Sergius I., at that time Roman pontiff, invited him to the metropolis of the Western Church, to assist in the settlement of some ecclesiastical disputes, then warmly agitated; an offer which he declined.

Course of life. The course of his life and studies is thus described by himself. "From the time of my receiving the order of priesthood to my fifty-ninth year, I have employed myself in briefly noting from the works of the venerable fathers, those things on the Holy Scriptures which are adapted to the necessities of me and mine, and in adding something to the form of their sense and interpretation."

Death. A monastic life, above any other, must be barren of events, and the chief celebrity of Bede arose from his lectures. His death is described in the following manner by his pupil Cuthbert. "He was attacked with a severe infirmity of frequent short breathing, yet without pain, about two weeks before Easter day, and so he continued joyful, employed in returning daily, or rather hourly, thanks to God, till the day of Ascension. He gave lessons to us his disciples every day, and during the remainder of it was employed in singing psalms. The nights he passed almost without sleep, yet rejoicing and giving thanks, unless when a little slumber intervened. When he waked, he resumed his accustomed devotions,

[1] The legendary story of the origin of the title informs us that one of his scholars willing to compose an epitaph on his master, wrote

Hac sunt in fossâ Bedæ————————ossa.

Being unable to discover any proper epithet, in his perplexity he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found the verse filled up as below,

Hac sunt in fossâ Bedæ *Venerabilis* ossa.

and with expanded hands ceased not to utter thanksgivings. He recited the passage of St. Paul, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,' admonishing us to awake from the sleep of the mind. He sang the Antiphonæ according to our custom and his own, of which one is 'O King of glory, Lord of virtues, leave us not orphans, but send the promise of the Father, the Spirit of Truth, upon us. Alleluiah.' When he came to the words 'Spirit of Truth,' he burst into tears, and wept much, and we wept with him." After mentioning that Bede was even then occupied in translating St. John's Gospel into Saxon, his pupil adds, "When he came to the third festival before the Ascension day, his breathing began to be very strongly affected, and his feet to swell. All that day he dictated cheerfully, and sometimes said, 'Make haste, I know not how long I may contain. My Maker may call me away very soon.' He passed that whole night in watching and devotion, and in the morning commanded us to write diligently what we had begun. This being done, we walked till the third hour with the relics of the saints, as the custom of the day required. One of us was with him who said, 'There is yet, beloved master, one chapter wanting, will it not be unpleasant to you to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'Not at all; take your pen, prepare it, and write with speed!' He did so. At the ninth hour, he said to me, 'I have some valuables in my little chest; but run quickly and bring the presbyters of the monastery to me, that I may distribute my small presents.' He addressed each, and exhorted them to attend to their masses and prayers. They wept when he told them that they would see him no more, but he said that it was time for him to return to the Being who had formed him out of nothing. He conversed in this manner cheerfully till the evening, when the boy said, 'Dear master, one sentence still is wanting.' 'Write it quickly,' exclaimed Bede. When it was finished, he said, 'Take my head in your hands, for I shall delight to sit opposite the holy place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where I can invoke my Father.' When he was placed on the pavement, he repeated the 'Gloria Patri,' and expired in the effort."[1] A.D. 735.

The theological works to which Bede alludes in the passage above quoted, consist of 'Commentaries on the Holy Scripture,' 'Homilies,' 'Lives of Saints,' and 'Ecclesiastical History.' Those comprise three-fourths of all his writings.[2] He has commented on every book of the Scriptures from Genesis to the Revelations, and he has introduced on each, as much learning and knowledge as any individual could at that time accumulate by the most patient research. His 'Treatise on the Trinity' is a commentary on the tract of Boethius on that subject. His 'Medita- Works.

[1] Smith's Bede, p. 793.

[2] Six folio volumes out of eight.

A.D. 804. tions on the last words of our Saviour' display great devotional sensibility. His 'Homilies' must, in the dearth of knowledge which then prevailed, have been abundantly useful. His 'Lives' of religious persons are disfigured with absurd legends, but as they were the object of general admiration and belief in his day, his credulity was no more than the credulity belonging to the age.

Of all his works, the most valuable is the 'Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles,' which, while it treats professedly of the establishment of Christianity in the different Saxon kingdoms, contains almost all that we know of the history of their earlier princes. His industry and abilities in this department may be best estimated if we recollect that all notice of public transactions ceased with him. The greatest objection to his 'History' arises from its marvels.

Style. The style of Bede is plain and unaffected, seldom eloquent, and often homely, but always clear and precise. His extent of reading is undisputed; he was one of the greatest ecclesiastics of his times, and while his learning qualified him for the highest stations in the Church, his humility kept him in one of the lowest. Instead of being, as he might have been, a munificent patron of learned men, he chose the laborious life of a monk, an author, and a teacher, in one of the most remote parts of his native island.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. pp. 616-618; 'Life of Bede,' prefixed to his works; Turner, 'Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons,' book ix. ch. vi.; Muratori, 'Antiq. Italic. Med. Ævi,' tom. iii. p. 325.

ALCUIN, OR ALBINUS,

DIED A.D. 804,

was a native of York or its neighbourhood, although some writers have fixed his birth in the vicinity of London.[1] He is said to have been one of the disciples of Bede. By Egbert, archbishop of York, he was appointed master of the school in that archiepiscopal city. His reputation attracted crowds of students from Gaul and Germany to his lectures, and recommended him to the notice of the Emperor Charlemagne. He accepted the invitation of that prince to reside in his court,[2] diffused a taste for learning throughout all the provinces of the Empire, and numbered the most distinguished prelates and statesmen among his scholars. When in his old age he retired from the splendour and intrigues of the imperial court, many followed him to his retreat at Tours, where he continued his favourite occupation of teaching till his death. His works are

[1] He himself says that he was born and educated at York. Malmsb. De Gest. p. 24.

[2] He acquired great riches by the favour of Charlemagne. He was indeed reproached on that account, and he does not deny the fact, but affirms that wealth had not corrupted his mind. "It is one thing to possess the world; it is another to be possessed by it." Alb. Ep. p. 927.

numerous ;[1] they consist principally of poems, elementary introduc- A.D. 830.
tions to the different sciences, treatises on a variety of theological subjects, and Epistles to the most celebrated characters of his age. His 'Commentary on the Book of Proverbs and the Epistles of St. Paul,' 'A Treatise on Orthography, and on Music,' are lost.

'Hist. Lit. de la France,' tom. iv. p. 295; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. pp. 637-639; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. viii. sec. 10.

JOHANNES ERIGENA

was another reputed disciple of Bede, distinguished for the acuteness of his intellect as well as for the extent of his learning. He was by birth an Irishman, but was well skilled in Grecian literature, for he translated from that language a work of Dionysius, and the 'Scholia' of Maximus on Gregory Nazianzen. He dedicated the latter work to Charlemagne, at whose command he had undertaken it. At the request of his ecclesiastical superiors, he wrote against Godeschalcus on Predestination, but his principal work was a treatise, 'De Divisione Naturæ,'[2] a dialogue which is distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness and extensive information. In a subsequent age it was condemned, and Pope Honorius III. issued a bull declaring that it "abounded with worms of heretical depravity." Excommunication was denounced against all who should retain in their possession a copy of so dangerous a work.[3]

Erigena enjoyed a great share of royal favour. King Charles the Bald, one day, when they were feasting opposite to each other, took occasion to give him a gentle rebuke for some irregularity by asking him, "Quid distat inter Sotum et Scotum?"[4] The philosopher replied with ready wit, "Mensa tantum." The Emperor had the good sense and good nature to smile at the repartee.

After the death of Charles, Alfred invited Erigena to England, and rewarded his talents by settling him at Malmesbury. His life ended unfortunately, for it is said that he was stabbed by the boys whom he taught. This story is related also of Erigena, abbot of Ethelingey, but the probable solution of the difficulty is, that Johannes Erigena had been removed from Malmesbury to Ethelingey. A difficulty less capable of explanation is, how one and the same Erigena could have been the disciple of Bede and the literary companion of Alfred, or a contemporary of Charles the Bald. These anachronisms cannot be settled.

Cave, 'Hist Lit.' tom. ii. p. 45; Turner, 'Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons,' book ix. ch. vi.

[1] They were published by Du Chesne at Paris, in 1617.
[2] Published by Thomas Gale, Oxford, 1681.
[3] The bull is contained at length in Fabric. Bib. Med. lib. ix. 402. It is dated 10 Kal. Feb. 1225.
[4] Matt. West. 333.

PAULINUS,

A.D. 800. an eminent grammarian, was a native of Germany, and rewarded by the patronage of Charlemagne, who advanced him to the see of Aquileia, in which station he proved a formidable opponent of the Felicians. Besides a 'Treatise on the Trinity,' and some controversial books against the Felicians, he wrote some sacred poems.

Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. viii. sec. 10; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 696; 'Art. Sanctor.' tom. i.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

Fedegarius the historian claims the first place in the list of minor writers. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, of whom we have already spoken, wrote a treatise entitled 'De unitate Fidei,' which is lost, but his 'Epistles' are still extant. Eginhard is known for his 'Life of Charlemagne.' Charlemagne himself is placed in the catalogue of authors.[1] The laws which are known by the title of 'Capitularia,' a tract concerning 'Images,' with several 'Epistles,' are attributed to him, though it is highly probable that they were the production of some of those illustrious characters whom he so munificently patronized.

[1] Yet, according to his biographer, this great prince was unable to write. Tentabat et scribere; tabulasq et codicillos ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferri solebat; ut cum vacuum tempus esset manum effigiandis literis assuefaceret. Sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus ac sero inchoatus. Eginhard, Vit. Carlom.

CHAPTER X.

HERESIES OF THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

Seventh Century.	*Eighth Century.*
MONOTHELITES.	FELICIANS.
MARONITES.	ICONOCLASTS.
	ICONODULI.

THESE two centuries are more remarkable for the progress of ancient heresies, than for the establishment of new. The opinions propagated by Arius were extended in Italy, and the Lombards openly espoused his doctrines, in preference to the Nicene. In Britain the Pelagians continued to excite the warmest dissensions.[1] The Nestorians and Monophysites acquired new vigour under the empire of the Saracens, from whom they not only received protection but encouragement.[2] A modification of the Manichæan doctrine, the followers of which were known by the appellation of Paulicians, had its rise in this century; but ecclesiastical historians have reserved a more particular account of that sect until the ninth century, during which they acquired sufficient strength to support a war with the Greeks. But one sect arose in the seventh century whose history from its connection with other transactions merits detail.

A.D. 629.

General remarks.

THE MONOTHELITES.

This Heresy was derived from the Eutychian doctrine, and it arose under the reign of the Emperor Heraclius. It had its rise from an ill-digested and untimely project of that Emperor, to restore the Nestorians to the communion of the Greek Church. In pursuance of this project on his return from the Persian war, he held two conferences, the one A.D. 622, with a certain person named Paul, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites, and the other A.D. 629, with Athanasius, the Catholic bishop of Hierapolis. These conferences had for their object the peace and concord of the Church. Both Paul and Athanasius assured the Emperor that the Monophysites might be induced to

Origin of the heresy.

[1] Bede, Hist. lib. ii. c. 19. See also c. xx.

[2] The famous Testament of Mohammed was brought from the East in the sixth century by Pacificus Scaliger, a Capuchin monk. It was first published in Arabic and Latin, at Paris. This document is considered by the best writers, as the forgery of some Arabian monks, with a view to soften the rigour of the Mohammedan yoke. Renaudot is one of those who argue in favour of its genuineness. Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 168. In this testamentary diploma, Mohammed promises and bequeaths to the Christians in his dominions the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, and of their temporal advantages and possessions. Accordingly the Nestorian Christians enjoyed a considerable degree of favour and confidence under the successors of Mohammed. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. pp. 163-168.

A.D. 639. receive the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks, on condition that the latter would give their assent to the following proposition, viz., that in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will, and one operation. Heraclius communicated the proposal to Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, a Syrian by birth, and a Monophysite by profession, and that prelate delivered his opinion that the doctrine of one will and one operation after the union of the two natures, might be adopted without departing from the decrees of the Chalcedonian Council.

Edict of Heraclius.

Flattering as was the first appearance of this project, it was soon changed. The Emperor published an edict in favour of the Monothelite doctrine, and it was received if not with general approbation, yet without serious opposition. Some ecclesiastics refused obedience, but the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch received it without hesitation, and from the see of Jerusalem, at that time vacant, no opinion could be received. The consent of the Romish pontiff was deemed unnecessary in an affair which belonged solely to the Eastern Church. Cyrus, who had been raised by Heraclius from the bishopric of Phasis to the patriarchate of Alexandria, assembled a Council A.D. 633, by the seventh canon of which the doctrine of Monothelitism, or one will, was solemnly confirmed. Hence Cyrus has been generally esteemed the founder of the sect. The decree of the Alexandrian Synod, bringing the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon nearer to the Eutychian system, had the desired effect, and numbers of the Eutychians, who were dispersed throughout Egypt, Armenia, and other remote provinces, returned to the bosom of the Church. But in the Council of Alexandria there was one dissentient, who carried his opposition to the Monothelite doctrine further than the limits of mere argument, and hostility in debate. Sophronius,[1] a monk of Palestine, had opposed the decree of the Alexandrian Synod with violence; but his opposition was treated with contempt. In the succeeding year, however, he was elevated to the vacant patriarchate of Jerusalem; and he soon exercised his authority by summoning a Council, and condemning the Monothelite as a branch of the Eutychian system. Not satisfied with this formal condemnation, he endeavoured to gain Honorius, the Romish pontiff, to his side, but his efforts were in vain. Sergius, who at that time filled the see of Constantinople, informed Honorius of the state of the question, and the pontiff determined in favour of the Monothelite doctrine.

Council at Alexandria.

Author of the heresy.

Ecthesis of Heraclius.

In order to terminate, if possible, the commotions to which this division of opinion had given rise, Heraclius issued A.D. 639, an edict composed by Sergius, and entitled the 'Ecthesis,' or 'Exposition of the Faith,' in which all controversies upon the question

[1] See page 166.

whether in Christ there was a double operation, were prohibited, A.D. 650.
though the doctrine of a unity of Will was inculcated. A considerable number of the Eastern bishops declared their assent to the 'Ecthesis,' and above all Pyrrhus, who succeeded Sergius in the see of Constantinople. A similar acceptation was obtained from the metropolis of the Eastern Church; but at Rome the 'Ecthesis' was differently received. John IV. assembled a Council A.D. 639, in which that exposition was condemned. It is condemned at Rome.

Neither was the Monothelite system maintained in the Eastern Church any longer than during the life of Heraclius. The Emperor Constans published a new edict A.D. 648, under the name of the 'Type,' or 'Formulary,' suppressing the 'Ecthesis,' and enjoining silence on both the controverted points of one Will and one Operation. This silence was not sufficient for either of the contending parties, for both were desirous of keeping alive the subject of contention. They excited Martin, bishop of Rome, to oppose the pacific edict, and that pontiff in a Council of one hundred and five bishops, having condemned both the 'Ecthesis' and the 'Type,' denounced the most tremendous anathemata on the Monothelites and all their patrons,[1] A.D. 649. Formulary of Constans. Martin condemns the Ecthesis and the Type.

The Emperor Constans, offended at the haughty proceedings of Martin, ordered him to be seized, and carried as a prisoner to the island of Naxos, where he remained more than a year.[2] His imprisonment was attended with much cruel treatment; and similar punishment was inflicted on the opponents of the Monothelite doctrine.[3] Eugenius and Vitalianus, the succeeding bishops of Rome, were more moderate and prudent than their unfortunate predecessor; and the latter received Constans with the highest demonstrations of respect, A.D. 650. Martin is imprisoned by order of the Emperor Constans.

The flames of contention, though suppressed, were always in danger of breaking forth anew; and in order to extinguish them, Constantine Pogonatus, the son of Constans, by the advice of Agatho, the Roman pontiff, convened the sixth General Council, A.D. 680. It consisted of not less than two hundred and eighty-nine bishops, among whom were four legates to represent the Roman pontiff, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and that "pope of another world," Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. The place of meeting was in a spacious hall of the imperial palace called 'Trullus,' *i.e.* Cupola, from the form of the building. The president of the Council was Constantine himself. Sixth General Council.

[1] It was held in the Lateran, and was summoned by Martin in pursuance of the advice of Maximus, abbot of Chrysopolis, near Chalcedon. The labour employed to gain Maximus to the Monothelites was most extraordinary. Fleury, Eccl. Hist. book xxxiv. c. 12.

[2] Died 655.

[3] Maximus was scourged, his tongue cut out, and his right hand cut off; the maimed abbot was then banished and imprisoned for life. His banishment took place in 656, and his death in 662.

A.D. 670. Monothelites condemned.

The Monothelite controversy was accurately investigated from its beginning; the epistle of Sophronius to Sergius, the rescripts of Honorius, the letters of Cyrus and Theodore were compared; and a unanimous judgment was passed. 1. The Nicene Creed was defined to be the standard of orthodoxy. 2. The heresy of the Monothelites and Pope Honorius were condemned, together with Sergius, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, and Macarius. 3. Those who opposed the decree of the sixth Council were anathematized.

Their tenets.

The truth, or the falsehood, of the Monothelite tenets, bears no proportion to the fury with which they were assailed and defended; and the contending parties mutually disclaimed the errors with which they charged each other. 1. The Monothelites disclaimed all connection with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but maintained in opposition to these two sects, that in Christ there were two distinct natures which were so united, though without the least mixture or confusion, as to form by their union only One Person. 2. They acknowledged that the soul of Christ was endued with such a will or faculty of volition, that it was retained even after its union with the Divine nature. For according to their system Christ was not only perfect God, but perfect man, whence it followed that his soul was endued with the faculty of volition. 3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of Christ was absolutely inactive, maintaining on the contrary that it co-operated with the Divine Will. 4. They therefore virtually attributed to Christ two Wills, both operative and active; although they affirmed that in a certain sense he had but one Will and one Operation.[1]

The whole of the Monothelites, however, did not explain these tenets in the same way: some believed that the human and Divine wills of Jesus Christ were, though distinct, yet harmonious, and therefore in that certain sense *one;* others thought that though these wills were really amalgamated by the personal union of the two distinct natures of the Saviour, they should yet be distinguished *in thought* from each other; while the greater part considered that Christ's human will was only the instrument of the Divine will, both moved by its impulses, and moving it by the impressions it received, and hence that though virtually distinct they were really one; a few others represented the doctrine as merely asserting that the oneness of will in Christ arose from his pious resignation in accordance with which he subjected his manhood to his Divine nature.

THE MARONITES.

Their name, whence derived.

These were in fact Monothelites, who, after their doctrine had been condemned by the Council at Constantinople, found a place of

[1] A copious account of the Monothelite heresy is contained in the works of Johannes Damascenus in a treatise on the two wills, and in his books on the Orthodox Faith.

refuge among the Mardaites, or mountaineers of Libanus and Antilibanus. About the end of the seventh century they were known by the name of Maronites, from Maro, their first bishop. This sect retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of One Will in Christ, they were re-admitted to the Communion of the Romish Church. The most learned of the Maronites have indeed laboured to prove that their communion was never infected with the Monothelite heresy. A.D. 800.

THE FELICIANS.

Origin of the heresy.

Felix, bishop of Urgella, was consulted by Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, to decide in what sense Christ was God. The answer of Felix was, that Christ, with respect to his Divine nature, was truly and properly the Son of God, begotten of the Father, and hence he was the true God, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the unity of the Godhead. But that with respect to his humanity, Christ was the Son of God by adoption, born of the Virgin by the will of the Father, and thus he was nominally God. Hence, according to the opponents of the Felicians, it followed that there was a two-fold Sonship in Christ, and that He must consist of two Persons. The opinion of Felix was considered by the orthodox as nothing more than a scion of the Nestorian heresy.

Its progress.

The doctrine of Felix was adopted by Elipand, who, being the primate of Spain, propagated it through the different provinces of that kingdom, while Felix himself contributed to spread it throughout Narbonne and other parts of Gaul. The Roman pontiff Adrian was a vigorous opponent of Felix, and the Bishop of Urgella was successively condemned by the Councils of Narbonne A.D. 788, Ratisbon A.D. 792, Frankfort-on-the-Maine A.D. 794, and Rome A.D. 799. He was at length obliged by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle to retract his errors. His retractation was, however, merely nominal, for he died at Lyons, whither he had been banished by Charlemagne, in the firm belief of his doctrine. Elipand lived securely in Spain, and was never called before any Synod or Council.

Adoptians.

The disciples of Felix were sometimes known under the name of Adoptians.[1]

THE ICONOCLASTS AND ICONODULI.

The controversy on image worship which terminated in a schism between the Greek and Latin Churches cannot be more commodiously related than by classifying the party which incurred the

[1] The authors who have written concerning the Felicians are enumerated by Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Med. Æv. tom. ii. p. 482.

A.D. 730. condemnation of the Church of Rome with the heretics of the seventh century, although without assenting to that decision.[1]

Origin of the controversy.

The beginning of this unhappy dispute has been placed in the reign of Phillipicus Bardanes, emperor of the Greeks. That prince, by the advice of John, the patriarch of Constantinople, ordered a picture which represented the sixth General Council to be removed from its place in the church of Sta. Sophia. His dislike to the picture was occasioned by his hatred of the Council which had condemned the Monothelites, whose cause he espoused. Bardanes, satisfied with this exercise of power, sent an order to Rome for the removal of all similar pictures from the churches. So far, however, was this order from producing the desired effect, that Constantine, the Roman pontiff, published a formal protest against the imperial edict. His disobedience to it was expressed in his actions as well as by his words. He commanded six pictures, representing the six General Councils, to be placed in the porch of the church of St. Peter; and to render his contempt of the Emperor more public, he assembled a Council at Rome, in which Bardanes was condemned as an apostate from the true religion. Constantine at the commencement of the dispute gained a decisive victory, for in the following year a revolution deprived Bardanes of the imperial throne.

Bardanes orders a picture to be removed from the church of Sta. Sophia.

Constantine, the Roman pontiff, opposes the imperial edict.

Bardanes deprived of the imperial throne.

Under the two Emperors who succeeded Bardanes the controversy appears to have been suppressed; but when Leo the Isaurian assumed the purple, it broke out with redoubled fury. Leo, disgusted at the superstitious veneration shown by the Greeks to images, and feeling the reproach which the abuse had drawn on the Christian religion, determined to extirpate the evil if it were possible. For this purpose he issued an edict, prohibiting the adoration or worship of images, which some writers have misrepresented as an injunction to destroy them. For he expressly commanded that they should be placed higher in the churches, in order that the adoration of them might be prevented, and he excepted from his edict those pictures or images which represented the crucifixion.[2] It was not till he found that such precautions would not prevent idolatrous worship that he condemned pictures and images by an absolute prohibition.

Edict of Leo, A.D. 726.

The imperial edict occasioned the most violent tumults. A civil war commenced in the islands of the Archipelago: it soon spread over Asia, and ultimately reached Italy. The people were taught to believe that the Emperor was an apostate, and that they were therefore freed from their allegiance. Gregory II. was

[1] Spanheim has thus classified them. He has a separate treatise on Image worship, besides a chapter in his General Ecclesiastical History. It is contained in the second volume of his works, Miscellan. book vi. It was composed in answer to Maimbourg the Jesuit.

[2] Non huc spectat mea sententia ut ea prorsus deleantur, sed hoc ais, sublimiore loco eas collocandas esse. Spanheim, Miscel. Sac. Antiq. lib. vi. Oper. tom. ii.

the author and ringleader of these commotions in the West. Upon the refusal of Leo to revoke his edict against images, the pontiff declared him unworthy of the name and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded him from the communion of the Church. No sooner was this sentence made public than the Romans and the inhabitants of other Italian provinces which were subject to the Grecian Empire threw off their allegiance and massacred the imperial dignitaries and officers. The temper of Leo was too warm and resolute to be subdued by this opposition. He vented his rage against both images and their worshippers; and having assembled a Council at Constantinople, A.D. 730, he degraded Germanus, the patriarch of the imperial city, who was a patron of images, and placed Anastasius in the see. He commanded all images to be publicly burned, and he inflicted the most severe punishments on their worshippers.

A.D. 780.

Leo is anathematized by Gregory II., A.D. 726.

Revolt of the Italian provinces.

Council at Constantinople.

These rigorous measures divided the Christian Church into two factions emulating each other in violence; the one which maintained that images should be worshipped was called *Iconoduli*, or *Iconolatri;* the other, which maintained that such worship was impious, was called *Iconomachæ* and *Iconoclastæ*.

Two factions.

Leo was succeeded in the empire by his son Constantine, A.D. 741, to whom the image worshippers in derision gave the surname of *Copronymus*.[1] He had no less zeal than his father against idolatry, and employed his power and influence in its extirpation, in opposition to the Roman pontiffs. But his proceedings were characterized by greater moderation than those of his father; for knowing the respect which the Greeks entertained for the decisions of Councils, he assembled at Constantinople a Council of the Eastern bishops, A.D. 754. By the Greeks this is considered as the seventh Œcumenical Council; by the Romish Church it is not acknowledged. There were present not less than three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, and it was more numerous than any of the Œcumenical Councils, that of Chalcedon excepted. The two principal bishops, the Bishop or Exarch of Ephesus and the Bishop or Metropolitan of Perga, presided in the assembly. Its decrees were, according to the custom of the Eastern Councils, in favour of the opinions espoused by the Emperor; and an anathema was pronounced against all image worshippers, among whom Germanus was specially condemned.[2] Calumnies of the most improbable and contradictory nature were vented against Copronymus. He was

Constantine succeeds Leo

Council at Constantinople.

Idolatry is condemned.

[1] Κοπρος, *stercus*. This name was given to Constantine from a story that he had defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

[2] The Council thus expresses its censure of idolatry:—"Jesus Christ hath delivered us from idolatry, and hath taught us to adore him in spirit and in truth. But the devil, not being able to endure the beauty of the Church, hath insensibly brought back idolatry under the appearance of Christianity, persuading men to worship the creature, and to take for God a work to which they give the name of Jesus Christ." Fleury, Eccl. Hist. xliii. 7.

A.D. 794. accused of Manicheism, of Nestorianism, and of Arianism. The blind obstinacy of superstition was not vanquished, and the monks still continued to excite commotions among the people. Copronymus, filled with a just indignation at their seditious practices, restrained them by new laws, and inflicted on some of them exemplary punishment.

Leo IV. succeeds Copronymus.

After the death of Constantine A.D. 775, Leo IV. was declared Emperor, and he pursued the measures adopted by his father and grandfather for the extirpation of idolatry. His consort was Irene, a woman remarkable for wit and beauty, but of a most abandoned and profligate mind. Having poisoned her husband, A.D. 780, in order to escape the punishment due to her infidelity which he had discovered, she held the reins of government during the minority of her son Constantine, and the cause of idolatry was then once more triumphant. To establish her authority more firmly, she formed an alliance with Adrian, bishop of Rome, and the Roman pontiff summoned a Council at Nice in Bithynia, which is known by the name of the second Nicene Council.[1]

Irene poisons the Emperor.

Second Nicene Council.

An eclipse of the sun immediately preceded it, which the Iconoclasts did not fail to represent as ominous. Its president was Tarasius, a creature of Irene, whom she had raised to the patriarchate of Constantinople; and although the Council was assembled at Nice, that ambitious priest took precedence of the legates of Adrian. None of the Eastern patriarchs were present, but there were two monks of Palestine, John and Thomas, who assumed the names of two of those patriarchs. There are said to have been at least three hundred and fifty bishops present, but none of the Eastern Church, and none of those of the West who had signalized themselves by opposition to idolatry. In this assembly the imperial laws concerning idolatry were abrogated; the decrees of the Council of Constantinople were reversed; the worship of images and of the cross was restored; and severe punishments were denounced against those who maintained that God was the only object of religious veneration.

Idolatry restored.

A middle course adopted by some Churches.

In the violent contests between the Iconoduli and the Iconomachæ, most of the Latins, as well as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to take a middle course. They were of opinion that images might be lawfully retained in the churches for the purpose of exciting devotion, but they regarded all image worship as highly injurious to religion and offensive to the Supreme Being. Such was the opinion of Charlemagne, who took a decisive part in this controversy. By the advice of his bishops, he caused some eminent theologian[2] to compose four books concerning images, which he sent

The four books of Charlemagne.

[1] It is called by Spanheim Conciliabulum Nicenum.

[2] Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, has been supposed to have had a considerable share in the composition of these four books, although he was at this time in England. The books of Charlemagne were published at Hanover in 1731, with a preface by August Heuman.

to Adrian,[1] with a view of engaging him to withdraw his approbation from the second Nicene Council. In this performance the arguments for idolatry were accurately examined and ably refuted. Adrian, however, was resolved not to leave the cause undefended, and he composed an answer to the four books of Charlemagne.[2] A.D. 794.

The Emperor at length adopted a better way of settling the dispute than that of prolonging a controversy with the pontiff. A Synod was called by Charlemagne at Frankfort, A.D. 794, for the double purpose of settling the Adoptian or Felician controversy and of examining the question of image worship. Not less than three hundred bishops were present, collected from France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, to whom must be added the legates of Adrian. In this Synod the decrees of the second Nicene Council were condemned, and every kind of adoration of images was declared to be superstitious and impious. The opinions contained in the four books of Charlemagne were confirmed. Council at Frankfort. Second Nicene Council condemned.

From the decrees of this Council it may be concluded, that the Western Churches sometimes dissented from the Roman pontiff. The Caroline Books not only condemned all image worship, but reprehended the flattering addresses of the Grecian bishops to Adrian. Though they allowed the primacy of the Church of St. Peter, yet they denied that implicit faith was to be yielded to the decrees of the Romish pontiffs. And it does not appear that Adrian required an unqualified submission; for, notwithstanding the Council of Frankfort, there was no interruption of harmony between the pope[3] and the Emperor. The decrees of the Roman pontiff not implicitly followed.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.

Some writers date the origin of this great question in the eighth century, and assert that it had a connection with the controversy on image worship. It was disputed whether the symbols used in the Eucharist were only a representation and figure of the body and blood of Christ, or whether they underwent a supernatural change into his real body and blood. The Iconomachæ in the Council of Constantinople convened by Copronymus, having recited the words of the Nicene Council, that the bread consecrated in the Eucharist is the true image or type of Christ, added this explanation—That the Eucharistical bread, by the consecration of the priest, becomes holy,[4] but without any transubstantiation or destruction of its former substance. Date of the controversy.

The Iconoduli asserted a contrary opinion, that the bread and wine are not the image or type of the body and blood of Christ,

[1] They were presented to Adrian by Engilbert, the ambassador of Charlemagne.
[2] Dupin, Eccl. Hist. Cent. viii. His answer to Charlemagne was tame and insipid.
[3] Adrian died in 795, the year after the Council of Frankfort.
[4] Ἐω τοῦ πανευ προς το ἅγιον.

A.D. 791. but actually his body and blood. They become so by a change of substance,[1] or transubstantiation.[2]

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE DERIVATION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

While the controversy concerning images was at its height, a new contest arose between the Latins and Greeks about the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Latins affirmed that the Divine Spirit proceeded both from the Father and the Son; the Greeks denied this, and affirmed that he proceeded from the Father only.

Synod of Gentilli. The question was agitated in the Council of Gentilli, A.D. 767, near Paris, called by Pepin at the request of Copronymus. The Latins adduced in favour of their opinion the creed of Constantinople, but the Greeks accused the Latins of having corrupted this creed by an interpolation. The Synod at Gentilli was principally called on the question of image worship, and therefore this was a subordinate dispute.

Synod at Frejus. Another Synod at Frejus, A.D. 791, convened for the purpose of suppressing the Adoptian heresy, took cognizance of this dispute on the procession of the Holy Ghost. It was there determined against the Greeks that the Holy Ghost proceeded both from the Father and the Son.

[1] Johannes Damascenus, an antagonist of the Iconomachæ, has this pasage. Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Φοιτήσεως τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγιοῦ ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. Joh. Damascenus de Orthodox. Fide, lib. iv. c. 14.

[2] Μετουσίωσιν.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

THE external state of the Church in the ninth century derived its complexion chiefly from the character of Charlemagne. The zeal of that great monarch for the propagation of Christianity was ardent, but his piety was debased by violence and superstition; and thus, although the propagation of the gospel during his reign was extensive, yet as we have already remarked, it was too frequently effected by force rather than by argument. His son, Louis the Debonnaire, inherited many of the faults of his father without his counterbalancing virtues or talents. Yet the missionaries who were sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations in the north of Europe displayed a conduct worthy of the religion which they professed. Although the system of religion which they taught was corrupted, yet their mode of inculcating it was by ratiocination, enforced in most instances by exemplary living.

A.D. 826.

External state of the Church.

Under the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, Christianity was established among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. Harald, the expelled sovereign of Jutland, purchased the Emperor's assistance for his restoration by the adoption of Christianity. He, with his queen and a large train of Danish nobles, was presented at the font of the church of St. Albans in Mayence, A.D. 826, and there made a solemn profession of the Christian faith, renouncing "the works and words of the Devil, of Thor, and Wodin, and Saxonodin, with all the evil spirits, their confederates;" and on his return to his native country he was accompanied by two priests, named Ansgar and Authbert, the former a monk of Corby, in Westphalia, the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. Those missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, till, after the expiration of two years, death removed Authbert, and Ansgar pursued his labours alone. The loss which he had sustained did not repress his activity. He travelled into Sweden, where he was rewarded by the unexampled success of his ministry, and after a residence of three years there returned to Germany, where he was honourably received by Louis, and was created Archbishop of Hamburg. This was rather a post of danger than of profit, and the perils in which it involved Ansgar were truly formidable. His toils were incessant, and they ended but with his life, after having supported them through a long period of more than thirty years.[1]

Conversion of Denmark and Sweden

Ansgar and Authbert.

[1] An account of this prelate is to be found in Fabricius, Bib. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 292.

A.D. 840. Other conversions.

The Mæsians, Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted by Methodius and Cyril, two Greek monks under the patronage of the Empress Theodora. A solemn embassy was sent to Constantinople by certain provinces of Dalmatia, declaring their resolution of submitting to the Grecian Empire and of embracing the Christian faith. The warlike nation of the Russians also was converted in this century, and a Church was established by the Greek patriarch Ignatius, under the government of an archbishop.[1]

Persecutions of Christianity.

These accessions to Christendom were by no means a compensation for the calamities of the Church under the growing power of the Saracens, who were now masters of Asia, with the exception of a few provinces, and were extending their conquests in Europe also. In the East a large number of Christians professed the religion of their conquerors, in order that they might retain their possessions. In the West the Christians were exposed to the fury of those barbarous nations which issued from the North.

State of learning.

The state of learning in the ninth century was by no means so depressed as might be expected from the unsettled condition both of the Eastern and Western Empire. There was now a twilight which rendered the darkness of the succeeding age more deep by contrast. The liberality of the Emperors, and the generous patronage of the patriarchs of Constantinople, particularly of Photius, rendered the capital of the East the residence of a certain number of learned men. Eloquence, poetry, and history were cultivated there, and the study of philosophy, which had been long neglected, was revived under the Emperors Theophilus and Michael. At the head of the men of science was Leo, surnamed the Wise, an ecclesiastic of extraordinary erudition, who was afterwards bishop of Thessalonica.

Abdallah.

Not only among the Christians did learning and science partially revive, but the Arabians also were excited to literary pursuits by the example of Almamunus or Abdallah, the celebrated khalif of Egypt.[2] He erected schools at Bagdad, Cupa, and Bassora; drew to his court the learned of all countries by his extraordinary liberality; and caused translations of the best Grecian works to be made into the Arabic language.

The Carlovingian race.

In that part of Europe which was subject to the dominion of the Franks there was no less ardour for the advancement of learning. The first successors of Charlemagne imitated the zeal of their ancestor for the encouragement of literature and science. Louis the Debonnaire formed and executed several designs for their promotion, and Charles the Bald was the rival of Abdallah himself. His bro-

[1] Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. ix. In this century Christianity was propagated in India by the Nestorians. Mar. Thomas, a Syrian, established Churches on the coast of Malabar.

[2] For an account of this khalif see D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. art. Maman.

ther Lothaire endeavoured to revive science in Italy, but his efforts were frustrated through the corruption and ignorance of the clergy. A.D. 853.

The degeneracy of the sacred order in the ninth century rose to an enormous height, and their licentiousness and impiety have called forth the just censure of all impartial historians. Their ignorance was not less deplorable. Many of them were unable to write or even to read, and most were incapable of explaining their corrupted faith with any tolerable degree of perspicuity. In the East the favour of the court was the only step to the high and influential dignity of patriarch of Constantinople; and even after its attainment nothing was more common than to see a patriarch degraded by an imperial decree. The Roman pontiffs in this century obtained from Charles the Bald the important privilege of an election by the suffrages of the clergy without the imperial ratification; yet this mode of election was not more pure than that of the Eastern patriarch. The election was rarely conducted with any observance of law, order, or decency, and was generally followed by civil tumult and commotion. Degeneracy of the clergy.

Few of the prelates who were raised to the Western pontificate could boast either of learning or virtue; not a few are known only by their flagitious actions; but the universal aim of the heads of the Western Church appears to have been an extension of their authority wherever it was not acknowledged, or an enlargement of their power over those Churches which owned their supremacy.

It was in this century that the elevation of a woman to the pontifical throne is said to have taken place. It was long believed that a woman named Gilberte, by birth a native of Mayence, but of English descent, assumed male attire, studied at Athens, was reputed a man, and having taken religious vows and distinguished herself by great learning and ability, was elected to the papacy on the death of Leo IV. in 853,[1] under the style of John VIII.; that when the imperial title devolved on Louis II. that emperor was crowned by her hands at Rome; and that but for a subsequent unhappy discovery her name might have descended to posterity as one of the most unblemished pontiffs by whom the tiara had been worn. Yielding, however, to a natural weakness, she listened too freely to a cardinal, one of her chaplains, to whom either chance or her own attachment had revealed the mystery of her sex; and the consequence of their intercourse was the public delivery of the successor of St. Peter in the open streets of Rome, between the Colosseum and the Church of St. Clement, during a religious procession. The ambiguous pope died in giving birth to the child; the route of the procession was altered for the future, so that it might not pass near the polluted spot; a statue was erected in commemoration of the incident; and certain ingenious precautions were adopted to prevent its recurrence. This tissue of fables, with an Fable of Pope Joan.

[1] Leo IV. *really* died in 855.

A.D. 870. occasional addition that the female pope was a magician, has furnished materials for reproach or for regret, for accusation or for denial, to many controversial writers, according as they were friendly or hostile to the Church of Rome; and it is not impossible, in spite of its distinct refutation by the research even of Protestants. During five centuries succeeding this event, however, it was almost generally believed, nor was it until after the Reformation that it became questioned. The arguments of Bayle (*ad v. Papesse*), who rejects the story, have acquired greater credence than those of Spanheim,[1] who maintains it; and the general opinion seems to be that the testimonies by which the fact is supported are insufficient, and that it is inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations.

Increasing power of the papacy.

It is universally acknowledged, even by the advocates of the papacy, that from the time of Louis the Debonnaire the ecclesiastical state of Europe underwent a complete change. The European sovereigns were divested of their supreme authority in the religious polity of their respective kingdoms; the power of the bishops was greatly restrained; and the authority of Councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs succeeded in persuading the world, that the Bishop of Rome was constituted by Jesus Christ the supreme legislator and judge of the Universal Church.

In order to establish this usurpation, a variety of memorials, deeds, and other records were forged, in order that it might appear as if the Roman pontiffs enjoyed, in the first ages of the Church, the privileges which they now so arrogantly claimed. Among

The forged Decretals.

these forgeries the 'Decretal Epistles' chiefly deserve to be mentioned. They were said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, although they were actually the production of some obscure and later writer, who, in order to obtain respect for his inventions, published them under the name and authority of Isidore, bishop of Seville in the seventh century. The prelates, as a token of humility, frequently added to their names the word *peccator*, a sinner; and some ignorant transcriber ludicrously changed this word in the title of the 'Decretals' to *mercator*; so that these forgeries have always passed as the collection of a writer who is no more than imaginary, one Isidorus Mercator.[2]

Yet even in the Latin Church there were men of prudence and sagacity who discovered these frauds. The Gallican bishops distinguished themselves by the spirit with which they opposed the spurious 'Decretals;' but the pertinacity of the pontiffs, and particularly of Nicholas I., subdued their opposition, and their defeat struck terror into all who were disposed to support the expiring liberties of the Church.

[1] Spanheim, Exercitatio de Papa Fœmina. Op. tom. ii. lib. v. The dissertation of Spanheim is well worthy attention, since he has considered the objections of Blondel, who rejects the story. Blondel was not a member of the Church of Rome, but a zealous Presbyterian.

[2] Cave, Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 21.

The tenth century is commonly styled the Dark Age or the Iron Age of the Church, and the deplorable state of Christianity is freely acknowledged even by the Romanist historians.[1] The Christian religion suffered little from the persecutions of its enemies, but much from the ignorance and vices of its professors. Its external state has been deemed not unprosperous, for Christianity was propagated in this century, although in a corrupted form, yet with considerable success. A.D. 912. The Dark Age.

The Nestorians displayed great industry and zeal in the dissemination of their tenets, and they now extended their spiritual conquests beyond Mount Imaus. Through them a knowledge of the gospel was introduced into Tartary, particularly among a most powerful tribe known by the name of Karit, bordering on the northern part of China, and no inconsiderable portion of Asiatic Scythia became subject to bishops set over them by the Nestorian pontiff. In Europe, the Christian religion spread among the uncivilized tribes of the north with equal rapidity; and when Rollo with his Norwegian band was invested with the duchy of Normandy, he, together with his followers, probably greatly in consequence of the worldly advantages it promised them, embraced the Christian faith[2] A.D. 912. Christianity introduced into Tartary. Northern Europe.

Christianity was introduced into Poland through Dambracka, daughter of Bolislaus, duke of Bohemia. She succeeded in persuading her husband Micislaus, duke of Poland, to renounce paganism, A.D. 965. Her exhortations were seconded by the reigning pontiff, John XIII. Ægidius, bishop of Tusculum, with a numerous train of missionaries, was sent into Poland, and the exhortations of these ecclesiastics, because they were enforced by regal edicts, and penal laws, were successful in securing, at least, an outward profession of Christianity. Two archbishoprics and seven suffragan bishoprics constituted the establishment of the Polish Church. Poland.

By similar influence the faith of Christ also extended itself even into Russia. Wlodemir, duke of that country, having married Anne, sister of Basilius II., was persuaded by his consort to embrace the Christian faith A.D. 969. The Russians, without the terror of penal laws, adopted the religion of their prince, and Wlodemir and his duchess are still placed among the saints of Russia. Russia.

Through the indefatigable zeal of Charlemagne, the Hungarians and Avari had received some faint notions of Christianity in the preceding century, but these notions were almost obliterated, until Bolosudes and Gylas, two Turkish chiefs,[3] made a public profession of the true religion, and were baptized at Constantinople A.D. 970. Hungary.

[1] Novum inchoatur sæculum, quod suâ asperitate et boni sterilitate Ferreum; malique exundantis deformitate Plumbeum; atque inopiâ scriptorum appellare consuevit Obscurum. Baronius.

[2] Rollo at his baptism assumed the name of Robert.

[3] Their government lay on the banks of the Danube.

A.D. 970. The former of these powerful chieftains soon apostatized, but the latter was an active promoter of Christian education. Geysa, the chief of the Hungarians, was an unsteady and lukewarm convert, but his son Stephen founded the Hungarian Church. He stationed bishops with large revenues in various places of his kingdom, erected churches and schools, and thus induced his subjects almost without exception to renounce the superstitions of their ancestors.

Denmark. In Denmark, Christianity was in a state of great depression, until Harald its king embraced the gospel, about the middle of this century. It is said that his public profession of Christianity was in obedience to the command of his conqueror Otho the Great, but it is probable that his own conviction co-operated with the will of his victor. Upon the conversion of Harald, two missionaries, named Adaldagus and Poppon, employed their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, and Poppon, in addition to the ordinary means of conversion, resorted to those which were miraculous. His miracles indeed were of such a kind as evinced them to be the effects of human art, and not of Divine power.[1] While Harald lived, he used the most prudent measures for the propagation of the gospel among his subjects, but his son and successor Sweyn apostatized from Christianity, and became its persecutor. Adversity, however, wrought in him a salutary change; he was driven from his kingdom, and during his exile he sought consolation in the faith which he had renounced. He was restored to his dominions, and exerted the most ardent zeal in promoting the knowledge of Christianity.

Norway. The conversion of Norway also belongs to the tenth century. Its king Hagen Adelstun A.D. 933, had been educated in England, and he employed English missionaries to instruct his subjects. Slow was the progress of religious light in this barbarous country, and dim were its rays; yet it was from this source that the Orkney Islands derived their knowledge of Christianity.[2]

Germany. These accessions to the Church were of far less importance than the stability and consistence which it acquired in Germany, under the protection of Otho the Great. That illustrious prince was constantly employed in supporting or founding establishments for the propagation of the Christian religion. He erected and endowed the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelburg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg. His munificence was not always guided by prudence, but this defect must be attributed to the ignorance of the age, and perhaps to the superstition of Adelaide his empress.

The chief external malign influences by which the Church was afflicted were, in the East, the assiduous propagandism of the Saracens and the enmity of the Turks, and in the West, the per-

[1] Pontoppidan, Annal. Eccles. Diplom. tom. i. p. 59.
[2] Ibid, p. 66. For the conversion of the Orkneys, see Torfæi, Hist. Rerum Orcad. lib. i.

secutions of the heathen. Gormon and his grandson Sweyn dealt A.D. 972. most harshly with believers, the Normans, for upwards of fifty years, most unscrupulously injured the Christians in Gaul, the Prussians, Sclavonians, Hungarians and Bohemians, perpetrated the most outrageous barbarities on the clergy and their flocks, and the Arabs in Spain with tyrannous zeal opposed the progress of the gospel. In consequence of all these woes, it is not to be wondered at that the princes and monarchs who believed in Jesus should endeavour to win the unbelievers, by force or guile, to an acknowledgment of those principles which wove into harmony, security, peace, virtue, and religion. This we have seen they accomplished with considerable success. The internal evils were, however, both numerous and flagrant. In no age were the corruptions of the clergy greater than in this, and they increased in proportion with the wealth of the Church. The history of the Roman pontiffs is, as may be gathered from the following brief outline, a narrative of the most flagitious crimes.

On the death of Benedict IV., A.D. 903, Leo V. was chosen to succeed him; but he had only held rule for forty days, when Christopher, the cardinal of St. Lawrence, dethroned and imprisoned him. Next year Sergius III., assisted by Adelbert of Tuscany, deprived him of the papal dignity and reigned in his stead. Sergius died A.D. 911, and was succeeded by Anastasius III., and Lando, neither of whom were either useful or holy. When Lando died, A.D. 914, Adelbert at the suggestion of his mother-in-law, a wanton, by name Theodora, appointed her lover, under the designation of John X., to the papal dignity. He was seized, imprisoned, and murdered, A.D. 928, by Guido, the husband of Theodora's daughter, Marozia; and was succeeded by Leo VI., who dying six months thereafter, was followed by Stephen VII. In two years after that, A.D. 931, he died, and Marozia contrived to get her son—of illicit birth, whose father was Pope Sergius III. —elected to the pontificate. This elevation, A.D. 933, he lost through the enmity of his step-brother, by the mother's side, who cast him into prison, where he died, A.D. 936. During the next twenty years no fewer than four popes filled St. Peter's chair, viz., Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus II., and Agapetus. On the demise of the latter, Octavius, prince of Rome, a youth wholly unfit for such an office, seized the vacant dignity, changing his name, at the time, to John XII. He was, at the instance of Otho the Great of Germany, accused of the most flagrant crimes, found guilty, formally deposed, and subsequently assassinated, A.D. 964, when carrying on an adulterous intrigue. Leo VIII. was placed by Otho on the papal throne, and on his death the Romans chose Benedict V. Him the Emperor took captive, and carried to Hamburg; and raised John XIII. to the vacancy, A.D. 965, which he retained till A.D. 972. Benedict VI. reigned in his stead, but

A.D. 998. was strangled in prison by Crescentius, the son of the too-notorious *intriguante* Theodora. Boniface VII. was driven from Rome after a month's reign, and Domnus II. occupied the chair in peace till A.D. 975, at which time Boniface thrust himself again into the chair, although Benedict VII., grandson of Adelbert, was invested with the tiara. John XIV., an *élevé* of Otho III., was chosen to succeed Benedict VII., but Boniface imprisoned and murdered him. In six months thereafter Boniface VII. died, and John XV. or XVI.—for some make a pope John the cotemporary of Boniface—a scion of a noble Roman house, governed the troubled Church in tolerable peace until A.D. 996. Otho III. commanded the Romans to accept Gregory V. This the Roman consul Crescens refused to do, and expelled him from the city; but Otho returned to Italy A.D. 998, and depriving John of his eyes, nose, and ears, imprisoned him till his death. Gregory V. did not long enjoy the dignity conferred upon him, and Otho with the approbation of the Romans bestowed the chair on his tutor Sylvester II. Yet notwithstanding their great profligacy and the frequent commotions by which Rome was disturbed, the papal power received large accessions of strength. Otho the Great published an edict prohibiting the election of any pontiff, without the previous consent of the Emperor; but the Bishops of Rome, partly by stratagem and partly by violence, found means of eluding or opposing that decree. Many bishops and abbots obtained for their tenets and possessions an immunity from secular jurisdiction and all imposts; and for themselves an absolute civil as well as spiritual dominion in their respective territories.

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

NINTH CENTURY.

Greek Writers.

PHOTIUS.
IGNATIUS.
NICEPHORUS.
LEO VI.

Latin Writers.

RABANUS MAURUS.
AGOBARD.
CLAUDIUS.
EGINHARD.
GILDAS.
GOTTESCHALC.
HINCMAR.
PASCHASIUS RADBERT.
BERTRAMN, OR RATRAMN.
HAYMO, OR AIMO.
WALAFRIDUS STRABO, OR STRABUS.

TENTH CENTURY.

Greek Writers.

SIMEON METAPHRASTES.
NICON.
ŒCUMENIUS AND OLYMPIODORUS.

Latin Writers.

CONSTANTIUS VIII. PORPHYRO-GENETA.
EUTYCHIUS.
GERBERT, OR SYLVESTER II.
RATHEIR.
ATTO.
DUNSTAN.
ÆLFRIC, OR ALFRIC.
BURCHARD.
ODILO.

Syrian Writer.

MOSES BARCEPHA.

PHOTIUS.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 886.

THE ninth century is styled the Photian Age, and therefore this illustrious patriarch of Constantinople claims the first place in the catalogue of learned men. His extraction was of the highest order, and his connections enabled him to attain the chief dignities in the State at an early period of life. His elevation to the patriarchate of Constantinople was so far from being solicited, that it was accepted with the greatest reluctance, since the see was vacant by the deposition of Ignatius, and he consequently incurred the resentment of a formidable party. That party, on the accession of the Emperor Basil,[1] had sufficient influence to procure the deposition of Photius and the condemnation of his doctrines. He was compelled to submit to a rigorous exile, deprived of the consolation of his friends, and, what was more painful, of his books. After a lapse of nine years the Emperor relented, and Photius was recalled from banishment and reinstated in his see. Yet a reverse

A.D. 886
Early life.

[1] For the civil history of the Eastern Empire, which will elucidate this and other transactions of the Greek Church during the ninth century, see Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, by Col. Procter, &c. chap. i.

A.D. 828. of fortune again clouded his latter years; the intrigues of his enemies induced the Emperor to depose him a second time, and he retired to a monastery, in which he shortly afterwards died.

Works. His writings are an evidence of his profound and universal erudition, and his high attainments obtained the commendation even of his enemies.[1] His great work is his 'Bibliotheca,' in which is shown the acuteness of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, and the extent of his reading. His 'Epistles' exhibit him as a philosopher, a mathematician, a philologist, a lawyer, and a divine.

We have yet extant, though slumbering in MSS., his 'Amphilochia,' a theological treatise in the form of a catechism, a Catena 'On the Psalms,' a collection of canons and homilies, besides tracts on the 'Procession of the Holy Ghost,' and "against the Manichæans."

The *editio princeps* of the 'Bibliotheca' or Myriobiblion is that of Bekker, 2 vols. 8vo, 1824.

Dupin, 'Eccl. Hist.'; Fabric. 'Bib. Græc.' lib. v. c. 38; Camurat, 'Histoire des Jonnaux,' tom. i. p. 57; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. pp. 47-50.

IGNATIUS.

DIED A.D. 878, AGED 80.

The rival of Photius, and patriarch of Constantinople, but far inferior to him in erudition. Although deposed and banished prior to the elevation of Photius, he was restored to his see in A.D. 867 by Basil, at once the murderer and successor of Michael III.: his restoration was confirmed by the General Council of Constantinople held A.D. 869, and he held his office till his death A.D. 878, after which event Photius was again his successor. There are three of his tracts extant, viz. 'An Epistle to Pope Nicholas, A.D. 867,' 'An Address to the Synod,' and 'An Epistle to Pope Adrian.' These three pieces are in Latin.

'Concil.' tom. viii. pp. 1009, 1097, 1171; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 40.

NICEPHORUS,

DIED A.D. 828,

patriarch of Constantinople, published a defence of image-worship, in which he treats the Iconoclastæ with great severity.

'Act. Sanct.' tom. ii; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 4.

[1] Πάντα γὰρ συνίτριχιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἡ ἐπιστημοσύνης τῆς φύσεως, ἡ σοφὴ, ὁ πλοῦτος, δι' ὃν καὶ Βίβλος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔρρει πᾶσα, πλέον δὲ πάντων ὁ τῆς δόξης ἔρως, δι' ὃν αὐτῷ καὶ νυκτὸς αὖπνοι περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐμμελῶς ἐσχολακότι. Nicetas, Vit. Ignatii.

LEO VI.

REIGNED FROM A.D. 886 TO A.D. 911.

A.D. 840. Studies.

This Emperor, who has been distinguished by the surname of the Wise, was born at Constantinople and was a pupil of Photius. Under such a preceptor he made a suitable proficiency in history, philosophy, and jurisprudence; and he devoted himself also to a less profitable study, that of astrology. When he attained the imperial crown, he made but an ungrateful return to the instructor of his youth, for he removed Photius from the patriarchal see. His works are numerous, but in little esteem.

Fabric. 'Bib. Græc.' lib. v. c. 5. sec. 8; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 64.

RABANUS MAURUS.

DIED A.D. 856.

Education.

The Latin writers of this century are far more numerous and more esteemed than the Greek; and at the head of these is deservedly placed Rabanus Maurus. He was educated by Alcuin, and embraced a monastic life; but being compelled by the dissensions of the monastery in which he lived to quit his retirement, he was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Mentz. He may be called the luminary of France and Germany, since it was from him that those nations principally derived their religious instruction. His writings were regarded with so great veneration that the most eminent Latin divines appealed to them as an authority.

For a list of his numerous works see Dupin, 'Hist. Eccl.' sæc. ix.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 36. For a more particular account of his life and writings see 'Histoire Littéraire de France,' tom. v. p. 151.

AGOBARD,

DIED A.D. 840,

Character.

a native of Gaul and archbishop of Lyons, is more highly esteemed for his literary than his political character; for he is accused of having fomented the rebellion of Lothaire and Pepin against their father, Louis the Debonnaire. He is chiefly celebrated for his skill in ecclesiastical law and his love of ecclesiastical discipline. His deep knowledge of the antiquities of the Christian Church induced him to oppose with great zeal the use and the worship of images, and his treatise on that subject has greatly embarrassed the doctors of the Romish Church.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. iv. p. 547; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. i. p. 11.

CLAUDIUS,

DIED A.D. 839,

A.D. 870. Works. is surnamed Scotus, but he was a Spaniard by birth, and was Bishop of Turin. His knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was accurate, and he composed one hundred and eleven books of commentaries on 'Genesis,' four on 'Exodus,' and several on 'Leviticus.' He wrote also an 'Exposition of the Gospel' of St. Matthew and on the 'Epistles' of St. Paul.

'Hist. Lit. de France;' Dupin, 'Eccl. Hist.'; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 11.

EGINHARD,

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 840,

was a German by birth, and a confidential counsellor of Charlemagne. On the death of his royal master, he separated from his wife by mutual consent, and retired into a monastery. He was abbot of two other monasteries before he obtained the rule of Chief Work. Selingestat. His chief work is the 'Life of Charlemagne,' remarkable for the elegance of its style.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. iv. p. 530; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 14.

GILDAS.

FL. A.D. 820 ET DEINCEPS.

The 'History of Britain,' which Bale has ascribed to this writer, is clearly shown by Cave to have been the work of Nennius.

GOTTESCHALC.

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 870.

This writer, who is also known by the name of Fulgentius, from the brilliancy of his genius, was a native of France, and a monk of Ordination. the Benedictine order at Orbais. Soon after his admission to the priesthood he repaired to Rome. On his return to his native country he took up his abode with Count Eberald, a nobleman belonging to the court of the Emperor Lothaire. A more copious account of him, and also of his antagonist, Hincmar, will be found in our next chapter.

HINCMAR.

DIED A.D. 882.

This turbulent prelate, but able theologian, was archbishop of Rheims. His works are numerous, and although mostly controversial, they throw a great light on the civil and ecclesiastical his-

tory of the times in which he lived. They have been collected by Père Sirmond, the learned Jesuit,[1] and published in two vols. folio, Paris, 1647. A.D. 890.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. v. p. 416; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. pp. 33, 34.

PASCHASIUS RADBERT.

DIED A.D. 851.

This name is famous in the controversy concerning the Real Presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, under which head it is noticed. He was first a monk, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Corby, and was consequently the ecclesiastical superior of

BERTRAMN, OR RATRAMN,

DIED CIRCITER A.D. 890,

whose work on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was composed by order of Charles the Bald, in opposition to those who asserted the Real Presence. Several editions of this treatise have appeared, and among them two in England of the dates of 1686 and 1688. Chief work.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii.; Radbert, p. 32; Bertramn, p. 27.

HAYMO, OR AIMO,

DIED A.D. 853,

was a pupil of Alcuin, a fellow-student and friend of Rabanus Maurus, and afterwards Bishop of Halberstadt. He wrote 'Commentaries on the Psalms,' on the Prophet Isaiah, on the 'Epistles' of Saint Paul, and on the 'Apocalypse,' and also a 'Summary of the Ecclesiastical History.' He took a part in the controversy on the Real Presence. It is proper to observe that a great part of the writings commonly attributed to Haymo were the production of Remi, or Remigius of Auxerre.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 28.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, OR STRABUS.

DIED A.D. 849.

The reputation of this author depends on his 'Poems,' his 'Lives of the Saints,' and his 'Glosses' on some difficult parts of Scripture.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. v. p. 544; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 31.

[1] Who has passed on them the following encomium: In iis nihil esse quod utilitate suâ careat, et in quo præstans autoris judicium cum scientiâ non eluceat.

SIMEON METAPHRASTES,

FL. A.D. 912,

A.D. 912. Birth. was descended from an illustrious Greek family, and was promoted by Leo VI. to the highest dignity in the State, the treasurership or chancellorship of the Empire. Such portions of his time as were not employed in public business he devoted to literature, particularly to the illustration of ecclesiastical antiquities. By the command of Constantine VII., the son of Leo, he undertook to give a more elegant style to the 'Lives of the Saints,' which had been originally composed in a barbarous language, and hence he was distinguished by the name of *Metaphrast*, or *Translator*. The genuine lives amount to not less than one hundred and twenty-two, besides which there are ninety-five reckoned spurious. He was the author also of some poems and prayers.

Leo Allatius 'de Symeonum Scriptis,' p. 94; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. pp. 89, 90; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. 10.

NICON,

OB. A.D. 998,

was an Armenian, and at an early age embraced the monastic life, but was employed as a missionary. He composed a treatise 'On the Religion of the Armenians,' which was edited by Cotelerius. The Jesuit Sirmond translated his 'Annals' into Latin from the original Greek.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 103; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. 10.

ŒCUMENIUS AND OLYMPIODORUS

are of uncertain date, but are most generally placed among the authors of the tenth century. They were distinguished for those compilations called by the Latins 'Catenæ,' or 'Chains,' being a collection of the opinions and interpretations of the doctors of the Church. Œcumenius was commonly called 'the Greek Scholiast on the New Testament.' His works have been edited; Græcè, Verona, A.D. 1532; Lat. Venet. A.D. 1556; Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1631, 2 tom. fol.

Catenæ.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 112; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. x.

CONSTANTINUS VIII. PORPHYRO-GENETA.

OB. A.D. 959.

This learned prince was the son of Leo the Wise, and succeeded to the imperial crown when he was only seven years of age. He was the universal patron of learned men, but his own favourite

study was history. His chief work is on historical and political pandects, the greater part of which is lost. A.D. 950.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 92; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. 10.

EUTYCHIUS.

OB. A.D. 950.

Among the Arabians no author has acquired a higher reputation than Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria. His 'Annals,' from the foundation of the world to the year of Christ 940, contain much curious information, although debased by puerilities and incredible fictions. An abstract of these 'Annals' in the original Arabic, with a Latin version, was published by Selden, A.D. 1642, London. The entire work, with the preface of Selden, enriched with Arabic and Latin annotations, was edited by Pocock, A.D. 1659, Oxon. Besides his 'Annals' Eutychius was the author of a work on the affairs of Sicily after its capture by the Saracens; and also of a disputation between the heterodox and Christians in opposition to the Jacobites. He wrote also some treatises on medicine. Works.

Jo. Albert Fabricii, 'Bibliographia Antiquaria,' p. 179; Eusebii Renaudoti, 'Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.' p. 347; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 96; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. 10.

GERBERT, OR SYLVESTER II.

PONTIFEX A.D. 999, OB. A.D. 1003.

This pontiff claims the first place among the Latin writers of the tenth century, as an astronomer, mathematician, and cultivator of the practical sciences. Besides his mathematical works, he is the author of 'Epistles,' both while he was archbishop of Rheims, and also after he was raised to the pontificate. Several of his works are yet extant.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. vi. p. 558; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. pp. 11, 116.

RATHEIR.

OB. A.D. 973.

A bishop of Verona, more fitted for a life of retirement and study than for a public station. His works, which are yet extant, discover great sagacity as well as learning.

'Hist Lit. de France,' tom. vi. p. 339; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 95; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. x. sec. 10.

ATTO.

OB. POST A.D. 960.

A.D. 960. Work. A bishop of Vercelli, and the author of a treatise 'De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis,' *i.e.* concerning the sufferings and grievances of the Church.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. vi. p. 281; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 99.

DUNSTAN.

OB. A.D. 988.

The only work of Dunstan which remains is a book in favour of Monachism, entitled 'De Concordia Regularum,' or 'The Harmony of the Monastic Rules.' It contains twelve chapters, and has been placed as an appendix to Keimer's work on the 'Antiquity of the Benedictine Order in England,' Douay, 1626.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom ii. p. 102; Collier, 'Ecclesiastical History of England,' vol. i. Cent. 10, pp. 181-203; Warner, 'Eccl. Hist.' vol. i. book iv. Cent. 10; Goodwin, 'De Præsul.' tom. i.

ÆLFRIC, OR ALFRIC.

OB. A.D. 1006.

A successor, though not the immediate one, of Dunstan in the see of Canterbury. He was an Englishman by birth, a disciple of Ethelwolf, bishop of Winchester, and the successor of this prelate in the monastery of Abingdon. There has been a controversy concerning Ælfric; whether there were one or two of this name, or rather whether Ælfric the monk were Ælfric the archbishop? The author before us was a man of great learning, and obtained a high reputation in the Anglo-Saxon Church. There is a 'Grammar' and also a 'Lexicon' by him; an Anglo-Saxon translation of the first books of the Holy Scriptures, a 'History of the Church,' and 180 'Sermons.'

Character.

Fleury, 'Hist. Eccl.' lib. lviii.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 108.

BURCHARD.

OB. A.D. 1005.

A German by birth, and educated in the monastic life, but at length Bishop of Worms. His reputation is founded on his compilation, entitled 'Decreta,' divided into twenty books, although a part of the merit of this collection is due to Olbert.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. vii. p. 295; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 105.

ODILO.

OB. A.D. 1002.

The above is commonly reputed to have been archbishop of Lyons, but, according to Fleury, he obstinately refused that eminent station, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties both of pontiffs and emperors, choosing to remain abbot of Clugni. His writings never attained mediocrity, and are now sunk into total oblivion. A.D. 1002

Fleury, 'Eccl. Hist.' lib. lviii.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 114.

MOSES BARCEPHA,

FL. CIRC. A.D. 901, OB. A.D. 912,

was a Syrian by birth, and on account of his extraordinary learning and piety was appointed Bishop of Beth Ramah. He belonged to the sect of the Jacobites, and on that account his works are not to be read without caution. His principal work, entitled 'De Paradiso,' in three books, has been translated into Latin, and edited by Andrew Masius.[1] He also wrote a 'Commentary on Genesis,' and on the 'Gospel' of St. Matthew, a treatise 'De Anima,' and another entitled 'De Sectarum multitudine et Differentia.'

'Hist. Littéraire de France,' tom. i.; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 91.

[1] Published at Antwerp, 8vo. A.D. 1569.

CHAPTER XIII.

HERESIES AND CONTROVERSIES OF THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.

PAULICIANS.
IMAGE WORSHIP.
CORPOREAL PRESENCE IN THE EUCHARIST.
PREDESTINATION.
THE WORDS TRINA DEITAS.
MANNER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.
PHOTIAN CONTROVERSY.

THE PAULICIANS.

A.D. 803. THIS sect was confined almost entirely to Armenia. It is said to
Their origin. have been formed by two brothers, Paul and John, from the former of whom it derived its name; though others attributed its origin to another Paul who lived under the reign of Justinian II.[1] It was censured by several imperial edicts, and had almost disappeared, when it was revived by a zealot, called Constantine, who lived in the eighth century. The Emperor Constans and his successors
Persecuted by Constans and his successors. treated this sect with the greatest rigour, but they were unable to suppress it. Its followers displayed the most unshaken fortitude under the barbarities exercised towards them.

Favoured by Nicephorus. In the commencement of this century, the external condition of the Paulicians was altered, since the Emperor Nicephorus favoured them in a particular manner, and not only restored their freedom of worship, but conferred on them several religious privileges. Yet this temporary freedom from persecution was of short duration.
Persecuted anew. Under the reigns of Michael Curopalates and Leo the Armenian, a severe inquisition was made after the Paulicians throughout all the provinces of the Grecian Empire, and death was inflicted on all such as refused to abjure their tenets. But persecution had a different effect on them now than formerly, for it excited vindictive desperation. Thomas, bishop of New Cæsarea, and several of the imperial magistrates established in Armenia, fell victims to their fury, and after the commission of numerous outrages, they fled for refuge to the countries under Saracenic dominion, and thence made incursions on the neighbouring provinces of the Empire.

Third persecution by Theodora. A short interval of tranquillity appears to have succeeded, until the Empress Theodora issued a decree, leaving to the Paulicians the alternative of renouncing their opinions, or of being exterminated by fire and sword. This decree was executed with the most unrelenting cruelty; for the imperial officers after having seized the property of above one hundred thousand Paulicians, inflicted on their possessors the most excruciating kinds of death. Those
Protected by the Saracens. who escaped fled, like their predecessors, for protection to the Saracens, who received them with kindness, and permitted them to build for their residence a city called Tibrica. In that settlement,

[1] Phot. lib. i. contra Manicheos.

they formed a league with their protectors, and declared against the Greeks a war, which was carried on with the utmost fury.[1] Many of the Grecian provinces felt the effects of the sanguinary contest, and exhibited the most appalling scenes of desolation and misery. Wherever the arms of the Paulicians were victorious, their opinions took root, and they propagated their tenets with great rapidity among the fierce Bulgarians. A.D. 840. Declare war against the Greeks. Propagate their doctrines.

What those tenets were has been a matter of dispute. By the Greeks this sect was reckoned a branch of the Manichæans, yet, according to Photius, the Paulicians expressed the greatest abhorrence of some of the Manichæan doctrines. They had not, like the Manichæans, an ecclesiastical polity, administered by bishops, priests, and deacons. They had no sacred order, distinguished from the people, in their religious assemblies. They had no Councils or Synods. They had two sorts of teachers, *Sunecdemi* and *Notarii*, among whom there was a perfect equality. The only distinction which attended their religious profession was, that they changed their lay name, and adopted some scriptural appellation. The Paulicians received all the books of the New Testament, except the two epistles of St. Peter; and in this respect, also, they widely differed from the Manichæans. In their interpretations of Scripture, however, they used great latitude, explaining it in the most fanciful manner, and perverting its literal sense whenever it was opposed to their favourite opinions. They regarded with peculiar veneration certain epistles of Sergius, the most eminent teacher of their sect. None of the Greek writers have given a clear view of the whole Paulician system, but have contented themselves with noticing certain prominent marks of their heresy. Their chief errors are represented to have been these: 1. They denied that this lower and visible world is the production of the Supreme Being; and they distinguished between the Creator of the world, and the Most High God. 2. They treated contemptuously the Virgin Mary, by which, perhaps, is only meant, that they refused to render adoration or divine honour to her. 3. They refused to celebrate the holy institution of the Lord's Supper. 4. They loaded the cross of Christ with contempt or reproach, which may be explained in the same manner as their contemptuous treatment of the Virgin Mary. 5. They rejected, after the example of the Gnostics, the books of the Old Testament, and looked on their writers as inspired by the Creator of the world, not by the Supreme God. 6. They excluded presbyters and elders from all part in the administration of the Church. By this must be understood that they refused to call their doctors by the name of presbyters, the latter being a word of Jewish extraction.[2] Their tenets.

[1] They chose for their chief, Carbeas, a man of great valour. Phot. lib. i.

[2] The principal authors who have given an account of the Paulicians are Phot. lib. i. contra Manichæos. Petr. Siculus, Hist. Manich, and among modern writers, Bayle.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING IMAGES.

A.D. 879. After the banishment of the Empress Irene, the contests between the Iconoclastæ and Iconoduli were renewed; and during the former part of this century the success of the contending parties was various and doubtful. The Emperor Nicephorus deprived the favourers of image-worship of the power of persecuting their antagonists; but his successor, Michael Curopalates, espoused their cause. On the accession of Leo the Armenian a Council assembled at Constantinople, A.D. 814, which abolished the decrees of the Nicene Council, relating to the use and worship of images; but without enacting any penal laws against their worshippers. Such was the moderation of that Emperor, that he removed the patriarch Nicephorus from his office, on account of his violence against the Iconoclastæ. Michael, surnamed Balbus, and Theophilus were more decided in their hostility against the worship of images.

Council at Constantinople.

But when Theodora was intrusted with the regency during the minority of her son, the scene was changed. A Council, which she was prevailed on to call at Constantinople, restored the decrees of the second Nicene Council to their ancient authority. Thus the cause of idolatry triumphed throughout the East; and the Council held at Constantinople under the patriarch Photius, which is reckoned by the Greeks the eighth General Council, was the consummation of the victory. The superstitious Greeks esteemed that Council as the effect of a divine interposition, and instituted an anniversary in its commemoration, which was called the feast of orthodoxy.

Another Council at Constantinople, A.D. 842.

Council at Constantinople under the patriarch Photius, A.D. 879.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs, image-worship was not established in the Western Church without many struggles. The Iconoclastæ were powerfully supported by Claudius, bishop of Turin. That prelate, immediately after his promotion to the episcopal dignity, commanded all images, in which even the cross was included, to be cast out of the churches and committed to the flames. He defended his proceedings in a treatise, in which he declared against the use as well as the worship of images. He maintained his ground against a host of adversaries, and with so great ability, that the city of Turin and its diocese, even after his death, were comparatively free from the contagion of image-worship, which now overspread the rest of Europe.[1]

The progress of image-worship in the West. Claudius bishop of Turin.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE CORPOREAL PRESENCE IN THE EUCHARIST.

Origin. This controversy, which still divides the Church, and is one of the chief marks of distinction between the Romanists and Reformed,

[1] The principal writer on this subject is Fred. Spanheim, Hist. Imaginum Opera, tom. ii. from whom the above account is abridged.

had its origin in the ninth century. It arose out of the controversy on image-worship, and was founded on a dogma of the Synod at Constantinople held under Copronymus, which a Synod held at Nice afterwards expressly contradicted. The distinction was kept up by Johannes Damascenus, who maintained that a change took place in the symbols of bread and wine in the Eucharist, through the intervention of the Holy Spirit. Those who adhered to the decision of the Council of Copronymus, were stigmatized by their adversaries as heretics under the name of Stercoranistæ. A.D. 848. Stercoranistæ.

But in this century, the controversy assumed a more determinate shape, in consequence of the writings of Paschasius Radbert.[1] He composed a treatise, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which he afterwards revised, augmented, and presented to the Emperor Charles the Bald. The sum of his doctrine may be comprised in the following propositions: 1. That the substance of the bread and wine after consecration is changed into the real body and blood of Christ, the same which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the cross, and rose from the sepulchre. 2. That of the bread and wine nothing remains but the outward figure under which the body and blood of Christ are really and locally present. 3. That all receivers partake of the body and blood of Christ, those who receive worthily to their benefit, those who receive unworthily to their condemnation. 4. That there is a necessity for a daily sacrifice of Christ, because the sins of mankind are committed daily. Writings of Paschasius Radbert.

These doctrines, and especially that contained in the first proposition, called forth against Radbert a number of opponents. Two of these, Johannes Scotus and Bertramn, were selected by Charles the Bald to draw up a clear exposition of the doctrine which Radbert had so grossly corrupted. The treatise of Scotus has perished, that of Bertramn has been preserved, and has been the armoury whence the reformers have since taken many of the weapons they employ in their warfare against the errors of the Church of Rome.[2] Scotus and Bertramn.

In this controversy the disputants fell into the two errors commonly incident to polemics; they expressed their own opinions without sufficient perspicuity; and they charged on each other the most absurd and dangerous tenets. Those who embraced the system of Radbert alleged that the doctrine of their opponents implied, that the body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was ejected with the other excrements. This consequence was readily retorted by the Stercoranistæ, who charged their adversaries

[1] The life and writings of this polemic are treated at large by Mabillon, Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.

[2] "Bertramn first pulled me by the ear."—Bishop Ridley. An English translation of the treatise of Bertramn was published at Dublin, A.D. 1752, with a preliminary dissertation.

A.D. 853. with being Theophagites. The latter accusation, in contradiction to Christian charity, has survived the darker ages, and has not expired even with the eighteenth century.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING PREDESTINATION.

Origin. The last-mentioned controversy has divided only the reformed Churches from the Church of Rome; but that on predestination has divided the reformed Churches among themselves. Its origin is universally attributed to Gotteschalc, who had entered against his consent into the monastery of Fulda, whence he removed into that of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons. He was a devoted admirer of St. Augustine, and built his system on the authority of that celebrated Father. On his return from a journey to Rome, he discoursed largely on the doctrine of predestination in the presence of Nothingus, bishop of Verona; and maintained that God, from all eternity, had predestinated some to everlasting life and some to everlasting misery. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, no sooner heard of these discourses, than he addressed letters to the Bishop of Verona charging Gotteschalc with heresy The accused monk repaired to Mentz for the purpose of justifying himself, but the archbishop summoned a Synod, and formally condemned the predestinarian doctrine. Rabanus pursued his hostility against Gotteschalc still further; he sent the condemned heretic to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, the city in which he had formerly been admitted to the order of priesthood. Hincmar assembled a synod at Quiercy, where Gotteschalc was a second time condemned, and experienced the most ignominious treatment. Having been degraded from the priesthood, he was flagellated with the greatest cruelty, until his constancy was subdued, and he was compelled to burn with his own hands the apology for his opinions which he had presented to the Synod at Mentz. After these barbarous proceedings he was imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvilliers, where he soon ended his days, maintaining with his dying breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

First Synod at Quiercy, A.D. 849.

The calamities of Gotteschalc not only excited commiseration, but procured converts. Bertramn, the opponent of Radbert, was among his warmest advocates. Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Remi, archbishop of Lyons, and others in inferior stations, pleaded in behalf of the unfortunate monk, and defended his opinions. On the other side were arrayed Johannes Scotus, the coadjutor of Bertramn in the controversy concerning the Corporeal Presence, Hincmar, who not only exerted his authority, but wielded his pen against Gotteschalc, and many others who contended that he had not received a punishment exceeding his offences. The spirit of discord was raised to so great a degree, that Charles the Bald summoned a second Synod at Quiercy, in which the decrees of the

Second Synod at Quiercy, A.D. 853.

former Council were confirmed. But a counter Synod assembled two years afterwards at Valence in Dauphiny, composed of the clergy of the provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, with the archbishop of Lyons at their head; and in that assembly the doctrines of Gotteschalc were cleared from heretical imputation. A third Synod, composed of the same clergy, met at Langres; and a fourth at Tousi, in which fourteen bishops supported the doctrine of Gotteschalc and Augustine. A.D. 856.

The tenets of Gotteschalc, according to his own public confession, were these: that there is a twofold predestination, the one of election to everlasting life, the other of reprobation to eternal death; that God did not will the salvation of all mankind, but of the elect only; that Christ did not suffer death for the whole human race, but for that part of it only which God has predestinated to eternal salvation; that free will with respect to good is destroyed in man by the fall of Adam, and that hence arises the necessity of assisting and preventing grace, which is not bestowed according to merit.[1] Tenets of Gotteschalc.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE WORDS TRINA DEITAS.

This was a minor dispute between Gotteschalc and Hincmar. The latter had prohibited the use of an ancient hymn in which the words Trina Deitas occurred, from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the people notions inconsistent with the unity of the Supreme Being. But the Benedictine monks refused to obey this mandate, and Bertramn, who belonged to their order, wrote a book in defence of the orthodoxy of the expressions. Gotteschalc, at that time in prison, entered warmly into the dispute, and in an elaborate dissertation supported the cause of the Benedictines. Thus Hincmar had an occasion of charging his adversary with tritheism; but the dispute was of short duration. The exceptionable passage continued to be used in the churches notwithstanding the authority of Hincmar. Trina Deitas.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE MANNER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

As the two disputants Hincmar and Gotteschalc had a subordinate subject of contention, so also had Radbert and Bertramn. Radbert composed a treatise to prove that Christ was born without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber in which his disciples were assembled after his resurrection when the doors were shut. Bertramn, on the contrary, maintained that Christ was born in the same manner as other men, and as other women bring forth their offspring. Manner of Christ's birth.

[1] The principal writers on this controversy are Sismond, Hist. Prædest. Usserii, Hist. Godeschalci. Fabricii, Biblioth. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. iii. Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sæc. ix. sec. 10. See also, Hist. Lit. de France, tom. v. p. 352.

CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND LATINS, OR THE PHOTIAN CONTROVERSY.

A.D. 878.

Causes of division between the Greek and Latin Churches.

The causes of division between the Greek and Latin Churches were numerous, and a spirit of animosity had long prevailed between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The Churches were divided concerning image-worship, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and concerning their rituals and discipline. The contention of their respective heads concerned power and jurisdiction; and their fury became more than ever vehement in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, when the Bishops of Constantinople, supported by the Emperor, withdrew several provinces from the authority of the Roman pontiffs. In the ninth century their animosity arose to an excessive height in consequence of the deposition of the patriarch Ignatius, and the promotion of the learned Photius in his room. This was the act of the Emperor Michael, and its cause was the treason of Ignatius. The proceeding was justified by a Council assembled at Constantinople, but it was far from being attended with general approbation. Ignatius appealed from that Council to the Roman pontiff, Nicholas I., and a Council, which assembled in consequence at Rome, excommunicated Photius and all his abettors. Photius was so little terrified by this excommunication, that he assembled another Council in the capital of the Eastern Empire, A.D. 862, and retorted the anathema on Nicholas.[1]

Promotion of Photius.

Council at Rome excommunicates Photius.

Photius deposed by the Emperor Basilius.

The controversy was attended with civil tumults, until Basil the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne by the murder of his predecessor, recalled Ignatius from exile, and confined Photius in a monastery. A Council at Constantinople, A.D. 869, with its accustomed versatility, solemnly approved this act of authority. In that assembly, the legates of the Roman pontiff, Adrian II., possessed great influence, and it is acknowledged by the Latin Church as the eighth Œcumenical Council.

Eighth Œcumenical Council.

But however favoured by the Roman pontiff, Ignatius refused to cede the provinces which had been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the see of Rome; and his death paved the way for the re-investment of Photius with the patriarchal dignity, A.D. 878. His restoration was agreed to by the Roman pontiff, John VIII., on condition that he would yield the province of Bulgaria to the Romish see. To this demand, Photius gave an explicit consent, and the Emperor a seeming acquiescence. But the promise was

Photius reinstated.

[1] This learned patriarch drew up a charge of heresy against the Church of Rome in general. It consisted of the following articles: 1. That the Church of Rome kept the Sabbath as a fast; 2. That it permitted milk and cheese in the first week of Lent; 3. That it prohibited the marriage of priests; 4. That it confined the rite of anointing persons baptized to the bishops alone; 5. That it had corrupted the Nicene Creed by the addition of the words Filioque. This charge was answered by Bertramn, by the advice of Nicholas I.

so far from being fulfilled, that the restored patriarch, by the advice of the Emperor, refused to transfer Bulgaria to the Roman pontiff. A.D. 886.

Irritated at this disappointment, John VIII. sent his legate Marinus to Constantinople, announcing that he had changed his opinion concerning Photius, whom he regarded as a heretic, and justly excommunicated; but the minister was imprisoned by order of the Emperor. The legate soon obtained his liberation, and being raised to the pontificate on the death of John did not forget his former injurious treatment; and a new sentence of excommunication, expressed in terms of the greatest severity, was levelled against Photius. Photius excommunicated by John VIII.

The haughty patriarch treated the sentence with contempt, and continued in the possession of uncontrolled authority during the reign of Basil. But Leo, surnamed the philosopher, the successor of Basil, and the pupil of Photius, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, A.D. 886. There he ended his days; yet although his removal might have terminated the schisms between the Greeks and Latins, they were not even partially closed. The Roman pontiffs demanded that all the bishops and priests who had been ordained by the obnoxious patriarch, should be degraded; but the Greeks refused compliance with such an unreasonable proposition. Hence the struggle was continued, and new causes of dissension were added to those which already subsisted, till a final separation took place between the Eastern and Western churches.[1] Photius deposed a second time.

The profound ignorance which prevailed in the tenth century prevented the rise of heterodox doctrine; but ancient heresies continued in their former vigour. That branch of the Manichæans, denominated Paulicians, whose origin has been already related, became formidable in Thrace, under the reign of John Zimisces. A great part of that sect had been banished thither by the order of Copronymus so early as the seventh century, and they carried their turbulence with them. The contests concerning predestination and the eucharist, which disturbed the Church in the preceding century, were reduced to silence. The followers of Pelagius lived in peace with those of Augustine; so also did those who believed in the corporeal presence with those who denied it. But the calm of the Church was that of stupidity, not of toleration. The controversies between the Greek and Latin Churches, though not entirely suppressed, were also carried on with less impetuosity than before. The Greeks had divisions among themselves, which diverted their attention from the causes of dissension with the Western Church. No new sects arise in the tenth century. The state of the elder sect.

[1] This controversy is related at large by Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. iv. c. 38. See also Gianone, Hist. Neap. tom. i.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

A.D. 1000 THE tenth century, as we have before said, has been styled by ecclesiastical writers, *Sæculum Obscurum;* the eleventh has been distinguished by the title of *Sæculum Hildebrandinum.* It is useless to dispute whether a more appropriate title might not have been found.

Eleventh century, called *Sæculum Hildebrandinum.*

Propagation of Christianity chiefly by the Nestorians.

With the exception of those religious wars called the Crusades,[1] little was done for the propagation of Christianity among barbarous nations, and that little was effected chiefly by the Nestorians. In Tartary, taken in its most comprehensive sense, great numbers were gained to the profession of Christianity. Metropolitan bishops, with suffragans under their jurisdiction, were established in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangul; and these were governed by the Nestorian patriarch who resided in Chaldæa.[2]

Persecution of Christianity by the Saracens and Turks.

On the other hand, Christianity suffered from the usurpations of the Saracens and Turks. Although they had many wars with each other, yet they united in opposing the Christian religion; the Turks by cruelty towards their Christian subjects, and the Saracens by seducing them to the profession of Mohammedanism.

State of learning.

Connected with the external state of Christianity, is the state of learning; and the declining condition of the Eastern Empire had a fatal influence on science and literature. In the West the arts and sciences seemed to revive. Schools flourished in Italy during this century, and the Italian literati transplanted themselves into France, particularly into Normandy. The Normans also in their turn were instrumental in restoring literature in England. William the Conqueror engaged a considerable number of learned men from Normandy to settle in his new dominions.

Increase of schools.

The increase of schools throughout Europe in this century was great, and they were supplied with able and eminent masters. In the preceding century there were no schools, but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, and there were no other masters than the Benedictine monks. But in the early part of the eleventh century, in many cities of France and Italy, there were laics of erudition who devoted themselves to the education of

[1] History of the Ottoman Empire, by Col. Procter, &c.
[2] Renaudot, Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine.

youth. They comprehended in the course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the monastic teachers, and they taught in a better method. They had studied in the schools of the Saracens, and had improved their own stock of learning, by a diligent perusal of the works of the Arabian authors.[1] A.D. 1040

In the greater part of the schools erected in this century, the course of instruction comprehended those which were commonly styled the seven Liberal Arts. They consisted of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The first three branches were generally known by the name of *Trivium;* by which the student was conducted to the last four, or the *Quadrivium*, this being the summit of literary fame. But the learning of the Latins was principally confined to the study of dialectics or logic,[2] and the *Quadrivium* was seldom approached. The books of Aristotle had been brought by the Saracens into Spain, and a host of learned men arose, whose labours were exclusively devoted to the illustration of the works of the Stagyrite. *Trivium* and *Quadrivium.*

The revival of the study of logic was followed by a schism between its professors, and they were divided into the two sects of Nominalists and Realists. The two parties agreed that the object of logic was the consideration of Universals in their various relations, but the grand question on which the logicians differed was, Whether these Universals were real things or mere denominations? One party maintained, that Universals were Realities, and adduced in behalf of their opinion the authority of Plato; the other party affirmed that Universals were mere words, in which they were supported by Aristotle. The chief of the sect of Nominalists was John, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the Sophist, but whose history is involved in obscurity; the corypheus of the Realists is not so easily settled, though the most considerable of the sect is Rosellinus.[3] Nominalists and Realists.

Whatever praise may be awarded to the patrons of literature in this century, little of the merit belongs to the sacred order. The degeneracy of the clergy had now reached its nadir, particularly in the Latin Church, and the cause of this decay in piety and learning may be found in the augmented power of the Roman pontiffs. The five popes who governed the Western Church, at the commencement of the eleventh century, were not chargeable with those crimes which rendered their successors infamous; but the enormities of Benedict IX., the scandal of the sale of the papacy, and the disgraceful spectacle of three simultaneous claimants of the pontificate, are among the foulest pages of the history Degeneracy of the clergy

[1] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. p. 985.

[2] Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was commonly called the Dialectician; Anselm, his successor, was equally versed in the same science. The dialogue of Anselm, De Grammatico, is to be found in his works edited by Gerberon, tom. i. p. 143.

[3] See chap. xvi.

A.D. 1058 of the Romish see. After the death of Clement II., Benedict IX., though twice degraded, forced his way to the papal chair a third time, but in the ensuing year was compelled to resign his power to Damasus II., the nominee of the Emperor. Damasus lived but three and twenty days, and the Emperor appointed Bruno, bishop of Toul. This pontiff was known by the name of Leo IX., and his virtues have obtained for him a place in the saintly calendar.

Popes Benedict IX., Sylvester III., Gregory VI.

Leo IX., A.D. 1048. Nicholas II., A.D. 1058.

The two pontiffs who succeeded Leo may be passed over in silence, but Nicholas II. fills a considerable place in the history of the popes. As soon as he had obtained undisputed possession of his dignity he assembled a Council at Rome, which completely altered the ancient mode of electing the bishops of that city. Before that time, the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the cardinals,[1] but by the whole of the Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the people. To prevent the tumults incidental to so popular a mode of election, the Council enacted that the cardinals, whether presbyters or bishops, should elect a pope whenever a vacancy occurred, though without any prejudice to the imperial rights. The consent also of the clergy, burgesses, and people was required to complete the election. But as the principal influence in the election devolved on the cardinals, it led the way to their sole power in this matter, and in the succeeding century the right of electing to the apostolic see was altogether transferred to their college.

Alters the manner of electing the popes.

Although Nicholas had expressly acknowledged and confirmed, in the edict of the Roman Council, the right of the Emperor to confirm the election of the popes, yet on his death, the Romans, by the instigation of Hildebrand, then archdeacon of Rome, presumptuously violated this privilege. They elected Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who assumed the title of Alexander II., without consulting the Emperor. Agnes, the mother of the young Emperor Henry IV., no sooner received an account of this transaction, than she assembled a Council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, as yet a minor, she elevated Cadolaus,

[1] Cardinals, according to their original institution, were priests or deacons, placed in cathedrals or large churches, in opposition to those who were attached to small churches or chapels. In former times, the title was by no means confined to the priests and deacons of the Church of Rome, nor to the secular clergy; but it was in use in all the Latin Churches, and assumed by abbots, canons, and monks. The edict of Nicholas II. divides into two classes the cardinals who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of a pope, viz. Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Clerks. By the former are meant seven bishops who belonged to the city and territory of Rome; the Cardinal Clerks comprehended the priests and deacons. The name, origin, and rights of cardinals are enumerated by Fabricius, Biblio. Antiqua. p. 456. But there are two Dissertations which deserve particular notice: one is by Muratori, entitled De Origine Cardinalatûs, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 156. The other is that of Fred. Spanheim, entitled Cardinalitiæ Dignitatis atoüe Auctoritatis xi. Sæculo natalis, Hist. Christ. sæc. xi. sec. 6.

bishop of Parma, to the pontificate, by the title of Honorius II. A.D. 1073
But in this contest the imperial candidate was defeated, and although he never would resign his pretensions, Alexander II. was generally acknowledged as the lawful pope.

Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., A.D. 1073.

The contest was carried on with a far greater degree of violence, when Hildebrand himself succeeded Alexander. This extraordinary man was a Tuscan, of humble parentage,[1] and educated in the monastery of Clugni. By various gradations he rose to the dignity of chancellor of the Church of Rome, and in that station governed the Roman pontiffs from the time of Leo IX. On the same day in which Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people; this unanimity was obtained by bribing such as could be corrupted, and by poisoning such as could not be bribed. The election was confirmed by Henry IV., king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent announcing the choice of the clergy and the people.

Aims at universal empire.

Too soon did the Emperor perceive that, by consenting to the election of Hildebrand, who assumed the title of Gregory VII., he had raised up a powerful rival not only to his own authority, but to the independence of all temporal sovereignty. Seated in the apostolic chair, Gregory aimed at universal empire, and the project which his ambition formed, his dexterity fitted him to execute.

Denounces excommunication against lay investitures.

He first denounced the terrors of excommunication against lay investitures, though he had received the confirmation of his own election from the Emperor. He laboured to dissolve the jurisdiction of temporal princes over the clergy, and to exclude them from all share in the management or distribution of ecclesiastical revenues. But not satisfied with exempting the clergy from secular authority, he attempted to render all secular princes tributary to the see of Rome. Whatever temporal privileges were enjoyed by the popes, were derived from the princes of France, but Gregory pretended that their kingdom was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates solemnly to demand the payment of an annual tribute. To William the Conqueror he addressed an epistle, demanding the arrears of Peter-pence,[2] and homage for his new dominions as a fief of the Apostolic see. In both these cases he was repulsed; in France the tribute was neither paid nor even acknowledged; in England, the payment was rendered as an ancient custom, but the homage was nobly refused.[3]

His conduct towards France.

England.

[1] Fabri ferrarii filius. Pusio adhuc in officinâ patris, literas nesciens, casu formavit ex ligni segmentis hoc dictum Davidis; Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare. Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 151.

[2] Peter-pence were so called, because they were collected on the festival of St. Peter in Vinculis. They formed a tax of a penny on each house, first granted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, for the support of an English college at Rome.

[3] The letter of William is to be found in Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. Appendix.

A.D. 1076 Among the less powerful states of Europe the claims of Gregory were received with acquiescence. He pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne. He maintained that the kingdom of Spain was the property of the Apostolic see from the earliest period of Christianity, although the records were lost.[1] He wrote circular letters to the most powerful of the Germanic princes, to Grusa, king of Hungary, and to Sweyn, king of Denmark, recommending them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of the successor of St. Peter. The son of Demetrius, king of the Russians, in obedience to an epistle of Gregory, set out for Rome, in order to obtain as a gift from St. Peter, his hereditary dominions. Suinimer, duke of Dalmatia, was raised to the kingly rank by the legate of Gregory, on condition that he paid an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold, at every festival of Easter. Basil II. having assassinated the bishop of Cracow, was excommunicated by Gregory, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and an edict was issued, prohibiting the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without the consent of the Roman pontiff.[2]

Saxony.

Spain.

Hungary and Denmark.

Russia.

Dalmatia and

Poland.

The zeal and activity of Gregory were employed with great success in enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, and in extending the papal dominions. The splendid inheritance which the Church derived from the Countess Matilda was warmly contested at this time, and was not preserved entire, but a considerable portion still remains to the ecclesiastical state. A similar power to that which Gregory arrogated over temporal kingdoms and their sovereigns, was assumed by him over the spiritual governors of the Church. In order to correct the evil of simony, which had become one of the reigning vices among the European clergy, the pontiff not only excommunicated those who were guilty of it, but pronounced an anathema against any one who received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as well as against those by whom the investiture was granted. The investiture of bishops and abbots, so far as it regarded an oath of allegiance, and the performance of homage to temporal princes, was of ancient date, and was a mode of receiving property similar to that practised by the lay feudatories; but the custom of investing bishops and abbots with the ring and crosier, the ensigns of the sacred

Assumes a power over bishops.

Difference between the investiture of bishops and of nobles and knights.

[1] Ep. lib. x. 7. Regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse, et soli Apostolicæ sedi ex æquo pertinere.

[2] Numerous are the historians, civil and ecclesiastical, who have written on the life and exploits of Gregory. Of the ecclesiastical historians it is enough to mention Sagittarius, Introduc. ad. Hist. Eccl. tom. i. who has furnished a catalogue of these writers. Spanheim has a chapter entitled Hildebrandi Historia et Dogmata, Hist. Christ. sæc. xi. ch. v.

function, differed from ordinary feudal habits, and was not supported by any long prescription.[1] A.D. 1090

By the law which Gregory enacted against investitures,[2] he raised a formidable opponent against himself in the Emperor Henry IV. Their struggle and its consequences occasioned much distress in the Church and in the State, dividing both into factions, each furious for the success of its own schemes, and anxious for its own aggrandizement.

Increase of Monachism.

Commensurate with the increase of the papal power in this century, was the increase of Monachism, for the Western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontiffs. Gregory, intent on reducing the privileges and independence of the bishops, exhorted the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from episcopal jurisdiction, and to place both under the dominion of St. Peter. The policy of Gregory was adopted by Urban II., and a considerable portion of the monasteries received immunities both from the temporal authority of their sovereigns, and from the spiritual jurisdiction of their bishops.

Monks of Clugni.

Of all the religious orders the monks of Clugni made the most rapid advances to opulence and dominion. Towards the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, and no sooner were they established, than they extended their authority on all sides, reducing under their jurisdiction all the monasteries which had adopted their discipline. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Clugni, was not only in high credit at the court of Rome, but was patronized by several princes, and he availed himself of his reputation and influence to extend the privileges of his order. This celebrated monastic was the acknowledged head of thirty-two of the principal religious houses in France, and many other societies, which although they declined to form a union with the Clugniac order, regarded the arch-abbot of Clugni, as he styled himself, as their spiritual chief.

The example of the Clugniac monks excited several pious men to erect similar fraternities, and the consequence was, that the Benedictine Order, which had been hitherto an universal and united body, was divided. To division in discipline succeeded hatred and hostility.

Branches of the Benedictine Order.

The principal of these ramifications from the Benedictine Order were, 1. The congregation of the Camaldolites founded by Romuald, an Italian fanatic, whose followers were subdivided into two classes, the Cenobites and the Eremites. 2. The followers of Gualbert, a native of Florence, settled at Valhambrosa, in the Apennines. 3. The Cistertians, founded by Robert, abbot of Molema, in Burgundy.

Besides those convents which were founded on the principles of

[1] The history of Investitures has been written with great learning by Cardinal Norris.
[2] See *infra*, 219.

A.D. 1100 the Benedictine Order, several other monastic societies were formed, distinguished by a peculiar code of discipline. The most remarkable of these were, 1. The Order of Grandmontains, founded by Stephen de Muret. 2. The Order of Carthusians, whose founder was Bruno, a native of Cologne, and a canon of the cathedral of Rheims in France. 3. The Order of St. Anthony of Vienne in Dauphine, instituted for the relief and support of such as were afflicted with grievous disorders, and particularly with the malady called St. Anthony's fire.

A more copious account of these societies will be given with greater propriety and fulness in a separate dissertation on the Rise and Progress of Monachism. What has been now said is intended to show how closely connected with the rise and progress of the papal power these orders were, and how much they contributed to advance and confirm it.[1]

General remarks.

The twelfth century may be considered as forming one of those cardinal eras from which we date the commencement of a new aspect or phasis in the revolutions of human affairs. The darkness which, since the irruption of the barbarians into the Western Empire, had, during four or five centuries, been continually thickening over the nations of Europe, seems at length to have passed its culminating point; and henceforth we may easily observe the gradual and unintermitted progress of returning day. The first dawn indeed of this revival was perceptible in the immediately preceding century. During the earlier part of that period a servile mediocrity of mind was the great stigma of the age. In the latter portion men became less dependent in soul, and in the twelfth century intellectual activity and enterprising thought began to develop and manifest themselves. Letters were as yet cultivated by few beyond the pale of the Church; but a visible improvement had already taken place in the schools of France and Italy. These were no longer confined to the walls of monasteries; seminaries of general learning were opened in many of the principal cities of those countries; and science, such as it was, was now taught in a better method and on more enlarged principles by professors both lay and ecclesiastical; several of whom had accomplished their course of study in Spain under the Arabian masters, at that time the chief depositories of profane or philosophical learning.[2] Latin translations had been early made of the principal treatises of the 'Saracenic doctors.' It was, in fact, by this circuitous route that the Western world again obtained access to the mathematical, medical, and astronomical writings of the ancient Greeks and to those of Aristotle himself; the second publication, so to call it, of whose works may be said in a short time

Improved state and means of learning.

[1] See chap. xviii.

[2] This was the case with the professors whose precepts gave such celebrity to the medical school of Salerno. See Muratori, Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. p. 395.

to have produced an entire revolution in the studies of the age; and during several successive centuries continued to exercise a most remarkable influence upon all the researches and operations of the human intellect. A.D. 1135

New system adopted in the divinity schools.

In no department of general study was the effect of this change more immediately or more powerfully felt than in the schools of divinity. At the beginning of the last century the public lecturers upon that science had, for the most part, contented themselves with retailing to their hearers the explanations and illustrations of the holy text which were to be found in the writings of the fathers; without attempting to give either order or consistency to their glosses upon Scripture; much less to work them up into anything like a regular body of divinity. But before the end of the same century this method had given place to one of a much more ambitious character;[1] the mysteries of religion were now not stated merely as articles of faith, but it was endeavoured to examine and explain them upon the principles of the dialectic science which had become so fashionable; the doctrines of religion were expounded with all the formalities of scientific distribution; and the foundation was thus laid for that scheme of scholastic divinity which, in its various ramifications, occupies so large a portion of the literary and theological history of the succeeding centuries.

Learning encouraged by the Church.

A fresh impulse was in this way given to the human mind, which began to devote itself to the acquisition of knowledge with a zeal and avidity proportioned to its long privation of that its natural aliment. The Church, and more particularly the papal court, was foremost in encouraging and rewarding this new ardour of study; and as yet no apprehensions were entertained that either the doctrines of the one or the pretensions of the other were likely eventually to suffer from that vivacity of research which they were thus promoting. Of the colleges or learned societies which were now established for the dissemination of knowledge in the principal cities of Europe, that of Paris had become particularly conspicuous, as well by the number and ability of its various professors as by the great concourse of students who crowded thither from all parts to imbibe science under their tuition.[2] Of the other schools of France, Angers became famous for the study of law, and Montpellier for that of medicine.[3] In Italy the celebrated academy of Salerno was wholly devoted to this last profession, while Bologna took the lead almost of every other European seminary in the profession of jurisprudence;[4] a study the revival of which is generally ascribed to the discovery of the Pandects of Justinian, when Amalfi was captured by the Pisans in 1135. Bologna also became equally distinguished for its teachers of

Universities of Paris and Bologna.

Study of civil and canon law revived.

[1] See De Boulay, Historia Academ. Paris, tom. i.
[2] Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. ix. p. 65.
[3] De Boulay, tom. ii. p. 215.
[4] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. p. 890.

A.D. 1140 canon law. To that branch of academical learning, likewise, something of method and system had been given by the famous 'Epitome,' or 'Decretals,' which Gratian, a monk of Bologna, had drawn up about the year 1130[1] from the pontifical archives; and which continued, down to a very recent period, to be the standard text-book of the study in most of the universities of catholic Europe. The work, indeed, became early a great favourite with the Roman pontiffs, whose pretensions it supported throughout and to their utmost extent, and often, as might be expected, by a considerable falsification of documentary evidence.

We have seen in what manner the spirit of papal ambition, after the more gradual encroachments of preceding pontiffs, had almost attained the fullest accomplishment of its purposes, from the bold, active, and undaunted genius of Gregory VII.; insomuch as, at the commencement of the present century, almost every ecclesiastical affair, down to the most minute, was brought more or less immediately within the jurisdiction of the papal court. Hence it is that the civil and external History of the Church at this period is almost entirely included in that of the see of Rome.

Account of the papal succession.

On this account, therefore, and also as affording the best and most obvious principle of perspicuity and order in our summaries, we shall make the succession of pontiffs the groundwork of that general view of ecclesiastical events which it is our business to exhibit.

Urban II. died in July 1099. He was succeeded by the Cardinal Rainer, by birth a Tuscan, a man of virtue and ability, whose talents and character had early attracted the favour of Pope Gregory VII.

Paschal II.

He had scarcely assumed the tiara, under the name of Paschal II., A.D. 1099, when Rome and all Christendom were gladdened by the tidings of the reduction of Jerusalem, which was taken by assault, on the 15th of July, by the crusading armies under Godfrey of Bouillon. Shortly after the commencement of his pontificate, the Anti-pope Guibert, who had been chosen by the imperial party, and supported by their intrigues and power, since the time of Gregory VII., died in Calabria; and, although three successive candidates were within a twelvemonth brought forward by the imperialists to supply his place, their pretensions were almost immediately suppressed by the vigorous measures adopted by Paschal, and they themselves were driven into obscurity.

Account of the nature and origin of the dispute respecting investitures.

As the dispute concerning the right of investiture was that which chiefly contributed to disturb the peace of the Church, and indeed of Christendom, during the present century, it may be right before we proceed farther to give a somewhat fuller account of the nature

[1] Under the title of Concordia Discordantium Canonum, a name which sufficiently indicates the nature and object of the book. Gratian is said to have employed no less than twenty-four years in its composition.

and origin of it[1] than we have before had an opportunity of doing. A.D. 1140
The controversy itself naturally resulted from the political circumstances in which at this period the clergy found themselves placed. From the earliest period of her establishment, the Church had jealously excluded the civil power from any right of direct interference in the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities; and so long as these involved only a jurisdiction, the State was not indisposed to acquiesce, in appearance at least, in the exclusion. But when, by the successive and constantly accumulating endowments of princes and nobles, the higher orders of the clergy became possessed of fiefs and territories involving large wealth and considerable secular influence, the feudal superior began to claim an interest in the disposal of these benefices, grounded upon the equally unquestioned jurisdiction which belonged to him, over all the territories subjected to his authority; and thus it was that a field was opened for perpetually recurring conflicts between the ecclesiastical and civil powers of the community.

Ceremony of investiture.

The term Investiture itself, implies the grant, or more strictly, perhaps, the mode of granting, of any state, fief, dignity, or privilege by the king to his subjects, or a chief to his vassal, on the necessary conditions of fealty, homage, and feudal service; a ceremony which was usually performed by bestowing upon the person so favoured some material mark, as the token of his investiture. This, in the case of a territory or estate, was often a piece of turf, or bough of a tree; while in the instance of a place of trust or dignity, some characteristic part of the dress, or ensign of the office, was chosen as the distinguishing symbol. When the bishops and abbots of the Church became possessors of territorial revenues and jurisdictions, they were of course, as such, subjected to the same rules which applied to all lay holders of rights or property; and were not considered as legally possessing those properties, until they had formally done homage for the same before their superior, and received from his hand, in return for their oath of allegiance, the appropriate symbol of the legal transfer of them. What was the ceremony at first used in the investiture of ecclesiastical dignitaries seems not altogether ascertained. Probably it varied in different places, or according to the fashion of the time, or the fancy of individuals. We read that the Emperor Henry II. bestowed the bishopric of Paderborn upon Meinvercus, by the token of presenting him with a glove; and there is reason to believe that in the first instance, neither the ring, nor the crosier, nor any other emblem peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual privileges of the bishop, was employed, to signify the execution of a transfer, which professedly referred only to the conveyance of secular jurisdiction.

[1] Much valuable information on this subject is to be derived from Cardinal Norris's History of Investitures.

A.D. 1140 Abuse of the power of investiture by laymen.

The right of interference thus exercised by laymen in the promotion to ecclesiastical dignities was, therefore, one only of sanction, and not of direct nomination; yet, as might have been foreseen, it soon tended practically to resolve itself into the same thing, and as such, became early, and naturally, a subject of jealousy and opposition on the part of the Church. These feelings waxed stronger when the laity, in the exercise of their privilege, prostituted it, as they soon did, to purposes of the most flagrant and shameless simony. With the view of eluding this abuse,[1] the clergy in many instances upon the death of a bishop or abbot, after electing a successor, proceeded immediately to his consecration; of which ceremony the delivery of the ring and crosier, as the ensigns of episcopal function, was an essential part. By this proceeding, the interference of the feudal superior was at once excluded, since, after consecration, the election became irrevocable. The secular power, however, soon took an effectual method to obviate this stratagem; by ordaining, that immediately upon the death of a bishop, those ensigns of his function should be taken possession of by the authorities of the episcopal city, and forthwith transmitted to the keeping of the prince; who thus retained in his hands an effective control over the election of the clergy. It was by the delivery of the ring and crosier to the favoured candidate, that the sovereign, in effect, designated the new bishop, who proceeded to place these badges of his dignity in the hands of his metropolitan, from whom he again received them, in the final ceremony of consecration.

Investiture by ring and crosier.

We see, then, that the whole controversy upon this subject was the natural consequence of the compound character which the higher clergy at this time began to assume: as being not merely the spiritual pastors, but, in many instances, the territorial lords of their people; and of the difficulty in reconciling the claims which either party might justly prefer, to interpose in the elections in question. That the prince should claim a right of interfering in the disposal of dignities which, in fact, conveyed to the persons holding them large temporal wealth and power, was natural and indeed necessary. At the same time it was impossible but that the clergy should be in the highest degree jealous of the exercise of the prerogative which was thence usurped by laymen to confer absolutely and arbitrarily all the spiritual offices of the Church; especially when they saw the privilege abused, as it was sure to be, in the hands of the lay superior, to purposes of the most sordid and profligate selfishness. But although the Church, and particularly the Roman pontiffs, had long entertained these feelings, it was Gregory VII. who first gave vent to them, by openly attack-

Measures taken by Gregory VII.

[1] A very clear and satisfactory statement of the facts of this part of the subject is to be found in Mosheim, (Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 290, Maclaine's translation,) together with ample references to original authorities.

ing the practice itself. This he did in the bold and uncompromising spirit which usually distinguished his proceedings. He at once, and absolutely, prohibited all investitures of benefices whatever, and even it is said forbade bishops to take oaths or homage of fealty to their princes; claiming to himself as the universal bishop and head of the Church their undivided faith and allegiance.[1] Some writers, however, deny that Hildebrand did in fact carry his audacity to this extent; but it is certain that his successor (the next but one) Urban II. did not hesitate to do so; for we find the latter, in the Council of Clermont, expressly including in his anathema not merely the act of investiture by a layman, but even the oath of fealty on the part of the bishop to the prince; an extremity of pretension so obviously unreasonable in itself, that we cannot but suspect it to have been put forward by the pontiffs not so much in the hope of actually obtaining that extent of immunity, as with the purpose of preferring a claim, the subsequent concession of which might the better enable them to compromise for the abandonment, on the part of the secular power, of its interference in respect to investitures.

A.D. 1140

Investiture by ring and crosier forbidden by the Council of Clermont.

A more rational and better founded objection on the part of the clergy, was that which referred to the *mode* of investiture exercised by princes, by personally conferring the crosier and the ring, which were peculiarly and exclusively symbolical of the spiritual authority exercised by the bishops. It does not appear that this was made matter of especial controversy till the time of Paschal II., who, in the conference which he held with the Emperor's deputies at Chalons in 1107, more particularly insisted upon the abandonment of this ceremony, as implying pretensions on the part of the State altogether inadmissible.

This subject was the occasion of numerous controversies and wars between the Popes Gregory, Urban, Paschal, and Calixtus, and the Emperors Henry IV. and V. We can merely allude to some of the principal results of those transactions. By the treaty which Paschal, under the compulsion of personal captivity, was compelled to sign with Henry V. at Rome in April A.D. 1111, the humbled pontiff consented to an entire abandonment of his opposition to the right, as claimed by the Emperor, of investiture by the ring and crosier.[2] This treaty, however, extorted by violence,

Treaty between Paschal II. and the Emperor Henry V.

[1] See Dupin, Ecclesiastical History, vol. x. p. 32. See also Mosheim, Ec. Hist. vol. ii.

[2] The following are the terms of the treaty:—After certain preliminary expressions of attachment and gratitude on the part of the pontiff towards the Emperor, the former goes on to say, "We, therefore, grant to you that prerogative which our predecessors have granted to yours, namely, that you invest the bishops and abbots of your kingdom with the staff and ring, provided they shall have been elected freely and without simony, and that they be consecrated, after you shall have invested them, by the bishops whose province it is. If any shall be chosen by the people and the clergy without your approbation, let him not be consecrated till you have invested him." See Bower, Hist. of the Popes, vol. v. p. 391.

A.D. 1140 was immediately and loudly exclaimed against by the clergy throughout Italy and Germany; and in the following year, was solemnly annulled in a Council held in the church of the Lateran.[1] It was not till the year A.D. 1122 that a new and more satisfactory settlement of the dispute was arranged at Worms between the Emperor and the legate of Pope Calixtus II. By this it was agreed, "that for the future all bishops and abbots should be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs, *i.e.*, by the canons and monks of their respective chapters and communities, but that the election should take place in the presence of the Emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose; that any dispute arising among the electors should be decided by the Emperor; that the bishop or abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and do homage to him for the temporalities (*regalia*) which he should receive from his hands; which, however, were to be conferred by the Emperor, not by the *crosier* and *ring*, (the badges of spiritual function) but by the *sceptre*, as the more appropriate symbol of investiture into rights and privileges in themselves merely temporal. This *concordat* was soon after solemnly confirmed by the General Council[2] which was summoned to meet in the Lateran in the year following.

Annulled by the Lateran Council.

Final adjustment of the quarrel.

State of the question as respected France and England.

The subject of investitures had never been the occasion of any contests between the popes and the crown of France. The right was one which had always been enjoyed by the French kings, undisturbed even by a papal remonstrance; though they early desisted from exercising it by the obnoxious emblems of the crosier and ring, contenting themselves with signifying the collation to benefices in their dominions by verbal or written declarations. In England, as we have seen, it formed a principal point of the quarrel between William Rufus and Archbishop Anselm; and such was the violence with which that brutal prince enforced his pretensions, that Anselm found it prudent to leave the kingdom and take refuge in France. On the death of Rufus, Henry I., his successor, anxious to conciliate as far as possible the suffrage of the clergy to his usurpation of a crown which of right belonged to his elder brother Robert, recalled Anselm, and re-instated him in the primacy. The Archbishop returned, but when required, after the example of his predecessors, to do homage for his see, he positively refused;[3] and the king, unwilling at that critical juncture of his affairs to come to an open breach with the refractory primate, consented to refer the matter to Rome. The answer returned by that court may readily be guessed; it fully approved and confirmed the refusal of Anselm. The King, however, still insisted on his rights, but reluctant to push things to extremities, he suggested that Anselm himself should proceed to Rome to take the opinion of the sove-

[1] Concil. tom. x. p. 767. [2] Ibid, tom. x. p. 894. [3] See Eadmer, Hist. lib. iii.

reign pontiff;[1] more, it is believed, as a pretext for getting rid of the presence of the obnoxious Churchman than from any hope of benefit to be derived from the employment of his services in the negotiation. The result of this second appeal was such as must have been foreseen, and neither party being willing to recede from their pretensions, Anselm remained abroad till A.D. 1107;[2] when the inconveniences resulting both to the Church and the crown from the continuance of this state of affairs becoming daily more aggravated, a sort of compromise of the conflicting claims took place; the right of investiture on the part of the crown was abandoned by the prince; and, on the other hand, the bishops were allowed to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges; and by this means, the sovereign retained an indirect control over the elections of the bishops, at the same time that he forebore the invidious exercise of anything like immediate nomination.

A.D. 1164

Final settlement of the dispute with Anselm.

A still more memorable controversy between the English crown and the Church took place in the course of the present century; but the story of Thomas à-Becket forms so remarkable a chapter in the civil history of the age, and as such is so familiar to the general reader,[3] that we shall not in this place dwell upon the details of it. It will be sufficient to our present purpose to state shortly the original grounds and final issue of the quarrel. Henry II., a bold, able, and politic prince, had early felt the embarrassments and dangers resulting to the royal authority from the late encroachments of the Church, and, accordingly, made it one of his first objects to take measures for reducing her pretensions within stricter and more definite limits. With this view he summoned a great Council of his nobles and clergy at Clarendon[4] (January, A.D. 1164), when a body of constitutions, sixteen in number, was unanimously voted, by which the privileges and immunities of the Church were restrained and defined; the clergy themselves were effectually brought under the jurisdiction of the civil courts; and the right of the crown to interfere in the election to any vacant dignity in the hierarchy was clearly and fully provided for. These laws were unanimously agreed to by the Council, the Primate Becket himself, though with the utmost reluctance, having been induced by his brethren to sign them; but when sent to the Pope (Alexander III.) for ratification, they were by him at once and indignantly rejected. Upon this Becket immediately retracted his assent, and imposed on himself the severest penance for the weakness by which he had been betrayed into giving it. Henry, enraged in the highest degree at this conduct on the part

Controversy with Thomas à-Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

[1] See Eadmer, Hist. lib. iii.

[2] Ibid. See also Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 292.

[3] See, in particular, Hume, of the early part of whose work the story of Becket forms one of the most interesting and spirited passages.

[4] See Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. in which these constitutions are given at length.

A.D. 1170 of a subject whom he had loaded with obligations, and whom, in fact, he had elevated to his present station in the confident expectation that he would co-operate in those very measures which he was now so effectually thwarting, availed himself of every means, whether legal or otherwise, of humbling and annoying the primate, insomuch that at length he was driven to take refuge on the continent. There, supported by the King of France and by the pope, who had invested him with a legatine commission over England, he launched a sentence of excommunication against all those ministers, whether laymen or clergy, who had been instrumental in furthering the king's designs; levelling at the same time a similar censure against Henry himself, and which he suspended only to give the monarch time for repentance. Henry, after in vain endeavouring to bend the purpose of his refractory subject, was at length driven, by the difficulties of his situation, to consent to a compromise. In return for the absolution of his ministers from the excommunication under which they lay, Becket and his adherents were, without further submissions on their part, restored to the full possession of their benefices; and it was at the same time agreed that all the questions which had given rise to these disputes should be buried in oblivion. Becket, however, was so little disposed to act in the spirit of this last provision of the treaty, that his first act after his return was to publish a sentence of suspension or excommunication against the Archbishop of York and such prelates or officers as had been concerned in the coronation of the King's son, Prince Henry; a ceremony which had taken place during his absence, but the solemnization of which he claimed as the exclusive privilege of the see of Canterbury. The anger of the King at this new instance of turbulence on the part of Becket, and the manner in which the unguarded expression of his feelings led to the assassination of the Archbishop (December 29, 1170), are well known to every reader. In the accommodation which Henry was subsequently, 1172, so happy to conclude with the court of Rome, he contrived, after making every personal atonement for the crime of which he had been the involuntary occasion, substantially to save all the material prerogatives which had been established by the constitutions of Clarendon, with the exception of the prohibition of appeals to Rome; a privilege, the abuse of which, however, was in a great degree provided against by the clause which gave the King the power of exacting from all such appellants a sufficient security that they should not attempt anything inconsistent with the rights of his crown.[1]

Retirement of Thomas à-Becket to the continent.

His return to England and ultimate assassination.

To return to the succession of the popes in this century. Paschal II. died in the very height of the contest with the Emperor, in January, A.D. 1118; but his death, instead of tending to appease

[1] See Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 379.

the heats which his measures had so materially inflamed, only occa- A.D. 1145
sioned a new schism. Six days after his decease John of Caieta
was elected pope by the cardinals under the name of Gelasius II. Pope Gelasius II.
The election, however, was violently opposed by the imperial party,
under Cenci of Frangipani, who caused Burdinus, archbishop of Antipope Burdinus.
Braga, in Portugal, to be proclaimed pope, taking the name of
Gregory VIII. After some scenes of mutual violence, Gelasius
was compelled to take refuge in France, where he died in the
Abbey of Clugny, on the 29th of January following, designating as
his successor Guy, archbishop of Vienne; a choice which was im-
mediately sanctioned by the cardinals at Rome and at Clugny. The
new pontiff, who assumed the name of Calixtus II., A.D. 1119, was Calixtus II.
the son of William, count of Burgundy, and nearly related to the
Emperor and to the King of France; and the ability, courage, and
moderation which he displayed did equal honour to his exalted
birth and station. He soon made himself master of Rome, drove
out with ignominy his competitor Burdinus, and, as we have seen,
brought the existing contest with the Emperors to a successful
adjustment by the treaty of Worms. He died, after a short reign,
in A.D. 1124. His successor was Lambert, bishop of Ostia, who
took the name of Honorius II., and owed his election chiefly to Honorius II.
the management of the imperial party, but subsequently contrived
to conciliate the suffrages of the cardinals also. Upon his death,
in 1130, Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo, was elected, A.D. 1130,
under the name of Innocent II., by one party of the cardinals, at Innocent II.
the same time that another faction in the college chose Peter of
Leon, who assumed the papal title under the name of Anacletus. Antipope Anacletus.
The latter had the stronger party at Rome, and his competitor
was obliged to fly to France, although his title was acknowledged
by all the princes of Europe except the kings of Sicily and Scot-
land. Upon one occasion the Emperor Lothaire established him
by force in the Vatican; but he was almost immediately driven
out again by Anacletus, who maintained his ground till his death,
which happened in 1138. This, in effect, put an end to the schism,
in spite of a feeble effort on the part of his friends to continue it
by another election; and Innocent returned to Rome, where, in
the next year, he presided at the second Council of Lateran. He
died in A.D. 1143. Celestine II., his successor, filled the see but a Celestine II.
few months. On his decease, the choice of the cardinals fell on
Gerard, who took the name of Lucius II., A.D. 1144, whose short Lucius II.
and stormy pontificate was terminated, in 1145, by his death,
occasioned by the blow of a stone which he received while endea-
vouring to repress a tumult among the people. A party had at
this time been formed in Rome to restore the power of the senate
by reducing, or even wholly taking away, the temporal authority
of the pontiff. It was this faction which gave so much trouble to
Lucius, and which continued, under the famous Arnold of Brescia,

A.D. 1198 to embarrass the government throughout the whole pontificate of his successor, Bernard of Pisa (a scholar of the distinguished saint and doctor of the same name, and who, on his election, A.D. 1145, took the title of Eugenius III.), insomuch that he was repeatedly obliged to flee the city, in order to avoid their violence. He died in A.D. 1153. His successor, Anastasius IV., survived his election little more than a year; and in December, 1154, was succeeded by Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman, the only one of that nation who ever attained the papacy, and who took the name of Adrian IV., A.D. 1154. Many disputes ensued between this pontiff and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. They were, however, cut short by the death of Adrian in A.D. 1159; when, however, a new source of trouble was opened to the Church in the schism that broke out respecting the election of his successor. Alexander III. was supported by the people of Rome and by the Kings of France and England. He was, however, for many years kept out of his see by the violence of the Emperor, who declared for his competitor Victor, and afterwards for Paschal and Calixtus, who, on the decease of Victor, were successively elected by the same party in his room. Alexander, however, eventually triumphed over his competitors and the Emperor himself, and after a reign of unusual length and almost incessant turmoil, died in August, 1181, in full and peaceable possession of his see. The troubles so continually occasioned by disputed elections, of which he had himself so painfully experienced the effects, suggested the decree which at his proposal was sanctioned in A.D. 1179 by the third Lateran Council; and by which the nomination of his successors was vested in the College of Cardinals alone, the suffrages of a majority of two-thirds of the Sacred College being declared necessary for the successful candidate.[1]

Eugenius III.

Anastasius IV.

Adrian IV.

Alexander III.

Antipopes.

Change in the mode of papal elections.

But this regulation, however salutary, was far from being popular with the Roman clergy and people, who were thus excluded from their former share in the election of the supreme pontiff. Lucius III., the successor of Alexander, who was chosen by the suffrages of the College alone, A.D. 1181, was repeatedly driven from the city by the disaffected populace, and died at Verona in A.D. 1185. Of the succeeding pontiffs, Urban, Gregory VIII., A.D. 1187, Clement III., A.D. 1188, and Celestine III., A.D. 1191, little remarkable is recorded. Celestine died in 1198, and was succeeded by Lotharius, count of Segni, who took the name of Innocent III., A.D. 1198. His pontificate is one of the most memorable in papal annals, but the record of it belongs to the history of the following century.

Lucius III.

Urban III.
Gregory VIII.
Clement III.
Celestine III.

Innocent III.

Such was the succession of the Roman pontiffs in the present century, during the whole of which, their power, notwithstanding

[1] Concil. tom. x. p. 1607.

occasional checks and humiliations, may be considered as being substantially and gradually on the increase.[1] If we view the fact in a purely religious light, the success of their pretensions, founded as they were on wholly false assumptions and the most obvious perversions of scriptural authority, must no doubt be considered as among the grossest corruptions of Christian truth. Otherwise it is not so clear but that, in an age of barbarism like that of which we are treating, this or any other power which could successfully appeal from the violence of brute force to something like opinion was productive of political advantages to the people which more than counterbalanced the evils of its abuse. A.D. 1198

The same remark is in like manner applicable to another of the abuses to which the prevailing corruption of religious truth gave rise; we mean the monastic institutions. However mistaken might be the devotion which either founded or filled these communities, they cannot be denied to have afforded, in the darkness and lawlessness of the times, not only the best nurseries for literary and theological learning, but almost the only asylums which then existed against rapine and the violence of power. In the course of the present century both the number and wealth of these establishments were greatly increased, and several new orders were added. That of the Cistercians,[2] A.D. 1098, under the auspices and guidance of St. Bernard, spread itself rapidly throughout Europe, and almost immediately took that place in public respect and reverence which the order of Clugny had hitherto occupied, but which it had thus early began to forfeit by the indolence and dissoluteness of its members. A new congregation was added to the order of regular canons by Norbert, a German nobleman, who had embraced a religious life, and who became afterwards Bishop of Magdeburg. In the year A.D. 1120 he established the order of Premontré (so called from the place of its foundation in Picardy), which in a few

Increase of the religious orders.

The Cistercians.

Order of Premontré.

[1] Before the close of the century they had effectually established their authority as sovereigns in the city of Rome, as well as their independence of the Emperor; and the weight of their power and influence in matters secular as well as ecclesiastical was felt throughout Europe. Most of the Councils which took place were convoked either by them immediately or by their legates, and the decision of these assemblies was commonly the result of their dictation. By the encouragement given to appeals to Rome almost every matter of ecclesiastical resort was brought immediately within their jurisdiction. Indeed the inconveniences resulting from this practice were so strongly and early felt that St. Bernard warmly exclaimed against it; and accordingly, in the third Lateran Council, it was attempted to give some check to the abuse by the Sixth Canon, which annulled all appeals entered before the sentence was pronounced, as well as those which were not prosecuted within a limited time See Dupin, vol. x. p. 208.

[2] Founded in the year 1098 at Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons, by Robert, abbot of Molesme in Burgundy. The rule was that of St. Benedict, but loaded with many additional austerities, the observance of which, though strictly adhered to under Harding and Bernard, became gradually relaxed as the wealth of the community increased. It is said that, within the first century after its foundation, this order could number not less than eighteen hundred abbeys, its offshoots in different parts of Europe. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. i. for a list of the numerous historians of the order.

A.D. 1198 years attained to enormous wealth, and extended itself to almost every part of Europe. Its rule, with some slight alterations, was the same with that of St. Augustine. The celebrated orders of Grandmont, founded by Stephen of Muret, of Fontevrauld, by Robert of Arbrisselles, and that of the Carmelites, which it is affirmed originated from an assemblage of hermits on Mount Carmel, whom the patriarch of Antioch, about the time of the first Crusade, had formed into a sort of community—took their rise soon after the beginning of the present century.[1]

Orders of Grandmont and Fontevrauld. Carmelites.

Military orders. Knights of St. John. Knights Templars. Teutonic Order.

To the same period we must refer the original establishment of the Military orders, which in the first instance were subjected to the rule of St. Augustine, modified, of course, in some degree, by the peculiar object of their institution. Of these the most ancient is that of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who were established in the first instance for the reception and care of the pilgrims visiting the holy city. The object of the institution of the order of Templars was to act in a military capacity for the protection of the same class of travellers. The foundation of the Teutonic order, which originally combined the accomplishment of both these services, took place somewhat later.[2]

Doctrine of the Church in this century.

Neither the doctrine nor the discipline of the Church during the present century presents any very remarkable novelty. The doctrine of the corporeal presence in the Eucharist, as it is at present held by the Roman Church, was by this time very generally received; and the term transubstantiation, by which it is endeavoured to express, or rather to designate that extraordinary tenet, was for the first time brought into use. Many, however, still adhered to the opinions of Berenger upon that mysterious subject. We may observe that the early, and indeed apostolical practice of giving the communion in both kinds to the laity, continued throughout the present century; though in some places the method was adopted of soaking the bread in the wine, previous to its delivery to the communicant.

Transubstantiation.

The morals and conduct of the clergy were upon the whole in a course of amendment, a natural result of the progressive civilization and instruction of the age.

Practice of indulgences.

It was in this century that the odious practice of granting indulgences, by which the penances imposed for the commission of sins were commuted for a sum of money paid to the Church, may be said to have taken its rise. One effect of this abuse was almost wholly to abolish the wholesome usage, so early established in the Church, of public acts of penitence. The profits of this traffic were in all instances confined to the bishops; but they soon became so

[1] See Dupin, Ecclesiastical History, vol. x. p. 218; also chap. xviii. *infra*.

[2] See Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires; a work of great fulness and accuracy of research, for a complete account of the origin, nature, and progress of these several institutions.

large, as to attract the cupidity of the pope, who soon preferred a claim of exclusive monopoly in the issue of these indulgences, and subsequently, in the natural progress of their impious presumption, extended the application of them to the remission, not merely of all penalties pronounced upon sin by the Church on earth, but even those which were to be dealt upon iniquity by the sentence of our heavenly Judge hereafter. It was to give some colour to this absurd and impious assumption on the part of the pontiffs, that the doctrine of works of supererogation was invented, by which it was supposed that the saints had been enabled to perform a multitude of pious works beyond those necessary to their own salvation; all which formed a treasure in the hands of the Church, and were by her applicable to the relief of sinners, upon such terms and conditions as she might please to impose.[1] A.D. 1198

Doctrine of works of supererogation invented.

Another source of revenue to the clergy was now found in the permission given to priests to receive alms for the performance of masses, but they were as yet forbidden to exact them.

Alms for masses.

We have already adverted to the increase which took place in the number and riches of the monastic societies during this century. The multiplication of these institutions was from the beginning studiously favoured by the popes, who sought to attach the members to the interests of the Roman see, by exempting them as much as possible from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries. An attempt was made in the third Lateran Council to limit the abuses arising from the privileges obtained by the monks, and they were strictly forbidden the administration of the sacraments; but these, like the other equally wholesome reformations enjoined by that Synod, were for the most part evaded in practice; and this the more easily, as the abuse was one which the court of Rome found its interest in encouraging.

We cannot take a better opportunity than this to give some account of the Councils held in the twelfth century.

Of these, there were three called General Councils; although since the separation of the Greek Church that term is no longer applicable in the Œcumenical sense in which it was given to the earlier Synods of the Catholic Church. The three assemblies in question were all convened at Rome in the Lateran Church, from which circumstance they take their name; and they consisted wholly of Western bishops. The first of them, as we have before mentioned, was summoned by Pope Calixtus III., in March, A.D. 1123, for the purpose of sanctioning the treaty concluded with the Emperor respecting the right of investitures. Besides the arrangement of this matter, the Council took this opportunity of publishing twenty-two canons, upon matters chiefly relating to the rights and discipline of the clergy. Of these the most material

First Lateran Council.

[1] See Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 421, and the authorities there cited by him.

A.D. 1198 are the 3d, which renews the prohibition of marriage to the clergy; and the 20th, which is the first canon which not merely forbids all such marriages, but declares them null and void when made.[1]

Second Lateran Council.

The second Lateran Council was convened by Pope Innocent II., in April, A.D. 1139, and consisted, it is said, of above a thousand prelates. Thirty canons were the result of their deliberations, which refer almost wholly to matters of discipline and internal regulation; and are often merely repetitions of those published by the former Council.[2]

Third Lateran Council.

The third General Lateran Council met in A.D. 1179, under Pope Alexander III. Its principal object was to take measures for reforming sundry crying abuses which had crept into the Church; and in the canons which it established for this view, it is impossible to mistake the operation of a real anxiety for the effective amendment of the Church. Twenty-seven capitularies, or articles of canons, were decreed by this Council. The first of these is one to which we had occasion to allude before, by which it was declared that the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals were necessary for the election of the pope. Some of the others are worthy of notice, both as illustrating the manners and position of the clergy, as well as the kinds of abuse which then prevailed in the Church. Thus by the fourth constitution, the number of horses which prelates may maintain for their visitations is limited, in the cases of archbishops to forty or fifty, and about half that number to cardinals or bishops. By the 15th it was declared that the estates and monies which clergymen had saved out of their benefices should fall to the churches to which they belong, notwithstanding any testamentary disposition on their part to the contrary. The 13th and 14th strictly prohibit the holding of a plurality either of prebends or benefices by the same individual. The 18th orders the settlement in every cathedral church of a schoolmaster for the instruction of youth, with the allotment of a benefice of sufficient revenue for his maintenance. The 19th prohibits, under anathema, the imposition, on the part of the secular power, of any taxes upon churches or ecclesiastical persons; unless in cases in which the bishops and the rest of the clergy, in consideration of the exigencies of the State, have previously consented to the same.[3]

The last canon of this Council was directed against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and other heretics of the times, of whom a brief account will be given in a subsequent chapter.[4]

[1] Concil. tom. x. p. 291. [2] Ibid, p. 1102. [3] Ibid, p. 1517. [4] Chap. xvi.

CHAPTER XV.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THEOPHANES CERAMIUS.
NILUS DOXIPATRIUS.
NICETAS PECTORATUS.
MICHAEL PSELLUS.
MICHAEL CERULARIUS.
JOHANNES XIPHILINUS.
THEOPHYLACT.
FULBERT.
HUMBERT.
PETRUS DAMIANUS.
BERENGER.
LANFRANC.
HILDEBERT.
GREGORY VII.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

PETER CHRYSOLANUS.
EUSTRATIUS.
EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS.
PHILIP THE SOLITARY.
MICHAEL GLYCAS.
CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS.
JOANNES CINNAMUS.
JOANNES ZONARAS.
THEODORE BALSAMON.
MICHAEL ANCHIALUS.
HUGO ETHERIANUS.
THEORIANUS.
BERNARD OF CLAIRVAL.
PETER ABELARD.
GILBERT DE LA PORREE.
IVO, BISHOP OF CHARTRES.
GEOFFREY OF ANGERS.
JOHN OF SALISBURY.
PETER OF CELLES.
PETER OF BLOIS.
PETER COMESTOR.
PETER OF CLUGNY.
HONORIUS OF AUTUN.
RUPERT OF DUYTZ.
HUGH OF ST. VICTOR.
RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR.
PETER LOMBARD.
ROBERT PULLENS.
ST. ANSELM.

THEOPHANES CERAMIUS,[1]

FL. CIRC. A.D. 1040,

was bishop of Tauromenium in Sicily, and the author of sixty-two A.D. 1040
'Homilies on the Gospels appointed for Sundays and Festivals. Works.
They were published with Prolegomena and Notes, Greek and Latin, fol. Paris, 1644. He likewise wrote two 'Homilies for the Sunday before the Exaltation of the Cross,' published in a collection of tracts 'De Cruce' by Gretser, tom. ii. p. 1207. These homilies possess the merit of a perspicuous style and a rational mode of scriptural interpretation.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 132; Fabric. 'Biblioth. Græc.'

[1] The Potter.

NILUS DOXIPATRIUS.

FL. A.D. 1043.

A.D. 1050. It is uncertain when this pillar of the Greek Church was born. He is chiefly remarkable for his knowledge relating to matters of ecclesiastical polity; and at the request of Roger, king of Sicily, he composed a small tract entitled 'De Majorum Patriarcharum Sedibus.' This tract was afterwards enlarged. Copious extracts from it have been given by Leo Allatius, 'De Concord. Eccl. Orient. et Occident.;' and it has been published entire by Stephen Le Moyne, in his work 'Varior. Sacr.' tom. i. p. 211.

Ecclesiastical knowledge.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 133.

NICETAS PECTORATUS.

FL. CIRC. A.D. 1050.

This formidable opponent of the Latin Church was a monk and a presbyter of Constantinople. His principal work is entitled 'Liber adversus Latinos de Azymis, de Sabbatorum Jejuniis, et Nuptiis Sacerdotum.' It has been edited by Canisius and Baronius.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 136.

MICHAEL PSELLUS,

FL. A.D. 1050,

descended from an ancient and noble family at Constantinople, was raised to the highest offices of the State; but in this place he is to be noted only for his proficiency in literature. That proficiency was such as to obtain the highest encomiums from his contemporaries and the important trust of preceptor to the Emperor Michael Ducas. From the splendour of a court Psellus retired to the obscurity of a monastery. His writings were numerous and on various subjects, viz, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, history, and theology.

Literary attainments.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 136; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. xi. sec. 11.

MICHAEL CERULARIUS.

FL. CIRC. A.D. 1051.

Like Nicetas, this author is chiefly known for his hostility to the Latin Church. He was patriarch of Constantinople, and consequently a natural enemy of the Roman pontiff. A quarrel between Humbert and Michael was carried on with unexampled bitterness. The works of this author relate to the matters of controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 133.

JOHANNES XIPHILINUS,

OB. A.D. 1078,

was patriarch of Constantinople under the Emperors Constantine and Michael Ducas. Although he took an active part in the controversy with the Latin Church, yet his works are not altogether controversial. He was the author of 'Homilies on the Gospels,' and made an 'Epitome of the History of Dion Cassius.' A.D. 1070

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 147; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. xi. sec. 11.

THEOPHYLACT.

FL. A.D. 1077.

A native of Constantinople and primate of Bulgaria. His 'Commentaries' on the sacred writings were received with universal approbation and esteem. They were edited, Lat. Paris, 1554; Basil, 1570.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 153; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. xi. sec. 11.

FULBERT.

OB. A.D. 1028.

At the head of the catalogue of Latin writers in this century, is placed Fulbert, bishop of Chartres. He has obtained a certain degree of reputation for his love of letters, and his zeal for the education of youth, but his notoriety rests on his extravagant and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin Mary. He not only built a splendid church dedicated to her at Chartres, but composed several hymns in her praise. The works of this bishop were collected by Charles Villiers, and published at Paris, 1608.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. vii. p. 261; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 125.

HUMBERT.

OB. POST A.D. 1064.

This celebrated cardinal was the corypheus of the Latin Church, in the grand controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches. He was alike distinguished for his vehemence and his learning. His works consist chiefly of tracts against Michael Cerularius, and they have been collected in 'Biblioth. Patrum,' tom. xviii.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. vii. p. 527; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 139.

PETRUS DAMIANUS.

OB. A.D. 1072.

This truly learned man, according to the custom of his age, received a monastic education, and was abbot of the monastery at Avellino. He was promoted by Stephen to the rank of a cardinal,

A.D. 1080 and to the bishopric of Ostia, against his inclination. He was employed on various embassies relative to ecclesiastical affairs, in which he acquitted himself with great credit. His works are numerous, and have been collected in three volumes folio, Rome, 1606, 1608, 1615.

Dupin, 'Eccl. Hist.' tom. ix. p. 83; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 140.

BERENGER.

OB. A.D. 1088.

With the life of this eminent theologian is connected the history of the controversy concerning the corporeal presence. Berenger was a native of France, principal of the public school at Tours, and afterwards archdeacon of Angers. He possessed an acute and subtle genius, and was renowned both on account of his extensive learning and the exemplary sanctity of his life.

Berenger maintains the doctrine of Scotus concerning the Eucharist. A.D. 1045.

In the preceding century the controversy concerning the corporeal presence was carried on with the greatest freedom, since no Council had given a definite sentence on this point, so as to restrain discussion and debate. In this spirit, Berenger publicly maintained the doctrine of Johannes Scotus and Bertramn, in opposition to that of Paschasius Radbert—that the bread and wine in the Eucharist are not changed into the body and blood of Christ, but were no more than their figures and external symbols. The doctrine of Berenger was no sooner published than it was opposed by certain doctors in France and Germany; and Leo IX. attacked it with the weapons of pontifical power. In two different Councils, one of which met at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, the doctrine of Berenger was solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, whence it was drawn, publicly burned. The example of the pontiff was followed by Henry I., and in a Council summoned at Paris, an anathema was denounced against Berenger and his adherents. Berenger was deprived of his revenues, and degraded.

It is condemned by a Council at Rome, at Vercelli and at Paris. A.D. 1050.

Temporal punishments might have shaken the constancy of Berenger, and induced him to retract his opinions; but he was still permitted to enjoy them in the privacy which he sought. On the death of Leo IX. an active persecution against him began, for Victor II. undertook to institute a more severe examination of the Berengerian doctrine. He sent his legates to two different Councils assembled at Tours for this purpose. In one of these Councils the famous Hildebrand appeared in the legatine character, and opposed Berenger with his wonted violence. Berenger also was present; and overpowered by threats rather than convinced by argument, he not only abandoned, but, it is said, solemnly abjured his opinions, and thus was reconciled to the Church. The abjuration was soon proved to be an act of fear, not of sincerity, for

Victor II. institutes a new examination of the Berengerian doctrines, A.D. 1054.

Berenger abjures his opinions; but afterwards teaches them.

he continued to teach, although with more circumspection, the opinions for which he had been censured. A.D. 1080

When the account of Berenger's perfidy was brought to Nicholas II., the exasperated pontiff summoned him to a Council at Rome. Berenger was again terrified with threats of punishment, and declared his readiness to subscribe such doctrines as the Council might think fit to decree. Humbert was accordingly appointed to draw up a Confession of Faith for Berenger, who signed it, and confirmed his adherence to his subscription by a solemn oath. The Confession contained the following declaration:—that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that this body and blood are handled by the priests, and partaken by the people, not in a sacramental sense, but really and sensibly.

Nicholas II. summons him to Rome, A.D. 1058.

He signs a Confession of Faith drawn up by Humbert.

That the second abjuration of Berenger was equally extorted and insincere with the first, too soon appeared, for when he returned to France, he expressed his utmost detestation of the Confession which he had subscribed at Rome. Alexander II., the successor of Nicholas, employed expostulation and influence to induce him to return from his apostacy, but as he was powerfully supported, and at a distance from Rome, he was deaf to the remonstrances of the pontiff. Hence the controversy was prolonged during many years, and the followers of Berenger largely increased.

He again relapses.

Alexander II. endeavours in vain to reclaim him.

When the chief antagonist of Berenger was elevated to the papal chair, it might be supposed that he would not neglect a controversy in which he had been so actively engaged. Yet Gregory VII. displayed a different spirit, as a moderator, from that which he had shown as a disputant. He discovered an impartiality and candour which his proceedings on other occasions, and his former course in this very dispute, gave little reason to expect. He appears to have entertained a high personal esteem for Berenger, notwithstanding their difference of opinion. He sent an order to him to repair to Rome, and in a Council which met there, he permitted his old antagonist to restate the opinions which had been embodied by Humbert in a Confession of Faith. Berenger, therefore, made a second declaration confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere to the following propositions:—that the bread laid upon the altar becomes, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits on the right hand of the Father; and that the wine placed upon the altar becomes, after consecration, the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ.

Gregory VII. summons him to Rome.

Council at Rome, A.D. 1078.

Berenger signs a fresh declaration.

Although this declaration satisfied Gregory, yet it did not satisfy the enemies of Berenger; they contended that it was ambiguous, and they required that he should be obliged to sign another, expressed in clearer terms. They added another demand, that he

It satisfies the pope, but not his opponents.

A.D. 1080 should be obliged to prove his sincerity by undergoing the ordeal of fire. Gregory absolutely refused this last demand, and would have refused the first, if he had followed his own judgment But the importunate clamours of the enemies of Berenger prevailed upon the pontiff to yield, and a new declaration, or third Confession of Faith, was framed. This took a middle course between the first and second, and Berenger, in a Council at Rome, once more performed the ceremony of subscribing, and of confirming his subscription by an oath. By this assent, he professed to believe—that the bread and wine, by consecration, were substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ.

A more definite form prepared.

He signs a third Confesson of Faith.

Again retracts.

No sooner had Berenger made this declaration, than he was dismissed by the pontiff with the most honourable testimonies of liberality and friendship. But scarcely had he quitted Rome before he publicly retracted the declaration which he had subscribed before the Council, and even wrote an elaborate confutation of the doctrines contained in that declaration. The Council importuned Gregory to promulgate ecclesiastical censures against the relapsed heretic, but the pontiff seemed neither surprised nor offended at his inconsistency and tergiversation. Berenger had sufficient prudence not to return any answer to the bitter invectives of his adversaries, and tired with polemics, he withdrew from public life. He fixed his abode in the Isle of St. Cosme, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he passed several years in fasting, prayer, and devotion. His retirement was embittered by a retrospect of his past conduct, and he submitted to a severe course of penance, with a hope of expiating the guilt of his repeated perjuries. The memory of his failings was obliterated in the minds of his numerous followers,[1] and they retained only the deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity. The canons of the cathedral of Tours long continued to honour his name by a procession to the Isle of St. Cosme, where they performed a solemn service at his tomb.

Lenity of Gregory towards him.

His retirement to the Isle of St. Cosme.

His death, A.D. 1088.

His works.

Of his works there are extant some 'Epistles;' three 'Formularies' of his belief concerning the Eucharist; 'Disputation' with Lanfranc 'on the Corporeal Presence;' a 'Commentary on the Apocalypse;' and several minor tracts.

'Life of Berenger' in the works of Hildebert, archdeacon of Mons; 'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. viii. p. 197; Spanheim, 'Hist. Christ.' sæc. xi. sec. 8; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 130.

[1] His disciple and biographer, Hildebert, honoured his memory by an epitaph, of which the following lines are the conclusion:—

Vir verè sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni;
Qui cælos animâ, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum vivam tecum, tecum requiescam:
Nec fiat melior sors mea, sorte suâ.

LANFRANC.

OB. A.D. 1088.

This antagonist of Berenger was an Italian by birth, and received his education in his native country; but in early youth he transplanted himself into Normandy. He embraced a monastic life, but quitted it in consequence of having obtained the favour of Duke William. When this prince made his successful descent on England, Lanfranc accompanied him, and was the prime adviser of the Conqueror in ecclesiastical affairs. Before a year had expired from the commencement of the Norman dynasty, there was not an individual remaining in any high station in the Church who was hostile to it; and Stigand having rendered himself particularly obnoxious, was deposed. William had no hesitation in conferring the vacant primacy on Lanfranc. A.D. 1080

His origin and education.

Accompanies William the Conqueror to England.

The election and consecration of this Italian to the see of Canterbury, were both remarkable and solemn. He was first chosen by the Church of Canterbury, and after this capitular election, the choice was ratified by the clergy and nobility at the royal court. He was then consecrated at the metropolitical church, at which ceremony all the bishops of England attended in person, or if absent excused themselves by letters. Being thus possessed of the highest dignity in the English Church, he wrote a letter to the pope complaining of the arduous burthen which his office imposed on him, and preferred to his sovereign a request which he knew would be refused, of being permitted to retire to a monastery.

Made Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1070.

His election and consecration remarkable.

The English bishops cheerfully recognized his authority, with the exception of Thomas the archbishop of York, who made an ineffectual struggle for independence, if not for precedency. The quarrel between the two archbishops was compromised for a time, and they set out together for Rome, accompanied by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln. Lanfranc was received with the highest marks of respect; but the two other prelates, though their first reception was civil, were deposed on account of some canonical objections. Lanfranc, it is said, made use of his interest in their favour, and having thus obtained a claim on their gratitude, he endeavoured to get the pope to decide the controversy concerning the canonical obedience due from the see of York to Canterbury. The pontiff prudently declined to interfere, and it was referred to the judgment of the King of England. On a full hearing of the matter in the presence of most of the bishops and abbots, it was determined that the primacy was rightly vested in the see of Canterbury; that the archbishops of York should be obliged to make a profession of canonical obedience to it at their consecration; that on the death of an archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York should repair to that city, and in conjunction with the bishops of the province should assist at the consecration of the new archbishop.

Dispute with the Archbishop of York concerning precedence.

Dispute settled by an English Council.

A.D. 1080 The archbishop of York was still to retain his title of metropolitan, but he and his suffragans were obliged to attend the Synods convened by the archbishop of Canterbury, and to be governed by his directions.

The dispute being thus ended, Lanfranc's first epistles to the pope were replete with adulation, and he at first joined the pope in a design of dispossessing the cathedral monks and placing secular canons in their room. Yet he soon altered his policy, and took part with the King against the usurpations of the see of Rome. When Hildebrand ascended the papal chair, he relied on the concurrence and co-operation of Lanfranc in his ambitious designs. He sent a confidential messenger to the English primate, notifying his accession to the popedom, and communicating some secret counsels. He urged his former friend to come to Rome, but Lanfranc would not leave England; and when solicitation was changed into the language of command, the Archbishop not only refused to go, but accompanied the refusal with a denial of the papal authority.

Lanfranc takes part with the King against the pope.

When William nobly refused to render fealty to the see of Rome, Gregory, supposing that his repulse was in a great measure owing to the advice of Lanfranc, again issued a peremptory mandate, summoning the Archbishop to his capital. But the English primate steadily resisted the Roman pontiff, answering that his sovereign would not permit him to leave England, and that it was against the laws of the country for any subject to depart the kingdom without the royal permission.

Refuses to appear at Rome.

Throughout the reign of William, Lanfranc co-operated in the designs of his master, and appears to have been equally careful of the dignity of the crown and the rights of the English Church. As soon as the Conqueror perceived the approach of death, he wrote a pressing letter to Lanfranc, earnestly recommending the succession of his second son to the kingdom which he had gained by his sword. Lanfranc obeyed the last injunction of his master; and had it not been for the influence of the primate, the English nation would have placed the crown on the head of Robert, the rightful heir.

Promotes the succession of William Rufus.

The first two years of the reign of William Rufus were employed in subduing the Normans in the interest of his brother. The English who had assisted him expected protection, if not favour; but their hopes were disappointed, and their condition was rendered insupportable. Lanfranc, in terms of respectful firmness, remonstrated with the King on his falsehood and ingratitude; but by his honesty he drew on himself the resentment of the man whom he had raised to supreme power. Rufus, in an angry tone, and with an oath, asked the primate whether he thought it possible for a king always to keep his faith? From this time Lanfranc was used with distrust and discourtesy, and, mortified at the

Ingratitude of Rufus to Lanfranc,

who dies through mortification.

conduct of a prince whom he had placed over the nation, he shortly afterwards died, lamented by both parties. A.D. 1090

Although a large portion of the life of Lanfranc was passed in the administration of public affairs, yet his literary attainments were considerable for his age. He was well acquainted with the ancient Latin fathers and with the canons of the Church. His style is neither figurative nor florid, but plain and expressive, and his materials are well arranged. His two chief works are a 'Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul' and a 'Treatise on the Corporeal Presence' against Berenger. His entire works were edited by Ducher, folio, Paris, 1648. His literary character. His works.

'Hist. Lit. de France,' tom. viii. p. 260; Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 147; Godwin, 'de Præsulibus,' vi.; Collier, 'Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain,' vol. i. pp. 260-263.

HILDEBERT,

OB. A.D. 1132,

was archbishop of Tours, a philosopher and poet, as well as a divine. He was a man of respectable learning, the follower of Berenger, and therefore not fairly treated by the historians of the Romish Church. His works were edited by the Benedictine monks at Paris, fol. 1708, with the notes of Beaugendre.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 161.

GREGORY VII.

OB. A.D. 1088.

The catalogue of ecclesiastical writers cannot properly omit a notice, however brief, of that pontiff from whom the eleventh century is denominated. Of his writings there are extant ten books of 'Epistles, Concil.' tom. x. pp. 6-306; an 'Exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms'—but this has been ascribed to another Gregory—an 'Exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew,' &c.

Cave, 'Hist. Lit.' tom. ii. p. 151; Hen. Wharton, 'Auct. ad Hist. Dogmat. Cl. Usserii,' p. 105.

PETER CHRYSOLANUS,

about the beginning of the twelfth century, was chosen archbishop of Milan, and was sent as legate by Pope Paschal II. to Constantinople, in the reign of Alexius Comnenus. A discourse in which he refuted the Greek errors respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost, is to be found in Baronius and Leo Allatius.

EUSTRATIUS

was archbishop of Nice, and wrote an answer to Chrysolanus, which is still extant in manuscript. He is the author also of certain 'Commentaries' on the 'Analytics' and 'Ethics' of Aristotle.

EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS,

A.D. 1140 a Greek monk of the order of St. Basil, wrote among other works a treatise against heretics, under the title of 'Panoplia Dogmatica,' and a copious 'Commentary on the Psalms.' He lived early in the century.

PHILIP THE SOLITARY,

FL. CIR. A.D. 1105,

also a monk, as his appellation denotes, is the author of a moral treatise, written by way of a dialogue between the soul and body, under the title of 'Dioptron,' or the 'Rule of Christian Life.'

MICHAEL GLYCAS,

FL. CIR. A.D. 1150,

Works. who is generally considered as belonging to this century, was by birth a Sicilian, and composed a work of 'Annals,' in five books, treating of the history of the world since the time of the creation to the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS,

FL. CIR. A.D. 1150,

was by profession a lawyer; and the author of a 'Dictionary of Civil Law,' and also of a 'Collection of Canons,' both of which are esteemed. Some theological treatises of no great importance may give him a place here; though we are not aware that there is the same excuse for the insertion of the name of

JOANNES CINNAMUS,

DIED CIR. A.D. 1190,

surnamed the Grammarian, who was secretary to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and composed a history of that Emperor, as well as of his predecessor John Comnenus. Nicephorus Bryennius has written the Byzantine history from A.D. 1057 to 1081; and having mentioned these, we cannot omit the name of the celebrated Anna Comnena, wife of this last, and daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, to whom we are indebted for the history of the reign of the prince. To this century also belongs Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, the author of the well-known commentary on Homer.

JOANNES ZONARAS,

FL. CIR. A.D. 1120,

was originally secretary to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus; but subsequently became a monk, and, besides his compilation of

'Annals,' wrote 'Commentaries on the Canons of the Apostles, and of the Councils.' A.D. 1170

A work of a similar kind is still extant from the pen of

THEODORE BALSAMON,

DIED A.D. 1214,

who was titular patriarch of Antioch during the occupation of that city by the Latins, and who undertook it at the order of the Emperor Manuel, and of his patron,

MICHAEL ANCHIALUS,

at that time patriarch of Constantinople, and himself the author of certain tracts relating to the ecclesiastical transactions of his time.

HUGO ETHERIANUS

was a Latin by birth, being born in Tuscany; but he spent his life at Constantinople, where he was particularly in favour with the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. He seems, notwithstanding, to have retained his Latin opinions on theological inquiries, for his principal work is a treatise vindicating the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father. He wrote also a work on the state of the soul after death.

THEORIANUS

is known as an author only by the interesting account he has left us of the mission into Armenia, on which he was sent, A.D. 1170, by the Emperor Manuel, with a view of bringing about a reunion of the Armenian with the Greek Church. His narrative contains a very clear and satisfactory statement of his various conferences with the Armenian patriarch; in the course of which both parties seem to have argued the differences existing between the two Churches with exemplary talent and liberality. The dispute, it is known, chiefly turned upon the Monophysite doctrine, which was generally held by the Armenians; though, if we may trust the statement of Theorianus, the patriarch, upon this occasion, was induced to acknowledge the decision of the Council of Chalcedon on that point; and to promise to use his endeavours to get it admitted as the standard of faith by the rest of his Church. The narrative itself is to be found in the 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' Mission to Armenia.

The scanty catalogue which we have here given of the Greek writers of the twelfth century, sufficiently indicates how much the Eastern Church had already fallen off from that ardour of disputation and copiousness of production which had in former ages distinguished her members. This was no doubt in a great degree General observations on the state of the Greek Church.

A.D. 1180 to be ascribed to the blighting and darkening influence of Mohammedan domination. The provinces which were formerly most fruitful in theological talent, Egypt, Africa, and Syria, had now been long subjected to that worse than barbarous oppression; and cities, the sees of which had been rendered illustrious by the genius and learning and piety of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Augustine, were doomed to languish in dread and silence under the sway of a fanatical and ferocious soldiery. The imperial metropolis, indeed, was still free; but whatever be the reason of the fact, the theological schools of Constantinople had never equalled those either of Carthage, Alexandria, or Antioch, in the number or learning of the doctors bred under their auspices. Under the Comneni, however, some encouragement was given to learning, and still more to controversy; the passion for which, during the sensible decay of every other intellectual pursuit, still remained undiminished in the Byzantine people. The Emperor Manuel Comnenus himself took a warm interest in casuistical disputes and subtilties; and reposed with so much confidence upon the conclusions at which he arrived in these refined researches, that in one case,[1] he denounced capital punishment against all who should presume to teach any other but his own explication of the difficulty, to which he had condescended to apply his autocratical criticisms. His successor Andronicus, with similar violence, but somewhat more impartiality, not merely abrogated this arbitrary decree, but issued another, prohibiting, under penalties of almost equal severity, all further agitation of the question.

Emperor Manuel's love of controversy.

The schism which continued to separate the Greek and Latin Churches involved a controversy of more importance in its practical object, though turning upon doctrinal differences in themselves not less subtle and unimportant. Several attempts were made in the course of this century to bring about the reconcilement of the two Churches; a consummation which the Greek Emperors themselves were particularly anxious to accomplish, with a view of drawing closer the ties of political alliance with the Western nations, of whose support they felt they were likely soon to experience the most instant need. But the lofty pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, which at this time were culminating to their highest point of exaggeration, precluded all chance of an accommodation, so evidently desirable to both parties; nor, it must be confessed, did the Greek doctors themselves evince any material disposition to concession with respect to those doctrinal points upon which their division from their Western brethren had originally turned; and the result of these attempts at reconcilement was by their failure, only still further to aggravate the original asperities of the quarrel.

Attempts to reunite the Latin and Greek Churches.

[1] That of the sense in which we are to understand our Lord's saying, "My Father is greater than I."

The writers of the Western Church during the twelfth century A.D. 1130
were much more numerous than those of the Eastern, and among them are to be reckoned many of distinguished learning and ability. To these for the most part we shall confine our notices, whether biographical or bibliographical. In truth from this period the number both of books and of authors becomes so considerable that any other method would hardly be consistent with the plan and limits of our work.

Upon this principle of selection the first place is undoubtedly due to the celebrated

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAL,

DIED A.D. 1153,

a man who, in every point of view, must be considered as one of the first of his age, and who, indeed, may be said to have exercised a greater personal influence over his contemporaries than has ever belonged to a private churchman either before or since. This remarkable man was born in 1091, of a noble family, at Fontaine in Burgundy. At the age of twenty-two he, with his five brothers, left his father's house to take the monastic habit in the convent of Citeaux, which had only a short while before been founded by Robert of Molesme. The convent was then under the government of Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who may more truly be considered as its founder, by the system of discipline which he introduced, and which continued permanently to form the rule of the Cistercian order. Two years after, upon the foundation of the monastery of Clairval, Bernard was appointed the first abbot; and the reputation which he had thus early acquired for learning and piety was so great that within a short time his convent was filled with votaries from all parts; and during his lifetime he had the satisfaction of seeing a pope, six cardinals, and more than thirty bishops chosen from among the number of his disciples. His fame was now spread throughout Europe, and scarcely any affair of importance was transacted in which he was not consulted. He was specially summoned to assist at the Councils of Troyes and of Chalons, in the years 1128 and 1129; and it was by his personal influence and persuasion, primarily and chiefly, that Innocent II. was acknowledged as pope, in preference to his competitor Victor, whom he finally induced to make a voluntary abdication. His talents and influence were afterwards employed, and almost always successfully, in the settlement of most of the differences which took place in his time either among the princes of Europe themselves or between them and the pope. It was at his instance, and by his preaching, that the second Crusade was undertaken; the result of which, however, was far from answering the expectations which had been entertained of it. Nor was he less indefatigable

A.D. 1140 or less dexterous in the defence of the doctrines of the Church. It was to him she looked, upon almost every occasion, for the refutation of the various errors or heresies which from time to time made their appearance; as was particularly evinced in the controversies which he maintained with the celebrated Peter Abelard and with Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers. Bernard died at Clairval on the 20th of August, 1153, leaving not less than one hundred and sixty monasteries which owed their foundation and establishment to him. His works are comprised in two volumes folio, and consist of a great number of 'Letters' addressed to the leading persons of his time on ecclesiastical and public affairs, of 'Sermons,' and of some devotional and controversial tracts.[1] All of them are distinguished by marks of a solid judgment, warm feelings, and a profound knowledge of Scripture; and, considering the barbarism of the age, are written in a style deficient neither in purity nor clearness. He is called the last of the fathers; and, in fact, may be considered as the latest of the writers who followed their method of treating or discussing subjects in divinity, in contradistinction to the scholastic or dialectic method, which had now become fashionable, and of which one of the earliest and most distinguished leaders was the famous

PETER ABELARD,

A.D. 1079-1142,

whom we have already mentioned as having been engaged in controversy with St. Bernard. This celebrated divine was born in 1079, in a village near Nantes, and early distinguished himself in the schools, as well by the novelty and boldness of his opinions as by the subtilty and force of the logic with which he defended hem. He had already acquired a high reputation, and his theological lectures at Paris were crowded with students from all parts, when his too famous adventure with a female pupil, Heloise, the niece of one of the canons of Paris, involved him in embarrassments and difficulties which may be said to have embittered the rest of his existence. After the mutilation which the vengeance of his wife's relations had inflicted upon him, he betook himself to a monastic life at St. Denys, at the same time persuading Heloise to take the veil. He did not stay long at St. Denys; a community to which he gave offence, as well by his censure of their irregularities as by some doubts he ventured to throw out respecting the identity of their patron with the Areopagite of the same name; but retired to Provins, where he opened a school which speedily became famous. The opinions, however, which he ventured to advance respecting the Trinity, in a work which he published on that

[1] A very minute and ample account of the works of Bernard, particularly of his letters, is to be found in Dupin, Eccles. Hist. vol. x.

subject, involved him in new difficulties. A Council was held at A.D. 1150
Soissons which compelled him to recant his errors, and to burn with his own hands the book which contained them. He was now sent back to St. Denys; but the disgust he received there again drove him to seek refuge in the diocese of Troyes, where, by the assistance of some friends, he built a small oratory, called the Paraclete, which the affluence of scholars who flocked to him, and who erected cells around his dwelling, soon swelled to a considerable convent. After a short time he transferred the care of this new foundation to Heloise, and accepted for himself the abbey of St. Gildas in Brittany. Here again his repose was disturbed by doubts raised as to the soundness of the doctrines which he continued to teach. It was at this time that St. Bernard found it necessary to send him an admonition on the subject, which proving ineffectual, he formally complained of him to Pope Innocent II., accusing him as well of a leaning to Pelagianism in his doctrine of grace as of a tincture both of Arian and Nestorian heresy in what he taught of the Trinity. A Council was held on the subject at Sens, A.D. 1140, when Bernard produced the obnoxious passages from the writings of Abelard, and called upon him to retract. Abelard did not attempt to explain or defend them, but contented himself with appealing to Rome. The Council condemned the propositions in question; a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by the pope; upon which they were disowned by Abelard, who did not long survive the transaction. After a short retreat at Clugny, he died, A.D. 1142, in a monastery, to which he had been consigned, near Chalons, being then in the sixty-third year of his age. His body was sent to be interred at the Paraclete, where Heloise survived him above twenty years, and was afterwards buried in the same grave.[1]

St. Bernard, who had taken such a leading part in the condemnation of the errors of Abelard, was equally active in procuring that of

GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE,

DIED A.D. 1154,

a native of Poitiers, who, after having taught philosophy and theology in that city, was chosen bishop of the same diocese, A.D.

[1] See Dupin, Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. x. p. 111, for a very satisfactory abstract of the works and doctrine of Abelard. The summary given in the following sentence of the kind of objections to which he had laid himself open is too characteristic to be omitted "St. Bernard, in general, accuses Abelard of treating of the Trinity like Arius, of grace like Pelagius, and of the incarnation like Nestorius; of having boasted that he was ignorant of nothing, and of never being willing to say *nescio* on any subject; of attempting to expound inexplicable things, and to comprehend incomprehensible mysteries; of giving a reason for that which is above reason; of believing nothing but what reason discovers to us; of placing degrees in the Trinity, terms and limits to the Deity, and numbers in Eternity."
See also Bayle, *ad v.* Abelard.

A.D. 1150 1141. He is admitted to have been one of the most able and learned men of his time; but his attempt to explain some of the mysteries of Christianity rather according to the philosophy of Aristotle than to the language of Scripture and of the fathers, led him into considerable errors; or at least into modes of expression which were calculated to shock the received opinions on the subjects of which he treated. He was accused more particularly of asserting in his commentaries on the works of Boethius these four propositions respecting the Trinity:—1. That the Divine Essence was not God; 2. That the properties of the Divine Persons were not the Persons themselves; 3. That the Divine Persons were not an attribute in any proposition; 4. That the Divine Nature was not incarnate. The three former of these propositions, whether accurate or not, would seem to involve matter rather of metaphysical, or indeed grammatical, than of strictly theological consideration; and perhaps the same remark is equally applicable to the fourth; though this would appear to imply a coincidence with what is called the Nestorian heresy. In a Council held at Paris, A.D. 1147, under the presidency of the pope himself, the alleged errors were formally condemned, and Gilbert compelled to recant. Nothing, however, was attempted against his person, and he returned to his diocese, where he died about seven years after. His writings, we believe, have never been printed.

We must not here omit to mention the celebrated

IVES, YVES, OR IVO, BISHOP OF CHARTRES,

A.D. 1035-1115,

though by far the greater part of his life belongs rather to the preceding century. He was born at Beauvais, of a noble family, and studied divinity under Lanfranc, in the abbey of Bec. In A.D. 1078 he was appointed abbot of St. Quentin, a monastery to which he gave all his property; and the members of which, under his government, became remarkable for their regularity and learning. Fourteen years after (A.D. 1092), upon the deposition of Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, for simony, Ives was chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese to fill his place. His metropolitan, Richer of Sens, however, refused to consecrate the new Bishop, on the ground that his predecessor had not been canonically deposed; and it was only after a long struggle that the direct interposition of the pope enabled Ives to take possession of his see. In the exercise of his episcopal functions he displayed the same zeal, activity, and courage, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline and in vindication of the rights of the Church, which had uniformly distinguished him; and this spirit is eminently observable in his 'Letters,' a large collection of which have come down to us. He has also left two collections of ecclesiastical canons, under the several titles of the 'Pannormia' and the 'De-

cretum,' the former of which, however, has by some been attri- A.D. 1170
buted to another person.

See Dupin, 'Eccles. Hist.' vol. x. p. 22.

GEOFFREY OF ANGERS, CARDINAL, AND ABBOT OF VENDOME,

DIED A.D. 1132,

was much employed, both by the popes and by the king of France, Louis the Fat, in various ecclesiastical and political transactions, and died about A.D. 1132. His works consist chiefly of 'Letters' and short Treatises on the various subjects of controversy that occurred in his time. They are interesting chiefly as illustrative in many respects both of the history and theology of the age in which he lived.

A writer of much greater intrinsic interest is the celebrated

JOHN OF SALISBURY,

DIED A.D. 1181,

the friend and biographer of Thomas à-Becket, and himself one of the most acute and penetrating geniuses of his time. He was elected Bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1177; assisted at the Lateran Council, A.D. 1179; and died A.D. 1181. His principal work, entitled the 'Policraticon,' or 'De Nugis Curialium,' is rather moral and satirical than strictly theological, but contains many passages of deep thought and original observation. Traces of the same vigour of mind are to be found in his 'Letters,' addressed to various distinguished contemporaries, which are still extant to the number of three hundred. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Chartres by his pupil,

PETER OF CELLES,

DIED A.D. 1187,

himself a writer of some distinction in his age, but whose works, consisting for the most part of 'Letters,' 'Sermons,' and 'Devotional Tracts,' are now chiefly remarkable as being among the first in which the word transubstantiation is employed. He governed the Church of Chartres five years, and died A.D. 1187.

PETER OF BLOIS,

DIED A.D. 1200,

so named from the place of his birth, who, after having been in the service of William II., king of Sicily, passed, at the invitation of King Henry II., into England, where he was appointed archdeacon, first of Bath and afterwards of London. He died A.D. 1200. Of his writings, as of those of most of his literary contem-

A.D. 1170 poraries, his own 'Letters,' addressed principally to public persons and on public matters, form the largest and most interesting portion.

Few authors of this age acquired more celebrity than

PETER, SURNAMED COMESTOR, OR THE EATER,

DIED A.D. 1198,

who was born at Troyes, and became canon and dean of that chapter, and afterwards chancellor of Paris. He died A.D. 1198. His principal work is an abridgment of sacred history, from the book of 'Genesis' to the 'Acts of the Apostles,' under the title of 'Historia Scholastica;' though this title, it has been supposed, was afterwards attached to the work from the circumstance of its being commonly read in schools.

PETER OF CLUGNY,

DIED A.D. 1156,

surnamed the Venerable, a native of Auvergne, who took the religious habit in the monastery of Clugny, and so early distinguished himself among his brethren by his learning and piety that he was elected abbot and general of his order in 1121, when he was not more than twenty-eight years of age. He took an active part in the refutation and suppression of the errors of the Petrobrussians and Henricians, and died at Clugny, in 1156. The works of his which are still extant consist chiefly of 'Letters' and 'Homilies.'

HONORIUS OF AUTUN,

surnamed the Solitary, flourished early in this century. Little is known of his life; but he has left some devotional and theological treatises, which, particularly that 'On Predestination and Free Will,' are marked by considerable power of reasoning.

The same is observable of the writings of

RUPERT OF DUYTZ,

A.D. 1091-1135,

a learned Flemish Benedictine, and superior of the abbey of Duytz, near Cologne, whose 'Commentaries' on the Scripture afford the first instance of the application of the scholastic method to the exposition of the sacred text. He is also the author of a treatise 'De Officiis,' in which he discourses of the ceremonies of the divine services, and assigns mystical reasons for their adoption. He died in 1135, aged forty-four.

With him must be associated another celebrated commentator A.D. 1180 on the Bible. We mean

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR,

A.D. 1098-1142,

also a native of Flanders, who took the monastic habit in the abbey of that name at Paris, where his theological teachings acquired him such renown that he was called the new Augustine; the style as well as doctrines of which father he sedulously imitated in his writings. Of these the chief is a treatise 'on the Sacraments.' He became prior of his community, and died at the early age of forty-four, in 1142. Another distinguished ornament of the same community was

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR,

DIED A.D. 1173,

of which abbey he died prior, in 1173. He was a Scotchman by birth, and may be considered as the leading writer among the mystics of this age; nor are his critical works, of which many are yet extant, deficient either in learning or judgment.

To the above we must add the names of two celebrated scholastic divines, whose works continued for a long while to constitute text-books in that department of study in the universities of Europe. Of these the first is

PETER LOMBARD,

DIED A.D. 1164,

a native of the north of Italy, as his surname indicates. After commencing his studies in the university of Bologna, he proceeded to finish them in that of Paris, where he so distinguished himself that he was shortly nominated to the divinity chair; and, in 1159, was elected bishop of the city. He died in 1164. His great work is the celebrated 'Book of Sentences,' in which he treats of all the principal questions which were then debated in the schools, and illustrates them by a copious and methodical collection of apposite passages from the fathers, chiefly from Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. This work soon became classical, and was made the subject of voluminous commentaries by most of the great scholastic divines in that and the following centuries.

The other writer of this kind whom we propose to mention is

ROBERT PULLENS,

DIED A.D. 1150,

or Pullus, an Englishman by birth, who also studied at Paris, and became professor of divinity in that university. He was at the

A.D. 1180 same time archdeacon of Rochester; and his diocesan summoning him to reside, upon pain of sequestration of his revenues, he appealed to the pope, who not merely justified his absence, but called him to Rome, where he was made cardinal and chancellor of the Roman Church. He died about 1150. He also was the author of a book of 'Sentences,' bearing the same title as that of Peter Lombard, but formed on a different plan; as he does not, like the latter, confine himself merely to the illustration of the various questions in hand, by passages from the fathers, but attempts to resolve them either by reasoning, or by reference to Holy Scripture.

ST. ANSELM.

A.D. 1033-1109.

Although this philosopher and saint died in the early part of the twelfth century, the influence of his teaching was impressed on its whole course. He was born at Aost, in a valley of the Alps, Piedmont, in 1033, studied under Lanfranc, at Bec, in Normandy, became a member of the order of St. Benedict, visited Lanfranc in England, and on his death was elected his successor to the see of Canterbury. His political history is irrelevant to the purpose of this work, but his writings merit our notice. The 'Monologion' and 'Prosologion' are two books devoted to a demonstration of the existence of God. The former contains the inductive, the latter the *a priori* deductive or ideal argument on this topic. His life was noble, and his death was philosophically calm and Christianly holy. When the atmosphere of eternity was floating round his couch, truth began to be more clearly perceptible to his vision, and he died with a sigh that he was unable to leave his latest thoughts as a legacy to the world. Bouchitté has reprinted his writings, and Remusat has written an appreciative life and estimate of the learned prelate.

This enumeration of ecclesiastical writers might be greatly lengthened; but we believe we have now touched upon the chief of those who treated directly of theology. Other distinguished churchmen there were whose works on history, philosophy, or jurisprudence are among the most valuable productions of that age. But upon these, as not falling properly within the scope of our present purpose, we forbear to dwell.

CHAPTER XVI.

HERESIES OF THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

Albigenses.	Cathari.
Petrobrussians.	Arnold of Brescia.
Henricians.	Waldenses.

No sect worthy of notice had its origin in this century, and the state of the ancient heresies suffered no material change. The Paulicians, either from a desire of propagating their opinions or of emancipating themselves from the Grecian yoke, now formed settlements in Europe. They first migrated into Italy, whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into many of the European States. Many of them led a wandering life in Germany and France, where they gained the veneration of the multitude. In Italy they were called Paterini and Cathari; in France they had the appellation of Albigenses, from the town of Albig in Upper Languedoc, and of Publicans, that term being a corruption of their first name. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians formed in Europe is said to have been discovered at Orleans. An Italian lady was at its head, and twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans were its principal members, A.D. 1077. The character of these people differed from the other Paulicians, their tenets approaching to mysticism, and the same observation will apply to another branch of the Paulician sect, converted from their errors by Gerhard, bishop of Cambray.

A.D. 1070

No new sect.

Paulicians first settle in Europe.

In this century a controversy arose of a subtle and difficult nature, begun by Rosellinus, a canon of Compiegne. This theologian maintained that the Father and the Holy Ghost as well as the Son became incarnate; and when it was objected that this doctrine led to Tritheism, he answered that the existence of Three Gods might be asserted with truth, whatever harshness there might be in the mode of expression. He was obliged to retract this tenet by a Council at Soissons, but he resumed it when the Council was dismissed. Persecution drove him to England, where he propagated dangerous tenets of another kind; and when he was banished thence he returned to Paris, where he revived the former Tritheistic dispute. After encountering many persecutions, he retired to Aquitaine, where he gained universal esteem, and passed the conclusion of his days in tranquillity.[1]

Controversy of Roscllinus.

He is compelled to retract.

His latter days.

Of the heresies of the twelfth century, the first which caused any considerable disturbance was broached in the South of France by one

Petrobrussians and Henricians.

[1] Hist. Lit. de France, tom. ix. p. 358.

A.D. 1130 Peter of Bruis, and his disciple Henry.[1] We are indebted for an account of their doctrines chiefly to their adversary, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, in whose refutation they are classed under five principal heads;[2] *viz.* 1st, they opposed infant baptism, confining the administration of that rite to adults only; and baptizing all persons previous to their admission into the sect; 2dly, they condemned as impious the use of all churches, temples, and altars, and exemplified their conviction on this head by destroying them wherever they had the power; 3dly, they rejected the adoration of crosses, and broke them on all occasions; 4thly, they declared against the mass as useless; and 5thly, they taught that alms and prayers for the dead were unavailing. These doctrines they not only taught, but proceeded to put into execution wherever they possessed the opportunity; so that throughout Provence and Languedoc for some time nothing but confusion and violence prevailed; churches were profaned or pulled down; altars destroyed, and crosses burned; the priests were ill-treated, and in some cases compelled to marry; and all the ordinary rituals of the Church were abolished. The authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, found it at length necessary to take rigorous measures for the suppression of these disturbances; the principal authors of them were seized; and among them Peter himself, who, after a ministry of above twenty years, was burned alive at St. Gilles, in Languedoc, in 1130.

Similar heresy in Perigueux.

A heresy, of somewhat similar character, and manifesting itself by like violence, broke out soon after in Perigueux. A contemporary writer[3] describes its followers as affecting a strictly apostolic life, eating no flesh, drinking no wine, or scarcely any, praying almost incessantly, and renouncing all right of property. They disregarded the mass, and denounced the adoration of crosses and crucifixes as idolatrous. "This sect," continues the same writer, "increases greatly, and is followed not only by many persons of quality, who leave their estates, but by many ecclesiastics both secular and regular." "'Tis a hard matter," he adds, "to take them, for whenever they are apprehended the devil helps them out of prison." He adds, that they performed miracles, and that the name of the head of their sect was Pontius.

Tanquelmus.

Doctrines, substantially the same, seem to have been promulgated about this time in Flanders, and in parts of Germany, by a teacher named Tanquelmus. A similar spirit was manifested in

[1] Some writers (see Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 448,) question the fact that Henry was a disciple of Peter, on the ground of certain material differences in the doctrines which they taught. Henry was brought before a Council, presided over by Pope Eugenius III., at Rheims, in 1148, and afterwards committed to prison, in which he died.

[2] See Basnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformées, Period IV. p. 140.

[3] A monk of the name of Herbert. See Dupin, vol. x. p. 87, who, however, does not state the name of the work from which this citation is derived.

Italy, in many parts of which the sect of the *Cathari* continued to prevail, and to occasion considerable embarrassment to the Church. It is palpable from the common character which prevailed among all these sects, that their proximate cause is to be sought in some circumstances of general operation; of these there can be no doubt but that the principal one was the sense which so naturally began to prevail of the corruptions and abuses existing in the Church; and of the glaring and barefaced perversions of scriptural doctrine which so many of her tenets involved. It was impossible that any one could open that Book, which the clergy still professed to consider as the standard of their faith and practice, without perceiving not merely how grossly they had degenerated in both from the purity and simplicity of their Master's precepts, but that in a large proportion of instances they were in fact acting and teaching directly in contradiction to them. Hence it was that a teacher, however humble or uninstructed, had only to profess a doctrine somewhat more obviously accordant with the spirit of the gospel, and whatever might be his errors on other subjects, or however absurd his pretensions,[1] he was immediately surrounded by a host of followers. These, on their part, were easily excited to express their disgust at the corruptions of the Church, by acts of violence against her property and members, and thus afforded to the ecclesiastical authorities but too fair a pretext for calling in the arm of the State to assist in the suppression of them. A.D. 1150 Cathari.

Besides the doctrines we have here mentioned as referring to the discipline and system of the Church, and which were common to all these sects, there were others connected with the fundamental Articles of Faith, by the entertainment of which, perhaps, they more strictly deserved the name of heretics. We have already mentioned their errors on the subject of infant baptism and the eucharist. Some of them are said to have questioned the divinity of our Saviour; others to have entangled themselves in certain Manichæan notions respecting the attributes of the Deity; but upon all these points, as our accounts of them are derived almost exclusively from their adversaries, we must make allowance for a considerable spirit of exaggeration, if not of misrepresentation, in the statements which have come down to us.

[1] One of the most striking illustrations of the prevailing fanaticism of the age is to be found in the success of a certain crack-brained gentleman in Brittany, of the name of Eon, who, hearing in church these words chanted, "Per *Eum* qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos," took it into his head that *he* was the person thus designated. Accordingly, he made public his pretensions as such, and they were immediately admitted by a great multitude of followers, who reverenced him as the Son of God. He was seized, and brought before Pope Eugenius III. at the Council held at Rheims in 1148, and condemned to close confinement, in which he soon after died; but his madness survived in a considerable number of his disciples, many of whom were content to undergo death at the stake, rather than abandon their belief in him. See Matthew Paris, Hist. Major. p. 68.

A.D. 1180 Arnold of Brescia.

It is not clear whether we can strictly reckon among this class of heretics the celebrated Arnold of Brescia, who gave so much trouble to the Papal government during the pontificate of Eugenius III., though he has been accused of participating in the opinions we have mentioned respecting the Lord's Supper and infant baptism. The distinguishing feature of his doctrine, however, and that by the promulgation of which he most peculiarly excited the alarm and vengeance of his enemies, was the tenet which he fearlessly proclaimed, that ecclesiastics should not be allowed to hold property of any kind, beyond the voluntary oblations of the faithful. It must be admitted by every one who calmly considers the abuse which the clergy of those ages made of their privileges and opulence, that the doctrine of Arnold upon this subject was not without a plausible foundation both in fact and reason; though the manner and the means by which he proceeded to enforce the practical application of it to the court of Rome were somewhat too undistinguishing in their violence. Notwithstanding the temporary success of his enterprise, he was, after a long struggle, seized by the governor of the city in the year A.D. 1155, and put to a cruel death. His party, however, outlived him, and continued from time to time to occasion considerable disturbance to the papal court.

Waldenses.

But of all the sects that arose in the course of this century, the one which, as well by the purity of its doctrine as by the ability and courage of its leaders, attracted the greatest number of followers, and exercised the most permanent influence, was that of the Waldenses. The accounts given of the birth of this sect are various. By some they are said to have derived their origin and name from the valleys of Piedmont, the inhabitants of which, called the *Vaudois*, had, up to this period, retained in their inaccessible fastnesses the primitive doctrine of Christianity, uncontaminated by the corruptions with which it had everywhere else become infected. Others ascribe its commencement to the exertions of Peter Waldus, an eminent merchant of Lyons, who having employed a priest to translate for him into French a great part of the Holy Scriptures, together with portions of the comments of the early fathers, was so struck with the difference thus presented to him, between the doctrine of the gospel, and that of the Church, that he was impelled to devote himself to the duty of recalling his contemporaries to the knowledge and practice of the religion of Christ. With this view he gave up his business, distributed all he had among the poor, and putting himself at the head of a few followers, began to travel from place to place, preaching everywhere what he considered to be the pure doctrine of the Scriptures. This was about the year A.D. 1180.[1] The attempts made by the

[1] See Basnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. p. 329. See also Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 452. with Maclaine's Note.

clergy to suppress the new sect in its beginning, only gave it additional vogue; but the story of these exertions, as well as of the subsequent progress of the Waldenses, belongs more properly to the following century. A.D. 1200

We shall only add here a short account of their tenets, as well as we have been able to ascertain their nature amid the confused, and often contradictory accounts of the various writers who have undertaken to describe them. Their distinguishing character seems to have consisted in a strict adherence to what they considered to be the doctrine originally delivered by Christ to his apostles; and nearly all their errors are to be traced to the adoption of a too literal interpretation of the words of the gospel; without sufficiently considering how far the sense of particular precepts was to be limited or modified, not merely by the general sense of the particular passage, or by the apposition of others, but often also by the peculiar circumstances under which they were first spoken, and the proper office and function of the persons to whom they were addressed. It was thus that taking, as they did, the sermon on the Mount as the great summary of Christian duty, they conceived themselves bound by its injunctions to abstain from all warfare, whether just or unjust, whether private or public; from all resistance of injury; from suits of law; from oaths upon any occasion; and from all care of their worldly substance, beyond that provision which their daily labour afforded for the day passing over them. But whatever were the extravagances into which they were betrayed on these points, it is impossible not to respect their very errors, springing as they did from a spirit of the purest self-denial, and a sincere anxiety to tread, as they conceived, as strictly as possible in the footsteps of their Divine Master. Upon other matters, their opinions do not seem to differ materially from those of the Reformers, who in a later age, and upon grounds substantially similar, conceived themselves obliged to separate from the Church of Rome. Their tenets.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SAXON CHURCH.

A.D. 79. In order that this subject may be discussed with greater perspicuity, it is necessary to give a brief yet comprehensive view of the religious state of Britain before the Saxon invasion. A sketch of the history of the island after its conversion to Christianity from Druidical Paganism, will properly precede its second recovery from the superstitions of its Saxon conquerors.

Britain converted to Christianity in the apostolic age.

It is an opinion commonly received, that Christianity was first planted in Britain in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; but that event may be fixed with more probability after the victory of Claudius, when the Romans began to colonize the island, and to establish magistrates and jurisdictions. To what particular apostle Britain is more immediately indebted for its knowledge of Christianity, it is not easy to determine. Yet, although it may be difficult to ascertain who was really the first apostle of the Britons, there is no difficulty in showing that the honour does not belong to some names for whom it has been claimed. It was not James the son of Zebedee, as some have conjectured, for he suffered martyrdom before the dispersion of the apostles; it was not Simon Zelotes, as others have supposed, for he was killed in Persia; it was not Saint Peter, for he was the apostle of the circumcision; it was not, according to any authentic evidence, Joseph of Arimathea, for the monastic records adduced in support of that opinion bear strong marks of forgery.[1]

Probability that Christianity was planted in Britain by St. Paul.

The testimonies which prove that a Christian Church was planted by some one of the apostles, and probably by Saint Paul, are entitled to grave consideration. Among these we find Eusebius,[2] a man high in the estimation of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor born and proclaimed in Britain. He had, therefore, an opportunity of learning from the Emperor, the actual state and the origin of the British Churches. That historian having proved that the apostles of Christ who preached the gospel to the world could not be impostors, among other arguments suggests that it would have been madness in men so illiterate, who understood only their native tongue, to attempt to deceive mankind by preaching the Christian doctrine in the most remote cities and countries. In the number of those countries he specifies those which are called

[1] "We have not one testimony which reaches to the point concerning Joseph of Arimathea which is not originally taken from the Glastonbury Legends." Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. c. 1.

[2] Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. iii. c. 7.

the British Islands.[1] Theodoret[2] also, in his enumeration of the different nations converted by the apostles, names the Britons; and in another part of his history, speaking of the labours and success of Saint Paul, he says, that after his release from confinement at Rome, that apostle went into Spain, and thence carried the light of the gospel to other nations, and *to the islands which lie in the ocean.* These testimonies are confirmed by circumstances of great probability. Saint Paul had leisure and opportunity to visit Britain, and he had sufficient invitation and encouragement to extend his missionary travels thither. The proofs brought by some ecclesiastical writers, for particular reasons, to show that Saint Peter was the original apostle of Britain, are slender in comparison with the evidence in favour of Saint Paul; but the controversy is of use in showing, from the concurrence of two opposite parties in the fact, that Christianity was planted in Britain soon after the death of its Divine author. A.D. 300.

British Churches under the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303 to A.D. 305.

The gospel having been introduced into Britain, a Christian Church subsisted there, though not always in an equal degree of vigour, till the persecution of Diocletian.[3] It then acquired new strength and reputation from the pious fortitude of its martyrs. Though the names of only three[4] of those confessors have been recorded, yet all historians agree that numbers suffered in Britain with the greatest constancy and courage.[5] The first martyr is said to have been Saint Alban, who lived in the town of Verulam, which had a Roman colony, and who had been converted from paganism by a priest to whom he had afforded protection from the general persecution.

Though Constantius, the Roman Governor of Britain, had an inclination to favour the Christians, yet it was not in his power to dispense with the edicts of the Emperors, and he complied so far with them as to demolish the churches. This act, however, was compulsory, and it was forgiven on account of his subsequent conduct when he succeeded to the imperial crown. Though he died a pagan, yet he granted to the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and protected them from injury or insult. This Emperor, it is well known, died at York, and succeeded in securing the throne to his son Constantine, A.D. 306. From the accession of Constantine must be dated the re-establishment of Christianity in the British islands. The happy change is thus described by Gildas:

Constantine succeeds.

[1] Ἐπὶ τὰς, καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους. [2] Theod. tom. iv. Serm. 9.

[3] Some are willing to believe, on the authority of Bede, that under the reign of Marcus Antoninus, Lucius, king of Britain, addressed himself to Eleutherus, the Roman pontiff, for teachers to instruct him in the Christian religion. But the traditions of the British writers are so blended with fiction, that this fact does not merit insertion in the body of our narrative Still there is undoubted proof that the gospel was widely extended in Britain before the close of the second century; Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita. Tertul. advers. Jud. c. 7.

[4] St. Alban, Aaron, and Julius. [5] Gildas, sec. 8. Bede, lib. i. c. 6, 7.

A.D. 330. "After a persecution of ten years, its authors were taken off by remarkable judgments, the Christians were brought back to a state of ease, the victorious cross was displayed, the churches were rebuilt, and the holy solemnities kept without any disturbance." At that period a church was erected at Verulam in honour of Saint Alban, and the town was called by his name.

Three British bishops are present at the Council of Arles.

But the first decisive evidence of the settled condition of the British Churches is found in the number of bishops which attended the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. The canons of that Council were subscribed by Eborius, bishop of York, Restitutus, bishop of London, and Adelpius, bishop of the third province, into which Britain was then divided, and which was sometimes called *Britannia secunda*.[1] We are not, however, to conclude that there were no more than three bishops at that time in Britain, for it was the custom of every National Church to send a deputation of its prelacy to a General Council. There is every reason to suppose that the Christians in Britain were always under an episcopal administration, and that the British Church was governed in conformity with the rest of Christendom. When the Emperor Constantine first summoned a Council, a number of bishops appeared from Britain proportional with other provinces of the Empire. The apostolical succession of the British bishops was undisputed, and their subscriptions were received without any question of their authority; an argument sufficiently convincing that their character was as well authenticated as that of the other prelates.

No direct evidence that any British bishops were present at the Council of Nice.

When the Christian Church was disturbed by the Arian heresy, and the Council of Nice was convened to compose its divisions, there is no direct evidence that any bishops from Britain were present. But it must be remembered that the subscriptions to the canons of the first Nicene Council, A.D. 325, are confused and imperfect even in the best copies; and there is a strong presumption, although not a direct proof, that the Bishops of Britain were summoned, and that some of them appeared. Eusebius relates, that it was the intention of Constantine to procure as large an assemblage as possible of bishops from all parts of the Empire, and for that purpose his summon was universal. In the epistle of the Emperor to the different Churches, it is distinctly expressed that there was a necessity for all bishops to meet together, in order to settle and determine the true Christian faith.

British bishops at the Council of Ariminium.

There is only a strong presumption of the appearance of any British bishops at the Council of Nice, but for their presence at the Council of Ariminium, A.D. 359, and Sardica,[2] there is equally positive evidence as for their attendance at the Council of Arles. They subscribed the definitions in favour of Arianism, but their

[1] Sirmond, Concil. Gallic. tom. i. p. 9.
[2] Sulpit. Sever. lib ii. Britain was then comprehended under Gaul.

subscriptions were extorted by the Emperor Constantius, and it is probable that after their return they followed the example of the Gallican Church by re-establishing the Nicene faith. In the time of Jovian, Athanasius mentions the orthodoxy of the Britannic Churches.[1] A.D. 440.

Arianism, it is probable, only slightly infected the British Churches;[2] they were more corrupted by the diffusion of the Pelagian doctrine. The errors of Pelagius have indeed been charged originally on the British people, and his fierce and contentious spirit has been attributed to national temperature.[3] Several Bishops of Britain were seduced by Agricola, a disciple of Pelagius, and Prosper, speaking of the efforts of Cælestine to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, says, that it had taken possession of the soil from which it originally sprang.[4] Yet the opposition to Pelagianism in Britain was vigorous and persevering, and the British bishops, distrusting their own sufficiency to encounter it, called in the aid of their Gallican neighbours.[5] Lupus and Germanus, bishops of great reputation, accepted the invitation, and in a conference with the Pelagians at Verulam,[6] A.D. 446, they defended the orthodox faith in so convincing a manner, that they left Britain, as they supposed, confirmed in the principles of pure Christianity. But no sooner had they returned to Gaul than Pelagianism again raised its head, and Germanus undertook a second voyage to Britain, in company with Severus.[7] Despairing of convincing the Pelagians by argument, Germanus procured their banishment by an edict of Valentinian, and from that time, according to the testimony of Bede, the British Churches continued sound and orthodox.

Conference at Verulam.

Besides the suppression of Pelagianism, the Gallican bishops rendered other aid to the British Church, in the institution of schools, and in the introduction of a liturgy. Germanus and Lupus were in this instance, as well as in the confutation of the Pelagian doctrine, the principal benefactors to our island. They consecrated several bishops, and they founded a cathedral at Llandaff, over which Dubricius, a disciple of Germanus, was placed. The authority of Dubricius was archiepiscopal, but how far it extended is uncertain. The celebrated monastery of Bangor, a place distant about ten miles from Chester, was founded also about that time.[8] It is observed of that monastery, that the members of it united learning with devotion, and differed from many other monastic institutions in which labour was associated with ignorance.

[1] Athan. ad Jov. p. 246.

[2] The charge of Arianism is preferred against the British Churches by Gildas and Bede. Gildas, Ep. 12. Bede, lib. i. c. 8, 10, 17.

[3] Bede, lib. i. c. 10.

[4] The Pelagians are called the enemies of God's grace, Solum suæ originis occupantes. Prosper, v. Coll.

[5] Bede, lib. i. c. 17.

[6] Matt. West.

[7] Bishop of Triers, Bede, lib. i. c. 21.

[8] Bede, lib. ii. c. 2.

A.D. 500. Such was the faith and learning of the British Church; its liturgy and ritual were those of Gaul, derived, as it is said, from Saint John, through Irenæus and Polycarp.[1] It is acknowledged by the Romanists that the liturgies of Rome and Gaul were different; and Charlemagne affirms not only that there was a difference, but that the Gallican Churches were unwilling to change their ancient service, and to practise a conformity with the Church of Rome.[2]

Having described the establishment, we must now give an account of the declension of the British Church.

On the subjugation of the island by the Saxons, between the years A.D. 449 and A.D. 594, Christianity appears to have maintained itself only in Wales and in Cornwall. In Wales we find the schools of Dubricius and Iltutus; and also Saint David, whose name is still preserved in the Saxon Church.[3] The tutelary saint of Wales was educated under Paulinus, a disciple of Germanus; he then visited Jerusalem, where he received episcopal consecration from the patriarch; and soon after his return was held, at a place called Llandewy, the famous Synod of Brevy,[4] a general convention of all the bishops and clergy of Britain on account of the Pelagian controversy. Saint David was present at that Synod, and by his authority and eloquence suppressed Pelagianism. There also he was chosen by general consent Archbishop of Caerleon, the see of which he removed to Menesia.

Saint David. Church of Wales.

Church of Cornwall.

The Church of Cornwall is involved in yet greater obscurity than that of Wales.[5] Two British bishops, we are told by Bede, assisted Wini, bishop of Winchester, at the consecration of the Archbishop of York; but whether they were bishops of the Cornish Britons, tributary to the West Saxons, or whether they were bishops of South Wales, there is not sufficient evidence to determine. This much is certain, that the Christians in Cornwall were numerous, and that they preserved their ancient rites and usages till the latter end of the seventh century.

[1] Spelman, Brit. Conc. tom. i. p. 167. [2] Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. c. 5.

[3] It is the just complaint of Bollandus, Act. Sanct. that nothing is extant concerning Saint David, which was written near his own time; and what is extant is so mingled with fable, that it is impossible to find out the truth. Giraldus and John of Tinmouth have written his life. An edition of Giraldus has been published by that generous patron of learning Sir R. C. Hoare.

[4] Giraldus says it was a convention both of clergy and laity.

[5] "We know scarcely anything of the early transactions of the Welsh or the Cornish, before the Saxons invaded them, and so united their own history with that of the native Britons. Thus two large communities which had been composed each of united tribes of Britain, and enlightened by all the rays of the literature of Rome, even more enlightened still by the rays of the gospel, sunk back into the darkness of their original history; and they owe the main knowledge of their own annals immediately after the Roman departure, to those rude barbarians who had come from the shores of the Baltic, and whom they had half raised into knowledge, while those had wholly depressed them into ignorance. So much heavier is the scale of ignorance in man than that of knowledge."—Whitaker, History of the Cathedral of Cornwall, p. 2.

With the exception of Wales and Cornwall, however, the light of Christianity was extinguished in Britain, and the natives complied with the paganism of their Saxon conquerors; and since those conquerors remained in their primitive ignorance for more than a century and a half, the ecclesiastical history of England presents nothing but a few unconnected traditionary events, till we come to the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. A.D. 510.

For a long time the conversion of the Saxon nation had attracted the compassionate attention of the Bishops of Rome; and Gregory the Great, who had cherished the wish with more than common zeal, at length found that circumstances were favourable to its completion. It was at the end of the sixth century of the Christian era, and about one hundred and fifty years after the first invasion of England by the Saxons, that Ethelbert, the king of Kent, received intelligence that a number of men, clad in a foreign garb, and practising several unusual ceremonies, desired to be admitted to his presence. This band consisted of Augustine, a monk of the newly-founded order of Benedictines, with forty of his associates, who had landed in the Isle of Thanet, the same place as that on which the Saxons had made their hostile descent. Augustine lands in Kent.

At his first interview with these strangers, Ethelbert heard them in the open air, on a principle of Druidical superstition, in order to counteract the effects of their enchantments.[1] Augustine delivered the purport of his mission through a Gallic interpreter. Its favourable reception had been secured by Bertha, the queen of Ethelbert, daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks, and herself a Christian. A place in the city of Canterbury, the capital of the kingdom of Kent, was allotted for the reception of Augustine and his companions. They entered in solemn procession, preceded by two persons bearing a cross of silver, and a painted figure of Christ, and singing Litanies as they proceeded, to avert the Divine wrath from the unbelievers. As Ethelbert soon avowed his own conversion, the principal part of his subjects, and especially his nobles, followed his example, induced, as it is said, by many signal miracles performed by Augustine and his companions, but, undoubtedly, influenced by the extraordinary zeal of the missionaries, and the sanctity of their lives. The new religion, adopted by a prince so respected as Ethelbert, soon spread itself through all that part of England which lies south-west of the Humber. Ethelbert, king of Kent, converted to Christianity.

It is probable that the Druidical order did not at that time subsist among the Anglo-Saxons, or else that it had greatly declined in authority and reputation, since Christianity experienced little or no opposition from the pagan priesthood. On the contrary, some of that body were among the foremost in embracing the new doctrine. But even if Druidism did not then flourish in General account of the progress of Christianity in England.

[1] Veteri usus augurio, says Henry of Huntingdon, p. 321.

A.D. 520. its former vigour, still the religion of the Anglo-Saxons was derived from a Druidical source, and the capital objects of their worship were trees, stones, the elements, and the heavenly bodies.

Change from paganism to Christianity gradual.

In the change of the national religion, care was taken to render the transition from paganism to Christianity as little violent as was possible in any change from error to truth. It was a maxim with Gregory, under whose auspices the mission was undertaken and conducted, that the pagan temples should not be destroyed, especially when they were well built, but that the idols having been previously removed from them, they should be consecrated by more holy rites to better purposes. He was unwilling wantonly to offend the prejudices of the people by a profanation of those objects which had long been regarded with veneration, and he carried his compliance so far as to connive at their ancient sacrifices. He ordered that oxen should, as usual, be slaughtered near the churches,[1] and that the indulgence of ancient festivities should accompany the celebration of new ceremonies. Whatever popular customs were found not absolutely inconsistent with Christianity were retained.[2] Even the names of some of the Christian festivals were taken from those of the heathens, which had been observed at the same time of the year. The names of the days of the week also were retained, though derived from pagan deities.

Prudence of the first missionaries.

The prudence of the missionaries in the gradual propagation of religious truth, and their activity in disseminating their doctrines, were joined with a superiority in the arts of civil life. When Christianity was first preached in Sussex, that country was reduced to the utmost distress, by a drought which had continued during three years. The barbarous inhabitants, destitute of any means of alleviating the calamity of famine, frequently united in bodies, and precipitating themselves from the cliffs were either drowned or dashed in pieces by the rocks. Though a maritime people, they were ignorant of fishing, and this ignorance probably arose from a remnant of Druidical superstition, which forbade the use of food so procured. In this extremity, Wilfrid, their first Christian preacher, collecting nets, plunged into the sea, at the head of his attendants, and having first provided sustenance for their famishing bodies, he soon disposed their minds to receive his spiritual instructions.

Christianity attended by civilization.

Not only was the introduction of Christianity attended by the progress of civilization, but with another blessing, that of liberty. The Christian kings sometimes made donations to the Church, of lands which they had obtained by conquest from their heathen enemies, and the clergy, so soon as they had baptized their new vassals, accompanied the sacred rite with manumission. Such con-

[1] Bede, Hist Eccl. lib. i. c. 30.

[2] Deer were at a certain season brought into St. Paul's Church in London, and laid on the altar, and this custom subsisted until the Reformation. Dugdale, History of St. Paul's.

duct naturally endeared the persons as well as the doctrines of their teachers, to a people who saw religion and freedom advancing with equal steps. These monks, indeed, deserve the praise of enlarged and generous views for the improvement of mankind. In a canon wherein the clergy were prohibited from alienating their lands, among other charitable exceptions to the rule, it was specified that they might do so for the release of slaves by purchase. This duty, which they were most careful to practise, they were not less earnest in enforcing on their flocks. Whenever they imposed penance, they permitted no other commutation than acts of charity and beneficence. They urged their penitents to the enfranchisement and redemption of slaves, and to the repair of public works; and they practically taught that no offences could be expiated, unless by some act which contributed to the happiness and welfare of society. A.D. 530.

Progress of Christianity in the other Saxon kingdoms.

The marriage of Ethelbert to a Christian princess, was, as we have seen, the means of introducing Christianity into his dominions; and similar influences contributed to extend it through the other kingdoms of the heptarchy, the respective sovereigns of them being generally converted by their queens. Ecclesiastical establishments were gradually formed, as they were demanded by the religious wants of the people, or as these wants were anticipated by the piety of the Saxon princes. Augustine erected the cathedral of Christ Church in the city of Canterbury, and founded there a Benedictine abbey called after his own name; and having received episcopal ordination from the Bishop of Arles, he was invested by Pope Gregory with jurisdiction over all the Saxon prelates.[1]

Canterbury a metropolitan see.

As the Anglo-Saxon Church was established through the popes, they were naturally solicitous to preserve its dependence on the see of Rome, and for the period of a century from its foundation, the English primacy was filled by foreigners nominated by the Roman pontiffs. By these foreign prelates considerable accessions were made to the originally scanty stock of Saxon literature, the largest as well as the most valuable of which additions arose from Theodore, the seventh archbishop of Canterbury, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. He was a Greek by birth, a man of lofty spirit, of enlarged views, and of cultivated talents. Unexpectedly raised to his high station, he laboured with singular activity to render his attainments useful to the comparatively barbarous people committed to his pastoral charge. He first introduced the study of his native language into the island; he brought with him a number of books in different faculties, and among them a magnificent copy of the works of Homer. Under his patronage a school was founded at Canterbury, and thus both the great fountains of knowledge, the Greek and Latin tongues, were opened in England.

Theodore, seventh archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] Bede, Hist. lib. i. c. 23.

A.D. 540. The labours of Theodore were not confined to the British isles, they are recorded in the annals of the general Christian Church. Among his other works, he reduced to a regular science, that branch of the ecclesiastical law which is commonly known by the name of Penitential Discipline; and published his celebrated 'Penitentiale,'[1] by which the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, both as to their degrees of guilt, and their publicity. He discriminated the degrees of guilt, according to the nature of the offence, its consequences, the intention of the offender, the time and place of commission, and the circumstances under which it was committed. The 'Penitentiale' likewise contained the different modes of proceeding against offenders; it pointed out the penalties suitable to the various classes of transgressions; it prescribed the different forms of consolation, of exhortation, and of absolution; and it detailed in an ample and accurate manner, the duty of those who were appointed to receive the confessions of penitents. The discipline of Theodore, though he was of Grecian extraction, was eagerly adopted by the Latin Churches, and in a short time it passed from Britain into all the Western provinces. It was universally practised until Penitentiary Discipline assumed a new form, under the title of the Canon of Indulgences.

His *Penitentiale.*

Contests between the Anglo-Saxon and British Churches.

As yet the Anglo-Saxon Church has been considered only in regard to its triumph over Paganism, and its beneficial influence on the morals and laws of a barbarous nation; it remains to consider the contests between the Anglo-Saxon and the ancient British Church which still existed in the northern and western parts of the island. In these struggles the governors of the Anglo-Saxon Church have incurred severe reproach. The Roman mission of Augustine has been set forth with so much pomp, and its charitable motives as well as its salutary effects have been so highly extolled, that the conversion of the Saxons has been ascribed solely to the Christian zeal of the popes. This is not surprising; but it is not with equal justice that the Saxon historians have reproached their neighbours the British Christians with having suffered the invaders to live in Pagan darkness, without endeavouring to enlighten their ignorance. It was impossible that any Christians under Saxon oppression could have been fit instruments for the conversion of their persecutors, and it was unlikely that the conquerors, engaged in foreign and domestic wars, should have been favourably disposed towards the religion of their vassals. The reproach is therefore unjust and groundless.

Augustine metropolitan of England.

It has been already related, that so soon as Augustine had communicated to Gregory an account of the success of his mission, he received from the pontiff the pall, the emblem of metropolitical

[1] The 'Penitentiale' of Theodore is yet extant, though mutilated and imperfect. An edition was published at Paris in the year 1679, by Petit.

dignity. Had the English missionary been contented with the title and office of a bishop, there would have been no room for censure; but that he should aspire to the dignity of a metropolitan when he had no suffragan under his jurisdiction, has laid him open to the charge of vanity and ambition. He was, it is true, solicitous to correct the anomaly, as soon as possible, after his return from Arles, and he founded an episcopal see at Rochester, of which Justus, one of his companions, was constituted the first bishop. A.D. 550. Justus bishop of Rochester.

Augustine being invested by Gregory with the primacy of Britain, and with a jurisdiction over its bishops, together with a commission to teach the unlearned, to confirm the weak, and to punish the obstinate, applied himself with the greatest anxiety to reduce the British bishops to conformity with the Church of Rome. Instead of propagating the Christian faith among unbelievers, his chief exertions were directed to the extension and enlargement of his own authority, and that of his patron Gregory.

State of the British Churches.

The gospel having been preached in Britain either by the apostles of Christ or by their immediate followers, the British Churches had as yet always observed the customs and ceremonies prescribed by their first teachers. Their forms were remarkable for simplicity, whereas Augustine introduced a number of pompous ceremonies borrowed from the Romish ritual. The Britons maintaining but little intercourse with the rest of the world, had scarcely any communication with the Bishops of Rome, and considered them as no more than diocesan bishops, or at the highest as patriarchs, on whom their own Church had no dependence. But Augustine, out of the abundance of his gratitude to that see from which he derived his own authority, sought to gain from the British prelates an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Roman pontiff over the whole Christian Church. For that purpose he secured the co-operation of Ethelbert, and succeeded also in obtaining a conference with the British bishops on the borders of the county of Worcester.[1] The Synod being assembled, Augustine proposed first, that the Britons should embrace the unity of the Catholic Church, and then co-operate with him and his clergy in converting the pagan natives. This proposition, however reasonable at first sight, was not received with approbation; Augustine was unable to prevail on the British bishops to admit the slightest change in their ancient customs. The historians of this period relate, that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he caused a blind man to be introduced into the assembly, whose restoration to sight, after useless similar attempts by the Britons, he effected by his prayers. But even against this miracle the Britons were impenetrable, and all the concession which Augustine could obtain was, that they would take into considera-

Conference between Augustine and the British bishops.

Its results.

[1] The place has been since called Augustine's Oak.

A.D. 560. tion the propositions which he had submitted, and would come to a determination in a future Synod.

Advice of an anchorite.

The Britons having returned from the conference, and considering that their obstinacy might draw on them the resentment of Ethelbert, applied themselves to a consideration of the propositions. Not being able to come to any conclusion among themselves, they solicited the advice of an anchorite of great reputation for sanctity and wisdom: and besought him to give an opinion on this difficult question; whether they ought to quit the customs and usages of their ancestors, and adopt those of Augustine? His answer was, that he saw no reason why they should adopt any alterations in their religion, simply on the bare request of a stranger; but since the essence of religion consisted in love and unity, not in forms, if the stranger were a holy man and sent from God, they should follow him. This answer occasioned a second question, by what marks they could discern whether he were a holy man or not? The answer of the anchorite was worthy of his reputation: he told them to judge the character and pretensions by the conduct of the man who supported them; if he were meek and humble, then they might conclude that he was the disciple of Him who had taught men to bear his yoke; but if the stranger were haughty and arrogant, then it was certain that he could not be sent from God, whatever might be his pretensions. The Britons still unsatisfied, demanded what were those marks of gentleness and condescension by which they might discern of what spirit the stranger was? "His spirit," the sage replied, "you will discern in this; let him and his companions first come to the Synod, and if on your approach he shall rise up in condescension and love, and greet you, then look upon him as a servant of Christ, and submit to whatever he shall ordain; but if he shall contemptuously refuse to rise up to you who are the greater number, then let him see that you despise his insolence, and disclaim his authority."[1]

Second conference.

After some time had been consumed in these deliberations, the British bishops, seven in number, with Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, and some other learned men, consented to meet Augustine at a second conference. The archbishop and his companions were seated in the place of meeting before the Britons entered, and as Augustine did not rise from his seat to receive them, they acted in conformity with the advice of the hermit, and opposed all his overtures of union with great spirit and perseverance. After a violent contest, the archbishop addressed them in these words: "In many things you act contrary to our customs as well as to the usages of the Catholic Church; notwithstanding, if you will submit to my authority in these three matters, namely, in observing the Easter festival after our manner, in using the same rites and

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 2.

ceremonies with the Church of Rome, and in joining with us to convert the Saxon pagans; in all other things which you do contrary to our customs, we will bear with you." To this demand, the British bishops answered, that they would not comply with any one of the three particulars, neither would they acknowledge him for their archbishop. Augustine, fired with indignation at this refusal, answered them with threats, and plainly intimated, that if they would not accept peace from their brethren, they must expect war from their enemies; and if they would not preach the word of life to the Saxons, they should themselves suffer death. A.D. 600.

Speech of Dinoth, abbot of Bangor.

Such is the account delivered by Bede of this Synod, but the British writers, as may be learned from Leland, give a different view of the transaction. He relates, that Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, disputed with great ability, and spoke at great length, against submission to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, or the Bishop of Canterbury, and that he defended the authority of the Archbishop of Caerleon, or Saint David's. "You propose to us," he said, "obedience to the Church of Rome; are you ignorant that we already owe a deference of love and charity to the Church of God, to the Bishop of Rome, and to all Christians? Other obedience than this to the pope we know not, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a superior, what need have we to go so far as Rome, when we are governed under God by the Archbishop of Caerleon, who hath authority to superintend our Churches and our ecclesiastical affairs." The Abbot of Bangor went so far as to censure the pope, for permitting the usurpation of Augustine, telling him and his companions that it was their duty if they were good Christians, to restore their unjust and tyrannical power into those hands from which they had received it.

Thus the project entertained by Augustine, of establishing his power as metropolitan over the whole British island, was defeated. But the Saxon historian has added, that Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, sent a large army into Wales, and not only gained a signal triumph over the British near Caerleon, but slaughtered the ecclesiastics, and particularly the monks of Bangor. If this event happened during the life of Augustine, and at his instigation, he must, in addition to his acknowledged haughtiness and ambition, be charged with cruelty and revenge.

Death of Augustine.

Lawrence second archbishop of Canterbury.

Having related the state of the Anglo-Saxon Church at the death of Augustine, A.D. 611, we proceed next to describe its advancement, under Lawrence, who succeeded him in the see of Canterbury, and whom he had consecrated for that end, a short time before his death. In the scheme of ecclesiastical government which Gregory had transmitted, he directed that the primacy should be removed from Canterbury to London, at the death of Augustine; and Mellitus, one of the companions of Augustine, had been consecrated bishop of that see. But the scheme of

A.D. 612. Gregory was found to be impracticable, and his authority was disavowed. The city of London was not yet converted to Christianity, and therefore could not be the see of the metropolitan of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Ethelbert, likewise, while he lived, would not permit the removal of the primacy from his own kingdom, nor the subjecting of his bishops to the jurisdiction of a Bishop of London.

His diligence in preaching and exemplary life.

Lawrence, therefore, was both the second archbishop of Canterbury, and the second primate of the Anglo-Saxon Church; and he not only imitated the vigour of his predecessor, but supported his authority by the assiduity of his preaching, and the strictness of his life. He resumed the project of reducing the Britons under the papal authority, but without success; and he then wisely transferred his exertions towards an object, by success in which they were fully rewarded. By the interest of Mellitus, the conversion of the East Saxons inhabiting the counties of Middlesex and Essex was happily accomplished. He appeared at the court of Sebert in his episcopal character, and that prince, together with a multitude of his subjects, embraced the Christian religion and were baptized. The Abbey Church of Westminster was built on the site of a heathen temple dedicated to Apollo, and was consecrated by Mellitus to the honour of God, and dedicated to Saint Peter. Another stately edifice, intended for the cathedral, was erected on the ruins of a temple of Diana, and was consecrated to Saint Paul.[1]

Mellitus, bishop of London.

Death of Ethelbert.

Neither Ethelbert nor Bertha long survived Augustine, and on the death of the former, A.D. 616, paganism revived in the kingdom of Kent, and threatened the destruction of the British Church.

Eadbald.

Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, either had never been converted to Christianity, or, as soon as he possessed the crown, had renounced it. His morals were licentious, and the cause of his apostacy, or his aversion to Christianity, is said to have been an incestuous connection which he had formed with his father's wife. The archbishop had remonstrated with him in a manner becoming a Christian teacher, but his reprimands were received with disgust. The King was a latitudinarian in principle as well as a libertine in practice, and he encouraged his subjects to restore the pagan idolatry. Notwithstanding the zeal and assiduity of the archbishop of Canterbury, of the Bishop of Rochester, and of the clergy in general, the defection of the people from Christianity was great. The calamities of the Christians were increased by the death of Sebert, king of the East Saxons, for notwithstanding his own recent conversion, his three sons, who jointly succeeded him, had not sincerely renounced idolatry. They kept their profession, indeed, secret during the life of their father, but he was no sooner

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3.

dead than they openly avowed paganism, and gave their subjects also liberty to profess it. A persecution of Christianity commenced, and Mellitus was commanded to leave the kingdom of the East Saxons. A.D. 620. Persecution of Christianity in the kingdom of the East Saxons.

The condition of the Church of Kent, although depressed, was not, like that of the East Saxons, destroyed, and thither Mellitus fled for protection. After a consultation with the archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester, it was concluded that an open resistance against the general apostacy would be fruitless, and that their personal safety demanded their immediate return to Rome. Mellitus and Justus, bishop of Rochester, immediately departed, and thus deserted the cause in which they had engaged. Lawrence also resolved to follow them, and on the evening before his intended desertion of his pastoral charge, he caused his bed to be brought into the cathedral, purposing to take his rest there on the last night of his stay. But according to the legend which Bede has transmitted to us, Saint Peter appeared to him in a form more appalling than that of an unsubstantial vision, for, after reproaching the cowardice of the primate, the apostle inflicted on him a severe flagellation. On the next day, Lawrence appeared before the King, bearing the marks of the discipline which he had undergone in the preceding night, and having given an account of the manner in which he had received his castigation, the King was so affected, that he changed both his faith and morals, and became a Christian and a new man.[1]

Mellitus seeks refuge in Kent.

Mellitus and Justus retire into France.

Contrivance of Lawrence.

Conversion of Eadbald.

Eadbald being converted by this miracle or stratagem, sent to France to recall Mellitus and Justus to their dignity and duty. Those fugitives returned, A.D. 619, about a year after their flight, and the Bishop of Rochester was reinstated in his see by the King of Kent. The inhabitants of London having refused to admit Mellitus, Eadbald afforded him an honourable retreat in Kent, till the death of Lawrence, when he succeeded to the primacy. Mellitus continued in that station about five years, without much exertion for the advancement of Christianity, and at his death, Justus, A.D. 624, the only surviving bishop consecrated by Augustine, was raised to the archbishopric.

Mellitus third archbishop of Canterbury.

Justus, fourth archbishop of Canterbury.

With the exception of the abortive attempt to plant the Anglo-Saxon Church in the kingdom of the East Saxons, its limits had as yet been bounded by the kingdom of Kent. It next extended itself into the kingdom of Northumbria. Northumbria at that time was governed by Edwin, the most powerful prince in the Saxon heptarchy, whose proposed alliance was eagerly accepted by Eadbald. Their connection was to be cemented by a marriage between Edwin and Ethelburga, the sister of Eadbald; but as Edwin was still a pagan, Eadbald insisted that it was not lawful

Conversion of the kingdom of Northumbria.

Marriage of Edwin and Ethelburga, A.D. 628.

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 5, 6.

A.D. 630. for his sister, who had been educated in the Christian faith, to contract a marriage with an idolater. Edwin readily stipulated not to oppose the religion which the princess had embraced, and to grant liberty of worship both to herself and her retinue; and more than this, he added that if, on examination, he found the Christian faith more worthy of belief than that in which he had been educated, he was inclined to conversion.

Paulinus.

On such a satisfactory basis, the treaty of marriage between Edwin and Ethelburga was completed; and when the princess left her brother's court for that of Edwin, she took with her Paulinus, one of the missionaries who had been sent by Pope Gregory, and who had been consecrated to the episcopal order by Justus.[1] At his first arrival in Northumbria, Paulinus seems to have made little progress in converting either the King or his subjects; but after Ethelburga had been delivered of a daughter, and Edwin had been dangerously wounded by an assassin, these two events altered his prospects. The King was inclined to believe that the prayers of Paulinus had contributed towards the happy parturition of Ethelburga; and his own imminent peril also had disposed his mind to serious reflection. As a proof of the change in his sentiments, he consented that his infant daughter, together with eleven other persons of his court and family, should be baptized by Paulinus;[2] and since the assassin who had attempted his life was employed by the King of Wessex, he promised to renounce idolatry, if the God of the Christians would avenge him of his enemy.

Edwin disposed to embrace Christianity.

As soon as Edwin had recovered from his wound, he marched at the head of a large army into the dominions of the King of Wessex; although he returned crowned with victory, yet he deferred the entire performance of his vow.[3] He at once, indeed, disengaged himself from idolatry; but when the queen and Paulinus urged him to proceed farther, he answered that the adoption of a religion different from that in which he had been educated was a matter which required a solemn and mature deliberation. For some time he continued in a state of suspense, or rather of neutrality, until Pope Boniface attempted to remove his doubts. The pontiff wrote to Edwin, pointing out the folly of the pagan worship;[4] and to Ethelburga also, exhorting her to renew her arguments and persuasions with the King, and never to remit her prayers to Heaven for a blessing on her endeavours. But for a long time the epistles of Boniface, the entreaties of Ethelburga, and the instructions of Paulinus, were equally ineffectual. Edwin was not to be won unless by conviction, and he examined the evidences of the new religion with candour and impartiality.

His deliberation on the subject.

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 9. [2] Ibid.
[3] Saxon Chron. 28. [4] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 10.

At length he avowed his assent to the truth of Christianity, A.D. 640.
influenced by the dexterous application which Paulinus made either of an event which we have already related in the earlier part of the King's life, or, as the monkish historian would persuade us, by the intervention of a positive miracle. Paulinus having heard the circumstances of a vision seen by Edwin, when a wanderer and a guest at the court of Redwald, one day entered the king's apartment as he was pursuing his meditations on the opposing religions, and, advancing with a solemn air, imitated the action of the imaginary figure, and placed his hand on the head of the Northumbrian prince. "Do you understand," inquired Paulinus, "the meaning of this token?" Surprised at the question, yet recollecting the divine oracle, Edwin is said to have prostrated himself at the feet of Paulinus, who, preventing this act of humiliation, reminded the King in a tone of authority, that it was his duty to obey the injunction of God, by submitting himself to the religion which that God had revealed. Edwin immediately resigned himself to the direction of his spiritual guide, and yielded an implicit assent to the Christian faith.[1]

His dream.

Yields his assent to Christianity.

How much of this supernatural appearance ought to be attributed to the credulity of the age, it is unnecessary in this place to inquire. The fact which now demands relation is the manner in which Edwin procured the conversion of his subjects. He had held frequent conferences with Coifi, his pagan high priest, on the arguments which Paulinus urged in favour of Christianity, and Coifi, perceiving from these conversations the bias of his sovereign, resolved not to oppose his wishes. When Edwin, therefore, summoned a Council to inquire the sentiments of his nobles concerning the new religion, and to propose that if they participated in his own feelings they might all be baptized together, Coifi, in the order of precedence, rose first, and thus addressed his prince and the assembly:—"You see, O King, what is now preached to us. I declare to you most truly, what I have most certainly experienced, that the religion which we have hitherto professed contains no virtue at all, and as little utility. No one of all your court has been more attentive than I have been to the worship of our gods; and yet many have received far richer benefits, far greater honours, and have prospered more in all that men transact or pursue than I have. If, then, on due inquiry, you shall perceive that those new things which are preached to us will be better and more efficacious, let us hasten to adopt them without any delay."

Discussion on the subject in his Witenagemot.

The King, pleased with this address, applied to the priest next in dignity, who enforced the opinion of Coifi in the following manner:—"The present life of man, O king, seems to me, if compared with that after period which is so uncertain to us, to resemble a

[1] Bede, lib. ii. c. 12.

A.D. 650. scene at one of your wintry feasts. As you are sitting with your ealdormen and thegns about you, the fire blazing in the centre, and the whole hall cheered with its warmth, and while storms of rain and snow are raging, without; a little sparrow flies in at one door, roams around our festive meeting, and passes out at some other entrance. While it is among us, it feels not the wintry tempest; it enjoys the short comfort and serenity of its transient stay; but then plunging into the winter from which it had flown, it disappears from our eyes. Such is here the life of man. It acts and thinks before us, but, as of what preceded its appearance among us we are ignorant, so are we of all that is destined to come afterwards. If, then, on this momentous future this new doctrine reveals anything more certain or reasonable, it is in my opinion entitled to our acquiescence."[1]

The other royal counsellors exhibited similar dispositions. Paulinus was immediately summoned, and having stated the arguments in favour of Christianity, Coifi declared aloud that there was no further room for doubt. "Formerly," he said, "I understood nothing that I worshipped. The more I contemplated our idolatry, the less truth I found in it. But this new system I adopt without hesitation, for truth shines around it, and presents to us the gifts of eternal life and blessedness. Let us then, O king, immediately anathematize and burn the temples and altars which we have so uselessly venerated." To show the sincerity of his conversion, or the warmth of his zeal, the high priest, on being asked who would be the first to profane the idols and their altars, answered, "I will; as I have led the way in adoring them through my folly, I will give the example of destroying them in obedience to that wisdom which I have learned from the true God." Placing himself at the head of the other priests, Coifi, armed with a sword and lance, and mounted on one of the king's chargers, proceeded to the heathen temple, hurled his lance at the idol, and assisted in burning his sanctuary to the ground.[2]

Edwin, having declared his conversion, was baptized at York, with two sons by a former wife, and Hilda his niece; and all the nobility and courtiers followed his example. His love for Christianity incited him to propagate it beyond his own dominions; and his efforts were first directed to Eorpwald, king of the East Angles, the son of Redwald. Sigebyrht, the brother and successor of Eorpwald, not only contributed to the dissemination of Christianity in East Anglia, but applied himself so closely to the study of it as to be called by the chronicler "most learned."[3]

[1] Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.

[2] The scene of this event was a little to the east of York, beyond the river Derwent, at a place, in the time of Bede, called Godmunddingaham, and still called Godmundham, or the home of the mund, or protection of the gods. Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.

[3] Flor. Wig. 233, 234.

Edwin, having enjoyed a long reign of prosperity, was destined to experience a reverse of fortune. Five years had not elapsed after his conversion before he was slain in battle, and paganism once more overspread his dominions. Of the Northumbrian Christians some fell with their prince on the field, and others were put to death. Ethelburga and her children, accompanied by Paulinus, were compelled to fly for safety into the kingdom of Kent. A.D. 640. Edwin slain in battle, A.D. 633.

The affairs of the Northumbrian Church remained in a calamitous state, until Oswald ascended the throne. He first restored external peace, and then endeavoured to re-establish Christianity. But instead of recalling Paulinus, who was now bishop of Rochester, he sent for a Scottish bishop called Aidan to convert and instruct his subjects. Aidan having received episcopal consecration engaged with alacrity in the undertaking. His success was indeed great, yet not greater than his assiduity merited. He not only instructed the pagans in the principles of Christianity, but he was an eminent example of holiness and charity. At his desire the King of Northumbria, without any regard to the appointment of Gregory or the succeeding popes, removed the archiepiscopal see from York to a small isle at the mouth of the river Lindis, known by the name of Holy Island. Here Aidan discharged all the important duties of a bishop, diligently preaching the word of God, and exhibiting a model of primitive simplicity totally unlike the pomp of the Romish missionaries. The see of York was for many years neglected; its bishops were reduced to the state of diocesan bishops, and went into Scotland to receive consecration. Oswald, king of Northumbria, A.D. 634. Aidan, a Scottish bishop, sent for by Oswald. Appointed bishop of Holy Island.

Having thus related the foundation of the Northumbrian Church, we now turn to that of Wessex, which was planted about this time by the care of Birinus. He came into England already invested with the episcopal character, and with the sanction of the Bishop of Rome. It was his original design to preach the gospel in the interior of the country where no religious instructor had preceded him; but happening to land in the territories of the King of Wessex, and finding that they were overspread with paganism, he thought it unnecessary to go farther. Here then he entered on his office, and performed it with effect. The King of Wessex was tributary to the King of Northumberland, and the two princes therefore joined in a grant to Birinus of the city of Dorchester, near Oxford, where an episcopal see was founded, and where Birinus continued to edify his converts both by instruction and example until his death. Church of Wessex. Birinus. Bishop of Dorchester, near Oxford

Leaving the Church of Wessex, the order of time demands that we should revert to the Church already founded in the kingdom of the East Angles. It has been mentioned, that Eorpwald had embraced the Christian faith, but that he had been murdered by his subjects, and his people had relapsed into idolatry. Sigebyrht, his brother, had also been compelled by a faction to retire into Church of the East Angles. Sigebyrht, king of the East Angles.

A.D. 650. France. A prince of his endowments could not without profit inhabit a country in which civilization had far advanced. He devoted himself to study, and his recreation was found in the correspondence and conversation of literary men. Convinced of the vanity and falsehood of paganism, he embraced Christianity as a revelation worthy of God. One of his chief companions and instructors was Felix, a Burgundian bishop, from whom he received the sacred rite of baptism. No sooner was Sigebyrht enabled to return to his own country and kingdom than he endeavoured to introduce among his subjects the learning which he had imbibed in France, and above all other things to establish the Christian faith. Whether he sent for Felix, or whether Felix came voluntarily into England, it is not material to determine. As soon as that Bishop arrived, he applied to Honorius, then archbishop of Canterbury, either for advice in the exercise of his sacred function, or for authority to assume episcopal jurisdiction. Honorius approved and promoted the design of Felix, who was received at the court of Sigebyrht with the highest marks of respect, and the city of Dummock, now called Dunwich, in the county of Suffolk, was assigned for his episcopal residence. The King and the Bishop co-operated in the erection of schools, and some historians ascribe the foundation of the university of Cambridge to the munificence of Sigebyrht.

His conversion.

Felix.

Bishop of Dunwich in Suffolk.

Church of the East Saxons.

From the Church of the East Angles we must recur to that of the East Saxons. Mellitus, as we have seen, had been expelled from London, and when he became archbishop of Canterbury, he used his utmost endeavours to recover his ancient flock from their apostacy. But his efforts were vain, and it was reserved for the English and Scottish clergy to accomplish what had been left unfinished by the missionaries of Rome. Between Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, and Sigebyrht, the third king of the East Saxons, the existence of a firm friendship occasioned frequent interviews. During those meetings Oswy frequently turned the conversation to the errors of Paganism, and urged his friend to inquire into the grounds of the religion in which he had been educated.[1] The inquiry was followed by the conversion of Sigebyrht to Christianity, and the new convert was baptized by Finan, bishop of the Northumbrians. Chad, a Northumbrian priest, and an Englishman by birth, had long been employed as a missionary in the midland counties, and he was induced to transfer his spiritual labours to the kingdom of the East Saxons. He received consecration from Finan, assisted by two other bishops, and was placed in the episcopal see of London, from which Mellitus had been expelled forty years before.

Chad, bishop of London.

The next kingdom which was converted to Christianity was the

[1] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 22.

powerful State of Mercia. Penda, its king, was remarkable for his cruelty and pride; and during a long reign had been actively opposed to a religion so alien to his own temper as Christianity. But that tyrant was at last brought to tolerate though not to profess the gospel.[1] He had a son endued with qualities the reverse of his own; and the young prince being enamoured of a daughter of the King of Northumbria named Atheleda, embraced the religion of his future queen. He returned to the dominions of his father accompanied by Atheleda and four priests; and the whole kingdom of Mercia was in consequence brought under the Christian faith.

A.D. 660.

Church of Mercia.

Penda.

Last of all, we turn to the South Saxons inhabiting the counties of Surrey and Sussex, the latest in their conversion to Christianity. The long continuance of that kingdom in idolatry, must be attributed to its subjection to the King of Wessex, and its ultimate conversion to the persecution of Wilfrid, bishop of York, who fled thither for safety. Edilwalch its king, although educated in paganism, had married Edda, a Christian princess, and no sooner did Wilfrid appear at his court, than he encouraged the Bishop to undertake the conversion of his subjects. Wilfrid proceeded to establish a Church, and by the influence which he possessed with the King, a bishopric was founded, and a cathedral built at Scolsey.

Church of the South Saxons.

Wilfrid.

Bishop of Scolsey.

Having thus described the manner and the instruments by which Christianity was established in every one of the States of the Anglo-Saxons, it is necessary to observe, that the kingdoms of Kent, of the West Saxons, and of the East Angles, derived their faith solely from Rome, while the remainder of England, containing the whole territory from the Friths of Forth and Clyde to the Thames, was for the most part indebted for religious instruction to the Scottish or Irish missionaries. On that account, there was a great diversity in the customs and ceremonies of the different Churches, which soon gave rise to factions. Every prince established such an ecclesiastical polity as suited the extent of his dominions; and with the exception of Kent, no kingdom on the first settlement of its Church had more than one episcopal see, with a bishop independent of any metropolitan.

Ecclesiastical division of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

It has been seen that in the conference between Augustine and the British bishops, he promised an indulgence in many of their ancient rites, on condition of their submission to the Romish method of celebrating the festival of Easter, and of administering the sacrament of baptism. But it appears that both the Britons and the Scots had a liturgy distinct from that of Rome, the former using the liturgy of the Gallican Church, the latter one peculiar to themselves.[2] The whole island may therefore be said to have been divided into two parties; on one hand the Scottish clergy and all

Religious parties.

[1] Bede, lib. iii. c. 21.

[2] Called the Cursus Scotorum.

A.D. 680. their adherents, on the other hand the French and Italian ecclesiastics with their followers. The Church of Kent, which espoused the side of Rome, and asserted the superiority of its own primate, had the principal share in the contest. It was soon discovered that there could be no external communion between the two parties, without a submission of one or the other, or without a mutual recognition of independence. The British and Scottish Churches, therefore, could not possibly accede to any terms of communion with the Church of Kent, unless by submitting to the archbishop of Canterbury, and of consequence to the see of Rome.

Aldfrid joint king of Northumbria, A.D. 684.

The manner in which those Churches, which had hitherto so vigorously opposed the Romish missionaries, at length yielded their independence is now to be related. Submission was first made by the Northern Churches, whose country had once been the nursery and support of the Scottish ecclesiastics. Aldfrid, the natural son of Oswy, king of Northumbria, and a partner in his father's throne, had been brought over to the Church of Rome by Wilfrid his preceptor, a warm defender of the Catholic Easter and of the ecclesiastical tonsure. The seeds of dissension being thus sown, were not long in coming to maturity. Since the two great parties followed different cycles in finding Easter, it sometimes happened, that while the King was celebrating the Paschal festival with joy, the Queen was engaged in the humiliation and austerities of Lent. Discord in the Church soon created a division in the State. The Romish party possessing stronger zeal and greater activity, soon prevailed on Oswy to yield; and if a judgment may be formed from the event, the assembly which he called to discuss the matter, was summoned rather for the purpose of defending his own reputation than of determining the question at issue. The way being thus prepared, a Synod or conference took place at the monastery of Whitby in the county of York. At the head of the Northern English party were Oswy himself, Hilda, abbess of the monastery, Coleman, bishop of the Northumbrians and successor of Finan, together with all the Scottish and English ecclesiastics, secular and monastic, who had received ordination in the Northern Churches. On the other side appeared Enfleda, the queen of Oswy, Aldfrid, his natural son and partner of his dominions, Wilfrid, the preceptor of Aldfrid, Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, with Agathon, a priest in his retinue, Roman, Enfleda's confessor, and James the deacon, an assistant of Paulinus, who superintended the Churches of York. The venerable Chad, who having been educated by the Scottish bishops adhered to their view of this question, was allowed to be the arbiter of both parties.

Synod of Whitby.

Coleman, bishop of Northumbria espouses the Northern party against the Church of Rome.

The King opened the meeting in a short speech, reminding all who were assembled, that since they professed to serve the same God, and to expect the same heavenly kingdom, they ought to observe the same rule of life, and a uniformity of worship. It was

their business, therefore, to inquire which side of the question was supported by the soundest arguments, and to acquiesce in the evidence which might be laid before them. Having said this, he commanded Coleman to state the manner in which the Church of Rome celebrated Easter, and to defend his own conformity with that Church. Coleman replied, that the manner in which he celebrated Easter was that which he had received from those who sent him into England, and which they received from their forefathers. "This rite," he said, "is the same which, according to ecclesiastical history, was celebrated by Saint John and all the Churches under the government of that blessed apostle." A.D. 680.

When Coleman had enlarged on this argument, the King commanded Agilbert to declare the manner of his observance, whence it originated, and by what authority he still conformed to it. Agilbert declined the task on account of his ignorance of the English tongue, notwithstanding there was an interpreter, and he requested that his disciple Wilfrid should be permitted to be his substitute. The King consented, and Wilfrid spoke to this effect:—"The manner of celebrating Easter practised by us, we ourselves saw generally practised at Rome, where the apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried. The very same observance we saw in the rest of Italy and in France. Moreover, we are informed, that in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, the inhabitants, however differing in language and manners, universally celebrate Easter at the same time with us. So that the inhabitants of two remote islands, contend with a foolish obstinacy against the whole world." Wilfrid replies to Coleman.

Since the aim of Coleman and his party was rather to defend their own usages than to convince their opponents, they persisted in appealing to the authority of St. John and Columba. But Wilfrid, after justifying St. John, asked Coleman with an air of triumph, whether he presumed to put Columba in the balance against St. Peter the prince of the apostles? What answer Coleman made to this question historians do not inform us, but they proceed to relate, that the King, struck with Wilfrid's inquiry, decided in favour of the Romish observance of Easter. This great point being settled, there yet remained another, concerning which the two parties differed quite as widely, namely, the Ecclesiastical tonsure. But of this controversy we know nothing more than that the Romanists were equally successful in it.

The King having delivered his decision, Coleman resigned his bishopric in disgust, and the nobility and clergy who adhered to him expressed great dissatisfaction at the event. Coleman retired into Ireland, his native country, and by this retreat gave to his adversaries all the advantage which they desired. Tuda, a deserter to the Romish party, succeeded to the bishopric, and dying a few months after, Wilfrid, the opponent of Coleman, was appointed bishop of Northumbria by the King's solicitation. Coleman resigns his bishopric.

A.D. 670. Wilfrid succeeds.

In this manner a way was open for the submission of the British and Scottish Churches to the see of Rome. The event was, however, in some degree retarded by the relapse of the Northumbrian court into its ancient usages, while Wilfrid was absent in France; but it was accomplished soon afterwards by the succession of Theodore to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Egbert, king of Kent, shortly after he ascended his throne, consulted Oswy on the necessity of filling the primacy then vacant, and of making a provision for the episcopal succession of the English Church. After mature deliberation the two princes resolved to appoint an Englishman to fill the office, and in pursuance of their resolution fixed on Wighard, a priest of the Church of Kent. Thus elected, he was sent to Rome with commendatory letters both from Oswy and Egbert, and was entertained there with respect and kindness. But while the ceremonial for his consecration was preparing, he died of a plague, which was likewise fatal to most of his retinue. This incident, while it proved a disappointment to Oswy and Egbert, furnished Vitalian the pontiff with a favourable opportunity of appointing the head of the English Church by his own single authority. Without any communication with the two Saxon princes, he determined to send over a prelate of his own choice: and at first he fixed on Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, who was skilled both in the Greek and Latin tongues, but the humble monastic declined the situation. On the urgent demand of the pontiff, Adrian recommended Theodore, whom we have before mentioned, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and the pope accepted the recommendation, on condition that Adrian would accompany his nominee to England. Two motives operated with the pope in making this stipulation; the one, that Adrian might be useful in propagating the Christian religion; the other, and the more powerful, that Theodore might be restrained from introducing the customs or dogmata of the Greek Church into the British Isles.

Wighard, an Englishman.

Recommended for the primacy.

His death.

Adrian, a Neapolitan, refuses the English primacy.

Recommends Theodore.

Theodore, seventh archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 664.

Theodore, the most learned of all the prelates who had as yet possessed the see of Canterbury, had no sooner arrived, than he applied himself to secure the favour and assistance of the several Saxon princes. For that purpose he travelled over the greater part of England, instituted a visitation of its Churches, introduced the Romish custom of celebrating Easter, and brought the people to an entire conformity with the Romish Church. One of the principal objects of his visitation seems to have been the case of Wilfrid, who had distinguished himself at the Synod of Whitby, and in consequence had been appointed bishop of Northumbria. Yet he was not permitted to enjoy this bishopric, but had retired to his own monastery of Rippon. Many circumstances encouraged Theodore to attempt the restoration of Wilfrid. Chad, one of the disciples of Aidan, who was settled in the bishopric, was an eminent example of apostolic piety, and indefatigable in the exercise

Wilfrid deprived of the bishopric of Northumbria.

of his pastoral functions. When he was reprimanded by Theodore for usurping the rights of Wilfrid, and for receiving consecration from the Bishop of Winchester, he answered with an uncommon modesty, that he always thought himself unworthy of the episcopal character; that he undertook it not by his own choice, but at the command of his superiors; and that if there was any defect in his title, he would cheerfully resign his trust and retire. Theodore, with all his haughtiness, was overcome by such humility, and dissuading Chad from relinquishing his episcopal function, said that he would overlook the defect of title and remedy it. Wilfrid was restored to the Northumbrian bishopric, and Chad was soon recalled from the monastic seclusion to which he had retired, to investiture with the bishopric of Lichfield.

A.D. 670. Theodore procures his restoration. Chad removed to the bishopric of Lichfield.

While advances were thus rapidly making towards a union of the Saxon Churches under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore endeavoured to prove that this union would operate to the public good, and not to his own aggrandizement. He proposed, therefore, that the youth should be instructed in the Greek and Latin languages, in geometry, music, astronomy, arithmetic, and other useful branches of learning; and he associated Adrian with himself in the prosecution of his scheme. Having incited the Saxons to a love of learning by his own instruction and example, he sent for foreign masters and established schools. So assiduous was his labour, and so successful were his plans, that many Saxons could soon speak the Latin and Greek tongues with as much fluency as their own. A school for Greek was founded in a village of Wiltshire, called from this circumstance Greek-lade, and afterwards corruptly Cricklade, the teachers of which repairing to Oxford, are supposed to have laid the foundation of that university.

Theodore encourages learning.

While the qualities of prudence and benevolence must be ascribed to Theodore, it must not be concealed that he was ambitious and overbearing. He well knew that teachers brought from Rome would practise the usages of that Church, and that, possessing greatly superior attainments to the British and Scottish ecclesiastics, they would control, if not eradicate, their opposition. The intended union of the Saxon Churches was thus accelerated. Notwithstanding the death of his two friends, the Kings of Kent and Northumbria, Theodore had so far ingratiated himself with their successors, and also with the other Saxon princes, that he obtained their consent to a general assembly or Synod, which met at Heradford, A.D. 673, a place in Hertfordshire, probably that which is now the principal town of the county.[1] Besides the archbishop there were present Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, a delegate from Wilfrid, bishop of Northumbria, Putta, bishop of Rochester,

Synod at Heradford.

[1] Camden, Britannia.

A.D. 670. Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians. These were all the bishops at that time in England, and they had all been raised to their stations by the influence of Theodore.

When the assembly was met, Theodore exhorted them, in the name of Christ, to advise with unanimity and to determine with sincerity. He enjoined them to observe inviolably those ordinances which had been canonically decreed by the fathers. Then recommending peace, charity, and godly unity, he asked them severally whether they consented that the canonical decrees should be maintained. The bishops severally consented, and Theodore, producing a collection of canons from the ancient Councils, in which he had marked ten which he thought necessary in the existing state of the English Church, urged that they should be inviolably observed. The first canon, which was indeed the foundation of the union, was conformity in the observance of Easter. The second directed that no bishop should usurp or invade the diocese of another. The third made it unlawful for any bishop to give unnecessary trouble to any religious house. The fourth provided that monks should not, unless for sufficient cause, remove from one religious house to another; and the fifth laid the same prohibition on the secular clergy as to their dioceses. The sixth forbade a bishop or a priest to exercise his function out of his diocese without permission of the bishop of that diocese. The seventh proposed an annual Synod. The eighth regulated the priority of bishops. The ninth regarded the augmentation of the number of bishops. The tenth regarded marriages, that none should be allowed contrary to the canons, that incest should be severely punished, and that the liberty of divorce should be restrained.

Ten canons of Theodore.

Such were the acts of this Synod; and that no contention might afterwards arise concerning their meaning, nor any false transcripts be published, they were committed to writing by a public notary, and confirmed by the subscription of every bishop present. This being done, the archbishop pronounced the following sentence and dismissed the assembly:—"Whosoever shall endeavour to infringe these our definitions, conformable to the decrees of ancient canons, and confirmed by our unanimous subscription, let such an one know that he is separated from our communion, and from the exercise of all sacerdotal offices."

The Romish writers assert that this Synod was convened by the authority of the pope, and that Theodore presided in a legatine capacity; but the assertion is not borne out by the facts, for Bede has attributed it to the sole authority of Theodore. It may rather be said, that the Synod was called with the consent of the Saxon princes, and that to their consent Theodore was also indebted for his metropolitan dignity. It may fairly be concluded, that the consent of the Saxon princes originated in reasons of conve-

nience and policy, not in a belief in the right of the Roman pontiff to any supremacy over the Saxon Church. But whatever were their motives, and whatever were the grounds on which the union was formed, we have in the Synod of Heradford the first assembly of the Saxon Church under a common metropolitan. A.D. 680.

Though no other terms of communion were mentioned in this Synod than the Romish observance of Easter, yet it appears from the 'Penitentiale' of Theodore that the bishops who had been consecrated by the Scots or Britons were not to be permitted to exercise their function without an imposition of hands from, what he calls, a Catholic bishop. This regulation, ungrateful as it must have been in itself to the British and Scottish clergy, was aggravated by the unyielding strictness with which it was enforced.

Opposition to Theodore.

Soon was his authority questioned and opposed, and he adopted the most violent measures to support it. The first who felt the effects of his displeasure was Winfrid, bishop of Lichfield, who had been consecrated by Theodore himself, and had been present at the Synod of Heradford. He was deprived for nonconformity, and availing himself of the usual retirement of a monastery, he quietly retreated and passed the remainder of his life in religious contemplation. About two years after this deprivation Wilfrid also was condemned to the same fate. His disgrace, if it may be so called, might partly arise from resistance to the authority of Theodore, but that was not the only cause. His secular pomp had long drawn on him the jealousy of the Northumbrian court, and even of Ecgfrid the king; and his influence in persuading the queen consort to quit her regal state for monastic retirement had aggravated Ecgfrid's dislike into open hostility. A complaint was preferred to Theodore, who came by the King's desire into Northumbria to hear and judge it. Some historians have ventured to assert that the archbishop was bribed to support the interest of the King and to decide against Wilfrid. But it is certain that Theodore willingly consented to his deprivation, and not contented with this act of power, that he divided the diocese of York into three portions, and erected a new see at Holy Island.

Deprivation of Wilfrid by Theodore.

Appeal of Wilfrid to Pope Agatho.

The deprivation of Wilfrid occasioned a remarkable event in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, namely, an appeal from the decision of the archbishop of Canterbury to the Roman pontiff, A.D. 678. Wilfrid, accompanied by a number of his followers, repaired to Rome, at the time when Agatho I. was employed in arranging the sixth General Council against the Monothelites. It is more probable that Wilfrid went thither voluntarily than that he was summoned, but it is an unquestioned fact that he presented a petition of appeal to the pontiff.[1] It set forth the injustice of his treatment, that he had been expelled his diocese without being

[1] Cernwald, a monk, appeared as the advocate of Theodore.

A.D. 680. convicted of any crime, and that Theodore, unsanctioned by any other authority, either civil or ecclesiastical, had divided the bishopric of York, and appointed a bishop to each division. The petitioner referred himself wholly to the apostolic see, and was willing to acquiesce in its decision with all imaginable submission. Wilfrid told his wrongs with such eloquence and earnestness, that Agatho and his counsellors were of opinion that he ought to be restored to his bishopric, and if the interests of religion demanded that the see of York should be divided, yet that the coadjutor ought to be appointed by Wilfrid.[1] The cause being thus decided, he was required to return, to show the decree of the pontiff and his council to the King of Northumbria and the archbishop of Canterbury, a command which the triumphant prelate obeyed with alacrity.

His restoration decreed by the pope.

Notwithstanding that Theodore had been educated at Rome, and had owed his advancement entirely to the favour of the reigning pontiff; notwithstanding, also, the recent and formal union of the Saxon and the Romish Church promoted by himself; yet he refused obedience to the sentence restoring Wilfrid. As for the King of Northumbria, he was so far from acquiescing, that he upbraided Wilfrid for having obtained the decree by fraud or bribery. Pretending to suspect, or really suspecting, that it was an imposture, he called together his nobles and clergy to examine into its authenticity. When it was found impossible to entertain any reasonable doubts on this subject, instead of obeying the sentence, he was advised to punish Wilfrid by imprisonment. The Bishop was accordingly committed to a most severe confinement, his property was confiscated, and his attendants were dispersed. In this miserable condition he languished nearly a year, and at length obtained his liberty in consequence of the solicitation of the King's aunt, and on condition that he should never again set his foot in the kingdom of Northumbria.

Theodore refuses obedience to the decree.

Wilfrid is imprisoned by Ecgfrid.

Throughout these proceedings against Wilfrid there is the strongest evidence that the Bishops of Rome possessed no acknowledged jurisdiction over the Anglo-Saxon Church, and that the deference usually shown towards them was limited by policy and convenience. With regard to doctrine, the homology of England to the metropolis of the Western Church was unreserved; and in the heresy of the Monothelites, which at that time divided the Christian world, Theodore appeared on the side of Rome with promptness and vigour. When we consider the depressed state of learning in his age, and the great abilities of Theodore, there cannot be any reason for wonder that Agatho should have invited him to Rome, in order to write against the prevalent heresy. Declining the invitation, he was not less zealous in opposing the Mono-

Jurisdiction of the see of Rome not acknowledged in England.

[1] Bede, lib. iv. c. 12-19. Edd. 24-31.

thelites in the country committed to his spiritual care. With the consent of the Kings of Northumbria, of Kent, and of the East Angles, he convened a Synod at Hadfield, A.D. 680, for the purpose of opposing its progress. A.D. 680. Synod at Hadfield.

The conduct of Theodore in that Synod fully justified the reputation which he had obtained. The whole kingdom of Mercia, comprising the midland counties of England, had then only two bishops; Wilfrid was in prison; and the whole number of bishops assembled could not have exceeded ten. Yet the proceedings were conducted with the greatest decorum and discretion. Not only was the heresy of the Monothelites condemned, but a permanent standard of doctrine and discipline was established for the Saxon Church. The Council being assembled, Theodore, who presided, delivered a summary of the Christian faith, as it was laid down in the Scriptures, in the creed, and in the General Councils. The bishops present having declared their unanimous assent to this exposition, proceeded to make a particular confession of their faith with relation to those doctrines which had been questioned or opposed by heretics, testifying the agreement of the Synod in the decisions of the Catholic Church, as set forth in the first five General Councils. And, lest this declaration might be thought too general, or liable to evasion and misinterpretation, the Synod expressed its special assent to the decrees of the Council called by Pope Martin against the Monothelite heresy. Theodore having brought the Synod of Hadfield to the issue which he intended, its decrees were drawn up and signed by all the bishops present.

The Christian religion being now generally professed throughout England, Wilfrid, who had been banished from Northumbria, employed his labours between the South and West Saxons. But Ecgfrid having been killed by the Picts, and Aldfrid, his brother, who had been Wilfrid's pupil,[1] having succeeded, the ambitious prelate was inspired with a sanguine hope of regaining his former station. He had found that the authorities of the Bishop of Rome were little regarded in England, and therefore he prudently determined to show a deference to the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, which he had formerly opposed. The services which he had rendered to the Church among the South and West Saxons since his exile had softened the resentment of Theodore, and a reconciliation was sought by the primate. A conference between these two bishops took place at London, in the presence of Erconwald, bishop of that see. Theodore made the first advances, acknowledged his fault, and implored forgiveness. "I am warned," he said, "by my present age and infirmities, that my death will not be long delayed; I beseech you graciously to forgive me." Reconciliation between Theodore and Wilfrid.

[1] Aldfrid is thus described by Alcuin:—Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis ætatis primæ, valido sermone sophista acer et ingenio, idem ut simul atque magister. —De Pont. 748.

A.D. 700. Desirous to prove the sincerity of his contrition, he offered to resign the archbishopric to his former rival, since he knew no one so worthy of governing the Church.

Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the temper which these reconciled bishops displayed. Wilfrid received the apology with candour and frankness, forgiving all past injuries and offering assurances of future friendship. To accept the archbishopric without the sanction of a General Council was a thought which Wilfrid could not entertain, and he only wished to be reinstated in his bishopric of Northumbria. Theodore cheerfully wrote letters of recommendation to Aldfrid, and to Elfrida, the King's sister; and, in consequence, Wilfrid was invited to return. Bosa, bishop of York, was removed to the bishopric of Holy Island, at that time vacant by the resignation of Cuthbert, and Wilfrid was appointed bishop of York. With the episcopal revenues, he also repossessed the monasteries of Hexham and Rippon.

Death of Theodore, A.D. 695.

In the year following this memorable reconciliation, Theodore died, but unfortunately his death did not put an end to the turbulence or the troubles of Wilfrid. No sooner was he placed in the see of York, than he experienced opposition on every side. His contentious spirit alienated his sovereign and pupil Aldfrid, who unable to bear his imperious temper, drove him from the see of York, and from the kingdom of Northumbria. Wilfrid sought refuge in Mercia, and obtained the bishopric of Leicester, which, however, he had not possessed long, before he provoked Ethelred, king of Mercia, to banish him.

Not contented with having drawn upon himself the enmity of two princes, he engaged in a contest with Brithwald, the successor of Theodore, at the time when he most needed the protection of an ecclesiastical superior. He had been banished from the see of York almost eleven years, when a Council was called by Brithwald, at the suggestion of Aldfrid and Ethelred, to investigate his conduct. At first he refused to appear before the Synod, being apprehensive of his personal safety, but having been promised a safe-conduct, he presented himself. His deportment was so improper, that a general sentence of deprivation was pronounced by the archbishop, though the other bishops implored that the sentence might be mitigated. He was allowed therefore to return to his monastery of Rippon, on condition that he would cease to exercise his episcopal functions. It was natural to expect that terms so humiliating would not only be rejected by Wilfrid, but would heighten his resentment. He protested vehemently against the proceedings of the Synod, reproached the bishops with ingratitude, and threatened to appeal to the pope. The Synod exhibited great firmness, but Aldfrid displayed a violence equal to that of Wilfrid. He even proposed to deliver the refractory prelate to summary death, but the bishops insisted on the safe-conduct, and Wilfrid was permitted

Wilfrid is deprived by an English Synod.

to depart. Old as he then was, his spirit was unbroken, and he hastened to Rome. Presenting himself before the pope, he set forth the injustice of his treatment, and implored redress. It happened that a Provincial Council was at that time sitting at Rome, and two legates from Brithwald appeared before it, to vindicate the proceedings of himself and the Anglo-Saxon bishops. A.D. 710. He appeals to Rome.

Wilfrid on his own behalf, and the two legates on the part of Brithwald, submitted the case to the pope in Council. The chief, or rather the only accusation preferred against Wilfrid was, that he had refused to submit to the authority of an English Synod. Wilfrid stated in his defence, that he had never refused obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, unless his decisions were contrary to the Apostolic see. The appeal itself, as well as the defence, inclined the pope to favour Wilfrid, and he was pronounced innocent. Instead, however, of issuing any decree, the pope wrote to the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia, desiring that a Synod might be called by the archbishop, in which Wilfrid should be present; that the Bishops of York and Hexham should be summoned; that after hearing all parties they should endeavour to settle the quarrel at home, but that in case it could not be adjusted, the disputants should attend at Rome, and the cause should be again referred to the pope and his council. Cause of Wilfrid is decided at Rome in his favour.

With this declaration in his favour, it might be supposed that Wilfrid would have hastened home, but as he had once before experienced the danger of returning with a favourable determination of the pontiff, he requested that he might be permitted to remain, and to pass the short remainder of his life at Rome. This request was not granted. He was enjoined to return, under the specious pretext that his presence was necessary to the English Church and kingdom, and he therefore took a reluctant leave, and tardily obeyed. Wilfrid returns to England.

No sooner had he returned than he directed his application in the first place to Brithwald, on whom he so far prevailed as to promise a revision and mitigation of the sentence of deprivation passed in the former Synod. He then went to the court of the King of Mercia, and as Ethelred his foe had quitted his palace for a monastery, Cenred the reigning prince was not unwilling to favour his pretensions. The only obstacle remaining to his restoration was the King of Northumbria, and he sent two ecclesiastics to Aldfrid, soliciting that he might be allowed to attend that prince with the letters and determination of the Romish pontiff. The solicitation was refused; Aldfrid, with the advice of his council, declared that he would not reverse the decisions of an English Synod, in consequence of any letter from the Apostolic see.[1] But the King His reception by Brithwald and the King of Mercia, and by Aldfrid.

[1] "As you choose to call it," was the language of Aldfrid to the two ecclesiastics.—Eddias, Vit. Wilfrid, c. 41.

A.D. 720. having been shortly afterwards seized by a violent sickness, and thinking that his malady was a divine judgment in consequence of his disobedience to the commands of the pontiff, made a vow to restore Wilfrid in case of his recovery, and in case of his death bequeathed the performance of it to his successor. After a lingering illness, Aldfrid died A.D. 728, and his son being an infant, the crown was usurped by Eudulph. Wilfrid was well known to Eudulph, and confidently expected his immediate recall; but he was deceived, for in reply to his overtures, he was sternly told, that if he did not leave the kingdom of Northumbria within six days, all his friends and followers should be put to death.[1]

Death of Aldfrid, A.D. 728.

The reign of the usurper, however, was short, and Wilfrid having some interest in the council of Osred, the lawful heir, succeeded in obtaining a Synod to revise the proceedings against him. The place of its assembly was near the river Nidd, where Brithwald agreed to meet him. The archbishop, after a short prayer for peace, stated the manner in which Wilfrid's cause had been determined at Rome, and read the epistles from the pontiff to the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia. He avowed his own reconciliation with Wilfrid, and recommended that the deprived bishop should be reinstated. But when the letters of Pope John were produced, and obedience to the pontiff enjoined under the penalty of degradation, the assembled bishops appealed to the authority of their own Provincial Council, and refused to alter its decisions. Nevertheless, what they refused to do in compliance with the commands of the Roman pontiff, they did from another motive. The abbess Elfleda declared the vow made by her brother in his last sickness, a declaration which was confirmed by the regent of Northumbria, and the bishops after first withdrawing for the purpose of deliberation, came to the following resolution:—That the Bishop of Hexham should be removed to the see of York vacant by the death of Bosa, and that Wilfrid should have the bishopric of Hexham, together with the abbey of Rippon. Farther than this, they refused to go either in compliance with the solicitations of Elfleda and the regent, or in regard of the memory of the deceased King.

Synod of Nidd.

Wilfrid restored to the bishopric of Hexham.

Restored to a part of his honours and emoluments at the age of seventy-six, Wilfrid did not long enjoy them. About four years after he repossessed the bishopric of Hexham, he died at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, an abbey of which he was the founder, and his body was removed to Rippon, where it was buried with great funeral pomp. Notwithstanding his deprivations and exile, the magnificence of his living and his munificent foundations, he left great wealth, which he directed to be divided into four portions. The first and largest part he bequeathed to the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul in Rome for masses to his soul; the second

His death.

[1] Eddius, Vit. Wilfrid.

part he gave to the poor; the third to the monasteries which he had founded; and the fourth to his friends and servants. A.D. 730.

Scheme of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Conjointly with the death of Wilfrid may be noticed a scheme of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which subsisted independently of the heptarchy or octarchy, though the dioceses were commensurate with the different sovereignties. It consisted of seventeen bishoprics under one metropolitan. Of these, the kingdom of Kent had two, Canterbury and Rochester; the kingdom of the East Saxons one, the bishopric of London; the kingdom of the East Angles was divided between the bishoprics of Dunwich and North Elmham; the bishoprics of Winchester and Sherborn comprehended the kingdom of the West Saxons; the extensive kingdom of Mercia had not less than five bishoprics, and these were fixed at Lichfield, Leicester, Sydnacester, Worcester, and Hereford: the entire kingdom of the South Saxons was within the diocese of Scolsey; and lastly, the kingdom of Northumbria had four sees, York, Holy Island, Hexham, and Withern.

In this state stood the Anglo-Saxon Church at the death of Brithwald, and such is its state as described by Bede. These bishops were subject to the jurisdiction of one metropolitan, till Egbert presided over the see of York. His brother being king of Northumbria, he took the advantage which this alliance gave him, in conjunction with personal merit, and obtained the pall, the characteristic of archiepiscopal dignity. Yet though some of the successors of Egbert obtained the same honour, and the archiepiscopal title was conferred on them, it is doubtful whether the archbishopric of York was completely settled until after the Norman conquest.

Egbert first archbishop of York.

At the latter end of the eighth century, the whole kingdom of Mercia was taken out of the archbishopric of Canterbury by Offa. That restless prince resolved to make his Church as well as his kingdom independent. For that purpose, he obliged his bishops to yield obedience to the see of Lichfield, the metropolis of his kingdom, and he obtained from pope Adrian a pall for its bishop. Besides the natural inquietude and ambition of his temper, Offa had an antipathy to Lambert, the archbishop of Canterbury, and accused him to the pope of encouraging Charlemagne to make a descent on England. Whether this were a true charge is uncertain, but not long after the separation of Mercia from the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury, Offa invaded the kingdom of the East Angles, and subverted its ecclesiastical as well as its political government. He placed the whole kingdom under the archbishop of Lichfield;[1] by which means the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester,

Mercia withdrawn from the see of Canterbury by Offa.

[1] Higebert, bishop of Lichfield, was selected by Offa to be the metropolitan; but the pall was not conferred till the time of Adulph, Higebert's successor.—Malms. sec. 15. Spelman, Conc. p. 302.

A.D. 1200 and Sydnacester, in addition to the Mercian bishops of Elmham and Dunwich, became suffragans of that see. Lambert strenuously opposed the diminution of the jurisdiction of the ancient see of Canterbury; he sent several appeals to Rome; but the affair having been settled by Offa and the pope, he was obliged to yield. He even quitted his see and retired into France, till he was brought back by the persuasions of the celebrated Alcuin.[1]

Archbishopric of Lichfield.

Conclusion.

Thus we have traced the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as well as the progress and extent of its submission to the see of Rome. Its future history will be resumed hereafter, and the changes will then be described which took place in its polity, before and at the Norman Conquest.

[1] The reader is referred on this subject to Wharton's Anglia Sacra.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF MONASTICISM.

THE love of retirement is natural to contemplative minds. The indulgence of this desire is not necessarily an evidence of unsocial humours or ascetic feeling, the results of egotistic selfishness. On the contrary, it may conceal an excess of sympathy with human interests and the highest devotion to the nobler duties of the soul. Among the Greek philosophers—Pythagoreans, Platonists, Stoics, and Cynics—a distinction between *esoteric* and *exoteric* doctrines early obtained; and we find many of these great thinkers inculcating, advocating, and, in some instances, practising a more rigorous disciplinary code of morals than that which they regarded as sufficient to regulate the lives of "the meaner herd of ordinary men." In Egypt and Judea we trace the existence of similar ideas among the Theraputæ and the Essenes, from whom, doubtlessly, Christian monachism is a lineal descendant. The morality taught by Christ was pure and lofty; the temptations which waylay the converts to new views, while their habits are unconfirmed, are very numerous; and the enthusiasm of proselytes is often so ungovernable that we do not need to conjure up uncharitable thoughts to account for the origin of monastic institutions. It is true that we are taught to "abstain from even the appearance of evil," but it is equally true that we are to "*resist* the devil" and "*stand* against" his wiles. The heroism of Christianity requires that we should not only suffer but do. So long as the Church was actively aggressive, and engaged in propagating its living truths among all people, there could be little excuse for deserting the militant life of a proselytizer. But when the work was accomplished, and the Church had become a fact, recognized by "the world's great master," and incorporated by him with the institutions and laws of his world-empire, the energies hitherto expended and the zeal employed in the work of conversion were in want of some new excitement. The world and the world's cares were found burdensome and tempting; and many, mistaking the true glory of their mission, relinquished the world, instead of abandoning the evil in themselves and opposing the evils which surrounded them. This *amabilis insania*, soothing, flattering, deceptive in its earlier stages, at length resulted in a spurious, unhealthy asceticism, morbid alike in its susceptibilities and in its pride. Nor is it a marvel that the contemplative, the care-worn, the withered in heart, the morose, the dissatisfied, and the disgusted should, each for reasons

A.D. 100. How Monasticism might arise.

A.D. 200. of his own, seek an asylum from the wretchedness of existence, and wish to spend "the lees of life" in thoughtful quietude, unembittered reserve, or, at least, in uncalamitous isolation, if not in fervency of worship. The hermit's hut or the monk's cell at least hid their woes from the eyes of others, or permitted the unavailing utterances of grief to burst from them unheard or unheeded, except by those who felt the brotherhood of sorrow. Good, perhaps, in itself, no method more capable of being turned to "base issues" could have been devised than this communal segregation.

Anthony originates Monachism.

Anthony (A.D. 251-356), a Theban, has had the notoriety of being the originator of monachism almost unanimously conferred on him, although one Paul is said to have retired during the Decian persecution into a remote mountain, and there to have lived as an ascetic, on visiting whom Anthony is represented as having first become enamoured of anchoretic seclusion. Although, however, Anthony may not have been the earliest Christian hermit, he undoubtedly first made seclusion popular and dignified. He was a disciple and friend of Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, whose patronage and approbation helped to fill the desert places with Christian fugitives. The rocky ranges of Thebais, the sands of Libya, and the banks and islands of the Nile, besides the desert of Nitria, were early colonized by thousands of monks. Pachomius, abbot of Tabenne, a colony of fourteen hundred monks, founded nine male and one female monastery, and was able to assemble, at the Easter religious festivals, fifty thousand persons who had subjected themselves to his disciplinary code. Oxyrinchus, a city of Egypt, possessed a population of ten thousand female and twenty thousand male monastics and twelve churches.

Athanasius introduced monasticism into Rome; and Hilarion, a Syrian youth, inspired by the enthusiasm of Anthony, became a monk himself and led thousands more to embrace the same kind of life. The name and fame of Basil the Great is in all monasteries. He relinquished the archbishopric of Cæsarea, A.D. 350, retired to Pontus, and prescribed strict uniform rules on all monastics dwelling in the East. Martin of Tours, A.D. 316-397, who has attained the fourfold character of soldier, hermit, bishop, and saint, is equally eminent in the West. The famous Jerome, A.D. 331-420, boldly and successfully advocated monasticism in Rome, and induced persons of each sex and every station to emigrate from Europe into the secluded districts of the Holy Land. The extraordinary religious fervour and zeal from which monachism derived its recruits had hitherto been confined to the laity; but by the persuasion of Augustine, bishop of Hippo, A.D. 354-430, the clergy of his diocese bound themselves to observe the chief canons of monastic life, viz. seclusion, celibacy, and poverty; and hence originated a class of clerical monks and influences of great weight and moment in the history of the Church.

It grows in favour.

At this period an epidemical desire for anchoretism seems to have raged. Barren isles, desert wastes, distant and seldom-visited shores, and even the sandy accumulations in the deltas of rivers received inhabitants, and the voice of prayer and the song of praise were uttered in "the solitary places." A.D. 460.

But with the popularity of monachism abuses were early blended. "Avarice stimulated zeal. Zeal consecrated avarice." The greed of gold in many overpowered all other affections, and flattery and guile were often employed to win over the wealthy to throw in his lot with the brotherhoods into which the monks had begun to constitute themselves. The prayers of these communities were sold; and by the most specious arts they wound themselves into popularity with every class, but most particularly with kings and nobles, whom they were not slow in assuring that they could only succeed in those enterprises which were entrusted to the management and control of the superior members of the monkish fraternities. With pride and wealth came sloth; and the monasteries at length became the refuge of the tax-grudger, the cowardly, the lazy, the oppressed, or the disaffected. The lofty ideal in which monachism took its rise became debased, and devotion and duty had become the scoff and scorn of many of those who professed to have retired from a world lying in wickedness. The licentiousness of monks was proverbial. Reform was wanted, and it was not long before a reformer arose. Benedict, A.D. 480-543, of Nurcia, saw the evil and proposed a remedy. Dissatisfied with the prevalence of profligacy, he withdrew from the monastery of which he had been made abbot, and took up his abode in a concealed cavern in the desert of Sublaco. A number of enthusiasts followed him, and in a short time founded twelve monasteries. One of these was built on the site of a temple to Apollo on Monte Cassino, A.D. 528. There he composed his 'Regulæ Monachorum,' and founded the order which yet bears his name. In these he prescribed, as the fitting work of monks, prayer, worship, and the reading of religious writings, pious meditation, the education of youth, useful manual labour, and all such exertion as tended to the comfort of the brethren or was needful for the management of the monastery. He rebuked extravagance in dress, gluttony, intemperance, and sensuality. Laziness was to be specially avoided, so much so that even the elderly and the sickly were to employ such time as their state permitted in copying the writings of the illustrious fathers, the Sacred Scriptures, &c. It was by these means that the Benedictine order became the grand primitive model in imitation of which all subsequent orders were instituted.[1] In the labour of revolutionizing the monastic system he was greatly aided

Abuses of Monasticism.

Benedict's "Rule."

[1] An abstract of the Benedictine Rule is given in Fosbroke's British Monachism, 4to, London, 1817, p. 109. See also Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Paris, 1718, tom. v.

A.D. 800. by St. Maur in France, St. Placide in Sicily, Gregory the Great in Italy, and some time afterwards in Frisia by St. Wilbrod. During the two succeeding centuries this order spread its influence and power throughout the greater portion of Christendom. Many learned persons belonged to the Benedictines; but the excessive manner in which they have been extolled proves that they were exceptions to, not samples of, the fraternity.

The institution of several new orders.

Where there is no single recognized authority, discipline is neither easily nor effectively maintained. Though the Benedictine monks vowed obedience to the 'Rule,' there was no general executive to enforce submission. The various monasteries were under the control of the bishops in whose diocese they happened to be planted. When the fire of enthusiasm had expired, and the letter, not the spirit, of the 'Rule' was followed, discipline became relaxed, and as a consequence depravity, corruption, and ignorance increased. Benedict of Aniana re-inculcated the true purposes of monasticism; and in the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817, several new ordinances, adapted to the exigencies of the period, were made in reference to the discipline of monks. The most successful attempt at reformation took place in the Benedictine monastery at Clugni, in Burgundy, under the auspices of the Abbot Odo, A.D. 879-943. The

Clugniacs.

Clugniacs had definitely fixed regulations regarding the hours of worship and other religious observances. The abbot was recognized as the superior of the whole order, held in his power the revenues, the preferments, the acceptance of novices, the settlement of disputes; in short, the right of government, discipline, and initiation. A large proportion of the Western monks adopted these reforms, and there were no fewer than two thousand monasteries of the order of Clugni.

The revenues of this order soon became great and their power immense; and immediately corruption, and pride, and laxity of morals resulted. A celebrated fanatic, named Romuald, A.D. 956, a noble of Ravenna, had entered the Benedictine order in his twentieth year, but the profligacy and laxity of the members of that fraternity so disgusted him that he withdrew himself from their communion, and in the valley of the Arno founded a new monastery. To him Maldulo, the owner of the land, presented the ground on which it was erected, and from this circumstance

Camaldolites.

the members of the order are called Camaldulians, or Camaldolites. Romuald imposed on himself and his order the practice of many needless austerities, among others the sacred maintenance of silence. From similar motives Gualbert, of Florence, A.D. 1073, instituted the order of the monks of Valhambrosa. The Sylvestrines and Grandimontenses originated with like laudable views, and the Carthusians are even more rigorous and decided in their antagonism to immoral or indolent habits. Bruno, of Cologne, 1030-1101, being miraculously converted, consecrated his life to pious

purposes. In the fulfilment of this purpose he founded a monas- A.D. 1000
tery and an order in the valley of *La Grande Chartreuse*, in the diocese of Grenoble, in France. This order was notable for excessive severity of discipline. In addition to the ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they promised to labour assiduously, to diet sparingly, to abjure the eating of flesh, and one day in the week at least to satisfy or mortify the cravings of appetite by partaking of nought except bread, water, and salt; to be silent in all cases in which speech was not absolutely necessary; and never to pass beyond the bounds of their monasteries, except in the case of the priors, on the needful business of their houses.

Almost simultaneously a similar wish to improve and elevate the monkish character, by rendering the discipline more strict and pure, seems to have been entertained by Robert of Molesme, in Burgundy, who succeeded in establishing the order of the Cister- Cistercians.
cians, A.D. 1098—so called from Cistertium, in the bishopric of Chalons—or Bernardines, from St. Bernard, a famous saint and abbot of their order. By A.D. 1115 four establishments of this new order had been founded. St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, was one of the most able, popular, and influential men of his times, and under him the Cistercian order acquired a high reputation. At first their sanctity and good works much abounded; but in process of time—that which seems to be the natural effect of monasticism—degeneracy took place. Monotony of life, thought, and circumstance must, in the majority of monks, have produced at first sloth, then a desire for the excitements of the table, and afterwards a keen appetite for wealth; while the minor few, whose ideas took a higher range, would look to the power and influence which they could succeed in wielding through the aid of the members of their fraternity.

The various orders, too, having the interests of their own communities at heart, must have felt annoyance at the success of any competing brotherhood, and thus the seeds of much evil must have been sown. Hence the virulence with which monk assailed monk when any new heresy arose, and the eagerness with which the brethren of one order stood forth to champion the faith of their adherents in opposition to any popular man belonging to another institution. There can be no doubt that, along with these evils, much good was mingled. The devotion which regards "prayers, stripes, and fruitless agony of mind," as fit service for God, may have been mistaken, but the utility of establishments in which men might congregate together and maintain and defend not only their opinions but their rights could not, in the circumstances of that age, but appear manifoldly evident. There was as much need for monasteries in religious matters, as in civil things there was need for castles and retainers. Their chief political evil was the ease with which these masses of men might be wielded to

A.D. 1060 attain ends at variance with the maintenance of good government. Their chief religious evil was the predominance given in the Church to those parties who, having attained the hierarchal chair of Rome, claimed alike the powers of earth, hell, and heaven, as their own.

There cannot be a more conclusive argument against monasticism than the rise, among the "strictest sects," of new houses or orders. Had restraint or constraint been the natural condition of a virtuous life, such constant reforms, and the introduction of greater austerities, would have been uncalled for. And yet, strict as St. Benedict's rule undoubtedly was, it failed in moulding men into monotonous sinlessness. Stephen of Thiers, in Auvergne, in A.D. 1073, received from Gregory VII. power to form a new order—afterwards called Grandimontenses—from Grandmont in Limoges, in which place the first convent was established. He, at first, proposed to adopt, in its most rigorous interpretation, the rule of St. Benedict; but seeing how much it might be perverted in practice, he considered it more advisable to issue a new *rule* of his own. As in all monastic rules, he included poverty and obedience in his vows, drew up a vegetarian dietary, forbade the possession of lands beyond the convent bounds, enjoined strict silence, prohibited all intercourse with females, committed the care of the worldly affairs of the fraternity to the lay brotherhood, while he ordered the clerical members to occupy themselves wholly with the consideration of divine things. Solitude was esteemed of so much importance, that the doors of the convent could not be opened except by high authority. For a while this sect had a success, but the harmony of the order was seriously endangered by the rivalries and animosities originating in the marked distinction obtaining between the lay and clerical brethren. Even in the solitude of monastic life, evil passions will rouse themselves and ferment evil. Rigour and gloom are the nurses of the worse nature of the spirit; and we know well that the Lord loveth a *cheerful* giver whether his gift be alms, praise, or service.

Grandimontenses.

Order of St. Anthony.

In the latter part of the eleventh century, A.D. 1095, Gaston, a rich noble of Vienne, in Dauphine, having been seized with that mysterious malady St. Anthony's fire, visited the cell of the Benedictine monks of Montmajor, in which St. Anthony, one of the reputed founders of monachism, was said to lie interred, and was cured: his son, Guerin, under the same circumstances, having been healed of the same infirmity; thereupon they consecrated themselves and their wealth to works of love, kindness and charity, to the sick and poor. For a time the brethren of this praiseworthy company dwelt together in unity under the Benedictine rule, but becoming wealthy by the bounteous gifts of the good and pious, they withdrew from the order of St. Benedict, and by the special privilege of Boniface VIII., A.D. 1297, they obtained the rank,

powers, rights, and honours of a separate community, under the name of the order of St. Anthony. A.D. 1112

Nor were the principles involved in monachism only approved of by those who in the usual and regular manner entered and became members of any monastic brotherhood. Many persons devoted to a religious life associated together for particular religious purposes, such as, praying in common at certain hours of the day, abstaining from several kinds of meats, holding periodical fasts, denying themselves to marriage, &c. Some of those bodies dwelt in the same house, ate at the same table, were governed by the same laws, &c. Hence arose the sort of semi-monkish caste of canons, of whom there were two classes, regular and secular. The regular canons dwelt in these houses, and were much the same as monks; but the secular canons were privileged to mix less or more with the world, especially if for purposes of charity or edification. Even these parties, in course of time, became infected with monastic dissoluteness and profligacy, and it was found requisite, A.D. 1059, under Nicholas II., to issue a decree for their better government. These canons have sometimes been called canons of the Augustinian rule. Canons.

The fraternity of the Holy Trinity was founded by John of Matha, A.D. 1154-1213, and Felix of Valois, A.D. 1127-1212. These two pious Franks dwelt in solitude in Cerfroy in Meaux, where they succeeded in establishing a new order. The original notion of this fraternity was one of sympathy with, and pity for, those prisoners of war whom the Mohammedans held in that wretched hopeless bondage, which was the characteristic of the rough age in which they lived. To effect the release of such parties, they laid aside one-third of their whole revenue, and hence received the designation of Brethren of the Redemption. Order of the Holy Trinity.

The monkish orders did not altogether confine themselves to the duties or pleasures of the arts of peace. There were those among them who aspired to become, in the most literal sense, "soldiers of the cross." The military orders or soldier-monks were three in number, viz., 1st,—Knights Hospitallers, afterwards named Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights of Rhodes, and Knights of Malta. 2d, Knights Templars, Brethren of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, Soldiery of the Temple, and Soldiers of Christ. 3d, Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem, or German Knights of the Cross.

The Knights Hospitallers took their Christian name and origin from an hospital at Jerusalem, used by pilgrims visiting the Holy Land, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The primary duty of these knights was to perform such pious and charitable acts as were requisite to afford relief to needy or sick pilgrims to the holy city, to give them such entertainment as they stood in want of, and to take such precautions as the exigencies of the times d- Knights Hospitallers.

A.D. 1160 manded, for their safety and comfort. About A.D. 1120, Raymond du Puy, their president, volunteered to make war against the Mohammedans at the expense of their order; this offer the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin II., accepted, and the Roman pontiff confirmed and blessed the design. This proposal entirely changed the character of the fraternity. From being quiet unofficious ministrants to the poor, needy, and sick, they became boisterous, warlike, and rough. The mightiest acts of valour crowned their order with laurels, and their wealth and luxury increased, as the glory of their feats of renown dimmed in its lustre. Of the brethren of this order there were three classes; viz., nobles, or soldiers of birth and rank, whose duty it was to fight the battles of religion; priests, who performed for the order all the offices of religion; serving-brethren, men of ignoble birth, and engaged in all the drudgery connected with the order.

Knights Templars.

It is said that nine members of the order of St. John, all French, the two chief of whom were Hugues de Payens, or de Paganés, and Geoffrey de St. Omer, or St. Ademar, made a vow to maintain free passage to all pilgrims visiting the Holy Land. At first they do not seem to have contemplated the formation of a new order, for they took no active measures for propagation, and did not admit new members for seven years after having taken their communal vow.

The utility of the purpose implied in their vow attracted attention; and, A.D. 1120, Calixtus II. remodelled the Knights Hospitallers so as to comprehend this principle. His successor, Honorius, A.D. 1128, granted powers to embody the order of Knights Templars, and confirmed a rule for them, which had been drawn up at the request of Hugues de Payens that same year at the Council of Troyes. This rule decreed that each member should attend the whole religious service of the Church by day or night, or, if on military duty, should perform certain substitutory forms of worship. On the decease of one of the brethren, a hundred paternosters were to be repeated daily for a week, and his rations during forty days were to be given to the poor; three days in the week they were permitted the use of flesh, on all other days its use was prohibited; but Friday was specially set apart on Lenten fare.

This religeo-chivalric order soon rose in estimation, many scions of the noblest families joined it eagerly, while lands and money were presented as donations in almost every country in Europe. The places in which these possessions lay were named provinces, Jerusalem being, until its capture, A.D. 1187, the head-quarters. On the final extinction of the Latin power in Palestine, 1192, the chief residence of this order was transferred to Cyprus.

From the period of its institution, till A.D. 1162, this order consisted entirely of laymen. In that year, however, Pope Alexander III., by the bull 'Omne datum Optimum,' permitted this fraternity

to receive under their rule, as chaplains, any clerical person not A.D. 1180
previously bound by other vows. At a subsequent period, 'serving brethren' were admitted of two classes; viz., those of *arts* and those of *arms*. A still further increase of the membership was secured by the admission of affiliated members who took no vow, but enrolled themselves by purchase; of *donati*, *i.e.*, children dedicated to the order by their parents and guardians; and of *oblati*, *i.e.*, persons pledged to honour its members, succour and attend them in need or sickness, and to defend the interests of the order. Into its history we cannot here enter, that embraces the whole crusadic period, from the capture of Jerusalem till the fall of Ptolemais, A.D. 1291, and therefore belongs to a period later than the present volume is intended to take up.[1]

Teutonic Knights.

During the siege of Ptolemais, A.D. 1190, a few pious and kindly Teutons undertook to provide the sick and wounded soldiery with accommodations and tendance. The Teutonic princes, who were taking part in the siege, highly approved of the object, and proposed to institute an association for its accomplishment. Pope Cælestine III. extended his favour to this association, and confirmed by formal enactments the rule of the order of the Teutonic knights. The order was to be composed entirely of Teutons of noble lineage; its members were to dedicate their lives to the defence of the religion of Jesus, and the freedom of the Holy Land, from the occupation of the infidels. The members submitted, at first, to a code of great austerity, adopted a simple unadorned garb, and held bread and water as sufficient recompense for their labours; but as their wealth increased, luxury crept in, and many of the austerer provisions of the rule were either abrogated or neglected. When the order was excluded from Palestine they retired to Venice, but subsequently they undertook the conversion and subjugation of the Prussians to the Christian faith, and, by dint of cruel rapine and unholy bloodshed, succeeded in reducing the inhabitants to a nominal recognition of Christ, and a real submission to themselves. At the Reformation they lost their extensive territories in Livonia, Courland, &c., but were permitted to retain some of their Germanic possessions.

Up to the thirteenth century the above were the only orders of monks. In A.D. 1215 the mendicant orders, viz., Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Hermits of Augustine arose. These were instituted that, "by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and manners," they might redeem the Church from the reproach to which the early orders had exposed it.

The relaxation of discipline, resulting in recklessness of conduct,

[1] See Col. Procter's Ottoman Empire; Mill's Hist. of the Crusades; Gibbon, chaps. lviii. lix.; Heeren's Essay on the Influence of the Crusades; and Michaud's Bibliographie des Croisades.

A.D. 1190 which soon became necessary, led to the most disastrous consequences; and the Reformation movement, which mainly arose from the abuses incident to monastic institutions, ultimately brought about the downfall of such associations in all the countries that embraced the Protestant cause.

Protestantism opposed by the Jesuits.

The Jesuits set themselves to oppose Protestantism, and in some places succeeded well. Their history, however, belongs to a subsequent, and shall receive attention at a future time.

At present monastic institutions have to a certain extent experienced a revival, but their discipline and power have much declined, and their whole constitution has been, as far as possible, harmonized with the spirit of the age. Under such circumstances we hope that the preceding brief sketch of

> "Eremites and friars,
> White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery,
> And they who, to be sure of paradise,
> Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised,"

will neither be uninteresting nor inutile. And may it be so blessed for our instruction as to teach us to pray,—Lord, sanctify us through thy Truth, "Thy Word is Truth!"

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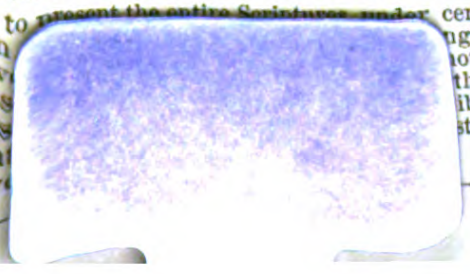
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