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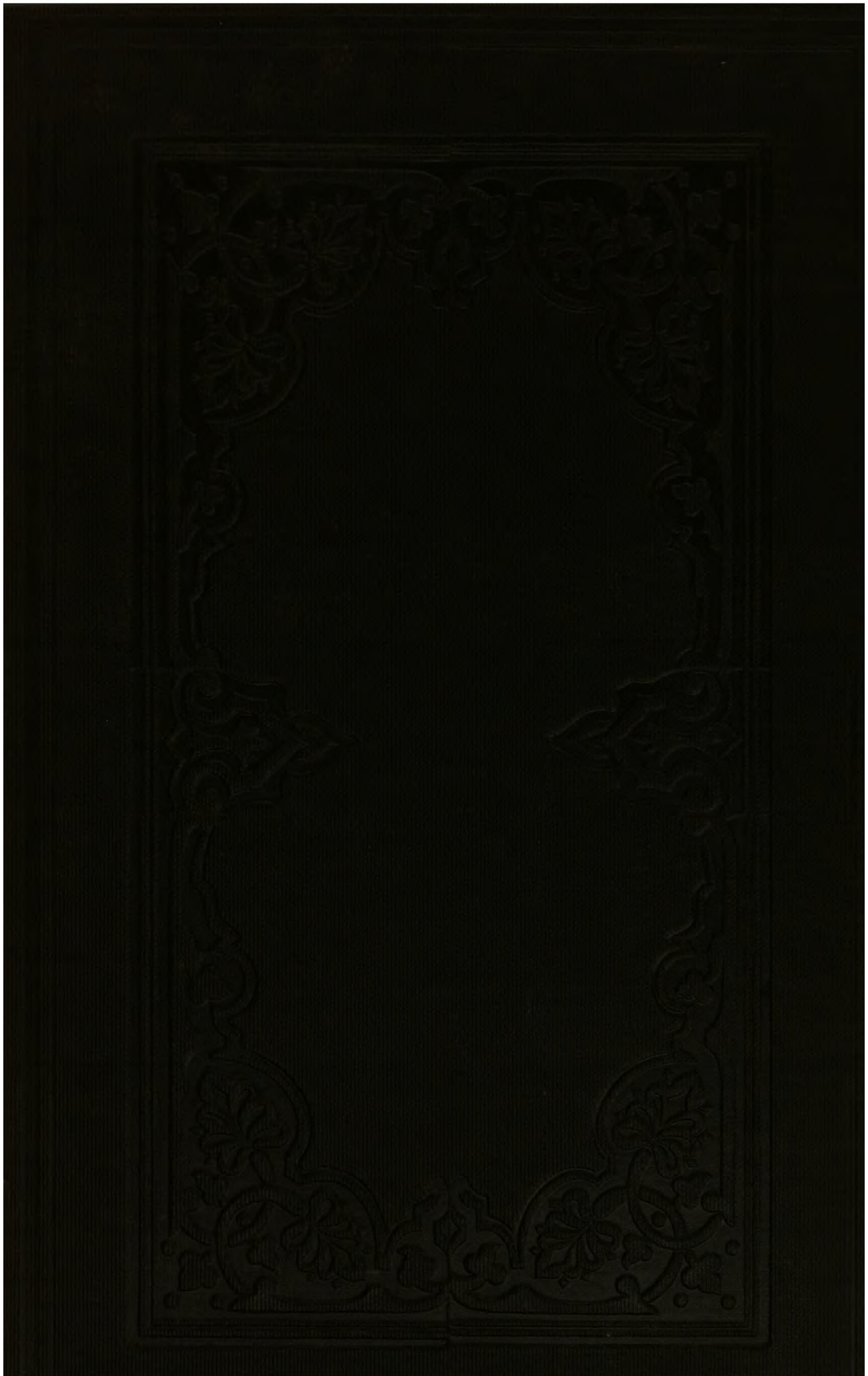
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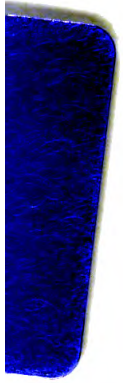
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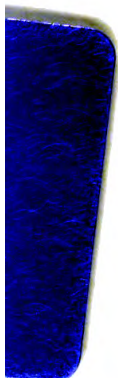


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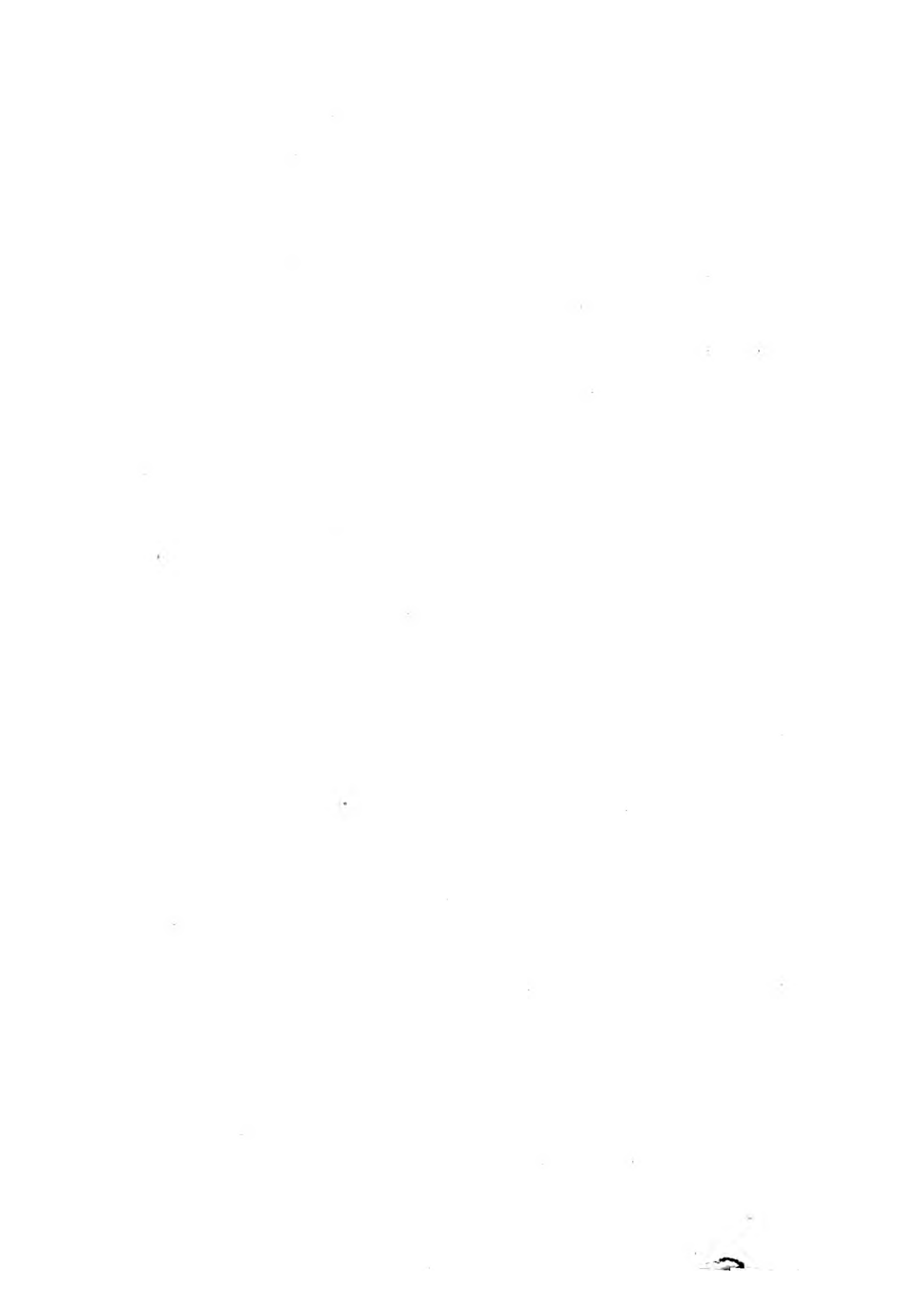


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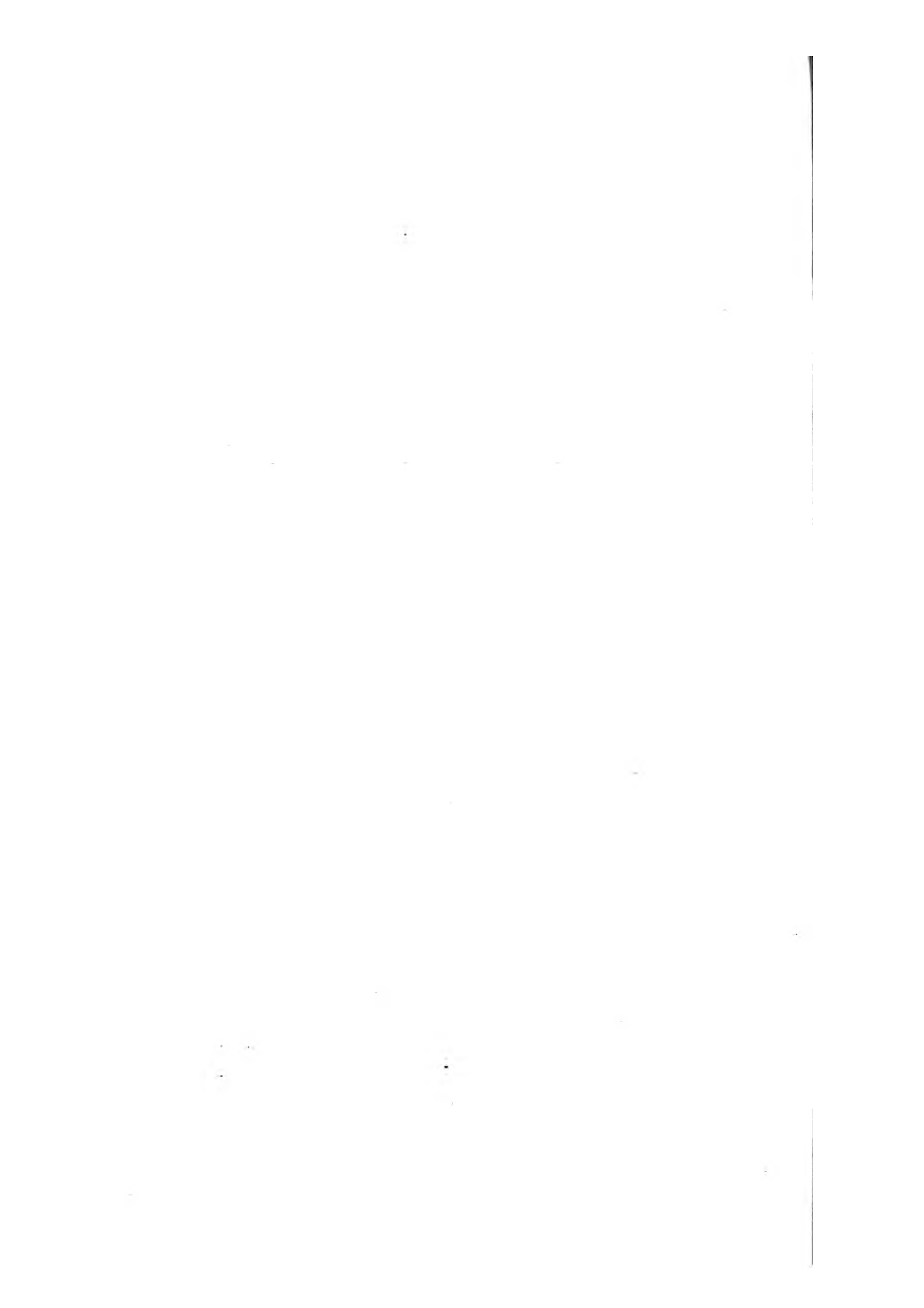
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MDCCCLV.



GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH:

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND AND IMPROVED EDITION,

BY JOSEPH TORREY,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF VERMONT.

"Let both grow together until the harvest."—Words of our Lord.

"Les uns Christianisant le civil et le politique, les autres civilisant la Christianisme, il se forma de ce melange un monstre."—St Martin.

VOLUME V.

EDINBURGH:

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CHURCH HISTORY.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FROM THE TIME OF GREGORY THE GREAT, BISHOP OF ROME, TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE; OR FROM THE YEAR 590 TO THE YEAR 814.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THIS period opens to us a new theatre for the exhibition of the power of the gospel to mould and transform the world; and we shall see it revealing itself in a new and peculiar way. For, in the earlier periods, we saw Christianity attaching itself to the culture of the ancient world, then existing under the forms of the Greek and Roman peculiarities of national character; and where the harmonious culture that could be derived from the elements of human nature left to itself had reached its highest point, and degenerating into false refinement wrought its own destruction, we saw Christianity introducing a new element of *divine* life, whereby the race, already sinking in spiritual death, was quickened and raised to a far higher point of spiritual development than had been reached before; a new creation springing forth out of the new spirit in the ancient form. But a race of people now appear, who are still in the rudeness of barbarism; and on these Christianity bestows, by imparting to them the seed of a divine life, the germ of all human culture;—not as an outward possession already complete and prepared for their acceptance, but as something which was to unfold itself with entire freshness and originality from within, through the inward impulse of a divine life, and in conformity with the indi-

2 POWER AND INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THIS PERIOD.

viduality of character belonging to this particular race of men. It is the distinguishing characteristic of this new work of Christianity, that the new creation does not attach itself to any previously existing form of culture sprung from some entirely different root ; but that everything here springs from the root, and grows out of the vital sap of Christianity itself. We come to the fountain-head, whence flowed the whole peculiar character of the middle ages, and all modern civilization.

It is true, the form in which these rude tribes first came to the knowledge of Christianity was not that of the pure gospel. It was the form of church tradition, handed down from the earlier centuries ; in which, as we have seen in tracing the earlier course of development, the divine word had become mixed up with many foreign elements. But still, even through the wood, hay, and stubble of mere human modes of apprehension, the one and only foundation, which ever stood firm, though concealed under the load of foreign additions—the foundation of faith in the redeeming love of God, revealed through, and in Christ, as the Redeemer of sinful man—was able to manifest its divine power to transform, to train, and to refine mankind ; and with the implantation of this one principle in humanity was given also the element from which would proceed, of its own accord, the reaction against these foreign admixtures. Such a reaction we may trace along through the whole development of the church tradition in the middle ages ; and while, on the one hand, those foreign elements were ever assuming a more substantial shape, so on the other, this reaction of the original Christian consciousness that strove to purge away every foreign element was continually gaining new strength, till it acquired power enough to introduce into the church a thorough process of purification. Nor should we fail to notice that, with this tradition, there was handed down, in the sacred text itself, a source of divine knowledge not exposed, in like manner, to corruption, from which the church might learn how to distinguish primitive Christianity from all subsequent additions, and so carry forward the work of purifying the Christian consciousness to its entire completion.

The above-mentioned intermixture of Christianity with foreign elements may be properly traced to such causes as the following :

that the idea of the kingdom of God had been degraded from man's spirit and inward being, and made sensuous and outward; that in place of the progressive, inward, and spiritual union of the soul with the kingdom of God through faith, had been substituted a progressive, outward mediation with it by means of certain forms and ceremonies; and that in place of the universal, spiritual priesthood of Christians, had been substituted a special outward priesthood as the only medium of union betwixt man and God's kingdom; so that the idea of this kingdom was gradually reduced to the form of the Old Testament theocracy. The church of Christ having thus taken the shape of an outward, visible theocracy, it followed, as a general consequence, that in a multitude of ways, the different Jewish and Christian points of view were confounded together. But this Old Testament form, adopted by the church, proved to the rude tribes, who were not yet prepared to take the gospel into their life in its pure spirituality, an intermediate stage, for training them to the maturity of Christian manhood, which they were destined to attain as soon as they were ready for it, by means of that reaction, the elements of which already existed in the Christian consciousness.

The new creation of Christianity which we have now to contemplate, proceeded from those barbarous tribes, particularly of German origin, who planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire which they had destroyed, and formed in the West the new theatre of a historical development, which was to shape the destinies of the world. The way in which Christianity was first conveyed to them is a point deserving of special consideration, in order to a right understanding of the whole of this new period of church history; and everything relating to this subject, which in the order of time, would have belonged to the earlier centuries, but which we have thus far passed over as unconnected with the progress of Christianity in the old Grecian and Roman world, we shall here embrace together under one view.

SECTION FIRST.

RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE WORLD; ITS EXTENSION AND LIMITATION.

I. IN EUROPE.

Several tribes of German origin, which, during the migration of nations in the fourth and fifth centuries, settled down in Gaul, were there gained over to Christianity, simply by coming in contact with the Christian inhabitants. Pious bishops and abbots, such, for instance, in the fifth and sixth centuries, as Avitus of Vienne, Faustus of Rhegii (Riez), Cæsarius of Arles,¹ exemplified in these countries, by lives of unwearied, active, and self-denying love, the blessed influence of the Christian faith in the midst of havoc and desolation; and while by such lives, they inspired respect and confidence in the leaders of those barbarous hordes, as well as trust and love in the people themselves, they

¹ See vol. ii., p. 416. Cæsarius was distinguished for his zeal in promoting both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the tribes among whom he lived; for his efforts to communicate religious instruction to the people in a manner suited to their wants by the public preaching of the gospel, and by private intercourse with them, and for his earnest endeavours to ameliorate their temporal condition, and to redeem captives who had been reduced to slavery. He sold the vessels and other property of the church, even down to his own priestly robes, to furnish himself with means for bestowing charity. The presents which he received from princes, he immediately converted into money, that he might have wherewith to succour the needy. Amid the most difficult relations incident to the change of governments under the conquests of different tribes, Burgundians, East Goths, West Goths, Franks, and under the reigns of Arian monarchs, whose suspicions he would be likely to excite by the difference of his creed, he was enabled by a purity of life which commanded respect, by the wisdom with which he accommodated himself to men of different dispositions, and by a charity which was extended to all without distinction, to preserve his influence unimpaired. Though subjected to persecutions, on the ground of political suspicion, yet his innocence brought him out victorious over them all, which caused him to be regarded with still greater reverence than before. See the accounts of his life by his disciples in the *Actis Sanctorum*, Mens August. I. vi. His scattered sermons (a complete critical edition of which still remains a desideratum) prove also the activity of his life.

contributed in no small measure to introduce and extend the gospel among them. By marriage alliances, the seeds of Christianity were, in the next place, easily transplanted from one of these tribes to another. Thus the Burgundians,¹ near the beginning of the fifth century, and soon after their settlement in Gaul, were, in some way which cannot now be exactly determined, converted to Christianity. If they did not, from the very first, receive their instruction in Christianity from Arian teachers,² yet by their intercourse with the Arian tribes settled in these districts, particularly the West Goths, they were led at some later period to embrace Arian doctrines;³ and it was only in the reign of Gundobad, who stood in intimate and friendly relations with

¹ Orosius, in his *History of the World* (Hist. viii. 32), already speaks of them as Christians, and notices the change which Christianity had produced in the habits of the people. The account given of them by Socrates (vii. 30), who was so far removed from the scene of events, though founded, no doubt, in some measure, on facts, is still too inaccurate to be relied on.

² That they may have done so, is, at least, a very possible supposition. The truth is, we know little or nothing distinctly about the beginning of their conversion; but their later steadfastness in maintaining the Arian doctrines would admit in this way of being more easily explained.

³ The Arians having been expelled from the Roman empire, were on this account the more zealous in propagating their doctrines among the tribes who had not as yet embraced Christianity, or who were not firmly established in the Christian faith. We have seen already why it was, that the Anti-Nicene doctrine proved particularly acceptable to the untutored nations. It would certainly be wrong to pronounce an indiscriminate sentence of condemnation on all these Arian missionaries and ecclesiastics. Judging from what may be known of them, from the life and writings of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, and from the history of the persecution among the Vandals, we must conceive of them as being in part rude zealots, who thought more of spreading Arianism than the gospel; and Maximus, Bishop of Turin, warns the people against certain vagabond, probably Arian, priests, who made it an easy matter to become a Christian, and of whom he says, that they led away the people by fallacibus blandimentis, that taking advantage of the custom which prevailed among the German tribes of paying compensation money (*Geldbussen compositiones*) for all crimes, they had their prices for the absolution of sins, *ut si quis laicorum fassus fuerit crimen admissum, non dicat ille: age poenitentiam, sed dicat: pro hoc crimine da tantum mihi et indulgetur tibi.* Hom. x. in *Mabillon Museum Italicum*. T. i. p. ii. page 28. But there is nothing to warrant the opinion that such was the character of the Arian clergy generally. The condition of the Burgundian people speaks rather in their favour than against them. In a religious conference between the two parties held in the time of King Gundobad, A.D. 499, when Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, finally declared that God would give his own testimony in favour of the Catholic faith at the tomb of St Justus, and proposed a trial of this sort to the king, the Arians, on the contrary, declared, *se pro fide sua manifestanda facere nolle, ut fecerat Saul et ideo maledictus fuerat, aut recurrere ad incantationes et illicita; sufficere sibi, se habere scripturam, quae sit fortior omnibus praestigiiis.* Vid. *Sirmond. Opera*, t. ii. p. 226.

that zealous defender of the Catholic faith, Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, who frequently consulted him on matters of religious doctrine, and in the year 499 brought about a conference between him and the Arian clergy,¹ that the way was opened for the Burgundian chiefs to embrace the Nicene doctrine; and his son Sigismond, who had been won over to it by Avitus during the life-time of his father, first declared decidedly in its favour when he ascended the throne in the year 517.²

Through this people, the first seeds of Christianity found their way to another tribe, which, in these and the next succeeding times, played the most important part in the history of the West. We mean the Franks. Clotilda, the daughter of the Burgundian king, Gundobad, married Clovis, King of the Salian Franks; and this rough warrior, who probably looked upon religion as a matter of quite inferior importance, and, pagan as he was, thought one mode of worship as good as good another, left her in the free exercise of her own rites, to which she was devotedly attached. She laboured to convince her lord that his idols were nothing, and to win him over to the Christian faith, by setting forth to

¹ One of the great ministers of state endeavoured, not without reason, to suppress this conference, for said he, *tales rixae exasperabant animos multitudinis, et non poterat aliquid boni ex iis provenire.*

² The question now arose, whether those churches in which the Arians had worshipped, should, after being newly consecrated, be used for the Catholic worship; according to the hitherto prevailing custom with regard to the temples of the pagans and heretics, and according to the rule prescribed a few years before in France, by the council of Orleans (*Aurelianense*) A.D. 511, in reference to the churches that had been previously used by the Arian Visi-Goths, c. 10. Avitus was opposed to the proposition; partly on the fanatical ground that a place once desecrated by the worship of heretics could not be consecrated again to holy uses; but partly also for reasons, which showed evidence of Christian wisdom. Occasion would be given to the heretics should they be deprived of their churches, for raising the cry of persecution: *Cum catholicam mansuetudinem calumniis haereticorum atque gentilium plus deceat sustinere quam facere. Quid enim tam durum quam si illi, qui aperta perversitate pereunt, de confessione sibi aut martyrio blandiantur?* Nor was it, indeed, a thing impossible, that the present orthodox monarch might be succeeded by another inclined to Arianism; and in this case, the latter might think he had good cause for commencing a persecution of the orthodox, as a just retribution for the wrongs suffered by the other party: *Non sectae suae studio; sed ex vicissitudinis retributione fecisse dicetur et nobis etiam post mortem gravandis ad peccatum reputabitur, quicquid fuerit perpessa posteritas.* Or, perhaps, some neighbouring Arian prince might think himself called upon to inflict a retaliatory punishment on his own Catholic subjects. The council held this year at Epaona, after the conversion of Sigismond had been publicly declared, decided in its 33d Canon conformably to the opinion of Avitus.

him the almighty power of the one and only true God whom the Christians worshipped. But the pagan Clovis¹ had no other standard, by which to measure the power of the gods, than the military success of the nations that worshipped them: and the downfall of the Roman empire, whence the worship of the Christian's God had been derived, was convincing proof to him, of the weakness or nothingness of that Being. At the same time, he made no opposition to her proposal, that their first-born son should be dedicated to her God, and allowed him to be baptized.² The child, however, soon afterwards died; upon which Clovis declared that this event confirmed his opinion of the God of the Christians. But Clotilda still possessed sufficient influence over her husband, to obtain his consent to the baptism of their second child. It so happened that this child also fell sick, and Clovis already predicted its death; but the pious Clotilda, whose faith remained unshaken under every event, prayed God that its life might be spared for the promotion of his glory among the heathen; and its recovery, which speedily followed, she announced to her husband as bestowed in answer to her prayers.³ The persuasion and the example of a wife, so devoted to her faith, and so zealous for its spread, would, without doubt, gradually produce on her husband's mind, though he might be unconscious of it, a deep and permanent impression, which was only strengthened by certain remarkable incidents suited to work on the feelings and temper of the untutored Frank.

Martin, the former Bishop of Tours, was at that time, the object of universal veneration in France. In all circumstances

¹ Avitus states, in his letter to this king (ep. 41), that when pagan monarchs were exhorted to change their religion, they said they could not forsake the religion handed down to them from their ancestors (*consuetudinem generis et ritum paternae observationis*).

² Gregory of Tours (*Hist. ii. 27*) mentions an incident in the life of Clovis which happened in 486, while he was still a pagan. A beautiful vase, taken by his soldiers from one of the churches, was reclaimed by the bishop (probably Remigius of Rheims). Clovis promised at once to restore it, as soon as he should be able to dispose of it as his portion of the booty. This accords with what Avitus writes in his letter to the king, concerning the respect he showed to the bishops while he was still a pagan: *Humilitas quam jam dudum nobis devotione impenditis, qui nunc primum professione (after his baptism which had just taken place) debetis.*

³ Similar incidents are constantly recurring in the history of missions. Compare with this, for example, the account given in the *Journal of the German missionaries in India* of June 1832; in the *Missionary Register* for the year 1833, p.190.

of distress, bodily or spiritual, men were accustomed to seek relief from God through his intercession. His tomb, over which a church had been erected, was repaired to for relief, by sick persons of every description; and not a year passed in which many instances were not recorded of perjured men, here constrained to confess the truth, or else punished by some signal judgment—of the insane, the nervous, the epileptic, the deaf and dumb, the blind, here restored to soundness and health.¹ The very dust from St Martin's tomb, fragments of the wax tapers that burned before his shrine, or of the curtains that veiled it, and every thing which was thought to be consecrated by having once been in contact with it, were prized as miraculous remedies or powerful amulets to remove or avert every species of evil. This veneration of St Martin extended even to Italy and to Spain. As to the reported facts, if we leave out of the question those cases in which there may have been some co-operation of intentional fraud, we shall find many of them to differ in no respect from the facts related among believing Christians of all times, respecting answers to prayer; though added to this, in the present case, was a reliance on *human* mediation, quite foreign from the spirit of pure Christianity. But many of these facts also may be explained from the influence of a strong faith, of devotional feelings, of an excited imagination;—from the natural working of both mental and physical powers; whilst the rigid abstemiousness, necessary to be observed by the patients, contributed to promote their cure;² and the ignorant who, without further inquiry, surrendered themselves to the impression of the moment, easily traced a casual connection in an accidental coincidence; and as none were inclined to investigate the immediate natural causes of the visible facts, while an exaggerating fancy added something

¹ Bishop Gregory of Tours, who flourished at the close of the sixth century, collected together all these legends in his four books, *De Miraculis S. Martini*—a work which, notwithstanding the many fabulous stories it records, contains a great deal of instructive matter relating to the life and manners of those times, as well as interesting facts in a psychological point of view.

² Gregory of Tours remarks, concerning the cures performed on those supposed to be possessed of devils, and on those sick with fevers, that they could only expect relief, *si vere fuerint parcitas et fides conjunctae*. *De Miraculis Martini*, l. I. c. 8, and that one individual who relapsed into his former dissipated life was attacked again, l. c. 8.

more to them, so the most wonderful stories were told of the extraordinary works performed by St Martin. And if much that seemed too incredible sometimes provoked the understanding to doubt, such doubts were scouted as suggestions of the devil.

These extraordinary things which happened at St Martin's tomb, Clotilda often related to her husband as proofs of the almighty power of the God worshipped by the Christians. Clovis, however, still professed to be incredulous; he would believe these facts when he saw them with his own eyes.¹

Thus by a concurrence of impressions of various kinds, the mind of Clovis was prepared for a religious change, when by a remarkable event which would have been attended with the same effect under no other circumstances, this change was accomplished. At the battle of Zülpich (Tolbiacum), fought between him and the Alemanni in the year 496, he found himself and his army placed in a situation of extreme peril. He invoked his gods for deliverance in vain; when calling to mind all the accounts he had heard respecting the almighty power of the Christian's God, he addressed his supplications to Him, vowing, that if by his assistance the victory should be gained, he would devote himself wholly to His service. The enemy was conquered, and Clovis ascribed his success to the powerful arm of the Christian's God. Rejoicing over the change thus produced in her husband's mind, Clotilda sent for Remigius, the venerable Bishop of Rheims, who found on his arrival the ear of the king already open for his message. When the bishop spoke of the crucifixion, the Frankish warrior indignantly exclaimed, "Had I only been there with my Franks, I would have taught those Jews a better lesson." The festival of Easter was chosen as the day for his baptism,² which was performed with great solemnity. It produced a wide sensation and was elaborately

¹ Nicetius, bishop of Triers, writes to the Longobard queen, Clodeswinde, Clotilda's aunt: *Audisti ab avia tua Chrotilde, qualiter in Franciam venerit, quomodo dominum Chlodoveum ad legem catholicam adduxerit, et quum esset astutissimus noluit acquiescere, antequam vera agnosceret. Quum illa, quae supra dixi, probata cognovit, humilis ad Martini limina cecidit et baptizari se sine mora permisit.* *Bibl. Patr. Galland, t. xii.*

² As we are informed in the letter of Avitus to the king, already cited, which was written shortly after his baptism: "*Ut consequenter eo die ad salutem regenerari vos pateat, quo natum redemptioni suae coeli dominum mundus accepit.*"

described¹ in the pompous rhetorico-poetical language of the times.² The example of the king was followed by many others, and it is reported that more than three thousand of his army received baptism at one time.³

Important however, as was the conversion of Clovis, considered in reference to the effect which it had, by reason of his continually extending power, in enlarging the boundaries of the Christian church; yet, as in the case of Constantine, his conversion was of such a nature as to lead him, in assuming the Christian profession, to clothe his former mode of thinking in a new garb, rather than to change it entirely to make room for a full and hearty admission of the gospel spirit. His worldly and political projects too much occupied his attention, or he was too busily engaged in war, to allow himself time for earnest reflection on the religion he professed, so as to understand and truly appropriate it. The God of the Christians first appeared to him as his protector in war; he would fain reckon on enjoying the assistance of the same powerful arm in the future, and he imagined that he should secure it by making rich donations to the church. He gladly seized every opportunity to throw a sacred colouring over his ambitious schemes, by pretending a zeal for the glory of God; as, in making war with the Visigoths who were Arians.⁴

¹ Thus Gregory of Tours: *Totum templum baptisterii divino respigitur ab odore talemque ibi gratiam adstantibus Deus tribuit, ut aestimarent, se paradisi odoribus collocari.*

² The wrong interpretation of such expressions and symbolical paintings gave origin to the well-known legend some centuries later, when it was desired to have the confirmation bestowed on Clovis with the chrism or royal unction, that an oil-vase was supernaturally provided—the so-called *ampulla Remensis*.

³ The important bearing which it was supposed the conversion of Clovis would have on the spread of Christianity among the races of German descent, appears from the above-mentioned congratulatory letter of Avitus. He expected that the whole nation of the Franks would now embrace Christianity, and invites the king to lend his aid by means of embassies to promote the spread of the gospel: *Ut quia Deus gentem vestram per vos ex toto suam faciet, ulterioribus quoque gentibus, quas in naturali adhuc ignorantia constitutas nulla pravorum dogmatum germina corruperunt (among whom the Arian doctrines had as yet found no admission) de bono thesauro vestri cordis fidei semina porrigatis, nec pudeat pigeatque etiam directis in rem legationibus adstruere partes Dei, qui tantum vestras erexit.*

⁴ When the Burgundian king, Gundobad, was invited by Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, and others, at the conference in 499, to abandon the Arian doctrines, and, like Clovis, profess the Catholic, he said in answer to this proposition: *Non est fides, ubi est appetentia alieni et sitis sanguinis populorum, ostendat fidem per opera sua.* See *D'Achery Spicilegia*, t. iii., ed. fol., f. 305.

In all cases where large tribes of men are said to have been converted through the influence of their chiefs, a great deal must of course be set down as merely of an outward character; hence, when Christianity had already assumed the form of a dominant religion among the Franks, it is not surprising that idolatry should still be found to have so many votaries, that King Childebert, in the year 554, was obliged to pass a law against those who would not allow idolatrous images to be removed from their estates. The Frankish nobles, also, from this time, were anxious to secure a good foundation for their piety by rich donations to churches and monasteries, which thus became exposed still more than ever to the pillaging disposition of others; while, at the same time, an incentive was offered to the intrusion of worldly-minded men into the sacred office. After this followed those numberless internal dissensions, wars and revolutions, within the Frankish empire, which encouraged barbarism and gave a check to the civilizing influences of Christianity and the church. Now, as all that can be done by any church, for the real dissemination of Christianity, depends on its own internal condition, so the truth was in the present case, that although the power of the Frankish empire opened the way for missions, and contributed much to facilitate and promote their progress, and although, in solitary instances, missions were actually sent forth by the Frankish church, yet the most important missionary efforts did not proceed from this quarter; but the dismembered church of the Franks itself needed regeneration, which was to be obtained only from some other source.

The first impulse towards this regeneration proceeded from the same countries which sent forth also the most important missions. Those islands at the West, which were so well adapted by their situation, to furnish quiet and secluded seats for seminaries of Christian instruction and culture, and to serve the great purpose of dispersing abroad spiritual blessings as well as other benefits to mankind—the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were the spots where, in retired monasteries, those men obtained their training, who were destined to be teachers and educators of the rude nations. Let us, then, first cast a glance at the history of Christianity in the islands which had so important a share in the further extension of the Christian church.

As it regards Ireland, St Patrick¹ had here left behind him a series of disciples, who continued to labour on in his own spirit. Ireland became the seat of famous monasteries, which acquired the name for this country of "Island of the Saints" (*insula sanctorum*). In these monasteries, the Scriptures were diligently read; ancient books eagerly collected and studied. They formed missionary schools; such for example, in the last half of the sixth century was the monastery of Bangor, founded by the venerable abbot Comgal. After Christianity had been conveyed at a much earlier period, by Ninias, a British bishop, to the Southern provinces of the Picts in Scotland, the abbot Columba, of Ireland, transplanted it, about the year 565, among the northern Picts, a people separated from those of the South by lofty mountains covered with ice and snow. The Picts whom he converted gave him the Island of Hy, north-west of Scotland, afterwards reckoned as one of the Hebrides. Here he founded a monastery, which, under his management during thirty years, attained the highest reputation,—a distant and secluded seat for the pursuit of biblical studies and other sciences, according to the standard of those early times. The memory of Columba made this monastery so venerated, that its abbots had the control and guidance of the bordering tribes and churches; and even bishops acknowledged their authority, though they were but simple priests. This island was named after himself, St Iona (the names Columba and Iona being probably, one the Latin, the other the Hebrid, translation of an originally Irish word), St Columba, and the Island of Columcelli, Colum Kill.²

While in this way, Christianity was planted among the Scots and Picts, even to the extreme north of these islands, the Christian church had been forced out of its original seat, in ancient Britain, England proper. The Britons—among whom Christianity had already found entrance, having probably been brought to them directly or indirectly from the East³ as early as the latter part of the second century—were from very remote times, a Christian nation; though great corruptions had sprung

¹ See vol. III., p. 167.

² Columba was named as founder of several monasteries. See the traditions respecting him collected in *Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, ed. ii. p. 362 f.

³ See vol. I., p. 116.

up and become spread among all ranks of the people.¹ Finding themselves unable to resist the destructive inroads of their ancient foes, the Picts and Scots, or to obtain any assistance from the feeble Roman empire, the Britons had betaken themselves, about the middle of the fifth century, to the warlike German tribe of the Anglo-Saxons. The latter, however, made themselves masters of the country; leaving only the western portion to its old possessors, while they themselves founded the empire of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. It was now, indeed, in the power of the Britons, to do much for the conversion of that Pagan tribe; but the existing national hate between the conquerors and the conquered² forbade it. It was not till a century and a half later, that the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, a man ardently bent on promoting the kingdom of God; and whose far reaching eye, in spite of difficulties which seemed ever springing up afresh, embraced among its objects the remote and the near, drew up a plan for founding the Christian church among the Anglo-Saxons. An impression he had received in his earlier years, before he became a bishop, and while abbot of a monastery in Rome, first set him upon this project. Strolling to the public mart, he stopped to observe the foreign traders there engaged in opening and exposing their merchandize for sale, when his attention was caught by certain boys, brought from afar, and distinguished for their noble air, who were waiting to be sold. He inquired after their country, and learned to his great grief that a people so distinguished by nature, were as yet wholly destitute of the higher gifts of grace. He at once resolved to go himself and convey to them these blessings, and he would have done so, had he not, at the instigation of the Roman church, been recalled by the then Roman bishop, when already several days on his journey.³ But the plan itself he could never abandon; and he seems, when Bishop of Rome, to have been devising, from the first, how he might best carry his purpose into effect. Thus, he directed the presbyter whom he had sent

¹ As the fact is described by the presbyter Gildas—a man sprung from the midst of this people—in a work in which he represents the capture and devastation of the country by the Anglo-Saxons, as a divine judgment,—his work *De excidio Britanniae*.

² Gildas calls the Anglo-Saxons *nefandi nominis Saxoni, Deo hominibusque invisi*.

³ Beda *Hist. Ang.*, II. 1.

to take charge of the property belonging to the Roman church in France, to expend part of the money collected in Gaul in the purchase of such Anglo-Saxon youths, as might be exposed for sale, and to send them in company with an ecclesiastic, who could baptize them in case of mortal sickness, to Rome; in order that they might there be instructed and trained in the monasteries.¹ Perhaps it was his intention to employ them, after they had been perfectly disciplined in the monastic life, as missionaries among their countrymen. Meantime an event had occurred, peculiarly well suited to favour the projected mission. Ethelbert, King of Kent, then the mightiest among the small kingdoms of the Heptarchy, had married Bertha, a Frankish Christian princess. She had connected with her household a certain Bishop Liuthard, and was allowed freely to observe the rites of her religion. From her, therefore, the missionaries might expect to find, at once, a favourable reception and support. The vigilant Gregory, whom nothing escaped which could be made serviceable in promoting his great work, may have been moved by this very circumstance to proceed to the execution of his plan. Accordingly, in the year 596, he sent Augustin, a Roman abbot, together with several associates,² among whom were Peter the monk, and the presbyter Laurentius, to England. These persons, while on their journey, were frightened at the report of the difficulties and dangers which threatened them; and sent Augustin back to the Roman bishop, to obtain a release from their commission; whereupon, Gregory, in a friendly, but earnest appeal,³ exhorted them to finish the good work commenced with God's help; since it were far better not to begin a good enterprise, than having begun it, to look back. They should remember, that great and painful labours would be followed by the reward of everlasting glory. On their journey through France, from which country they were to cross over to England, Gregory recommended them to the Frankish princes and nobles, whose connection with the Anglo-Saxon rulers might be made of service to them; and he also bade them take interpreters from the Frankish kingdom.

¹ Epp. I. vi. ep. 7.

² He was abbot of the monastery which had been founded by Gregory himself, when he retired from the world. *Monasterii mei praepositus*, I. iv. ep. 108.

³ L. vi. ep. 51.

In 597, Augustin, with forty companions, landed on the Isle of Thanet, eastward of Kent, and sent to inform the king of the purpose for which they were come. The king made his appearance on the next day, to confer with them on the subject. Fearful of magic, he did not venture his person under the same roof with them ; but would only confer with them in the open air. But Augustin's words inspired him with confidence, and he declared that he now saw they had honest intentions, and that they had come from so great a distance to communicate to him that which they considered to be the greatest and best of blessings. Yet he could not so lightly and quickly abandon the religion of his nation and of his fathers. All he could do at present by way of acknowledging their good intentions, was this :—he would furnish them a dwelling and the means of support at his capital, Dorovern (Canterbury), and they might be allowed to convince such as they could of the truth of their religion, and afterwards to baptize them. Thus the missionaries commenced their labours on a small scale. They took no more than barely sufficed for their scanty diet. Their disinterested, severe mode of life gained for them esteem and confidence. An old, dilapidated church belonging to the Roman times, and consecrated to St Martin, afforded them the first place for divine worship, where they baptized the new Christians, and held with them their religious meetings. It is certain, that the propagation of Christianity among this rude people was helped forward by a concurrence of circumstances, or facts, which appeared to the people as miracles, and were also regarded as such by Augustin. By impressions of this kind, effects great for the moment, though not of an enduring character, may have been produced ; and the missionaries themselves may have suffered themselves to be deceived by the unexpected and surprising success of their labours. Even the king, who had been gradually prepared for it through the influence of his Christian wife, decided to embrace the gospel, and was baptized. Yet he declared, in publicly professing Christianity, that he would not make his own religious persuasion a law for his subjects, but in this would leave each one to his own free choice, since Augustin had taught him, that the Christian worship of God must proceed from conviction, and could not be extorted by outward force. It may be safely con-

jectured, that Augustin had been directed by the Roman bishop to aim at extending the faith, by instruction and persuasion, by acts of love winning the heart, and not by forcible measures; for a correct insight into the nature of divine worship generally, and of Christianity in particular, as well as the spirit of charity by which he was animated, had led Bishop Gregory to adopt this as a principle, though he by no means always acted in conformity with it in practice.¹ Still, the king distinguished by

¹ We may here compare together Gregory's different modes of procedure in these matters. When blind zeal, or selfish passions, making use of religion as a pretext, disturbed the Jews in the free exercise of their worship in the synagogues secured to them by the ancient laws, Gregory stood forth as their protector, and emphatically remonstrated against such conduct. To this course, he might be led, in these cases, simply by a regard for justice, and zeal for the preservation of order; as the Jews were threatened to be deprived, in an arbitrary manner, of the rights secured to them by law—a reason which he himself alleges against such proceedings; L. I. ep. 10. "Hebraeos gravari vel affligi contra ordinem rationis prohibemus; sed sicut Romanis vivere legibus permittuntur, annuente justitia actus suos, ut norunt, nullo impediendo disponant," and L. VIII. ep. 25. "Judaei in his, quae iis concessa sunt, nullum debent praejudicium sustinere." But he also declared himself opposed to all attempts whatever to convert the Jews by forcible measures,—because the very opposite effect might be produced from what was intended. The only proper way of dealing with them, in his opinion, was by instructing and convincing them. L. IX. ep. 47, to the bishops of Arles and of Marseilles: "Dum enim quispiam ad baptismatis fontem non praedicationis suavitate, sed necessitate pervenerit, ad pristinam superstitionem remeans, inde deterius moritur, unde renatus esse videbatur. Fraternitas ergo vestra hujus modi homines frequenti praedicatione provocet, quatenus mutare veterem vitam magis de doctoris suavitate desiderent, adhibendus ergo est illis sermo, qui et errorum in ipsis spinas urere debeat et praedicando quod in his tenebrescit illuminet." And in a letter to the Bishop of Naples, L. XIII. ep. 12: "Cur Judaeis, qualiter caerimonias suas colere debeant, regulas ponimus, si per hoc eos lucrari non possumus? agendum ergo est, ut ratione potius et mansuetudine provocati, sequi nos velint, non fugere, ut eis ex eorum codicibus ostendentes quae dicimus, ad sinum matris ecclesiae Deo possimus adjuvante convertere." And I. ep. 35: "Eos, qui a religione Christiana discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare, ne, quos dulcedo praedicationis et praeventus futuri judicis terror ad credendum invitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur." Still Gregory did not always act according to the principles here expressed. Thus, for example, he directed that the Jews, whose estates were held of property belonging to the Roman church in Sicily, should be exempted from a certain portion of the rents to be paid on them, if they consented to receive baptism. Now he must certainly have been aware, that conversions so brought about, could not be sincere; but he thought: "Et si ipsi minus fideliter veniunt, hi tamen, qui de eis nati fuerint, jam fidelius baptizantur." L. V. ep. 7. And he directed that the peasantry still devoted to paganism in Sardinia, should be induced, by taxing them beyond their means of payment, to renounce their religion: Ut ipsa reactionis suae poena compellantur ad rectitudinem festinare. L. IV. ep. 26. Those who still persisted in idolatry, should, if they belonged to the class of bondmen, be punished corporeally, and if to the freemen, with close imprisonment: Ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire verba contemnunt, cruciatus saltem eos corporis ad desideratam mentis valeant reducere sanitatem. L. IX. ep. 85. L. VIII. ep. 18.

peculiar marks of favour those who followed his own example in religion. The example and influence of the monarch, and the sensuous impressions produced by the miracles, which the people supposed they beheld, induced great numbers to receive baptism; with many of whom, however, as was shown by succeeding events, the faith had taken no deep root. On one Christmas festival, Augustin was enabled to baptize more than ten thousand Pagans,¹ to which momentary, and apparently great success, Augustin attached too much importance. In obedience to the instructions of Gregory, he now crossed over to France, and received from Etherich, Bishop of Arles, the episcopal ordination, in order that he might perform in the new church the duties of a bishop. He next despatched to Rome his two associates, the presbyter Laurentius, and Peter the monk, in order to give Pope Gregory, whom he had probably informed already in a general manner of the great success of his labours, a more detailed account of his proceedings; to receive instructions as to the course he ought to pursue, with regard to disputed points, in settling the order of the new church, so that a firm shaping might be given to it by Papal authority; and also to demand of the Pope new assistants for a work requiring so much labour. In the first letter, or one of the first, of Gregory to Augustin, he expressed his great joy at what had been done in England. He recognised in this, the hand of Him, who said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I also work;" but at the same time, he warned the missionary in the language of true Christian wisdom. Augustin might well rejoice, he said, that by outward signs and wonders, the souls of the English had been drawn to inward grace; but in the consciousness of human weakness, he should ever be on the watch against pride. He reminded him of our Saviour's words to his disciples, when they returned from their first mission, and testified their joy, that the evil spirits were

¹ Gregory says, in his letter to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, L. VIII. ep. 30, touching the conversion of the English people by means of Augustin: "Quia tantis miraculis vel ipse vel hi, qui cum eo transmissi sunt, in gente eadem coruscant, ut apostolorum virtutes in signis quae exhibent, imitari videantur." He then cites the account of the baptism of this great multitude on the last Christmas festival. And p. 27 in c. 36, Job. c. 21: Omnipotens Dominus emicantibus praedicatorum miraculis ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Lingua Britanniae, quae nil aliud noverat, quam barbarum fremdere, jam dudum in Divinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit alleluja resonare.

made subject to them in his name (Luke x. 20) ; how He turned their minds away from all selfish and temporal grounds of joy, to universal and enduring ones ; for the disciples of truth should rejoice only in the good which is common to all, and in that which is the end of all joy. As a check to spiritual pride in its first beginnings, he advised him straitly to examine and prove himself, and to be ever mindful of the end for which this gift was bestowed on him ; that he had only received it for the salvation of those among whom he laboured. He held up to him as a warning the example of Moses, who, though the instrument, under God, of so many miracles, yet was not permitted himself to enter the promised land. He also reminded him, that miracles were no certain evidence of election ; for our Lord had said, that many who appealed to the wonderful works they had done, would not be received by Him (Matt. vii. 22). One mark alone had our Lord given, in the possession of which his disciples might truly rejoice, and recognise in it the glory of election,—the mark of his discipleship, which is love (John xiii. 53). This I write to thee, says Gregory, that I may exhort thee to humility ; but to humility, thou must join a confident trust in God. “I who am a sinner,” exclaims the Pope, “entertain the most confident assurance, that through the grace of our Almighty Creator and Redeemer, thy sins are already forgiven thee, and that thou art a chosen instrument to procure the forgiveness of their sins for others.”¹

Gregory sent him some new assistants ; choosing, as a friend and favourer of the monastic life, none but monks for this purpose, over whom he placed, as superior, the Abbot Mellitus. To the latter he gave an exhortatory pastoral letter, together with presents, for the king. By the same hand, he sent to Augustin the pall, which marked the dignity of an archbishop ; copies of the sacred Scriptures, relics to be used in the consecration of the new churches, together with several ecclesiastical vessels, and a reply to the questions which had been proposed to

¹ Lib. XI. ep. 28. The more Gregory was inclined to believe in miracles wrought in his own times, and to regard them as manifest tokens of divine interference to advance the weal of the church, the more remarkable it appears, that he still by no means over-rated the importance of miracles as a means of furthering the kingdom of God ; and that he was ever decidedly opposed to that fleshly eagerness for miracles which mistakes the Christian conception of a miracle and the essence of the higher life. We shall unfold his remarkable ideas on this subject, when we come to speak of his character generally. See below

him—questions which, it must be confessed, betrayed some narrowness of mind in the proposer. Augustin, in his journey through France, had been struck, among other things, by the difference between many of the church customs prevailing in Gaul and the Roman usages, and he asked the Roman bishop why it was, that with but one faith, the church should so differ in its ritual. To this Gregory replied, that although he had been brought up in the Roman church, still he ought by no means, in settling the order of the new church, to follow exclusively the example of Rome, but should select the good from all quarters, where it was to be found, whether in the Gallic church or elsewhere; for the thing ought not to be loved on account of the place, but only the place on account of the thing,—a warning against the bigoted attachment to Roman forms, which deserves notice as coming from the mouth of a Roman bishop. At first, it was Gregory's intention, which he intimated, indeed, to King Ethelbert,¹ to have all the temples of idolatry destroyed. But on maturer reflection, he altered his mind, and despatched a letter after the Abbot Mellitus,² in which he declared that the idol temples, if well built, ought not to be destroyed, but sprinkled with holy water, and sanctified by holy relics, should be converted into temples of the living God, so that the people might be the more easily induced to assemble in their accustomed places.³ Moreover, the festivals in honour of the idols, of which the rude people had been deprived, should be replaced by others, either on the anniversaries of the consecration of churches, or on days devoted to the memory of the saints, whose relics were deposited in them. On such days, the people should be taught to erect arbours around the churches, in which to celebrate their festive meals, and thus be holden to thank the Giver of all Good for these temporal gifts. Being thus allowed to indulge in some sensual enjoyments, they could be the more easily led to those which are inward and spiritual. It was impossible, he said, for rude and untutored minds to receive all things at once.⁴

In appointing Augustin to be the first archbishop over the new church, it was Gregory's intention to make London the seat of

¹ L. XI. ep. 66. ² L. XI. ep. 76. ³ *Ad loca, quae consuerit, familiarius concurrat.*

⁴ Gregory appeals here to the example of the divine method for educating mankind. He regards the Jewish sacrificial worship as a transfer of that which was practised in the worship of idols to the worship of the true God.

this archbishopric, to which twelve bishoprics were to be subordinate. As soon as Christianity should be extended so far to the north, the second metropolis was to be established at Eboracum (York), and the two archbishoprics were, for all future time, to be independent of each other, equal in dignity, and subject only to the Bishop of Rome.¹ That is, he marked out the church dioceses by the rank which the cities of England had acquired under the Roman dominion. From the history of those earlier times he had become well acquainted with the cities of *Londinum* and *Eboracum*, but not with Dorovern (Canterbury), which had first risen to notice as capital of one of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. But to make London, which belonged to another government, the seat of the first archbishopric, was, of course, beyond Augustin's power. He could only select for this purpose the chief city of the kingdom in which he had first planted the Christian Church; and hence, in this particular, it was necessary to deviate from the Papal instruction. But of the negotiations which took place between Augustin and the Roman bishop on this subject, we know nothing. When, however, through the influence of King Ethelbert, whose neice had married Sabert, King of Essex, a door was opened for the introduction of Christianity into this province, Augustin established an archbishopric for this portion of the Heptarchy at London, and gave it over to Mellitus.

By the instructions of the Roman bishop, Augustin was to have supreme direction not only over the newly established Anglo-Saxon, but also over the ancient British church; for he went on the principle, that to him, as successor of St Peter, belonged the spiritual power over the whole Western church. Augustin who, with all his pious zeal, seems not to have been wholly exempt from spiritual pride and ambition, was unwilling to yield a particle of his dignity, as primate over the entire English church, or to tolerate any spiritual authority in England independent of his own. He considered it, moreover, as highly important, when the labourers for the church which was to be built up among a pagan people were so few, to gain the active co-operation of the numerous clergy and monks of the British race. But as the Britons had not received their Christianity

¹ See L. XI. ep. 65.

from Rome; but directly or indirectly from the East, they had not been used to reverence the Roman church as their mother church, nor to place themselves in any relation of dependence upon it. Their long separation from the rest of Western Christendom had naturally served to strengthen and confirm in them the spirit of ecclesiastical freedom. They had, moreover, from the most ancient times, given a different form to many parts of the ritual, from that which prevailed in the Roman church; they differed, for example, in the time for observing Easter, in the form of tonsure among the clergy, and in the mode of baptism. Augustin's bigoted attachment to the forms of the Roman church, as well as his spiritual pride, did not qualify him to pass a charitable judgment on these diversities, or to seek the means of reconciling them. The abbot of the most distinguished British monastery, at Bangor, Deynoch by name, whose opinion in ecclesiastical affairs had the most weight with his countrymen, when urged by Augustin to submit in all things to the ordinances of the Roman church, gave him the following remarkable answer:—"We are all ready to listen to the church of God, to the pope at Rome, and to every pious Christian, that so we may show to each, according to his station, perfect love, and uphold him by word and deed. We know not, that any other obedience can be required of us towards him whom you call the pope or the father of fathers. But *this* obedience we are prepared constantly to render to him and to every Christian."¹ At the suggestion of King Ethelbert, the bishops of the nearest British province were invited to hold a conference with Augustin about these matters; and a council for this purpose was held, according to the ancient German custom, near an oak.² It was quite characteristic of Augustin, that when he found the Britons were not disposed to yield, he proposed that a sick man should be brought before them, whom both the parties should try to restore by their prayers, and that the answer given should be considered as a decision of the question by the Divine judgment. The Britons finally declared that

¹ See the Anglo-Saxon original of these words with the Latin version in Wilkin's Collection of English Councils, or in Bede's Hist. Eccles. Angl. ed. Smith, f. 116.

² Which place was still called in the time of Bede, Augustin's oak. The Synod at Wigorn, A.D. 601.

they could do nothing without the consent of a larger number of their party. But previous to the calling of a more numerous church assembly, they consulted the opinion of a pious hermit, who stood with them in the highest veneration. He told them they might follow Augustin if he was a man of God. When they inquired how they were to know whether he was a man of God, he replied, if he be meek and lowly of spirit, after the pattern of our Lord, it is to be expected that, as a disciple of Christ, he will bear himself the yoke of his Master, and will lay no heavier burden on others. But if he is of a violent, overbearing spirit, it is plain that he is not born of God, and we should pay no regard to his words. When they inquired still further by what signs they might know whether he was a meek and humble man, he said they should allow him and his attendants to enter first into the place where they were to assemble; and if, upon their entrance, he arose to meet them, they should acknowledge him as a servant of Christ; but not so, if, notwithstanding their great superiority to his own party in numbers, he still remained sitting. This proof of humility Augustin failed to show; and the Britons refused to enter with him into any terms of agreement. "Well then," he is said to have indignantly exclaimed, "as you are unwilling to recognise the Anglo-Saxons as brethren, and to preach to them the word of life, you shall have them as foes, and experience their vengeance." The national hatred of the Anglo-Saxons towards the Britons, which, by this church schism, Augustin was the means of fomenting, would easily bring about the fulfilment of this threat.¹ But the relation of the Britons to the Anglo-Saxon, and to the Roman church, had an important influence on the history of the church in the West during the next succeeding centuries, for we afterwards find many traces of a reaction against the Roman hierarchy, proceeding from the spirit of ecclesiastical freedom among the Britons.

Upon the death of Augustin, in 605, he was succeeded, in

¹ Though according to the common reading in Bede, from which, however, the old Anglo-Saxon translation varies, King Ethelbert's attack on the Britons, by which much blood was shed on both sides, took place after Augustin's death, and cannot be attributed to his immediate influence; still, considering his influence on the state of feeling of the Anglo-Saxon people towards the Britons, we cannot exempt him from the charge of having been at least indirectly concerned in this transaction.

accordance with his own wishes, by Laurentius. But the new church had by no means been established as yet on a firm basis, calculated to withstand every change of circumstances; for, as we have already remarked, the conversion of many to Christianity had been brought about by the example and the influence of their king, or by momentary impressions on the senses, rather than by any well-grounded conviction. Hence, on the death of Ethelbert, in the year 616, a great change immediately ensued. His son Eadbald relapsed into the old idolatry, which imposed fewer restraints upon his licentious habits, and his example was followed by many. A like change took place also in Essex, where Christianity was still less firmly rooted. After the death of King Sabert, the three sons whom he left behind him, openly declared again in favour of paganism, which, indeed, they had never heartily renounced. They had never consented to receive baptism; but still they were unwilling to be excluded from participating of the beautiful white bread¹ distributed by the bishop in celebrating the eucharist,—whether it was that they were attracted by the bread itself, or whether they attributed to it some magical charm, as they might easily be led to do by the customary language of those times, in describing the effects of the holy supper. As Mellitus, Bishop of London, could not allow of this, he was banished, with all his clergy. He repaired to the Bishop Laurentius in Kent, to consult with him as to what was next to be done. It was already agreed that, where there was such obstinate resistance, the mission must be abandoned. And even Laurence was on the point of following the steps of his departed companions, the Bishops Mellitus and Justus; but his conscience reproached him for being willing to abandon the post which God had entrusted to him. After fervent prayer and many tears, on the night before the day appointed for his departure, he threw himself down on some chaff in the church of St Peter and St Paul. As he fell asleep amidst painful thoughts of the future, St Peter appeared to him in a dream, and severely upbraided him for

¹ Panis nitidus, in the words of Bede. This might be understood as meaning, that even at this period it was customary to use a peculiar kind of bread, unleavened bread, in the celebration of the eucharist; but it may also be understood to mean that it was customary to use white and fine bread prepared expressly for the occasion.

not being afraid thus to forsake the hearth which had been committed to his charge.¹ We may suppose that the young King Eadbald had not been able wholly to suppress the lessons of Christianity received by him in childhood; but that these early impressions had only been obliterated for a season by the tide of sensual pleasures. And thus we may understand how the terrifying description which Laurence drew of the vision he had seen, should so work upon his imagination as to revive the impressions which still lay concealed in the secret chambers of his heart. Laurence would make the best of this opportunity to rekindle the spark of faith, still lingering, though smothered by sensuality, in the breast of the king. He submitted to baptism, wholly renounced idolatry, and, moreover, forsook the forbidden connections which he had hitherto refused to give up.

For a longer time paganism maintained its ground in the province of Essex. But from Kent, Christianity was spread to another of the small kingdoms, which became a principal point for the wider diffusion of the gospel, namely, Northumberland. Edwin, the king of this province, had married Ethelberga, a sister of King Eadbald of Kent; but under the express stipulation that she should be allowed to take her clergy with her, and practice without molestation the Christian worship of God. Paulinus was appointed to go with her as bishop, and Eboracum (York), the chief town of the province, became afterwards the seat of the new bishopric. Paulinus laboured with great zeal to convert the prince and the people. He met with little success among the people, till he had succeeded in gaining over the former to the gospel. But King Edwin was not so easily brought to a decision in his religious convictions. He came to it only after serious examination. He had already been satisfied of the

¹ It is possible, to be sure, that Laurence, going on the principle of the "pious fraud," ventured upon a fiction for the purpose of operating on the mind of the young king; yet the other view so naturally presents itself, that we find no good reason for recurring to this. If everything happened in the way Bede relates, and Laurence exhibited to the prince the marks left by the scourge, this, indeed, might lead to the hypothesis, that although Laurence really had a vision of this sort, yet he resorted to a trick in order that his story might make a stronger impression on the king's mind. But at the same time, it is impossible to calculate by what circumstances it might happen that he himself was deceived; or it may be that the original facts were magnified into the miraculous by the transmission of the story. It is to be remarked that many stories from the older times respecting such miraculous visitations for the punishment of sin, were current in the church.

vanity of idols, and had ceased to worship them ; but he did not, as yet, make profession of Christianity. He declared that he must, in the first place, make himself better acquainted with its doctrines, and more carefully consult about them, with the wisest of his nation ; and he frequently occupied himself in silent religious meditations. Seizing a favourable moment, when the king was alone and buried in such meditations, Paulinus, taking advantage of a vision which, as he had been accidentally informed, once appeared to the king when in a hazardous and eventful situation, prevailed upon him to convoke an assembly of his priests and nobles, which Paulinus also was to attend, for the purpose of deciding on the great question of religion. Many voices were here heard to speak for the first time against the old idolatry. To illustrate how important it must be for man to arrive at certainty in the things of religion, one of the chiefs used the following ingenious comparison :—“ As when in winter, the king and his nobles and servants have met at a feast, and are couched around the fire blazing in the centre of the hall, and feel nothing of the cold, and of the rough weather of the season, while the storm and the snow-blasts are raging without, and a little sparrow flies quickly through, entering in at one door and passing out at the other ;—what the moment which the bird passes in the warm hall, without feeling anything of the rough weather, is to the whole long remainder of the time which it has spent, and must again spend, amidst the storms, such is the present short moment of time which we know, compared to that which has gone before us, and to that which follows after us, of which we know nothing. With good reason, then, may we feel ourselves bound to receive this new doctrine, if it reveals anything more certain on these matters.” Then, after Paulinus had expounded the Christian doctrine, the chief priest himself was the first to propose the destruction of the ancient idols, and riding to the spot which formed the principal seat of the idol worship, set the example of destroying the old objects of veneration. But King Edwin, the most zealous labourer for the spread of Christianity, died in battle in the year 633. After his death, the condition of his people changed for the worse under a hostile dominion, and paganism once more obtained the ascendancy, until Oswald, a man of the royal

family, appeared as the liberator of his people, and the triumphant restorer of the Christian church among them. While living in banishment among the Scots in Ireland, he had been instructed in Christianity, and baptized, by pious monks; and through their influence he was filled with an ardent zeal for the Christian faith. Before proceeding to battle, he planted a cross in the ground, knelt before it in prayer, and besought the Almighty, that by his arm he would bestow the victory on the righteous cause.¹ Having, by the help of his God, conquered an enemy superior to him in numbers, it was his firm resolution to do his utmost to make the worship of this his God universal among his people. He applied to the Scottish church, from which he had received his own knowledge of Christianity, to send him a teacher for his people. Selection was made of one of those monks, distinguished for the austerity of their lives, of whom Ireland was at that time the nursing school. But this stern man could not bring himself to condescend to the rudeness, to the weaknesses and wants of a people who were to be gradually formed by Christianity. The people were repelled by his rigid manners. Despairing of being able to effect anything among them, he returned back to his country, and in an assembly of his spiritual superiors, he declared that the people were too rude to receive any benefit from his labours. But among the persons assembled was Aidan, a monk from the island of Iona, whence came the austere monks; and this person, severe to himself, was none the less full of love and gentleness to others.² To the missionary who complained of the people to whom he had been sent as a teacher, he said that his want of success was his own fault; that he had proceeded so roughly with his untutored hearers, that he had not, according to the precept of St Paul, fed them at first with milk, until, nourished by the word of God, they

¹ The place where this is said to have occurred, was pointed out for a long time afterwards, and the memory of it deemed sacred. It was visited, as well as the pretended relics of that wooden cross, for the cure of bodily maladies.

² In the Irish monasticism, however, was incorporated a principle, derived from a certain Gildas, and opposed to the spiritual pride of an extravagant asceticism: "Abstinentia corporaliū ciborum absque caritate inutilis est; meliores sunt ergo, qui non magnopere jejulant nec supra modum a creatura Dei se abinent cor intrinsicus nitidum coram Deo servantes, quam illi, qui carnem non edunt neque vehiculis equisque vehuntur et pro his quasi superiores cacteris se putantes, quibus mors intrat per fenestram elevationis." See Wilkins's Concil. Angl. t. i. f. 4.

became capable of advancing to a higher stage of the Christian life. All were convinced that the rude people needed for their teacher just such a man as he was himself. Aidan was consecrated a bishop, and sent to Northumberland. Until he had gained a competent knowledge of the English tongue, he preached only to the chief men and servants of the king, assembled at his court; and as the king, during his exile, had made himself acquainted with the Scottish language, the latter translated on the spot into the vernacular tongue, for the understanding of the hearers, the matter of these discourses. No sooner, however, had Aidan himself so far mastered the English language, as to be able to make himself understood in it, than, unsparing of labour, and but seldom using a horse, he visited the city and the country around, and wheresoever he fell in with rich or poor, detained them until he had found out whether they were still Pagans or had already become believers, and had received baptism. In the first case, he began by preaching to them the gospel; in the second, he exhorted them with a few directions to prove their faith by their good works. He accomplished much, because his life was so consonant with his zealous preaching; because everything he did, testified to his disinterested love which was ready for any sacrifice. Whenever he received presents from the king or from the nobles, he distributed the whole among the poor, or expended it in redeeming captives; and to many of these he afterwards imparted spiritual instruction till he had educated them for the office of priests. To the rich and powerful he boldly spoke the truth, reprimanding whatever was bad without respect of persons. Ecclesiastics, monks and laity who fell into his company, he constantly kept employed in reading the Holy Scriptures. By this joint activity of the zealous king and such a man, a firm foundation was laid for the church in this district. It is true, that after a reign of eight years, Oswald met his death in battle with the pagan tribe of the Mercians, A.D. 642; but as by a life corresponding to the faith which he professed, he had done much to recommend that faith to his people, so the manner in which he had sacrificed his life for the independence of his people served but to deepen and confirm this impression. His name was cherished in the affections and respect of his nation, and hence soon began to be

honoured as that of a saint. Miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb, and by his relics; and indeed the faith in them prevailed through the whole of these islands.

From this province, Christianity continued to spread, till the last half of the seventh century, to all the tribes of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; and in part, native and Frankish ecclesiastics, acting in dependence on the Roman church, and partly, British and Scottish clergy, who were accustomed to act with more freedom, laboured for the conversion and for the instruction of these tribes. Last of all, the inhabitants of the province of South Saxony (Sussex) were converted to Christianity. Their king, it is true, had been baptized before; but the people continued still to be devoted to their old idolatry; and a few Scottish monks, who had founded a monastery in the wilderness, and led an austere life, were unable by that means to gain the confidence of the rude people, or to find any opportunity of preaching to them the gospel. It so happened, that Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, a descendant from an English family, was deposed from his office by occasion of a quarrel with his king; and he here sought for a field of labour. He better understood how to let himself down to the wants of the untutored multitude. On coming among them, he found them in circumstances of great distress; a drought occasioned by the want of rain having been followed by a severe famine. The neighbouring lakes and rivers afforded, it is true, abundance of fish; but the rude people were still wholly ignorant of the mode of taking them, and only knew a way of fishing for eels. He caused, therefore, all the nets to be collected together, and his attendants caught three hundred fishes of different kinds. A third part of these he distributed among the poor; another third he gave to those who furnished the nets, and the remainder he reserved for his companions. Having thus, by such gifts and instruction in the art of fishing, relieved the temporal necessities of the people, he found them the more inclined to receive instruction from him in spiritual things. A favourable impression was made on the minds of the people by the circumstance that, on the day when he first baptized a large number of them, copious showers of rain, which had long been needed, fell from the skies.¹ Next, he spared no pains in laying

¹ But it is evident, that while such a coincidence of the introduction of Christianity

a deeper and firmer foundation for Christianity in the hearts and minds of the people, by providing means for the instruction of the youth, in the establishment of schools throughout the country.¹

Since, however, as we have remarked, monks and ecclesiastics who were born, or who had received their education, in Scotland or Ireland, and Anglo-Saxon or Frankish bishops, who acted in the interest of the Roman church, came and laboured together in England, the difference of ecclesiastical usages between the British-Scotch and the Roman church, could hardly fail to present an ever-fruitful subject of contention. Bede, the historian of the English church, though standing himself in this controversy on the opposite side, yet draws a most favourable picture of the pious, disinterested zeal manifested by the Scottish missionaries. The veneration, which they thus procured for themselves, gave still more weight to their influence in promoting Christianity, and nourishing the vigour of the Christian life. Hence, clergy and monks, wherever they appeared, were received with joy; a circle was soon formed around them to listen to the words of Christian edification; and they were even visited for this purpose by the laity, in their monasteries.² Although Augustin, the

or of baptism among a pagan race of men with fortunate events, might appear to them as a divine token in favour of the new religion, and contribute to render their minds more favourable to its reception, so the same prejudice by which men were led to consider what was connected in the sequence of time, as connected also in the sequence of cause and effect, might, in cases of unlooked for calamity, have an unfavourable influence on the state of feeling towards Christianity. Thus, in East Saxony, a desolating sickness, following directly after the introduction of Christianity, occasioned a momentary relapse of many into idolatry. Bede III. 30. Hence Gregory showed his wisdom, when he wrote to King Ethelbert of Kent, after his conversion, that he was not to expect from his embracing Christianity some golden period of earthly felicity; but should understand that in the last ages of the world many trials were to be looked for: "Appropinquante mundi termino multa imminent, quae antea non fuerunt, videlicet immutationes aëris, terroresque de coelo, et contra ordinem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terrae motus per loca. Vos itaque, si qua de his evenire in terra vestra cognoscitis, nullo modo vestrum animum perturbetis, quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti et venturo judici in bonis actibus inveniamur esse praeparati." Gregor. L. XI. ep. 66.

¹ Bede III. 18.

² Etiam si in itinere pergens (Clericus aliquis aut monachus) inveniretur, adcurrerant et flexo cervice vel manu signari vel ore illius se benedici gaudebant, verbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant. Sed et diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam sive ad monasteria certatim non reficiendi corporis; sed audiendi sermonis Dei gratia confluebant, et si quis sacerdotum in vicum forte deveniret, mox congregati in unum vicani verbum vitae ab illo expetere curabant. Beda Hist. Angl. III. 26.

founder of the English church, had attached so much importance to this difference of rites, yet men afterwards learned to estimate it as a minor consideration compared with the salutary doctrines, for the spread and establishment of which, labourers of both parties zealously exerted themselves. Peculiarly striking was the difference in the time of observing Easter under the administration of the before-mentioned Bishop Aidan; for it so happened, that the king and the queen, who had been instructed by different teachers, pursued opposite courses in this respect, and while the king celebrated his Easter, the queen was still holding her fasts. The universal respect, which Bishop Aidan had acquired, caused this difference to be overlooked; for men could not deny it to their own minds, as Bede finely remarks, that although the bishop could not depart, in celebrating the Easter festival, from the usage of the church that had sent him; yet he took every pains to promote works of piety, faith, and charity, after the customary manner of all holy men.¹ But in the times which immediately followed, it became necessary for men to decide between the Roman and the Scottish church influences; and the manner in which this decision was made, could not fail to be attended with the most important effects on the shaping of ecclesiastic relations over all England; for had the Scottish tendency prevailed, England would have obtained a more free church constitution, and a reaction against the Romish hierarchical system would have ever continued to go forth from this quarter. Yet in the mode in which Christianity had been first introduced into Kent, the victory was already prepared for the system of the Roman church; and to this was added the activity of the missionaries and clergy sent afterwards from Rome, or who came over from France. In proportion as, by their means, the authority of the Roman church gained the ascendancy, entire conformity with the Roman usages would become more universally prevalent. Under Colmann, who succeeded, next but one, the above-mentioned Bishop Aidan, a man likewise of Scottish descent, greater importance was attached to this controversy, and a conference, for the purpose of deciding the matter in dispute, was held in presence of King

¹ *Etsi pascha contra morem eorum, qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei, pietatis et dilectionis juxta morem omnibus sanctis diligenter exsequi curavit. L. III. c. 25.*

Oswin and of his successor Alfred, in the year 664.¹ Bishop Colmann, who defended the Scottish usage, appealed to the example of the venerated father Columba, and of his successors; among whom were men, whose holiness had been attested by the miracles they performed. To this, the presbyter Wilfred, who spoke in the name of the opposite party, replied, that miracles, by themselves considered, afforded no evidence of truth or holiness; for our Lord himself had said, that many, who had performed wonderful works in his name, would not be acknowledged by Him as his. Yet it was far from his intention, he said, to apply this to their fathers; since it is more reasonable to think good than evil of those about whom we have no knowledge. He believed, therefore, that those servants of God loved Him with fervent piety; but that they had erred through an ignorant simplicity. "Nay—said he—even though *your* Columba, whom if he was a Christian, we will also call *ours*, were a saint and performed miracles—is he entitled therefore to be preferred to St Peter, whom our Lord called the Rock, on whom He founded the church, and to whom he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" —So mighty a power had the reverence for the church of Peter, the apostle to whose hands were committed the keys to the kingdom of heaven, already become, that this appeal settled the question; for the king was afraid lest if he resisted the authority of this apostle, he might one day find the gates of heaven shut against him.² Bishop Colmann, who by his fidelity in administering the pastoral office, had, like his predecessors, acquired universal respect, resigned his post; since he was unwilling to give up the usage of the Scottish church. Still more was done to introduce the dominion of the Roman church-customs into the entire English church, by the influence of the Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury,³ a man who eminently contributed to the culture of this people. A native of Tarsus in Cilicia, he was a

¹ Known by the name of the synodus Pharensis, held at a spot not far distant from the city of York; afterwards called Whitby (white-bay) on the sea-coast.

² The king's language was: Et ego vobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille, cui ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi vel valeo hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis, ne forte me adveniente ad foras regni coelorum, non sit, qui reserat, averso illo, qui claves tenere probatur.

³ Bede treats of his life and works in the IV. and V. books of his History of the English Church. These accounts are brought together in Mabillon *acta Sanctorum ordinis Benedicti Saec. II. f. 1031.*

monk well-known for his extensive learning, and at the age of sixty-six was still living at Rome. He came to England in 669, as Archbishop of Canterbury, having been consecrated to that office by pope Vitalian. But as the pope could not absolutely trust in a man educated in the oriental church as one who would hold fast to the usages and doctrines of the Roman church, he sent with him the Italian abbot Hadrian, in the capacity of an associate, and in a certain sense, overseer. With him, Theodore travelled through all England, and settled everything after the form and order of the Roman church. He was the first who was able to carry into effect the rights of primacy over the entire English church, bestowed by the popes on the Archbishop of Canterbury; and in the course of his administration of twenty-one years, he succeeded in completely banishing the usages of the Scottish church from England. In accomplishing this, he was also assisted by an ecclesiastical assembly held by him at Hertford (Harford), not far from London, in the year 673.¹ The influence of the English church operated gradually also in this respect on Scotland and Ireland. But the Britons endeavoured to hold fast their old ecclesiastical forms in connection with their national independence, which, however, became every day contracted to a smaller compass.

As regards Germany, the seeds of Christianity had been planted at a very early period in the portions of this country which formerly belonged to the Roman empire. But when these districts were overrun by barbarous, pagan tribes, these seeds of Christianity were necessarily in part suppressed, and partly falsified and nearly obliterated by the intermixture of pagan elements. Afterwards, through the connection of these parts with the Frankish empire, and with other tribes of German descent, which had already embraced Christianity, new excitements were produced; but so long as all these efforts were of an isolated character, without being brought into closer connection, or united on fixed ecclesiastical foundations, such individual attempts could avail nothing in stemming the tide of barbarism and devastation.

Among the men who, by the influence of religion, diffused salvation and blessing amidst the devastations occasioned by the

¹ See the acts of this synod in Bede IV. c. 5, and in Wilkins's *Concilia magnae Britanniae*, I. f. 41.

migration of nations, Severinus is particularly distinguished. Probably a native of the East,¹ he had, in striving after the perfection of the inward life, retired into one of the deserts of the East. But impelled by a divine call, often heard in his own breast, he forsook his solitude and repose, to hasten to the assistance of the much harassed nations of the West, now exposed to all manner of devastation; and oftentimes, when a longing for the silent life, consecrated to meditation, stirred once more within him, that voice, which bade him remain on the scene of desolation, sounded in his soul with a still clearer tone.² He appeared on the banks of the Danube, and settled down among the people of those districts, which now belong to Austria and Bavaria. He was residing in the neighbourhood of Passau,³ during the time when these districts in particular presented a wild scene of desolation, during the restless period which ensued on the death of Attila, in 453, when nation crowded upon nation, and one place after another was given up to the devastations of fire and sword, and the people, after having been stripped of all their possessions, were dragged off as slaves. By a severely abstemious life, in which he voluntarily subjected himself to deprivations of all sorts, and cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience, he set before the effeminate and enfeebled people among whom he dwelt, an example how to bear willingly the evils which *necessity* laid upon them. Though accustomed to a more southern climate, he went about among the people barefoot, in the midst of an inclement winter, when the Danube was frozen over, to collect

¹ Respecting his native country nothing certain is known. He himself, in a joking or earnest manner, evaded the questions of those, who inquired of him about his origin and place of nativity. To an ecclesiastic, who once sought refuge with him, he replied to an inquiry of this sort, at first jokingly—"Why, if you think I am a runaway, then have ready your ransom money, to pay for me in case they require me to be delivered up." Then he added in a more serious tone: "Yet know, that the God who called you to the priestly office, bade me to dwell among these men threatened with so many dangers (*periclitantibus his hominibus interesse*)." By his language he was judged to be a Latin, or according to another reading, a North-African. He himself sometimes hinted, as if speaking of another person, that by peculiar leadings of the divine providence he had been conducted from a distant country of the East, after escaping many dangers, to this spot. See the letter of Eugippius to the deacon Paschasius, prefixed to the account of his life.

² *Quanto solitudinem incolere cupiebat, tanto crebrius revelationibus monebatur, ne praesentiam suam populis denegaret afflictis.* Eugippii vita. c. 4.

³ Other towns mentioned as his place of residence are *Faviana*, a city which some of the older writers held to be Vienna, though this is disputed by others; *Astura*; *Lauriacum*, perhaps the Austrian town called *Lorch*.

provisions and clothing for those, who were exposed to hunger and nakedness by the devastations of war; to procure, either by contributions of ransom-money, or by the powerful influence of his intercession, freedom for the troop of captives who were on the point of being carried into slavery; to warn the nations of the troubles which hung over them, and to exhort them to timely repentance; to encourage them to put their trust in God; to administer, by his earnest and faithful prayers, comfort and relief to the suffering, whether from spiritual or bodily distress; and to persuade the leaders and generals of the barbarous tribes, who respected his words as a voice from a higher world, to spare the conquered. Hardened as he had rendered himself against every outward impression, easy as he found it to endure every bodily hardship, subduing outward impressions by the force of mind, he was none the less tender in his sympathies for the distresses of others.¹ By the force of his example, of his exhortations and rebukes, many hearts were softened, so that from various quarters, provisions and clothing were sent to him for distribution among the poor. On such occasions, he collected together the oftentimes numerous body of the needy and distressed into a church, and himself divided out to each person his share, according to the estimate he had made of their respective wants. Having first offered a prayer, he began the work of distribution with the words, "Praised be the name of the Lord," adding a few words of Christian exhortation.² Various examples evidence the power which the godlike within him exercised over the minds of men. On one occasion, a horde of barbarians had stripped the whole country about the city, where he was lodged, carrying away men and cattle; and in this, as in every distress, the unfortunate sufferers went complaining and weeping to Severinus. He asked the Roman commander, if he had not an armed force at hand, to put in pursuit of the robbers, and wrest from them their plunder.

¹ His disciple Eugippius says in regard to this: *Quum ipse hebdomadarum continuatis jejuniis minime frangeretur, tamen esurie miserorum se credebat afflictum. Frigus quoque vir Dei tantum in nuditate pauperum sentiebat, si quidem specialiter a Deo perceperat, ut in frigidissima regione mirabili abstinentia castigatus, fortis et alacer permaneret.*

² Eugippius (c. 28) speaks of an example where Severinus succeeded in obtaining through some merchants a supply of oil, a means of sustenance which had become extremely scarce in these districts, and risen to a price which placed it beyond the reach of the poor.

The commander replied, that he did not consider his little band strong enough to cope with the greater numbers of the enemy ; still, if Severinus required it, he would sally forth, relying, not on the force of arms, but on the help of his prayers. Severinus bade him go quickly and boldly, in the name of God ; for where the Lord mercifully went before, the weak would prove himself to be the strongest ; the Lord would fight for them. Only he bound him to promise, that all the barbarians taken captive should be conducted to him unharmed. His words were fulfilled ; he caused the fetters to be immediately knocked off from the captives brought into his presence, and having refreshed them with food and drink, sent them away to their robber-companions, bidding them say to the latter, that they must not suffer themselves for the future to be tempted by thirst of pillage to come into this territory, for assuredly they would not escape the divine judgment, since as they saw, God fights for his servants. His appearance and his words operated with such force on the mind of a leader of the Alemanni, that he was seized in his presence with a violent trembling.¹ When all the fortresses in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube,² were threatened by attacks of the barbarians, the inhabitants requested Severinus to reside among them by turn, since they considered his presence to be their best protection.³ The remarkable success which seemed to be given in answer to his faithful prayers, the effect of that impression of the godlike which many experienced in his presence, procured for him the fame of a worker of miracles. He himself knew how to appreciate such occurrences at their just value in relation to the progress of the kingdom of God, at that juncture, among the severely tried and untutored nations. "Such things now happen" —said he—"in many places and among many tribes, in order that it may be seen, that there is one God who does wonderful works in heaven and on earth ;" and when men were seeking for great results from the efficacy of his prayers, he was wont to say : "Why require great things from small ? I know myself to be a man altogether unworthy. It is enough for me if I can but

¹ L. c. c. 19, Ut tremere coram eo vehementius coeperit, sed et postea suis exercitiis indicavit, nunquam se nec re bellica nec aliqua formidine tanto tremore fuisse concussum.

² In the Noricum Ripense.

³ L. c. c. 11.

obtain the forgiveness of my own sins !”¹ Sometimes when requested to use his intercessions for temporal favours, he directed the petitioners to look rather at their spiritual needs. Thus, to a monk from one of the rude tribes, who requested him to pray that he might be relieved of a weakness in the eyes, he said : Pray rather, that the eye within thee may be purged. When invited to undertake the charge of a bishopric, he declined it, saying, it was enough for him that he had renounced his beloved solitude, and visited these countries in obedience to a divine call, to share in the troubles of the afflicted nations.²

After such a hero of faith had thus laboured, from twenty to thirty years, in the midst of these tribes, many a trace of the impression which he had produced among them would doubtless be left behind him ; and in fact, even on those populations whose residence in these districts was but transient, an impression was made by him which they never lost.³ Many devout men, who in the sixth and seventh centuries retreated from the wild scenes of confusion in the Frankish empire, to live as hermits in the countries on the Rhine, acquired the respect of the tribes which had settled down there, by their pious lives, or by outward proof of having obtained the mastery over their sensual nature. Or travelling about, they gained the confidence of the people by kindly actions, and hospitably sharing with them the harvested fruits of their labours. The impression produced by their devout lives and their intellectual superiority over the untaught people, gained for them the reputation of possessing miraculous powers, and they might take advantage of this personal respect and love, to pave the way for the entrance of Christianity into their minds.

¹ L. c. c. 14.

² L. c. c. 9. The life of Severinus by his disciple Eugippius, abbot of a monastery in the Neapolitan territory, in the *Actis Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. Mens. Januar. T. I. f. 483.

³ Among those who felt the influence of Severinus was Odoacer, sprung from the race of the Rugians, afterwards, as chieftain of the Herulians, founder of an empire in Italy. While a young man, and holding as yet no important rank among the barbarians, he is said to have fallen in company with Severinus, when the latter foretold to him his future greatness. When possessed of his later power, he still held a word from Severinus in the highest respect. In Italy Odoacer met with another man who, amid the horrible disorders of those times, laboured with self-denying, ardent love for the good of mankind. This was Epiphanius, Bishop of Ticinum (Pavia). His intercessions acquired for him great influence with this prince. See his life by Ennodius in *Sirmond. Opp.* T. I.

To this number belongs *Goar*, near the close of the sixth century, who fixed his position on the spot where afterwards the city which goes by his name transmitted his memory to future times; and *Wulflach* or *Wulf* an ecclesiastic of Longobardian origin, who in the last half of the sixth century established himself as a stylite in the district of Triers, drew the admiration of the people for whose conversion he prayed, preached to the multitudes that thronged around him, and succeeded in persuading them to destroy their idols.¹

The useful labours of these Frankish hermits were far outdone, however, by the activity of the missionaries from Ireland, who exerted themselves in reclaiming and tilling the soil, founding monasteries from which proceeded the conversion and culture of the people, and providing for the education of the youth. For the establishment of the earliest missions among the nations of Germany, the monks that went out from England, and first of all from Ireland, are entitled to the chief merit. The monasteries of Ireland were full to overflowing. Pious monks felt themselves called to more active labours in the service of religion, for which they found no sufficient field in their own country; while at same time, the native love of foreign travel, peculiar to the Irish people,² would serve as a means of conveying Christianity and civilization to the distant nations. It was natural, that the attention of those who, by the love of adventure, by the spirit of enterprise or the ardour of Christian zeal, had been induced to leave their native country, would be directed to the vast uncultivated regions, now occupied by numerous barbarian tribes, who were as yet wholly ignorant of Christianity, or among whom the first elements which had once been communicated, had become wholly lost by the prevalence of barbarism. Thus, whole colonies of monks, under the guidance of solid, judicious men as their abbots, emigrated into these parts.³

Columban, near the end of the sixth century, set the first

¹ See Gregor. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. VIII., c. 15.

² *Natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa est.* Vita S. Galli I. II. § 47. Pertz Monumenta Hist. Germ. T. II. f. 30.

³ Alcuin says (ep. 221), "Antiquo tempore doctissimi solebant magistri de Hibernia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire et multos per ecclesias Christi fecisse profectus."

example of this kind, which stimulated numbers, in the seventh, to follow his steps. Born in the Irish province of Leinster (a terra Lagenorum), he had, from early youth, been educated in the famous monastery of Bangor, founded and governed by the Abbot Comgall. At the age of thirty, he felt himself impelled to engage in an independent and more extensive field of activity, to preach the gospel to the Pagan nations of whom some knowledge had been obtained through the medium of France. He felt within him, as the author of his biography expresses it, that fire which our Saviour says He came to kindle on the earth.¹ His abbot gave him twelve young men as his companions, who were to assist him in his labours, and to be trained under his spiritual guidance. About the year 590, he crossed over with these to the Frankish kingdom; probably with the intention of preaching the gospel to the tribes dwelling on the borders of that empire.² But having been entreated to take up his residence within the Frankish empire itself, and finding that so much still remained to be done in that region for the Christian culture of the vast masses of untaught barbarians, he complied with this invitation. He purposely sought after a spot on which to establish himself in the savage wilderness, which must first be reclaimed and rendered cultivable by the severe labours of his monks, in order that, by the difficulties they must overcome, the monks might gain a greater power of self-denial and control over their sensuous nature, and that an example which would excite imitation might be given to the untutored people, of tilling the soil, the condition of all social improvement. The needful care to supply themselves with the means of living, compelled them to extraordinary exertions, in order to render the soil fruitful, from the products of which, as well as from fishing, they were to derive their sustenance; and without the invincible faith of the man who directed the whole, and whom all implicitly obeyed, they would inevitably have sunk under the difficulties they encountered. When

¹ The words of the monk Jonas of the monastery of Bobbio, near Pavia, in Mabilon Acta S. O. B. Saec. II., p. 9, are, *ignitum igne Domini desiderium, de quo igne Dominus loquitur: ignem veni mittere in terram.*

² He says himself, in his fourth letter to his students and monks, § 4. Galland. Bibl. Patr. T. XII: "*Mei voti fuit, gentes visitare et evangelium iis a nobis praedicari.*"

Columban first settled down with his associates in a forest of the Vosges, upon the ruins of an ancient castle, called Anagrates (Anegrey), they were so destitute of the means of living, as to be obliged to sustain themselves for several days on herbs and the bark of trees. But while he kept his monks steadily employed in the most active labours, he relied, where human means failed, on the providence of God, to whom he prayed in an unwavering confidence of being heard; and the way in which he was delivered from the most extreme distress by an unforeseen concurrence of circumstances, strengthened the confidence of his companions, and caused him to be regarded by the people as a man extraordinarily favoured of God. Once he was visited by a neighbouring priest, and with him went to take a look of the store of grain laid up for the use of the monastery. The visitor expressed his surprise that so small a store should suffice for the wants of so many; whereupon Columban replied: "Let men but rightly serve their Creator, and they are already exempted from the danger of starvation, as it is written in the thirty-seventh Psalm: 'I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.' It is easy for that God to replenish the barrel with meal, who with five loaves of bread satisfied the five thousand." In proportion as severity of discipline, and the sense for spiritual things had abated among the monks and clergy of the Gallic church; particularly in proportion as the old form of monastic life, which corresponded to the rule of Benedict, had gone into oblivion, in the same proportion the new mode of life exhibited by Columban excited attention and interest, and a new enthusiasm for monasticism was spread through all France. Families of every rank committed their sons to him for education; and he was obliged to distribute his numerous monks in three several monasteries, Anegrey already mentioned, Luxeul (Luxuvium) in Franche Comté, and Fontenay (Fontanae).

Columban's rule was altogether adapted to keep the monks at severe labour, and to inure them to the hardness and self-mastery requisite in order to hold out in this contest with a savage nature, and to overcome so great difficulties. He required of every monk "that he should retire to his couch weary, that he should be able to take sleep while travelling, and that he should be forced to awake before his sleep was quite over." Though he prescribed

for his monks a rigidly abstemious life, yet he forbade an excessive severity tending to waste the body, and to unfit them for the duties to which they were called.¹ In this, too, we recognise the spirit of the asceticism peculiar to the Irish monks. By implicit, servile obedience, all self-will was to be mortified; and the severest discipline, extending to every motion of the body and tone of the voice, was to be maintained by bodily punishments which followed closely on each transgression. Yet Columban did not govern by outward force alone. How much, even without this, a single word from one, so honoured, and by the better portion, sincerely beloved as well as feared, could avail, is proved by the following example. He was once summoned from the solitude to which he had retired, by the sad tidings, that sickness of various kinds had so spread among his monks in the monastery of Luxeuil, that barely enough still remained well to take care of the invalids. He hastened to them, and finding them all sick, bid them rouse up and go to work in the granary at threshing out corn. A part of them in whom the words of Columban inspired the confidence, that strength for the labour would not be found lacking, went to work. Very soon, however, he said to them, that they should allow a little refreshment to their bodies exhausted by disease. He caused food to be placed before them, and they were well. If the discipline was severe, yet it should also be considered, what a number of rude men, whose powers were to be directed to one end, were here brought together, and how much was required, in order to train and govern so rude a multitude. Although again, he insisted with great rigour on the punctilious observance of all prescribed outward customs, and imposed upon his monks many outward devotional practices, which might easily become mechanical, yet he was far from making the essence of piety to consist in externals. He considered these but as means, and was careful to remind his monks, that everything depended on the temper of the heart.²

¹ C. III. the Rule: "Ideo temperandus est ita usus, sicut temperandus est labor, quia haec est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritalis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium, non virtus erit, virtus enim multa sustinet bona et continet."

² In the Instructio II. he impresses on their hearts the words of the monk Comgall: Non simus tanquam sepulcra dealbata, de intus non de foris speciosi ac ornati apparere studeamus, vera enim religio non in corporis, sed in cordis humilitate

Although the monks were kept daily employed in the severest bodily labour, their minds should still not be prostrated under the burden of a task-work urged on by earthly solitudes, but should constantly rise to the contemplation of divine things, and the hours of each day should be portioned out to prayer, to labour, and to the reading of spiritual works.¹ Columban himself knew how to unite the contemplative life with great activity in practical business. Occasionally he retired from his convent into the dense forest, bearing on his shoulder a copy of the holy Scriptures, which he wanted to study in the solitude. Especially for the celebration of high festivals, he was accustomed thus to prepare himself in solitude by prayer and meditation. His Rules for the spiritual life (*Instructiones variae*) evince a deep feeling of Christian piety.²

Columban had many violent contests to endure in the French kingdom. His zeal for moral discipline, and for the restoration of its ancient order and severity to monasticism, must have created for him many enemies, in the then degenerate state of the Frankish church, among a set of ecclesiastics, whose whole life, governed by the spirit of this world, stood in too marked a contradiction to such an example. Add to this, that as he was unwilling to give up the peculiar usages he had brought with him from his native land, he thus furnished no small occasion of offence to the sticklers for the letter of the old church tradition, and for uniformity in all things. With a free spirit, he asserted his independence in this respect, as well as in controversy with the Popes Gregory the Great, and Boniface the fourth, as with the French bishops. To Gregory the Great, he wrote, that he ought not allow himself to be determined in these matters by a false humility; as he would be if, out of deference to the authority of his predecessor, Leo the Great, he refused to correct that which was false; for perhaps a living dog might be better than a dead lion, Eccles. ix. 4—

consistit. And after having represented charity as the highest thing of all in his *Instructio XI.*, he says: "Non est labor dilectio, plus suave est, plus medicale est, plus salubre est cordi dilectio."

¹ *Reg. c. II.* Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum quotidieque est legendum.

² In the first he says: "Non longe a nobis manentem quaerimus Deum, quem intra nos sumere habemus, in nobis enim habitat, quasi anima in corpore, si tamen nos membra sana sumus ejus."

living saints might improve what had been left unimproved by another and a greater. He adjured Pope Boniface IV., by the unity of the Christian fold, to grant himself and his people permission, as strangers in France, to preserve their ancient customs, for they were just the same as if in their own country, since dwelling in the wilderness, they followed the principles of their fathers, giving annoyance to no one. He held up to him the example of the Bishops Polycarp and Anicetus, who had parted from each other with charity undisturbed, though each of them remained firm by his ancient usages. A Frankish synod having met to deliberate on this matter, in the year 602, he wrote to them, that he must express his disapprobation, that they did not, in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws, hold these synods oftener, which were so essential to the correction of abuses in the church, while at the same time he thanked God, that at least the present dispute respecting the celebration of Easter had occasioned the assembling of such a synod once more; but he expressed the wish, that they would also busy themselves with more important things. He called upon them to take care, that, as shepherds, they followed the example of the chief Shepherd. The voice of the hireling, who may be known because he does not himself observe the precepts he lays down for others, could not reach the hearts of men. Words profited nothing without a corresponding life. True, he said, the diversity of customs and traditions had greatly disturbed the peace of the church; but—added he—if we only strive in humility to follow the example of our Lord, we shall next acquire the power of mutually loving each other, as true disciples of Christ, with all the heart and without taking offence at each other's failings. And soon would men come to the knowledge of the true way, if they sought the truth with equal zeal, and none were inclined to borrow too much from self, but each sought his glory only in the Lord. One thing I beg of you, he wrote to them, that since I am the cause of this difference, and I came, for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour, as a stranger into this land, I may be allowed to live silently in these forests, near the bones of our seventeen departed brethren, as I have been permitted to live twelve years among you already, that so, as in duty bound, we may pray for you, as hitherto we have done. May Gaul embrace us all at once, as the

kingdom of heaven will embrace us, if we shall be found worthy of it. May God's free grace give us to abhor and renounce the whole world, to love the Lord alone, and long after Him with the Father and the Holy Ghost. And after having requested their prayers for him, he added, we beg of you not to consider us as strangers, for we are all members of one body, whether we be Gauls, Britons, Irish, or of whatever other country. Already when writing this letter, Columban had reason to apprehend, that on account of these disputes he would be driven out of the country; and this letter, in which he reproached the French bishops on account of their worldly lives, was not exactly suited to render them more favourably disposed to him. Circumstances also now occurred, which enabled his enemies to accomplish their designs against him. He drew upon himself the hatred of the then powerful, but vicious Brunehault, the grandmother of King Thierry II., who ruled over the Burgundian empire, in which lay the three monasteries above mentioned, and which had hitherto chiefly supported him. He came into collision with her policy, by decidedly protesting against the unchaste life of that prince, and by exhorting him, in opposition to the designs of Brunehault, to enter into a regular marriage connection.¹ As Columban opposed an unbending will to all the threats and all the favours, by which it was endeavoured to change his mind, and refused to abate anything from the rigour of discipline in his monasteries, he was at length, in the year 610, banished from Thierry's kingdom, and was to be conveyed back to Ireland. But no one ventured to carry the order into execution.² He was now on the point of paying a visit to the Longobards in

¹ Once when Columban came to the monarch's camp, Brunehault caused Thierry's illegitimate children to be presented, that he might give them his blessing; but he declared, they ought to know that these children of an unlawful bed would not come to the succession in the kingdom, which put her in a great rage.

² As the author of Columban's life relates (§ 47), the vessel which was to convey him to Ireland, was driven ashore by the waves, and could not for several days be got loose from the strand. This led the ship-master to conclude that Columban's banishment was the cause of his unfortunate voyage, and he refused to take either him or his property on board. And now, from the fear of God's anger, no one was willing to execute against him the decree of banishment. He was left free to go where he pleased, and was venerated still more than before. Yet Columban says, in his letter to his monks, § 7: "Nunc mihi scribenti nuntius supervenit narraus mihi navem parari, qua invitus vehar in meam regionem, sed si fugero, nullus vetat custos, nam hoc videntur velle, ut ego fugiam."

Italy, for the purpose of founding there a monastery, and of labouring for the dissemination of pure doctrine among the Arians. But by the invitation of a Frankish king, he was induced to look up a place in his kingdom, from which, as a centre, he might conveniently carry out his plans for the conversion of the bordering tribes. Thus he established himself, with his associates, in the territory of Zurich, near Tuggen, on the Limmat, expecting to find here an opportunity of converting the Alemanni or Suevi, who dwelt in this region.¹ But they drew upon themselves the rage of the Pagan people by burning one of their idol-temples, and were obliged to seek safety in flight. Arriving at a castle, named Arbon, near Lake Constance, a monument of the Roman dominion, they here fell in with Willimar, a pastor and priest, who was overjoyed to be once more visited in his solitude and desertion by Christian brethren. Entertained by his hospitality for seven days, they then heard of an eligible situation, at no great distance, near the ruins of an ancient castle called Pregentia (Bregenz), well-suited to their purpose on account of the fruitfulness of the country, and the vicinity of a lake abounding in fish. To this spot they repaired; here they founded a church; here they supported themselves by cultivating a garden and by fishing; they also distributed their fish among the Pagan people, and thus gained their confidence and affection. Gallus, a young Irishman of respectable family whom Columban had brought up, and who, during his residence in the Frankish kingdom, had acquired a knowledge of the German language, availed himself of this knowledge to preach divine truth to the people. For three years they continued to labour after this manner; until Columban was driven by the hostile party from this retreat also. He now executed the plan which he had before already resolved upon, and betook himself, in the year 613, to Italy, where he founded, near Pavia, the monastery of Bobbio.

Although the communities now to be found among the Longobards, the Arians, had the strongest reasons for union among

¹ Agathias, in the last half of the sixth century, Hist. l. I., c. 7 ed. Niebuhr, pag. 28, writes that the Alemanni were gradually converted from their idolatry by intercourse with the Franks. ἡ ἐπιμιξία ἤδη ἐφέλικται τοὺς ἰμφορονστέρους, οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ ὄμαι χερόνου καὶ ἄπασιν ἐκνικῆσι.

themselves, yet the schism which had grown out of the dispute concerning the three chapters prevailed here still. For this reason, Columban, at the instigation of the Longobardian king himself, wrote a letter to Pope Boniface IV., in which, with great freedom, he called upon him to take measures to have this subject submitted to the careful investigation of a synod, the Roman church vindicated from the reproach of heresy,¹ and the schism brought to end. It is plain, indeed, that either his residence in France and Italy had operated to modify the views he entertained of his relation to the Roman church, or the influence of the circumstances in which he now found himself placed altered his position to that church, and that he now addressed the Pope in a different style from what he would have done in Ireland or Britain. The Roman church he pronounces mistress, and speaks in exalted terms of her authority. Much of this, however, is nothing more than a formal courtesy; and he would have been very far from ascribing anything like infallibility to her decisions, or allowing himself to be governed unconditionally by them. He avows this peculiar respect for the Roman church, on the ground that Peter and Paul had taught in it, and honoured it by their martyrdom, and that their relics were preserved in Rome. But he places the church at Jerusalem in a still higher rank.² He admonishes the Roman church so to conduct as not to forfeit, by any abuse, the spiritual dignity conferred on her; for the power would remain with her only so long as the *recta ratio* remained with her. *He* only was the true key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven who, by true knowledge, opened the door for the worthy, and shut it upon the unworthy. Whoever did the contrary, could neither open nor shut. He warns the Roman church against setting up any arrogant claims on the ground that the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given to St Peter, since they could have no force in opposition to the faith of the universal church.³ Address-

¹ The way in which he speaks of it shows how far he was from possessing a correct knowledge of the more ancient doctrinal controversies. He brings together Eutyches and Nestorius as kindred teachers of error.

² § 10. Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa.

³ Vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescio quid præ cæteris vobis majoris auctoritatis ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis, noveritis minorem fore potestatem

ing himself to both parties, he says, "Therefore, beloved, be ye one, and seek not to renew old disputes ; but be silent rather, and bury them for ever in oblivion ; and if anything is doubtful, let it be reserved to the final judgment. But whatever is revealed, and capable of being made a matter of human judgment, on this decide justly, and without respect to persons. Mutually acknowledge one another ; that there may be joy in heaven and on earth on account of your peace and union. I see not how any Christian can contend with another on the faith ; for whatever the orthodox Christian, who rightly praises the Lord, may say, to that the other must respond Amen, because he has the same faith and the same love. Be ye all, therefore, of the same mind ; that ye may be both one, all Christians."

As to Gallus, he found himself, to his great grief, compelled by sickness to let his beloved father, Columban, proceed on his journey alone. He took his net, and with his boat proceeded by the Lake of Constance to the priest Willimar, by whom they had before been hospitably entertained, where he met with the same friendly reception again. Willimar gave the sick man in charge to two of his clergy. No sooner had Gallus recovered, than he begged the deacon Hiltibad, who was best acquainted with the paths in the surrounding country, as it was his business, by hunting and fishing, to provide for the wants of his companions, to conduct him into the vast forests near by, that he might there look out some suitable spot for a hermitage. But the deacon described to him the great danger to which he would be exposed, the forest being full of wolves, bears, and wild boars. Said Gallus, "If God be for us, who can be against us? The God who delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, is able to defend me from the fangs of the wild beasts." He prepared himself, by spending a day in prayer and fasting, for the perilous expedition, and with prayer he set out on his journey the next day, accompanied by the deacon. They travelled on till the third hour after noon, when the deacon invited him to sit down with himself, and refresh themselves with food ; for they had taken

vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitatur hoc in cordibus vestris, quia unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatim fecit potestatis et praerogativae, ita ut libertas veritati ubique ab omnibus detur et aditus errori ab omnibus similiter abnegetur, quia confessio recta etiam sancto privilegium dedit claviculario communi omnium.

with them bread, and a net to catch fish in the well-watered forest. But Gallus said, he would taste of nothing until a place of rest had been shown him. They continued their pilgrimage until sun-down, when they came to a spot where the river Steinach, precipitating itself from a mountain, had hollowed out a rock, and where plenty of fish were seen swimming in the stream. They caught several in their net. The deacon struck up a fire with a flint, and they prepared themselves a supper. When Gallus, before they sat down to eat, was about to kneel in prayer, he was caught by a thorn-bush, and fell prostrate to the earth. The deacon ran to his assistance; but said Gallus, "Let me alone, here is my resting-place for ever; here will I abide." And after he had risen from prayer, he made a cross out of a hazel-rod, from which he suspended a capsule of relics. On this spot Gallus now laid the foundation of a monastery, which led to the clearing up of the forest, and the conversion of the land into cultivable soil, and which afterwards became so celebrated under his name, St Gall. Some years after this foundation, in 615, the vacant bishopric of Costnitz was offered to Gallus; but he declined it, and procured that the choice should fall upon a native of the country—a certain deacon Johannes, who had been trained under his own direction. The consecration of the new bishop to his office drew together a large concourse of people of every rank; and the Abbot Gallus availed himself of this opportunity to bring home to the hearts of the still ignorant people, who had but recently been converted from Paganism, a word of exhortation suited to their case. He himself delivered, in the Latin language, what his disciple interpreted to the people in the dialect of the country.¹ After having described, in this discourse, the history of God's providence, for the salvation of mankind, from the fall downwards, he concluded with these words: "We who are thus the unworthy ministers of this message to the present times, adjure you in Christ's name, that as ye have once, at your baptism, renounced the devil, all his works, and all his ways, so ye would renounce all these through your whole life, and live as becometh children of God;" and he proceeded to designate, by name, the sins

¹ The sermon is to be found among others in Galland. *Bibl. Patr.* T. 12.

which they should especially strive to shun. Having then alluded to the judgment of God, in time and in eternity, he ended with the blessing: "May the Almighty God, who wills that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and who, through the ministry of my tongue, has communicated this to your ears, may He himself, by his own grace, cause it to bring forth fruit in your hearts!" Thus Gallus laboured for the salvation of the Swiss and Swabian populations dwelling around him till the year 640.¹ A short time before his death, he had requested his old friend, the priest Willimar, to meet him at the castle of Arbon. Feeble as he was, he summoned his last energies, and preached there to the assembled people. Sickness prevented him from returning back to his monastery, and he died at this place.²

He left behind him disciples, who laboured on, after his example, for the culture of the people and of the country, and founded monasteries, from which proceeded the reclaiming of the wilderness. Among these may be mentioned particularly Magnoald (Magold, or abbreviated Magnus), who had probably while a youth joined Gallus at the castle of Arbon, and was of German descent. He founded the monastery at Füssen (Faucense monasterium), on the Lech, in the department of the Upper Danube; and this marks the theatre of his labours.³ We may observe in most cases, that these men reached a good old age,—a consequence of their simple mode of life, and a kind of activity, which with all its toils strengthened their physical powers. In a length of life which seldom fell short of seventy years, they were enabled to extend and confirm the work of their hands in a proportionate degree. The number of individuals who thus passed over from Ireland to France was undoubtedly great; and the names of many of them are unknown to us. Of very few indeed have we any exact information.

¹ The oldest, simplest account of the life of Gallus, written in a Latin which is often scarcely intelligible, is to be found in the latest collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* by Pertz, III. The recomposed life, by the Abbot Walafrid Strabo of the ninth century, is in Mabillon *Acta S. ord. Bened. S. II.*

² According to the ancient tradition, ninety-five years old, which certainly cannot be correct, as he accompanied Columban from Ireland when he was a young man.

³ The account of his life (unfortunately of very uncertain authority) written at a later period, is to be found in the *Actis Sanctorum*, at the VI. of September.

Soon after the death of Gallus, Fridolin, a monk, came over from Ireland. He laboured among the people on the borders of Alsace, Switzerland, and Suabia, and founded a monastery near Säckingen, on the Rhine.¹ There came also from Ireland, soon after the death of Gallus, the monk Thrudpert;² he went to Breisgau, in the Black Forest, and would have founded there a monastery; but some of the people, whom a prince of that country, favourable to his plan, sent with him to assist in subduing the wilderness, are said to have murdered him. A monastery, called after his name, St Hubrecht, perpetuated his memory.³

Another Irish monk by the name of Cyllena (Cilian) appeared in the last half of the seventh century, as a preacher in a part of the Frankish territory, where, probably, at an earlier period, when it belonged to the Thuringian dominion, some seeds of Christianity had been scattered.⁴ He is said to have found in the command of Christ, To forsake all and follow Him, a call expressly addressed to himself, and bidding him to engage in the work of a missionary. He set out on his journey with several companions, and came to Würzburg, where he fell in with a certain Duke Gozbert, who was baptized by him, and whose example was followed by many of his people. But this person afterwards contracted a marriage with Geilane, his brother's widow, thus violating the laws of the church; Cilian, believing him to have arrived at sufficient maturity of Christian knowledge to know better, upbraided him with this as a crime. He resolved to separate from her—but Geilane, being informed of his intention, took advantage of the absence of her husband in a time of war, and caused Cilian to be put to death. If the facts were so, we have here an example showing how the missionaries were hampered and thwarted in the discharge of their proper duties, from

¹ The uncertain accounts of his life, at the VI. of March.

² It is singular, that the names of the two last sound more like German than Irish; yet they may have been early altered by foreign pronunciation.

³ See Acta, p. 26. April.

⁴ We are in want of ancient and trustworthy accounts of the life of this man also; for the older and simpler biographical notices published among those of Canisius (Lect. Antiqq. T. III.) cannot be so called. What is told in them both, about Cilian's journey to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining full power from the Pope to enter upon his missionary labours, certainly does not look exactly like what we might expect from an Irish monk.

being no longer able to discriminate between the divine law and human prescriptions.

As it respects the dissemination of Christianity in Bavaria proper, our sources of information are not sufficiently accurate and certain to enable us to trace the progress of events, subsequent to the death of that man of God, Severinus. From the neighbouring fields of missionary labour already mentioned, many seeds of divine truth would find their way here also. It may be supposed that Irish missionaries would not fail to visit so inviting a spot. A Frankish synod, in the year 613, felt itself called to do something for the spread of Christianity, as well as the diffusion of pure Christian knowledge, among the neighbouring populations; and they committed this work to the Abbot Eustasius, of Luxeuil, the successor of Columban, and to the monk Agil.¹ These persons are said to have extended their travels as far as Bavaria, where they found not only the remains of idolatry, but also certain heretical views of Christianity;² namely, as it is asserted, the errors of Photinus and Bonosus.

As regards the so-designated doctrines of Bonosus, it may be conjectured, that some Irish missionary had introduced there the opinion, in earlier times not deemed offensive, that Mary had other sons after the birth of Jesus; but it may be questioned, whether the reporters of this account had any right notion of the doctrine of Bonosus, or knew how to distinguish it from that of Photinus. At all events, by the latter they meant the denial of Christ's divinity, and the opinion that he was merely a man.³

¹ Called by the French St Aile, afterwards abbot of the monastery Resbacum, Rébais.

² The road to Alsace, on the borders of Switzerland, led them perhaps next still further towards Bavaria; for one object of their journey was the tribe of Waraskians, whose locality, in the life of St Salaberga (Mabillon O. B. sæc. II. f. 425), is thus described: "Qui partem Sequanorum provinciae et Duvii (river Doubs) amnis fluentia ex utraque parte incolunt." According to the Life of Eustasius by the monk Jonas, Eustasius went in the first place to the Waraskians, and found such errors prevailing only among this people—among the Bavarians merely idolatry. But according to the Life of Salaberga, Eustasius went first to the Bavarians, and found such errors prevailing first among these. Also in the Life of Agil (f. 319) their *route* is described in the same manner; but whether these errors were found to prevail also among the Bavarians, is not stated.

³ The author of the Life of Salaberga describes the erroneous doctrines most distinctly: "Purum hominem dominum nostrum Jesum esse absque Deitate patris." But here also no distinction is made in fact between the doctrine of Photin and of Bonosus; and as the other narrators say likewise: Photinus vel Bonosus, they too were doubtless aware of no difference.

We might then suppose, either that some among the new converts had framed to themselves such a conception of the Christian doctrine, the rude understanding of the natural man being easily led to form such views of Christ,¹ or that the ignorance of rude missionaries had given occasion to these opinions; for no sooner had the enthusiasm for missionary labours begun to spread, than it happened, that even such as possessed no suitable qualifications, were led from the force of imitation, from ambition, or other impure motives, to devote themselves to the work.² It is probable, however, that these errors sprung from some root of false doctrine, which had been propagated among these tribes at a much earlier period; for we find already, at the close of the fifth century, indications of the fact, that along with the Arians, the followers also of these Photinian opinions sought to introduce their doctrines among the Burgundians; whether it was that Arianism itself had called forth a tendency of the natural understanding, which proceeded still further in the denial of our Saviour's peculiar dignity, or that such a sect had from ancient times been secretly propagated in the Roman empire, and now sought to gain among the newly converted people a place of refuge for itself, as well as proselytes to its faith.³

When about the middle of the seventh century, Emmeran, a

¹ How possible it is for heretical tendencies to spring up even in the midst of a people in a wholly rude state, when Christianity has made some little progress among them, is seen at present in the remarkable appearances among the islanders of the Pacific Ocean. See the missionary operations in the South Sea, by F. Krohn, Hamburg, F. Perthes, 1833, and Missionary Register for 1832, pp. 99 and 365.

² Thus e. g. it is related in the life of the abbot Eustasius, that a certain Agrestius, who had been secretary of the Frankish king, Thierry II., seized with sudden feelings of contrition, had renounced all his earthly possessions, and withdrawn to retirement in the convent of Luxeuil. Next he was seized with a violent desire to become a missionary; and it was in vain the abbot Eustasius assured him, that he wanted the maturity necessary for that employment. He went among the Bavarians, but tarried there only a short time, as he could effect nothing.

³ Sidonis Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont (epp. I. VI. ep. 12. Opp. Sirmoud I. f. 582), speaks of the pains taken by Patinus, Bishop of Lyons, to convert the Photinians among the Burgundian people. It might be supposed, however, that he here confounded the Photinians with the Arians. Yet it is plain, from a letter of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, to the Burgundian king, Gundobad (ep. 28. Opp. Sirmoud II. f. 44.), that persons who denied a pre-existent divine nature of Christ, perhaps proper Photinians, had sought to gain over the king to their opinions. Hence he was led to consult Bishop Avitus.

bishop from Aquitania,¹ made a journey to Hungary, with a view to labour for the conversion of the Avars, the Bavarian duke, Theodo I., as it is recorded, represented to him, that desolating wars rendered his undertaking impracticable, and begged him, instead of pursuing his plan, to remain in Bavaria, where some seeds of Christianity were already to be found, though mixed up with paganism, and to labour for the restoration of religion to its purity among his people. He laboured there for three years. After this, he undertook a journey to Rome, intending to spend the remainder of his days in the vicinity of places deemed sacred; but waylaid and murdered by a son of the duke to revenge an accusation of which he was supposed to be the author, he perished as a martyr.² At the close of the seventh century, Rudbert (Ruprecht), Bishop of Worms, descended from a royal family among the Franks, made a journey to Bavaria at the invitation of Duke Theodo II. He begged of the duke that he might be allowed to establish himself in a wild district of country, full of the remains of magnificent structures belonging to the Roman times, where the city of Juvavia lay in ruins. Here he built a church and a monastery, the foundation upon which rose afterwards the bishopric of Salzburg. After this he returned to his native land, to procure further aid for the prosecution of his growing work; and with twelve new missionaries he returned to his old field of action, and laboured afresh in it, until at an advanced age, thinking his work established on a sufficiently firm foundation, and having left behind him a successor in the field, he returned back to his bishopric, for the purpose of spending there the remnant of his days.³ After these men, followed the Frankish hermit, Corbinian, who settled down

¹ Not even the name of his bishopric is stated in the account of his life first compiled in the eleventh century, which Canisius has published in the third volume of his *Lectiones Antiquæ*. The life, in this form, was first composed in the eleventh century; and though an earlier narrative furnishes the basis of it, yet even this does not reach back to the age of Emmeran; and these later compilations are always less trustworthy. A true picture of the labours and fortunes of Emmeran cannot be recovered from these meagre biographies.

² The cause of the persecution excited against him still remains in the dark. According to the above-mentioned life, Emmeran, out of compassion to the guilty ones, took upon himself the blame of the pregnancy of a daughter of the duke; and when at some later period he retracted the pious fiction, he was not believed.

³ Respecting these missionaries also we have only a meagre account, drawn up at a much later period. *Canis. Lect. Antiq. T. III. P. II.*

in the district where afterwards sprung up the bishopric of Freisingen.

Bordering on the kingdom of the Franks was the powerful, barbarous and warlike tribe of the Frieslanders, who, besides the strip of territory which still bears their name, had possession of several other portions of the Netherlands and of the neighbouring Germany; and partly by reason of their vicinity, partly by the conquest of some portions of the territory, zealous bishops among the Franks found opportunity of extending among this people the sphere of their labours. Among these was Amandus, a person of glowing zeal, but who seems to have been wanting in prudence and wisdom. Having been ordained as a bishop without any fixed diocese (*episcopus regionarius*), he chose the districts of the Schelde, then belonging to the kingdom of the Franks, as his field of labour. He came to the place called Gandavum (Ghent), and here found idolatry prevailing. But he was unable to subdue the barbarism of the people. He procured an order from the Frankish king, Dagobert, by which all might be compelled to submit to baptism. In endeavouring to carry this command into execution, and to preach to the people, who, as it may well be supposed, could derive but little benefit from preaching, backed by such forcible measures, he exposed himself to the most violent persecutions and ill-treatment, and sometimes to the peril of his life. Yet he endeavoured also to win the affections of his hearers by acts of benevolence. He redeemed captives; instructed and baptized them. A great impression was made by him on the minds of the rude people, when on a certain occasion, he caused a thief, who had been hung, and whom he had sought in vain, by his intercessions, to deliver from the punishment of death, to be taken down from the gallows after the execution of his sentence, and conveyed to his own chamber, where he succeeded in recalling him to life. As he appeared now in the character of a miracle-worker, many came to him of their own accord and were baptized. They destroyed their idol-temples, and Amandus was assisted by presents of the king, and the united offerings of pious men, in the work of converting these temples into monasteries and churches. But now instead of continuing to build on these first successful issues, and to extend and establish on a still firmer foundation his sphere

of action, where so much still remained to be done, and a happy beginning had just been made, he allowed himself to be hurried on by a fanatical zeal to seek martyrdom among the savage Slavonians, and directed his course to the countries around the Danube; but finding here no opportunity of doing good, nor even a chance for martyrdom, being received perhaps with indifference or ridicule rather than rage, he soon returned back to his former field of labour. At last, he obtained a fixed diocese, as Bishop of Maastricht (Trajectum) and with indefatigable pains, he journeyed through it, exhorting the clergy to the faithful discharge of their duties, and preaching to the pagan populations who dwelt within, or on the borders of, his diocese, till his death, in 679.¹ One of the most distinguished among these Frankish bishops who exerted themselves in the cause of missions, was Eligius.² The story of his life before he became a bishop, shows, that amidst all the rudeness of the Frankish people, and in spite of the sensuous colouring of the religious spirit, some remains of vital Christianity were still preserved in old Christian families. From such a family Eligius sprung.³ Already, while pursuing the occupation of a goldsmith, he had, by remarkable skill in his art, as well as by his integrity and trust-worthiness, won the particular esteem and confidence of King Clotaire I., and stood high at his court. Even then the cause of the gospel was to him the dearest interest, to which everything else was made subservient. While working at his art, he always had a Bible lying open before him. The abundant income of his labours he devoted to religious objects and deeds of charity. Whenever he heard of captives—who in these days were often dragged off in troops as slaves—that were to be sold at auction,⁴ he hastened to the spot and paid down their price. Sometimes, by his means, a hundred at once, men and women, thus obtained their liberty. He then left it to their choice, either to return home, or to re-

¹ The source is in the ancient account of his life in the *Actis S. Ord. Bened. Mabilon Sæc. II.*

² *St Eloy.* His life, written by his disciple Andoen, is better suited than other biographies of this period to give a true and vivid picture of the man it describes. It is found in *D'Archery Spicileg. T. II. nov. edit.*

³ Born at Chatelat, four miles from Limoges. A.D. 588.

⁴ *Praecipue e genere Saxonum, qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges a sedibus propriis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur.*

main with him as free Christian brethren or to become monks. In the first case, he gave them money for their journey ; in the last, which pleased him most, he took pains to procure them a handsome reception into some monastery. While a layman, he made use of his Christian knowledge, in which he excelled many of the common clergy, to further the religious instruction of the people. Thus his fame soon spread far and wide, and when strangers from abroad, from Italy or Spain, came on any business to the king, they first repaired to him for consultation and advice. In the practice of his art, he was most pleased to be employed on objects connected with the interests of religion, consequently, in accordance with the peculiar spirit of those times, in adorning with costly shrines the graves of saints.

This person, in 641, was appointed bishop over the extensive diocese of Vermandois, Tournay and Noyon, the boundaries of which touched on pagan tribes, while its inhabitants were many of them still pagans, or new converts, and Christians only in name. With indefatigable zeal he discharged the duties of this office till 659, through a period of eighteen years. He took every pains to search out the rude populations within the bounds of his extensive diocese and even beyond them. In these tours of visitation, he had to suffer many insults and persecutions, sometimes exposing his life to danger ; but by love, gentleness and patience he triumphed over every obstacle. The account which his scholar and biographer give us of the matter of his discourses, shows that he was very far from attaching importance to a barely external conversion, or mere conformity to the Christian ritual ; on the contrary, he endeavoured carefully to put men on their guard against such outward show, and to insist on a Christian change of heart in its whole extent. "It is not enough," said he, "that you have taken upon you the Christian name, if you do not the works of a Christian. The Christian name is profitable to him, who constantly treasures Christ's precepts in his heart and expresses them in his life." He reminded his hearers of their baptismal vows, recalled them to the sense of what these vows implied, and of what was requisite in order to fulfil them. He then warned them against particular sins, and exhorted them to various kinds of good works. He taught them that love was the fulfilling of the law, and that the

dignity of the children of God consisted in their loving even their enemies for God's sake. He warned them against the remains of pagan superstition. They should not allow themselves to be deluded by auguries or pretended omens of good or ill fortune ;¹ but when going on a journey, or about to engage in any other business, they should simply cross themselves in the name of Christ, repeat the creed and the Pater noster with faith and sincere devotion, and no power of the evil one would be able to hurt them. No Christian should care in the least on what day he left his house, or on what day he returned home, for all days alike were made by God. None should bind an amulet on the neck of man or beast, even though the charm were prepared by a priest, though it were said to be a holy thing and to contain passages of Holy Writ ; for there was in it no remedy of Christ, but only a poison of the devil. In everything, men should simply seek to be partakers of the grace of Christ, and to confide, with the whole heart, in the power of his name. They should desire constantly to have Christ in their hearts, and his sign on their foreheads ; for the sign of Christ was a great thing, but it profited those only, who laboured to fulfil his commandments.

About this period, *Livin*, descended from a respectable Irish family,² laboured as a missionary among the barbarous people in Brabant ; and in 656 he experienced the martyrdom which he had predicted for himself.³

Monks from England must have found in their relationship to the German nations, a peculiar motive for engaging in the

¹ Similiter et auguria, vel sternutationes nolite observare, nec in itinere positi aliquas aviculas cantantes attendatis.

² Boniface, who wrote the life of this person, affirms, it is true, that he received his facts from the mouth of three of *Livin's* disciples : but still his narrative is entitled to little confidence, and cannot be safely used. *Livin* is said to have received baptism from Augustin, the founder of the English church ; but to judge from the relations in which he stood to the British church, this certainly is not probable.

³ His poetical letter to the abbot Florbert in Ghent :—

Impia barbarico gens exagitata tumultu
 Hic Brabanta furit meque cruenta petit.
 Quid tibi peccavi qui pacis nuntia porto ?
 Pax est, quod porto, cur mihi bella moves
 Sed qua tu spiras, feritas, sors laeta triumphi,
 Atque dabit palmam gloria martyrii.
 Cui credam novi, nec spe frustrabor inan
 Qui spondet Deus est, quis dubitare potest ?

work of conveying to these nations the message of salvation ; and by means of this relationship such an enterprise would in their case be greatly facilitated. In the last times of the seventh century, many young Englishmen resorted to Ireland, partly for the purpose of leading a silent and strictly spiritual life among the monks of that island, and partly for the sake of gathering up the various knowledge there to be obtained. They were received by the Irish with Christian hospitality, and provided not only with the means of subsistence, but with books. Among these, was one by the name of Egbert, who, in a sickness which threatened to prove fatal, made a vow, that if God spared his life, he would not return to his native land, but devote his days to the service of the Lord in some foreign country. He afterwards decided, with several companions, to repair to the German tribes ; but when on the point of embarking with them, was detained behind.¹ His companions, however, carried their resolution into effect ; and thus it was him that really gave the first impulse to the work, which subsequently placed the German church on a stable foundation. The principal among these was the monk *Wigbert*. He resided for two years among the Frieslanders, who at that time still maintained their independence ; but owing to the rude temper of the people and of their king, Radbod, he met with too determined a resistance, and returned, without accomplishing anything, to his native land. But the work was resumed with better success by another person from England, the presbyter *Willibrord*. A pious education had early lighted up in him the fire of divine love. At the age of twenty, he too visited Ireland, for the purpose of being trained ; and after having spent there twelve years,² he felt an impulse constraining him to live no longer simply for his own improvement, but to labour also for the good of others ; and the fame of the nations of German descent, the Frieslanders, the Saxons, where the field of labour was so great, and the labourers so few, strongly attracted him. Pipin, mayor of the palace, having subdued the Frieslanders, and made a part of them dependent on the Frankish empire, new and more favourable prospects were thus opened for a mission into these countries.

¹ Bede III. 27 ; V. 11, 12.

² See Alcuin's Life of Willibrord.

He set out with twelve associates, and others followed after. Among these were two brothers by the name of Heuwald, who died as martyrs among the Saxons. Willibrord having been invited by Pipin to fix the seat of his labours in the northern parts of his kingdom, first visited Rome, in the year 692, yielding to that respect for the Roman church, which was so deeply impressed on the English mind. His object was to begin the great work under the authority of the pope, and to provide himself with relics for the consecration of the new churches. Meantime his associates were not inactive. They got one of their own number, a gentle spirit, Svidbert by name, to be ordained as bishop, and he laboured among the Westphalian tribe of the Borughtuarians, but by an irruption of the Saxons was driven away; whereupon Pipin made over to him the island of Kaiserworth, in the Rhine, for the foundation of a monastery.

Willibrord soon returned from Rome, and began his labours, with flattering results, in Frankish Friesland. Pipin now concluded to give the new church a fixed and permanent form, by erecting a bishopric which should have its seat in the old borough of the Wilts (Wilteburg, the Roman Trajectum, Utrecht), and for this purpose sent Willibrord to Rome, to receive ordination from the pope as an independent bishop over the new church. Thus his church was to obtain the dignity of a metropolis, or an archbishopric. The fame of Willibrord's labours in these districts is said to have induced *Wulfram*, a bishop of Sens, to repair thither with several companions. He went to those Frieslanders, who were not yet subjected to the Frankish dominion, and is said to have baptized many. A characteristic incident is related of his labours, which, though the account of his life cannot be relied on as authentic, may nevertheless be true. King Radbod came and represented himself as prepared to receive baptism, but was first desirous of having one question answered, namely, whether on arriving at heaven, he should find there his forefathers also, the earlier kings. The bishop replied, that these, having died without baptism, had assuredly been condemned to hell. "What business have I, then," said Radbod, "with a few poor people in heaven; I prefer to abide by the religion of my fathers." Though the barbarous Radbod was,

doubtless, only seeking a pretext to reject, in a half bantering way, the proposal that he should embrace Christianity, still this incident may serve to illustrate how the spread of Christianity was hindered and checked, by the narrow and tangled views of its doctrines which had grown out of the ordinances of the church. Alike fruitless were all the pains bestowed by Willibrord on the King of the Frieslanders. The active missionary made a journey, however, to the north, beyond the province of Radbod, as far as Denmark. Yet all that he could do here was to purchase thirty of the native youths. These he instructed as he travelled; and having at length landed on a certain island consecrated to the ancient German deity Fosite (Fosite's land, Helgoland), he meant to avail himself of some opportunity while he remained there, to baptize them. But to touch anything consecrated to the god on this holy island, was considered a capital crime. When Willibrord, therefore, ventured to baptize the lads in a sacred fountain, while his associates slaughtered some animals deemed sacred, the fury of the people was greatly excited. One of the missionaries, selected by lot, was sacrificed to the idols; the rest King Radbod sent back to the Frankish kingdom. Somewhat later, Willibrord was enabled to extend the field of his labours among this people. It was when the Frieslanders were more completely subjected to the Frankish dominion, and after the death of King Radbod, the most violent opposer of the Christian church. This happened in 719. At a still later period, he was assisted in no inconsiderable degree, by one of the natives, a man of high standing, and a zealous Christian. In him, while yet a heathen, we have a remarkable instance of that drawing of the Heavenly Father, which leads those who follow it to the Son; for even then he strove to follow the law of God written on the heart. He was a benefactor to the poor, a defender of the oppressed, and as a judge exercised justice. But in fearlessly administering the law, and setting his face against all the wrong done by King Radbod and his servants, he drew upon himself the persecutions of that prince, and was compelled to escape, with his family, to the neighbouring kingdom of the Franks. Here he met with a friendly reception; here too he became acquainted with the Christian doctrines, was convinced of their truth, and went over, with his

whole family, to the Christian church. After the death of King Radbod, Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, presented him with a feof on the borders of Friesland, and sent him back to his native country, to labour there for the promotion of the Christian faith. He established himself in the vicinity of Utrecht, and with his whole family, zealously maintained the preaching of the faith.¹ Thus Willibrord laboured for more than thirty years as bishop of the new church. In 739, at the age of eighty-one, he died.²

But notwithstanding the individual efforts which had thus far been made, on so many different sides, for the introduction of Christianity into Germany, still these isolated and scattered attempts, without a common centre, or a firm ecclesiastical bond to unite the individual plans in one concerted whole, could accomplish but little which was calculated to endure, amid such a mass of untutored nations and under circumstances in so many respects unfavourable. To insure the steady progress of Christianity among these populations for all future time, one of two things was necessary. Either a large number of missionaries labouring singly, and relying simply *on the power of the divine word lodged in the hearts of men*, would have to be distributed through a large number of smaller fields, and to prepare the way, so that the Christian church might *gradually* and by *working outwards from within*, attain among these nations a fixed and determinate shape, and Christianity like a leaven penetrate through the whole mass of the people; and this was the end to which the efforts of the Irish and British missionaries chiefly tended; or some one individual must rise up, endowed with great energy and wisdom, to conduct the whole enterprise after *one plan*, who would be able in a much shorter space of time to found a universal German church after some determinate outward form, and to secure its perpetuity by forced outward institutions knit in close connection with the great body of the Roman church. The latter was done; and it was the work of

¹ See Alfrid's Life of St Liudger, near the beginning: Monumenta Germaniae Historica by Pertz, T. II. f. 405.

² Bede says of him, A.D. 731: Ipse adhuc superest, longa jam venerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum et post multiplices militiae coelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans.

Boniface, whom for this reason, though he found already many scattered missionaries in Germany, we must still regard as the father both of the German church, and of Christian civilization in Germany.

Winfred, as he was properly named,¹ was born in Kirton, Devonshire, in the year 680. He belonged, as it seems, to a family of some consideration, and was destined by his father for a secular profession. But by the discourses of the clergy, who, according to an old English custom,² were used to visit the families of the laity for the purpose of instructing them in the faith, and advancing their progress in the Christian life, the heart of the youth, peculiarly susceptible to religious impressions, was inflamed with a passion for the monastic life; and his father, who was at first opposed, rendered humble and pliant by a reverse of fortune, was finally induced to yield to his wishes. In two considerable English convents, at Adscancester (Exeter) and Nutescelle, he received his clerical education, and theological training. The predominant bent of his mind was practical. By prudence and skill in the management of affairs, he must have early distinguished himself; hence he was employed by his convent as their chosen agent in all difficult cases. But the passion for foreign travel which seemed innate in the monks of these islands, together with a loftier wish of devoting his life to labours for promoting the salvation of pagan nations,³ constrained him to form the resolution of leaving his native land. In 715, he set out on his voyage to Friesland; yet the consequences of the war, then unfortunate for the French kingdom, between the major-domo, Charles Martel, and the Friesland king, Radbod, proved a hindrance to his labours, and he was therefore induced, after having spent a whole summer and a part of the autumn in Utrecht, to return back to his convent. The monks of his

¹ The name *Bonifacius*, by which he was commonly known after his ordination as a bishop, he had perhaps adopted already on his entrance into the convent.

² This, in truth, was a kind of duty, to which the English missionaries were earnestly devoted from the very first, see above, pp. 27, 29. In the life of Boniface by his scholar, the presbyter Willibald, in Pertz Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, T. II., c. 1, p. 334, it is said: "Cum vero aliqui, sicut illis in regionibus moris est, presbyteri sive clerici populares vel laicos prædicandi causa adiissent."

³ He himself says, in a letter to an English abess: "Postquam nos timor Christi et amor peregrinationis longa et lata terrarum ac maris intercapedine separavit."—Ep. 31.

cloister were now ready and anxious to make him their abbot, the office having just become vacant; but he could not be induced to abandon the missionary work which was so dear to his heart, and following the example of the older English missionaries, he first visited Rome in the autumn of the year 718, when Pope Gregory II., to whom he had been recommended by his wise friend Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, commissioned him to preach the gospel to the pagan nations of Germany. He now made his first essay in Thuringia, to which, at that time, a large portion of the French territory belonged; but the information which he obtained there convinced him, that, to accomplish the ends he had in view, it would be necessary for him to secure the co-operation of the French government; and he repaired for this purpose to Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace. The favourable prospects which began to open on the mission to Friesland, by the death of Radbod in 719, induced him to visit that country, and he acted under the Archbishop Willibrord for three years with encouraging success. The latter, in his advanced age, was desirous of securing him as his successor; but Boniface thought it his duty to decline this offer, feeling himself impelled by an inward call from above, to secure the spread of the gospel among the nations of Germany, whose sad condition was known to him by actual observation. This thought so occupied his mind as to present itself in the shape of a dream,¹ in which he heard the divine call, and saw opened to his view the sure prospect of an abundant harvest among the pagan nations of Germany. In obedience to this call, he journeyed, in 722, to Hessa and Thuringia; at Amoeneburg, in Upper Hessa, he baptized two princes of the country, Detwig and Dierolf, and there he

¹ I take this anecdote from a letter of the Abbess Bugga to Boniface, who at that time was still a presbyter, Ep. 3. In praising the divine mercy, which had been shown to him in so many ways, *te transeuntum per ignotos pagos piissime conduxit*, she adds,—“*Primum pontificem gloriosae sedis ad desiderium mentis tuae blandiendum inclinavit, postea inimicum Catholicae ecclesiae Rathbodum coram te consternavit, demum per somnia semetipso revelavit, quod debuisti manifeste messem Dei metere et congregare sanctarum animarum manipulos in horreum regis coelestis.*” The series of events here described harmonises entirely with the chronology of Boniface’s life, as cleared up from other sources. First his journey to Rome, and the acquiescence of the pope in his missionary enterprises; next the event so fortunate for the mission among the Frieslanders, the death of Radbod; then the inward call of God to labour among the pagan tribes of Germany, confirmed by a vision.

founded the first monastery. In Thuringia, a country exposed by wars with the bordering Saxons to constant devastations, he had to sustain many dangers and hardships, with great difficulty obtaining a scanty supply for his own wants, and those of his companions.¹ Having reported the results of his labours thus far to the pope, he was called by the latter to Rome, which, in obedience to this call, he visited again in the year 723. Pope Gregory II. had it in view to consecrate him as bishop over the new church; but he wished, in the first place, after the usual manner, to make sure of his orthodoxy, and for this purpose required him to repeat his confession of faith. Partly because he was ignorant of the Roman mode of pronouncing Latin, partly because he distrusted his ability to find suitable expressions at once for doctrinal matter in an oral discourse,² he begged to be allowed the privilege of presenting to the pope a written confession, which was granted him. The pope being satisfied with this confession, and with the manner in which he had acquitted himself in reporting his labours thus far, solemnly ordained him as bishop over the new church to be founded in Germany,³ without assigning, of course, for the present, a special diocese.⁴ His labours were to be confined to no one place; but he was to travel round among the tribes, and to spend the most of his time wherever necessity might require.⁵ At this ordination, Boniface bound himself by an oath to ecclesiastical obedience to

¹ See Liudger's Life of Abbot Gregory of Utrecht, § 6.

² This is probably the meaning of Boniface's words, "Novi me imperitum jam peregrinus" (after he had spent so long a time among the rude populations, and was used to speak only in the German tongue), l. c. in Pertz, p. 343. Hence it is next said, also, of written confessions of faith, "Fidem *urbanae* eloquentiae scientia conscriptam."

³ Yet Boniface seems by no means to have been resolved from the first to pass the whole of his life in Germany, and hence he could not have entertained the design of becoming the head of a new church; for it was his purpose, some time or other, to return to his native land, as is evident from his IV. letter, ed. Würdtwein, in which, exhorting a friend in England to the diligent study of the sacred Scriptures, he says to him,—“Si dominus voluerit, ut aliquando ad istas partes remeans, *sicut propositum habeo*, per viam (it should doubtless read vitam) spondeo, me tibi in his omnibus fore fidelem amicum et in studio divinarum scripturarum, in quantum vires suppeditent, devotissimum adiutorem.”

⁴ A so-called episcopus regionarius.

⁵ As late as the year 739, Gregory III. wrote to him—“Nec enim habebis licentiam, frater, pro incepti laboris utilitate in uno morari loco, sed confirmatis cordibus fratrum et omnium fidelium qui rarescunt in illis Hesperiiis partibus, ubi tibi dominus aperuerit viam salutis, praedicare non deseras.”

the pope, similar to that usually taken by the Italian bishops belonging to the several patriarchal dioceses of the Roman church,¹ but with such modifications as the difference between the relations of an Italian bishop and of a bishop of the new German church required. At the tomb of the Apostle Peter, he took the oath, which in substance was as follows:—"I promise thee, the first of the apostles, and thy representative Pope Gregory, and his successors, that, with God's help, I will abide in the unity of the Catholic faith; that I will in no manner agree with anything contrary to the unity of the Catholic church, but will in every way maintain my faith pure, and my co-operation constantly for thee, and for the benefit of thy church, on which was bestowed by God the power to bind and to loose, and for thy representative aforesaid, and his successors. And whenever I find that the conduct of the presiding officers of churches contradicts the ancient ordinances and decrees of the fathers, I will have no fellowship or connection with them, but on the contrary, if I can hinder them, I will hinder them, and if not, report them faithfully to the pope."²

This formal oath was of the greater moment in its influence on the formation of the new German church, inasmuch as Boniface—such was the integrity of his character—would be most conscientious in observing its provisions. The question was now settled, whether the German church should be incorporated into the old system of the Roman hierarchy, and the entire Christian culture of the west be determined by this; or whether, from this time onward, there should go forth from the German church a reaction of free Christian development. The last would have taken place, if the more free-minded British and Irish missionaries, who

¹ The form of an oath of this sort is still preserved in the business-diary of the popes, belonging to the first part of the eighth century, the *Liber diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, published by the Jesuit Garnier at Paris in 1680, and to be found in C. G. Hoffmann's *Nova Scriptorum ac Monumentorum Collectio*. T. II. Lips. 1733.

² This latter passage was calculated especially with reference to the circumstances under which Boniface was to labour; and in the present case, the references in the original oath, which might suit the old relations of the pope to the Byzantine empire, were altered for the occasion. In the latter it ran thus:—*Promitto pariter, quod si quid contra rem publicam vel piissimum principem nostrum a quolibet agi cognovero, minime consentire; sed in quantum virtus suffragaverit, obviare et vicario tuo, domino meo apostolico, modis quibus potuero, nuntiare et id agere vel facere, quatenus fidem meam in omnibus sincerissimam exhibeam.*

were scattered among the German populations, had succeeded in gaining the preponderance. At Rome, the danger which threatened from this quarter was well understood; and the formal oath prescribed to Boniface was doubtless expressly intended for the purpose of warding off this danger, and of making Boniface an instrument of the Roman Church system for suppressing the freer institutions which sprung from the British and the Irish churches. The purpose of his mission was not barely to convert the pagans, but quite as much also to bring back those whom the heretics had led astray to orthodoxy, and to obedience to the Roman church;¹ and it is singular to remark, that the church from which the Christian spirit that was to burst the chains of the Roman church system was destined to proceed, was, even in its first beginnings, on the point of taking this same direction!

Now, although the missionaries whom Gregory was bound to oppose were his superiors in Christian knowledge and in clerical training, yet it may be questioned whether they so exactly understood the condition and the wants of the rude nations among whom the Christian church was to be planted; and whether they were qualified to labour for this object to so good a purpose;—whether they could have laid the foundation of an ecclesiastical structure which might promise to endure, and bid defiance to

¹ In an old report, the object of Boniface's mission is thus described: *Ut ultra Alpes pergeret et in illis partibus, ubi haeresis maxime pullularet, sua salubri doctrina funditus eam eradicaret.*—S. Acta S. Mens. Jun., T. I., f. 482. Willibald also, in his life of Boniface, speaks of the influence of such ecclesiastics in Thuringia: *Qui sub nomine religionis maximam haereticæ pravitatis introduxerunt sectam*, § 23. Pertz Monumenta, II., f. 344. Compare also the admonition of Pope Gregory III., in the *Epistola ad Episcopos Bavariae et Allemanniae*, that they should receive Boniface with all due respect as the pope's legate, adopt the liturgy and creed according to the model of the Roman apostolic church, and beware of the *doctrina venientium Brittonum vel falsorum sacerdotum et haeticorum*, Ep. 45. In his letter to the German bishops and dukes (Ep. 6), the pope states it as being the object of Boniface's mission, partly to convert the heathen, partly *et si quos forte vel ubicunque a rectae tramite fidei deviasse cognoverit aut astutia diabolica suasos erroneos repererit, corrigat*. It must be owned that, even in the official letters, the customary forms of the chancery style from the *liber diuturnus* seem sometimes to have been preserved unaltered, though they may have been scarcely suited to these new relations. Thus, in the letter to the Germans (Ep. 10), in reference to the obstacles to ordination,—“*Non audeat promovere Afros passim ad ecclesiasticos ordines praetendentes, quia aliqui eorum Manichaei, aliqui rebaptizati saepius sunt probati.*” Which warning might have some force in the time of Gregory the Great, but could hardly be in place as applied to the churches in Germany.

destruction. But certainly Boniface, who had been educated in the faith of the Roman theocratic church system, and inured to the punctilious obedience of the monks, could not, from his own point of view, and according to his own religious convictions, act otherwise than he did; and he verily believed that, by so acting, he was taking the best course to promote the prosperity of the new church. Indeed, the course of development pursued by the church, under the guiding hand of a higher Spirit, had long since been settled after such an order, as that the nations should first be trained and nurtured to the full age of gospel freedom by means of a legal Christianity, or a gospel in the form of Judaism.

Supported by letters of recommendation from the pope, Boniface directed his steps, in the first place, to the mayor of the palace; and, after having made sure of his co-operation, proceeded to Hessa, and then to Thuringia. It might be expected, from what has already been said, that Boniface would find a foundation of Christianity already laid for him in Thuringia. This, too, is presupposed by the pope, in the letters which Boniface carried with him.¹ The pope required the people of Thuringia to erect churches,² and to build a house for Boniface. We see, from the letters of the pope to some of the nobles and other believers in Thuringia, that a contest was already going on there between the pagan and the Christian party; for he praises the Christian dukes because they had not suffered themselves to be moved by any threats of the pagans to take part again in idolatry, but had declared that they were ready to die

¹ Nor does Willibald, in his life of Boniface, say that he first planted Christianity here, but that he restored it. He says that the bad administration of the country under the dukes dependent on the Frankish empire (since the destruction of the Thuringian empire, A.D. 531) favoured the revival of paganism, and even induced a portion of the people to become subject to the pagan Saxons. He says of Boniface: *Seniores plebis populique principes affatus est eosque ad acceptam dudum Christianitatis religionem iterando provocavit*, § 23.

² Willibald mentions first the ecclesiastical institution founded by Boniface at Orthorp (Ohrdurf, in the dukedom of Gotha), a church together with a monastery. But as this was already something considerable, and Boniface had now gained a wide entrance among the people, it certainly could not have been the first church which he founded in this country; but this was perhaps the little church near the neighbouring village of Altenberga, which tradition derived from him—the first which he caused to be erected, when coming from Hessa to Thuringia. See Löffler, *Celebration in remembrance of the first church in Thuringia, Gotha, 1812.*

rather than do anything to injure the Christian faith.¹ Boniface now brought back to Christianity such of the chief men as had fallen away. Having confirmed the wavering, he proceeded to labour for the suppression of paganism, which still continued to prevail among the mass of the people, and for the further spread of Christianity among them. Up to the year 739, Boniface had baptized towards one hundred thousand of the pagan inhabitants of Germany; and this, as Pope Gregory III. remarks, was effected by his exertions and those of Charles Martel.² In the case of these conversions by masses, there may have been a great deal at first which was merely superficial; but the suppression of idolatry, the destruction of every monument that spoke to the senses, the prohibition of all pagan customs, participation in the rites of Christian worship, and the religious instruction given in connection therewith—all this could not but serve to advance the work, while, at the same time, provision was made for Christian education by schools connected with the monasteries. There is no indication that Boniface ever made use of the power of the mayor of the palace to enforce baptism. For what purpose he required it we are informed by himself;³ for he says, that, without the protection of the Frankish princes, he would have been able neither to govern the people nor to defend the clergy, monks and nuns (who superintended the instruction of the youth); nor, without their command, and the fear of their displeasure, to forbid idolatry and the pagan customs.⁴ And how much he could effect by destroying an object of superstitious veneration among the people, which, from one generation to another, and from the childhood of each individual, had enchained their senses, is shown by the following example. At Geismar, which lay at no great distance from Fritzlar, in the department of Gudensberg, in Upper Hessa, stood a gigantic and venerable oak, sacred to Thor, the god of thunder, which was regarded by the people with feelings of the deepest awe, and was a central

¹ Ep. 8. *Quod pagani compellentibus vos ad idola colenda fide plena responderitis, magis velle feliciter mori, quam fidem semel in Christo acceptam aliquatenus violare.*

² Ep. 46. *Tuo conamine et Caroli principis.*

³ Ep. 12, to Bishop Daniel.

⁴ *Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum vel ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo.*

spot for their popular gatherings.¹ In vain had Boniface preached on the vanity of idols. The impression of that ancient object of superstitious veneration ever counteracted the effect of his sermons, and the newly converted were drawn back by it to paganism. Boniface² resolved to destroy one sensuous impression by means of another of the like kind. Accompanied by his associates, he repaired to the spot with a large axe. The pagan people stood around, full of rage against the enemy of the gods, and they expected nothing but that those who dared attack the sacred monument would fall as dead men, struck by the avenging deity. But when they beheld the huge tree, cut into four pieces, fall prostrate before their eyes, their faith in the power of the dreaded deity vanished. Boniface took advantage of this impression, and, to make it a lasting one, immediately caused to be constructed out of the timber a church, which he dedicated to St Peter the apostle, whose authority and whose church it was his great aim to establish.

But although he endeavoured, after this manner, by outward and sensible impressions, to acquire an influence over the rude people, yet it is evident, from many indications, that he by no means neglected the work of religious instruction, but well understood its high importance. His old friend Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, who was now blind, gave him the following advice with regard to religious instruction.³ He was not to begin at once with refuting the idolatrous notions of the pagans; but in the way of interrogation, in which he ought to show his own thorough knowledge of their system, he was to lead them on to discover for themselves the self-contradiction it involved, and the

¹ In the district of the ancient Mattium.

² An interesting comparison is furnished by what happened in the province of Madura, in India, in August 1831. There stood in this place a gigantic odia tree, a hundred and twenty years old, which had for several generations been held in great veneration, and was regarded as the seat of the patron god of the province, to whom, every year, it was customary to present a great offering. At first a number of boughs were chopped off, which were employed in the construction of a school-house. But as the converted head of the village, who had done this, afterwards fell sick, the pagan people regarded it as a punishment sent upon him by the idol. To confute their opinion, he now resolved to cut away the entire tree. As it was falling, many hundreds collected around it full of amazement, and they still continued visiting it for a whole week, contemplating it as a wonder, and threatening the new convert with the vengeance of their god. See "Missionary Register" for 1832, p. 399.

³ Ep. 14.

absurd consequences it led to; all, without ridiculing or exciting them, but rather with gentleness and moderation.¹ Then he should occasionally introduce here and there scraps of Christian doctrine, comparing it with their superstition, so that they might rather be shamed than excited to anger. That he himself preached, and used the sacred Scriptures in preaching, appears evident—from a remarkable commission, which he gave to his old friend, the Abbess Eadburga, who used to send him clothes and books from England.² He requested her to procure for him a copy of the Epistles of St Peter, written with gilt letters, which he might use in preaching. By the use of this, he hoped to inspire in sense-bound men a reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and no doubt also for St Peter, whose missionary he conceived and represented himself to be.³ How diligently he studied the Scriptures may be inferred from the fact, that he often imported from England copies of the same, together with expository works, fairly written, on account of his weak eyes. Thus, for example, he secured a copy of the prophets, prepared by his teacher, the Abbot Wimbert, without abbreviations, and with plain and distinctly separated letters.⁴ There are still extant a few fragments of discourses preached by Boniface, probably after being translated into the language of the country,—one of which is an exhortation to chastity and purity of morals, as necessary in order to a worthy participation in the sacrament of the supper. “We address you,” said he, “not as the messengers of one, from the obligation of obedience to whom you can *purchase exemption with money*;⁵ but of one to whom you are bound by the blood He shed for you. My beloved, we are men covered with the defilement of sin, and yet we would not suffer our limbs to be touched by the defiled—and we believe that the only begotten Son of God willingly took upon his own body the defilement of our sins.

¹ Non quasi insultando vel irritando eos, sed placide ac magna objicere moderatione debes.

² Ep. 19.

³ Et quia dicta ejus, qui me in hoc iter direxit, maxime semper in praesentia cupiam habere.

⁴ Quia librum prophetarum talem, qualem desidero, acquirere non possum, et caligantibus oculis minutas ac connexas litteras discere non possum.

⁵ Doubtless an allusion to the *Compositiones* customary among the German tribes. Out of accommodation to this custom, against which Boniface seems here to be guarding himself, grew the indulgences.

Behold, brethren, our King, who has condescended to make us His messengers, comes directly after us ; let us prepare for Him a pure mansion, if we desire Him to dwell in our bodies." In the other sermon, he replies to the objection, why have the messengers of salvation come so late after so many have already been ruined—in the following language : " You would have a right to complain of the late coming of the physician, if now, when he *is* come to attend you, you are eagerly bent on making the right use of the remedies he prescribes." Instead of minutely inquiring why the remedy came so late, they should rather hasten to apply it, now that they had it.

The whole conduct of Boniface in founding the new church, shows also how much importance he attached to the spiritual culture of the people by Christianity. The same thing is apparent from his founding monasteries, especially in the central spots of the tribes, whence proceeded the culture of the people as well as the reclaiming of the wilderness ; and into which he introduced monks¹ and nuns from England, who brought with them various arts and sciences,² and books for the instruction of the youth³—and who furnished missionaries for the people.⁴ It is apparent also from his ordinances, which directed that no man or woman should stand in the relation of god-father or god-mother, unless he or she knew by heart the creed and the Lord's Prayer ; that no person should be appointed priest, who could not repeat the form of renunciation at baptism, and the confession of sins in the language of the country.⁵

Boniface met with various opponents in his field of labour. Concerning these, it must be confessed, we can get but little certain knowledge from his by no means unprejudiced and impartial reports. Some of them were free-minded British and Irish clergy, particularly such as would not submit to the Roman laws touching

¹ The monks *magistri infantium*, ep. 79.

² Willibald says (§ 23), *E. Britanniae partibus servorum Dei plurima ad eum tam lectorum quam etiam scriptorum (who busied themselves in the copying of books), aliorumque artium eruditorum virorum congregationis convenerat multitudo.*

³ He also procured books from Rome. See ep. 69, ep. 54.

⁴ Boniface went a long distance to meet such new comers. See ep. 80. They wrote to England about their labours among the heathen : " *Deus per misericordiam suam sufficientiam operis nostri bonam perficit, licet valde sit periculosum ac laboriosum paene in omni re, in fame et siti, in algore et incursione paganorum inter se degere.*"

⁵ See f. 142 in epp. ed. Würdtwein.

the celibacy of priests,¹ but whose married life appeared to Boniface, looking at the matter from his own point of view, an unlawful connection. Others were rude and ignorant men, whose lives were a disgrace to their profession, who freely took part in the sports of the chase and in warlike expeditions, made traffic of their priestly functions, and spread among the untutored people false notions of Christianity, extremely detrimental to the interests of religion and morality.² Others, again, were ecclesiastics or monks, who for some reason or other, whether right or wrong, struggled against the authority of Boniface, while the veneration inspired by their lives of rigid austerity, had secured for them a strong interest in the affections of the people. Certainly, the schisms occasioned by such ecclesiastics, even though they belonged themselves to the better class, could not but hinder the prosperous growth of the church among so rude a people.³ These persons, too, may have had their influence at the court of the warlike Charles Martel, with whose interests and inclinations, many things which they aimed at and advocated, perhaps more fully coincided, than the strict ecclesiastical rules of Boniface. At any rate, the latter could not succeed, as long as Charles Martel lived, in making good his authority as papal legate against these antagonists. But as he had sworn to withdraw fellowship from all ecclesiastics who opposed the Roman church system, he

¹ As it is ordered by an Irish synod, A.D. 456, can. 6, that the wives of the ecclesiastics, from the ostiarius to the priest, should never go about otherwise than veiled. See Wilkins's Concil. Angl. T. I., p. 2; so it is evident from this, that the marriage of these ecclesiastics was considered regular.

² There were those who, in consequence of their scanty knowledge, and to please the rude multitude, mixed up pagan customs with Christian, and even sacrificed to idols. According to Boniface's report to Pope Zacharias: "Qui tauros, hircos, diis paganorum immolabant."

³ Boniface says, ep. 12: *Quidam abstinentes a cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum creavit. Quidam melle et lacte proprie pascentes se, panem et caeteros abjiciunt cibos.* He seems to describe these as false teachers; and from this account we might be led to surmise that there was some connection of these mortifications with theoretical errors, and we might be reminded particularly of Gnostic errors. But had Gregory been knowing to anything of this kind, he who was so ready to detect dangerous heresies in the slightest deviations from the prevailing notions, would certainly have stated the matter more distinctly. It is very possible that these people, without following any erroneous tendency in doctrine, simply lived in habits of unusually rigid abstinence. Ascetic severity, under other circumstances, would perhaps have appeared to Boniface a praiseworthy thing; but he judged otherwise in the case of these people, because they availed themselves of the consequence they thus acquired to render themselves independent of him, and to resist his ordinances.

was not a little perplexed, when he visited the court of Charles Martel, to find that he could not avoid having some fellowship with the persons before described, while yet he could not neglect the oath without prejudice to his ecclesiastical institutions. He consoled himself, however, by reflecting, that he satisfied his oath, if he shunned all voluntary connection, and all church-communion with those persons. In this opinion, he was confirmed by his prudent friend, Bishop Daniel, to whom he confessed his scruples; for that prelate advised him, to pay a due regard to the circumstances of the case, and to accommodate himself to them with a wise dissimulation, subservient to higher ends.¹ Boniface could not feel perfectly at rest on this subject, until he had also made known his scruples to the pope, who placed him under this oath, and had received from him an authentic interpretation of its import. The pope wrote back to him, that the clergy who lowered the dignity of their office by a disreputable life, he should endeavour to set right. But if they would not allow themselves to be corrected, he still ought not to avoid their company, nor to refuse to sit at the same table with them; for it was often the case, that men could be more easily led into the right way by friendly intercourse and the familiar society of the table, than by harsher measures.²

Having, within the space of fifteen years, founded the Christian church among a hundred thousand Germans, and erected church edifices and monasteries in the midst of what was before a wilderness, Boniface, in 738, repaired for the third time to Rome, for the purpose of an interview with the new pope, Gregory III., and to obtain from him a new commission, with ample powers. This pope empowered him also, as his legate, to visit the Bavarian church,³ which had not as yet received any permanent organization, and was going to decay, and, moreover, stood open to the British and Irish missionaries, who were regarded at Rome with

¹ The principle of the *officiosum mendacium, quod utilis simulatio assumenda sit in tempore*, which he defended, as others had done before him, by the examples of St Peter and St Paul. Ep. 13.

² Ep. 24. *Plurimumque enim contingit, ut quos correctio disciplinae tardos facit ad percipiendam veritatis normam, conviviorum sedulitas et admonitio disciplinae ad viam perducat justitiae.*

³ Yet the missionaries in the present case may have shown themselves more inclined to subject themselves to the authority of the Romish church, as we see in the example of Virgilius.

jealousy. He was invited there also by the Bavarian duke Odilo. On his return from Rome, therefore, in 739, he paid a visit to Bavaria, where he resided for some time, and founded, under the papal authority, the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, Freisingen, and Passau.

Soon after he had resumed his former field of labour, a political change took place which was favourable to his objects, in the death of Charles Martel, in the year 741. Martel, although he had received Boniface as a papal legate, and on the whole favoured his mission, yet could never be prevailed upon to give him such decided preponderance as would have enabled him to crush all the opponents to his measures, and to the Roman supremacy; and as the rough warrior encouraged the clergy to take a part in his warlike enterprises, and did not hesitate to sequester at will the property of churches and convents,¹ he himself often came into conflict with Boniface and his interests in respect to the new ecclesiastical foundations. Far greater was the influence acquired by Boniface over the sons of Charles Martel, Carloman and Pipin. In the former of these, the religious bent was so strong, that he once thought of relinquishing the sovereign power for the monastic life. The other understood far better than his predecessor how to enter into the plans of Boniface for the Christian culture of the German people. He was also inclined to form a stricter alliance with the papacy, with a view to the promotion of his own political interests. In particular, it was now in the power of Boniface to carry out two important objects, calculated to secure the better organization of the new church. One was the *foundation of several bishoprics*; the other, *the arrangement of the synodal system*. He founded, in 742, under the papal authority, three bishoprics for the new church, at Würzburg, at Erfurt,² and at Burburg, not far from Fritzlar. By the introduction of regular provincial synods, the means was to be provided for maintaining an oversight over the entire moral and religious condition of the people, and for a form of legislation suited to the necessities of the church. In the

¹ See Mabillon Annal. Ord. Benedict. T. II. f. 114.

² In reference to this, a difficulty arises, from the fact that no later indications are to be found of any such bishopric; whether it was that for special reasons, in the circumstances of the times, this arrangement was soon altered, or whether a false reading has here crept in.

Frankish church itself, these regular synods had fallen into utter desuetude. No such meeting had been held for a period of eighty years; and Carloman himself called upon Boniface to appoint one, and to take preventive measures against the lamentable abuses that had crept into the administration of church affairs.¹ At these synods, Boniface, who acted in the name of the pope, enjoyed the first seat; and his influence was thus extended over the whole Frankish church, which stood so much in need of new regulations. At the same time, Pope Zacharias had expressly clothed him with full powers to introduce into the Frankish church a thorough reform, in his name.² He held, in all, five such synods. At these synods, he caused laws to be passed, whereby the clergy were bound to a mode of life better corresponding to their profession, and forbidden to take any part in war or in the chase, on pain of being deposed from office; laws to secure the general diffusion of religious instruction, and to suppress the superstitious customs which had sprung out of paganism, or which at least were grounded in pagan notions transferred to the objects of Christianity,³ such as soothsaying, pretended witchcraft, amulets, even though passages of Scripture were employed for that purpose.⁴ At some of these synods, from the year 744 onward, several persons were tried as teachers of false doctrines, belonging, as it may be conjectured, to the number of those of whom Boniface had already complained, but whom, in the times of Charles Martel, he was not strong enough to put down.

One of these persons, Adelbert, was a Frank of mean descent, probably belonging to that class whom Boniface had some time

¹ See ep. 51. Carolomannus me accersitum ad se rogavit, ut in parte regni Francorum, quae in sua est potestate, synodum facerem congregari, et promisit, se de ecclesiastica religione, quae jam longo tempore id est non minus quam per sexaginta vel septuaginta annos calcata et dissipata fuit, aliquid corrigere et emendare velle.

² The words of Pope Zacharias, ep. 60, are: "Nos omnia, quae tibi largitus est decessor noster, non minuiimus, sed augemus. Nam non solum Bojoariam, sed etiam omnem Galliarum provinciam nostra vice per praedicationem tibi injungimus, ut quae repereris contra christianam religionem vel canonum instituta ibidem detineri, ad normam rectitudinis studeas reformare."

³ E. g. Hostias immolatitias, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum vel confessorum. The German synod of the year 742.

⁴ Si quis clericus auguria vel divinationes, aut somnia sive sortes seu phylacteria id est scripturas observaverit. Neither was the chrism to be used as a remedy for diseases.

before described, as persons who, by the austerity of their lives, acquired consideration in the eyes of the multitude, and then used their influence against himself. Adelbert was honoured by the people as a saint and a worker of miracles.¹ He found ignorant bishops, who were willing to give him episcopal ordination.² It would seem that Adelbert, with many fanatical extravagancies, and with many qualities also betokening a purer and freer gospel spirit, was opposed to the reigning doctrines or to the reigning ritual of the church. Boniface reports of him,³ that he carried his pride to such extravagant length, as to put himself on a level with the Apostles. Hence, while he thought Apostles and Martyrs not worthy of the honour of having churches dedicated to

¹ The priest of Mayence, whose brief report of the life of Boniface has been published by the Bollandists, at the V. of June, relates, that he hired people with money to assume the appearance of being affected by various bodily ailments, and then to pretend being cured by his prayers. See Pertz, T. II. f. 354. But this, being the testimony of a passionate opponent, is not entitled to credit. When a man came once to be regarded as a false teacher, nothing remained but to declare the miracles supposed to be wrought by him to be either works of sorcery, performed by the aid of an evil spirit, or a deception. For the rest, it was no uncommon thing in the Frankish church for fanatics or impostors, who contrived to give themselves an air of sanctity, to draw around them, as men who could work miracles, a crowd of followers. Thus Gregory of Tours (l. IX. c. 6) relates the instance of a certain Desiderius, who went about in a cowl and a shirt of goat's hair, pretending to lead a strictly abstemious life, and to enjoy special interviews with the apostles Peter and Paul; and numerous bodies of the country people allowed themselves to be deceived by him; many sick were brought to him to be healed. In the case of those who were lame, he caused their limbs to be stretched with great violence—an experiment which turned out sometimes fortunately, sometimes unfortunately. *Ut quos virtutis divinae largitione dirigere (make their limbs straight again) non poterat, quasi per industriam (by the aid of human art) restauraret. Denique apprehendebant pueri ejus manus hominum, alii vero pedes, tractosque diversas in partes, ita ut nervi putarentur abrumpi, cum non sanarentur, dimittebantur exanimes.* In another place (l. X. c. 25) Gregory relates the instance of a man who, at first doubtless in an attack of insanity, had given himself out as Christ, and a woman whom he carried about with him, as the virgin Mary. The people flocked to him, and brought their sick, who were to be healed by his touch. At the same time he set himself up as a prophet. More than three thousand suffered themselves to be deceived by him, and among these there were some priests. Gregory says that in France many such had appeared, who, after a few women had joined them, whom they extolled as saints, found believers among the people.

² Boniface says that, contrary to the church laws, he had received ordination without a specific diocese, an *ordinatio absoluta*. This was undoubtedly contrary to the church laws; but in the case of missionaries it could not be otherwise; and in fact it was the same with Boniface himself. Probably Adelbert wanted to labour as a missionary; like so many even ignorant and fanatical persons, who believed they felt this call.

³ Ep. 62.

them, he yet had the folly to dedicate oratories to his own name. But if his claiming to be of equal dignity with the Apostles, was the reason why Adelbert thought churches ought not to be erected in the name of the Apostles, he might then say, that churches could as properly be consecrated to his own name, as to the names of the Apostles; and in that case, there would be no inconsistency in his language, of which Boniface, however, seems desirous to convict him. But from the words of Boniface himself it may, perhaps, be gathered, that he ventured on a false construction of Adelbert's assertions. Adelbert probably said, churches ought not to be dedicated to the name of *any man*,¹ therefore not to the name of an apostle; and in this case, he might certainly be accused of self-contradiction, if he permitted oratories to be dedicated to his own name. Yet even a fanatic would not be likely to fall into so gross a contradiction as this. Probably the truth was, that Boniface represented the conduct of Adelbert in the false light which grew out of his own inferences from his doctrines. And this view of the matter is confirmed, when we find that Adelbert was a severe censurer of the zeal, manifested by so many in those times, to visit the "threshold of the Apostles" (the *limina Apostolorum*), instead of seeking help from the omnipresent God, or from Christ alone. The bad effect on the morals of the pilgrims, which, as Boniface himself is compelled to acknowledge, resulted from these visits to Rome, would be an additional reason for the opposition shown to them.² Adelbert procured crosses to be erected in the fields, where the people might assemble. He built small oratories in the same places, and near fountains of water. Hence the accusation of Boniface, that he had allowed these oratories to be dedicated to his own name, was probably no more than an inference, founded perhaps upon the fact, that the people were wont to name these oratories after Adelbert. Large numbers of the people might be induced to forsake the public churches and the other bishops, and to assemble in these places,

¹ As is intimated by the words "dedignabatur consecrare."

² Boniface endeavoured to have a law enacted in England by a synod, and by the kings, whereby pilgrimages to Rome, which so frequently led to corruption of morals, should be forbidden to married women and the nuns: *Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt civitatis in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum.* See ep. 73, to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. Würdtwein, p. 201.

saying, we shall be helped by the merits of the holy Adelbert. Perhaps Adelbert's followers paid him the excessive veneration usually bestowed on other men who bore the reputation of saints. One mode of expressing this excessive veneration, which in these times was by no means singular, may have been that alleged by Boniface—if his report can be relied on—namely, that Adelbert's followers were in the habit of carrying about as relics hair and nails taken from his person (from which, however, it would be wrong to infer that he sought any such honour, though it might be true that he took no pains to avoid it), and hence proceeded to form a party. When people came to him to confess their sins, he is said to have told them he knew all their sins, for to him every secret thing was open. They needed not confess to him, but might consider all their sins forgiven, and return in comfort and peace to their homes. Now, it is quite possible that Adelbert may have been misled by a fanatical self-exaltation actually to make use of some such language. But the assertions of Boniface, a man so constantly on the watch for heresies, and so inclined to paint every heretic in the blackest colours, may well be regarded with suspicion. Perhaps Adelbert was merely opposed to the church system of confession and penance. Perhaps he told people, they needed only confess their sins to God; and, confiding in the forgiveness of sins obtained by the merits of Christ, they might go away comforted. There is still extant the fragment of a prayer by him,¹ in which no trace is to be discovered of the fanatical self-exaltation here ascribed to him; but which, on the contrary, breathes the spirit of Christian humility. "Lord, Almighty God, Father of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, thou the Alpha and Omega, thou who sittest above the seventh heaven, above Cherubim and Seraphim, thou supreme Love, thou Fountain of Joy, I invoke thee, and invite thee to me the poorest of thy creatures; since thou hast vouchsafed to say, whatever ye ask of my Father in my name, that will I do. I beg of thee, therefore, to bestow upon me thyself."² In another passage, however, cited from this prayer, follows something which does not so well accord with the pure Christian spirit expressed

¹ In the transactions of the Roman council, which was held in consequence of the report drawn up by Boniface. Bonifac. ep. 174.

² According to another reading, "To thee I direct my prayer."

in the first words; but which, however, in a dark, fanatical mysticism, might perhaps be reconciled with them—namely, the invocation of angels, many names of whom are cited which do not elsewhere occur.¹ In the acts of the Roman council, mention is made of a pretended letter of Christ,² which in Jerusalem has fallen from heaven, and which Adelbert took pains to circulate. The superscription of this letter was couched in a singular style, and the Roman church was recognised in it as the one in which were deposited the keys of the kingdom of heaven. From this, it would seem evident that the mysticism of Adelbert could not be considered as opposed, at least in a consistent manner, to the hierarchical system, as we might be led to suppose it would be, on various grounds of evidence. According to the statements of Boniface, he drew notice also by exhibiting certain relics, to which he ascribed great miraculous power, and which, as he pretended, had been brought to him from the farthest boundaries of the world by an angel in human form.³ Yet it deserves to be mentioned, that Boniface says it was *in his younger days*⁴ he came forward with such pretensions. From this we might infer, that he had not always maintained the same opinions and professions; and if such were the case, the contradictions so apparent in the tenets ascribed to him, are to be explained, perhaps, not so much from the mingling together of opposite elements in his mode of thinking, as from confounding together the reports of two different periods in the history of his religious development, the earlier and the later. We might suppose that the element of mysticism in him had, at the outset, been covered up under a religious tendency bordering on sensuous fanaticism, and more closely attaching itself to the forms of the church; and that gradually he stripped away these sensuous forms one after the other. Yet, owing to

¹ At the council these unknown names of angels were declared to be the names of evil spirits, which Adelbert invoked to his assistance; and this was brought against him as a specific charge.

² There were at the present time many pieces of forgery of this character in circulation. In a capitulary of the Emperor Charles, A.D. 789, it is said: "Pseudographiae et dubiae narrationes vel quae omnino contra fidem catholicam sunt, ut epistola pessima et falsissima, quam transacto anno dicebant aliqui errantes et in errorem alios mittentes, quod de coelo cecidisset, nec credantur nec legantur; sed comburantur. Mansi Concil. T. XIII. p. 174, Appendix.

³ By such pretences, the people were often deceived in these times. See Gregor. Turon. l. IX. c. 6.

⁴ In primaeva aetate.

the vague and untrustworthy character of all our present sources of information, nothing certain can be said on the subject. On the whole, it is evident that Adelbert must have found no inconsiderable support, even from those who could not be classed with the ignorant multitude; for while living, he experienced an honour which the most attached disciples are wont to bestow on a venerated master only after his death. His life was written before its close; and in this document he is styled the holy and blessed servant of God (*sanctus et beatus Dei famulus*¹). But then, if he had many disciples, a great deal which ought to be attributed to the mistakes or to the exaggeration of his followers, may have been incorrectly charged to his own account.

When Boniface had compelled Adelbert to cease from preaching,—perhaps before his report to the pope,—and when, by the authority of the mayor of the palace, he had effected his arrest, Adelbert's numerous followers complained that they had been deprived of their holy apostle, their intercessor and miracle-worker. The reputed worker of miracles stood higher in the estimation of the multitude, than Boniface, whose zeal was tempered with Christian prudence, whose religion was marked by coolness of understanding, rather than by the impulses of enthusiasm, and who had no ambition to be considered a worker of miracles. This was one peculiarity which distinguished him from other laborious and successful missionaries of the same age. Not even his own disciples have been able to record a single miracle wrought by him.²

¹ The introduction only of this biography is known to us through the citations in the acts of the Roman council. It is here said that, from his birth, he was filled with the grace of God, in imitation of the account of John the Baptist's nativity. True, this expression was declared at the Roman council blasphemous; but many similar ones may be pointed out in the *Actis Sanctorum*, belonging to this age.

² The priest of St Martin's church in Utrecht, who in the ninth century drew up a short biographical sketch of Boniface (published by the Bollandists, at the fifth of June), was obliged to vindicate himself from the reproach of not having cited any miracles wrought by him. What he says on this point is worthy of notice, as an expression of the Christian sense of truth which is to be found extending through all the centuries. Everything—says he—depends on the agency of God, which operates on man's inmost being, produces miracles from within outwards, and by means of miracles quickens the inward susceptibility to truth, *intus, qui moderabatur quique idololatrias et incredulos trahebat ad fidem*. The same Spirit distributed his gifts in manifold ways. *Uni dabat fidem ut Petro, alteri facundiam praedicationis ut Paulo, and as an instrument of the same Spirit Boniface had shown himself. Faciebat autem signa et prodigia magna in populo, utpote qui ab aegrotis mentibus morbos invisibiles propellebat*. After having prosecuted this thought still further, he adds:

The second of these antagonists of Boniface, Clement, an Irishman, was a person of an entirely different bent of mind. The theological training which he received in Ireland rendered him, no doubt, Boniface's superior in largeness of understanding and in Christian knowledge, while it raised him above all the fanatical extravagancies which we observed in Adelbert. We recognise in him an instance of one of the earliest reactions of the Christian consciousness, still holding fast to the primitive truth, against the hierarchical spirit, or the principle of the Old Testament theocracy, which characterized the middle ages. He would allow to the writings of the older fathers,¹ and to the canons of councils, no authority binding on faith; and from this it may with probability be inferred, that he conceded such authority to the holy Scriptures alone, acknowledging them as the only fountain and directory of Christian faith. The application of this principle would lead him, of course, to many important deviations from the reigning doctrines of the church; though we have no exact information as to what these deviations were. Boniface charges him with maintaining, that he could continue to be a Christian bishop, though the father of two sons by adultery. It is probable, that Boniface in this case allowed himself a little prevarication; and because the marriage of a bishop, considered from his own point of view, was an irregularity, chose to disparage it under the name of an unlawful connection. But there can be no question that Clement defended the legality of marriage in a bishop, on such grounds as he found stated in the sacred Scriptures. Boniface, again, accused him of bringing back Judaism, because he declared it lawful to marry the widow of a deceased brother. But the point charged, that he considered the Mosaic law still obligatory on Christians, would lie against him only in case he declared a Christian *bound*, according to Deut. xxv., to marry the widow of a deceased brother, when the

Quod si ad solam corporum salutem attenditis et eos angelis aequiparatis, qui membrorum debilitates jejuniis et orationibus integritati restituunt, magnum quidem est quod dicitis, sed hoc sanctis quodammodo et medicis commune esse crebris remedium manifestatur eventibus. Sed et quemlibet in his talibus miraculis sublimem oportet magna seipsum circumspectione munire, ut nec jactantia emergat nec appetitus laudis surripiat, ne forte quum alios coöperante sibi virtute sanaverit, ipse suo vitio vulneratus intereat.

¹ Boniface names particularly Jerome, Augustin, and Gregory the Great, because it was customary to appeal especially to their authority in the Western Church.

latter left no posterity; and in that case, he must have declared all other marriage with the widow of a deceased brother forbidden; because all other marriage of a brother's wife, this only excepted, is forbidden in the Mosaic law. Perhaps, therefore, he only pronounced the ecclesiastical ordinance, whereby this was placed among the prohibited degrees of relationship, an arbitrary one; and adduced the above-mentioned Mosaic statute in evidence, that such an ordinance had no foundation whatever in the divine law, since otherwise Moses would not have allowed of any exception. The example of Cilian shows how important such disputed questions, on points of ecclesiastical law, might become to the missionaries. And it is worthy of remark, that on another kindred point, the Christian feelings of Boniface himself brought him into collision with the statutes of the ecclesiastical law. Although he found the principle to prevail both in the Roman and in the Frankish church, that the so-called spiritual kinship of god-father or god-mother, should prevent a marriage contract between the parties, yet he could not feel the propriety of it, nor did it seem to him to have any foundation either in Scripture, or in the essence of Christianity; since baptism establishes a spiritual relationship among all Christians.¹ Finally, this Clement taught, as Boniface reports, that Christ, in descending to Hades, delivered the souls not only of believers, but also of unbelievers and idolaters. This we must understand as follows: He declared himself opposed to the common doctrine of the *descensus Christi ad inferos*, according to which Christ is supposed to have delivered only the pious dead of the Jewish nation. That is, he found in this doctrine, because he held only to the Scriptures, an intimation, that all those, who, during their life on earth, had no opportunity of hearing the message of the gospel, were after their death taught by Christ himself to know him as the Saviour, and brought into fellowship with Him. A reflecting missionary among the heathen, might easily be led to entertain doubts of the doctrine, which taught that all pagans were unconditionally lost;² while to the purely human feelings

¹ Quia nullatenus intelligere possum, quare in uno loco spiritualis propinquitas in conjunctione carnalis copulae tam grande peccatum sit, quando omnes in sacro baptisate Christi et ecclesiae filii et filiae, fratres et sorores esse comprobemus. See ep. 39, 40, and 41, f. 88, etc.

² From l. VII. ep. 15 of Gregory the Great, we see that two ecclesiastics at

of those to whom the Christian doctrine was thus presented, much offence might be given, many doubts awakened in their minds. But whoever was led, by his own careful examination of the divine word, to reject that doctrine, would easily be tempted to go further, and to cast himself loose from the views hitherto held concerning the doctrine of predestination. And accordingly we find that Boniface actually accuses Clement of teaching other things, contrary to the Catholic faith, relative to the divine predestination.¹ Whether Clement, however, went so far as to maintain the doctrine of universal restoration,² is a point which cannot be certainly determined. Of course, neither the peculiar spiritual bent nor the doctrines of Clement, were suited to procure for him, in this rude age, so large a number of followers, as flocked after the fanatical Adelbert.³

Boniface, in bringing his complaint against these two persons before Pope Zacharias, proposed that, in order to render them harmless, they should be confined for life. The pope, in his reply to Boniface's report, A.D. 745, confirmed the sentence by which they were condemned, but without determining anything with regard to their persons, except that they should be removed from their spiritual charges. But it is worthy of remark, that perhaps the just and humane Zacharias was led, by another report from Germany, to doubt the justice of the proceedings instituted against these two men; for about two years later, in 747,⁴ he ordered a new investigation into the cases of the two deposed bishops.⁵ *And should they be convicted* of having in any respect departed from the right way, then if they showed an

Constantinople had also come to the conclusion, *Christum ad inferos descendentem omnes qui illic confiteruntur eum salvasse atque a poenis debitibus liberasse.* Which to Gregory, judging from his point of view, the common doctrine of the church, appeared extremely erroneous.

¹ *Multa alia horribilia de predestinatione Dei.*

² It may be remarked, that Scotus Erigena, in whom we find similar doctrines, came from Ireland.

³ The presents which Boniface sent to the deacon Gemmulus, to whom he entrusted the management of his cause with the pope (a silver ewer and a napkin), might throw a suspicion upon him, were it not the custom of those times, as is evident from Boniface's letters, to accompany letters sent from a distance with presents. To a pope, Boniface sent as a present a napkin, to wipe the hands or feet (*villosa*), and a small sum of gold or silver.

⁴ See ep. 74.

⁵ Together with Adelbert is here mentioned a certain Godalsacius, who perhaps was associated with him.

inclination to be set right, measures were to be taken for proceeding with them according to the ecclesiastical laws. But should they obstinately persevere in insisting upon their innocence, they were to be sent, in company with two or three of the most approved ecclesiastics, to Rome, in order that their case might be carefully investigated by the apostolical see, and that they might then be treated according to their deserts. So important was it considered by the pope, to take care that his agents should not proceed with injustice or harshness against two men, in whom he could not possibly have any personal interest; and so far was he from being willing to sacrifice them, by giving the sanction of his own supreme judicial authority, to a man who had done so much for the interests of the papacy, and who ever remained so faithful an instrument in promoting them. Had the interests of the papacy been the chief thing aimed at by the pope, he would not have hesitated to follow at once the report of Boniface. But as it was, the powerful Boniface seems still to have found means to delay the execution of the pope's intentions.

Respecting the fate of Clement, we have no exact information; though it is certain, from the character of his doctrines, that he could not expect any more favourable issue of his case to result from the examination at Rome. But with regard to Aldebert we know, that by the sentence of Boniface he was subjected to imprisonment for life, and that after having effected his escape from his cell, he came to a miserable end.¹

This was not the only case in which Pope Zacharias showed that he was not to be governed at once in his decisions by the reports of the credulous Boniface—a man so ready, on some misunderstanding of his own, to set down his opponents as heretics—but that he was inclined to hear these opponents speak for themselves. Virgilius, another Irish priest in Bavaria, got into his first difficulty with Boniface, by occasion of a baptism informally administered. Because the ignorant priest had been guilty of an error in repeating some of the words of the Latin formula,² Boniface declared that the baptism was invalid, and

¹ The presbyter of Mayence relates (see Monumenta ed. Pertz II. 355), that he was confined in the convent of Fulda, but that he succeeded in effecting his escape, with a boot full of nuts, by which he meant to sustain himself on the way. But he was fallen upon, robbed, and murdered by shepherds.

² *In nomine patria et filia.*

must be repeated. Virgilius protested against this; he ventured with Sidonius, another priest, to appeal to the pope, and the latter decided against Boniface.¹ The same Virgilius, who seems to have stood in some estimation with the Duke Odilo, afterwards presented himself as a candidate for one of the bishoprics founded by Boniface. The latter, however, endeavoured to exclude him. He accused Virgil of maintaining the heretical opinion, that under the earth existed another world and other men—perhaps a misapprehension; perhaps the opinion that there were antipodes. Now the pope himself, it is true, found this opinion objectionable; perhaps on account of the inference which might be supposed to follow, that the whole human race did not spring from Adam, that all men were not involved in the original sin, that all did not need a Redeemer. And, on the presumption that Boniface's report agreed with the truth, he decided that Virgil should be deposed from the priestly dignity. He addressed a threatening letter to Virgil and Sidonius, and assured Boniface that he believed him rather than the two former. But still he summoned them both to Rome, where their case might be more accurately investigated, and a definitive sentence passed accordingly. And the result teaches that Virgil must have succeeded in justifying himself before the pope, for he became Bishop of Salzburg, and attained afterwards to the honours of a saint.²

Though, for the rest, Boniface constantly acted in subservience to the popes, and paid them the utmost deference, yet at the same time he never hesitated to speak out what a pope might not like to hear, when the duty of his calling required that he should do so. He fearlessly censured Pope Zacharias for permitting the Roman church to incur the charge of simony, by demanding money for the bestowment of the pall.³ He com-

¹ See ep. 62.

² See the epigram of Alcuin upon him. As Boniface fell into collision for the most part with educated Irishmen who were striving to be independent of him, so we find among them a certain Samson, a priest, who, according to Boniface's report (ep. 82), had asserted, that one might become a Christian by the imposition of the hand of a bishop, without baptism. That he should have asserted this in such a way, that a priest should have so over-estimated the importance of the episcopal laying on of hands, can hardly be supposed, and we are here forced to the conjecture, that Boniface had not rightly apprehended his opponent's meaning.

³ Zacharias himself says (ep. 60 f. 148) of the letter, in which Boniface complains of this, *litterae tuae nimis animos nostros conturbaverunt*. He denies the whole

plains in a letter to this pope, of the bad example set at Rome to the ignorant and rude people from Germany; of the various superstitious practices allowed there on the first of January; of the custom among the women to hang amulets around their arms and limbs, which amulets were publicly exposed for sale. Now the vulgar had it to say, that such things were done at Rome under the eyes of the pope; and so his instructions, he said, were not a little hindered of their effect.¹ He cites the authority of St Paul and of Augustin against such practices,—and urgently demands of the pope a suppression of these abuses.²

The reformation of the church, according to the plan of Boniface, required especially the re-establishment of a well-devised church organization, at the head of which should stand the pope as the director of the whole. All the bishops should hold the same relation to the metropolitans, as these held to the pope himself. As the bishops, when they found it impossible themselves to do away abuses in their dioceses, should discharge their consciences, by bringing the matter before their proper superiors, the metropolitans, thus throwing the responsibility on the latter; so the metropolitans or archbishops should proceed in the same way towards the pope.³ And an oversight, administered on this organical plan, over the whole church, might undoubtedly, in these times of rudeness, where so many things were contrary to ecclesiastical order, have served a very salutary purpose: but the metropolitan constitution was not so well adapted to the relations of the French empire, as it had been to the old Roman empire; and the spirit of the Frankish bishops, so inclined to independence, was not ready to accommodate itself to any such form. Hence Boniface had on this point many obstacles to encounter. True, when Pope Zacharias committed to him the business of arranging the order of the Frankish thing. Perhaps the officials of the papal chancery had acted without the pope's knowledge or will.

¹ Ep. 51. *Quae omnia eo, quod ibi a carnalibus et insipientibus videntur, nobis hic et improprium et impedimentum praedicationis et doctrinae perficiunt.*

² The pope did not deny that such abuses had once more crept in at Rome, but affirmed that since he had attained to the papal dignity, they had been wholly suppressed.

³ See ep. 73 to the English Metropolitan Cuthbert, to whom he sent a report of the administration of his office thus far. *Sic omnes episcopi debent metropolitano et ipse Romano pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est, notum facere et sic alieni fient a sanguine animarum perditarum.*

church, Boniface ordained three metropolitans for this church, and the pope sent him the palls for the same.¹ But he found himself unable to carry this arrangement immediately into effect.² The new German church also continued to subsist for a longer time without metropolitans. It is true, in the year 732, Pope Gregory III. appointed Boniface archbishop, and sent him the pall,³ but without a determinate metropolis. On the death of Raginfred, Bishop of Cologne, in 744, Boniface proposed that the bishopric of Cologne should be converted into a metropolis, and conferred on himself.⁴ This was connected with his favourite plan, to resume once more the personal superintendence of the mission among the Frieslanders, which, since the death of Willibrord in 739, had not been so rigorously conducted as before; for after the death of Willibrord, he reckoned the mission among the Frieslanders as belonging to the sphere of labour assigned him as papal legate among these tribes; and in accordance with the full powers conferred on him for that purpose by the mayor of the palace, Carloman,⁵ he had ordained his countryman and disciple, the priest Eoban, Bishop of Utrecht. But from Cologne, as a centre, it would be easy for him to extend his watch and care also over Friesland.⁶ The Frankish

¹ See ep. 59 of Pope Zacharias.

² The pope was much surprised to learn that Boniface afterwards demanded nothing but the *pallium*, and asked him, *cur tantae rei facta sit permutatio?* ep. 60. At the council of Soissons, in the year 744, he succeeded, however, in securing the appointment of two metropolitans. He wrote, at some later time, to the pope, exculpating himself (ep. 86), *de eo autem, quod jam praeterito tempore de archiepiscopis et de palliis a Romana ecclesia petendis juxta promissa Francorum sanctitati vestrae notum feci, indulgentiam apostolicae sedis flagito, quia, quod promiserunt, tardantes non impleverunt et adhuc differtur et ventilatur, quid inde perficere voluerint, ignoratur, sed mea voluntate impleta esset promissio.*

³ See ep. 25.

⁴ With the Bishop of Cologne Boniface early fell out. The former wanted to extend his diocese over a part of the field of labour assigned to Boniface, though he had taken no pains whatever to diffuse Christianity among the pagan tribes bordering on his diocese. Gregory II., who decided against the Bishop of Cologne, describes him as the *episcopum, qui nunc usque desidia quadam in eadem gente praedicationis verbum disseminare neglexerat, et nunc sibi partem quasi in parochiam defendit.*

⁵ See ep. 105.

⁶ Boniface had himself, on proposing the establishment of a metropolitan see at Cologne, mentioned the circumstances which, to him, seemed to recommend that city as a proper place for the purpose, as the pope says (ep. 70): *Civitatem pertingentem usque ad paganorum fines et in partes Germanicarum gentium, ubi antea praedicasti.* That not Mentz, as it reads in the superscription of the letter, ed. Würdtwein, but Cologne is to be understood—which Pagi also remarks—may be gathered not only from the circumstances stated, but also from what the pope expressly says in the

nobles were generally satisfied with this arrangement, and the pope confirmed it; but a portion of the clergy, as we may infer from the intimations of Boniface in his letter to the pope, were opposed to it.¹ These, as it seems, were composed of such as had all along formed a party against Boniface. The pope believed that this opposition might be despised; but subsequent events showed that it was of moment. In addition to this, another event happened, which gave a different turn to the choice of a German metropolis.

In the army, which in 744 marched to the assistance of the Thuringians against the Saxons, was Gerold, Bishop of Mentz.² He was slain by a Saxon; and Charlemagne appointed his son, by name Gewillieb, to succeed him in the office. This son, though in other respects a person of blameless manners, yet wanted both the disposition and the education requisite for a spiritual office;³ being passionately devoted, as probably his father also had been, to the sports of the forest. When the two armies again met in the field, Gewillieb challenged the slayer of his father out of the ranks of the Saxons, and killed him on the spot, to revenge his father's death. In pursuance of the ecclesiastical laws, passed at his own suggestion, Boniface was obliged to demand that Gewillieb, who, though a bishop, still bore the sword, should be deposed from his office. This was done at a synod in the year 745, over which Boniface himself presided. In this case, it was the less possible to accuse him of interested motives, because the transfer of the metropolitan see to Mentz, would, according to what we have already remarked, be directly

same letter : De civitate, quæ nuper Agrippina vocabatur, nunc vero Colonia juxta petitionem Francorum per nostræ auctoritatis praeceptum nomini tuo Metropolitin confirmavimus.

¹ Quidam falsi sacerdotes et schismatici hoc impedire conati sunt.

² We are indebted for a circumstantial account of this event to that presbyter of Mentz, to whose report we have already referred on a former page. True, his statements cannot be relied on, and are in this case full of anachronisms; but in Mentz, where he wrote, he might easily obtain better information on this particular subject, and his account wears altogether the impress of truth.

³ The presbyter of Mentz says of him : Hic autem honestis moribus, ut ferunt, nisi tantum quod cum herodiis et canibus per semetipsum jocabatur. If he is the individual whom Boniface describes in his letter to the pope (see ep. 70) "adulterati clerici et homicidæ filius, in adulterio natus et absque disciplina nutritus;" we must remember, that from his own point of view he might thus describe a bishop living in wedlock, and taking an active part in war.

opposed to his own wishes and cherished plans. Besides, he could not, at the beginning, have possibly conjectured, that the deposition of Gewillieb would be followed by this result ; since he was still negotiating with the pope, for the establishment of the metropolitan see at Cologne. Gewillieb, it is true, repaired to Rome for the purpose of laying his appeal before the pope, and the latter kept the investigation of the affair in his own hands ;¹ but the issue of it must doubtless have led to the confirmation of the sentence passed by the German synod. The removal of Gewillieb, and the vacancy left in the bishopric of Mentz, now enabled the party, who strove to hinder the establishment of a metropolitan see at Cologne, to carry their point ; and it was thought advisable to make the city of Mentz, which had already enjoyed that honour, once more the seat of an archbishopric. Boniface, in communicating this decision of the Frankish princes and nobles to the pope, besought the latter, at the same time, that he might be allowed, on account of his great age and bodily infirmities, to consecrate some other person than himself to the office of archbishop. This petition of Boniface was certainly not an act of dissimulation or hypocritical humility, traits of which not the least vestige can be detected in his general character. Nor is it by any means necessary so to understand it, as if he wished to devote his already far advanced, but still energetic, old age to an inactive repose. Perhaps his simple motive was to avoid the great burden of outward business which must be connected with the administration of the German archbishopric, and not to suffer his labours as papal legate, from whose duties he by no means wished to be released, to be circumscribed by being obliged to confine himself to a distinct archiepiscopal see, and one of such a character as seemed to promise him but little freedom for missionary journeys. He wished to consecrate his last energies, freely and exclusively, to the instruction of the pagan and newly converted populations belonging to his field of labour, to which he also reckoned Friesland.

He had already, some years earlier,² requested of Pope Zacharias, that he might be allowed to select, and ordain a presbyter to succeed him in his office ; some such person as, after

¹ He says in his letter to Boniface : *Dum advenerit, ut Domino placuerit, fiet.*

² See ep. 51.

common deliberation, should appear to him, under the existing circumstances, the most suitable for the place; and he referred to the fact, that Gregory III. had, in the presence of Zacharias at Rome, already invited him to select for himself and consecrate a successor. Whether it was, that Boniface even now entertained the purpose just mentioned of committing to or sharing with another the administration of the external affairs of the church, so as to leave himself more freedom for the work of religious instruction; or whether, remembering the uncertainty of life, and the dangers to which he was constantly exposed among the pagans, he wished with a prudent regard to the future, to have everything so arranged, that after his death the young church should not go to destruction, does not appear. But the old ecclesiastical laws did not permit, that a bishop should nominate and ordain his successor, during his own life-time, a fact of which Boniface perhaps was not aware. And the question now came up, on the presentation of the petition of Boniface to the pope, whether considering the extraordinary circumstances of the case, the pope ought to depart from the accustomed form; as indeed it should seem that the altogether new and difficult relations of things must often call for deviations of this sort. But so thought not the pope, at that time. He replied to him¹ that his request, being incompatible with the laws of the church, could in nowise be granted. Even were the pope desirous of it, still it was not in his power, to confer on him this favour; for as no man knew, whether he or his fellow stood nearest the grave, so it might easily happen, that his destined successor might be outlived by himself. He could, however, select some priest as his special assistant in discharging the duties of his office, who after having proved himself in the work, might be found worthy of a more exalted station. Let it only be your constant prayer, said the pope, that a successor well pleasing to God may be provided for you; and if the priest whom you may select should live, and at the close of your own life be found still fitted for the office, you may then publicly designate this person as your successor, and he may come to Rome and receive his ordination. Even this, he said, had never before been granted to any one.

¹ See ed. Würdtwein, p. 113.

When Boniface next presented his proposal to resign the arch-episcopal office, the pope with a view to encourage him, in his old age, to perseverance in his multiplied and manifold labours, conceded still more. He wrote him¹ that he ought by no means to leave the episcopal see at Mentz, but should let the word of our Lord be fulfilled in his case, Matthew xxiv. 13, He that persevereth unto the end shall be saved. But if the Lord gave him an altogether suitable person, qualified to watch over the welfare of souls, he might consecrate him a bishop as his own representative; and such a person might everywhere act as his colleague in the service of the church. Having obtained this privilege of the pope, he now determined² to prepare a retreat for his last days, at his favourite foundation, the monastery of Fulda; there to refresh, in some measure, his enfeebled body now suffering under the effects of his long labours and advanced age. In advising the pope of this step, he gave him to understand, that it was by no means his intention to abandon the duties of his calling, but that he meant, as Zacharias had exhorted him, to persevere in it to the end; that the monastery of Fulda was the most convenient of all places for devoting his last energies to the good of the people, to whom he had preached the gospel, "for the four nations to whom, by the grace of God, we have preached the word of Christ, dwell in a circle around this spot. To these I would be useful so long as I live or have my senses; for I wish to persevere in the service of the Roman church, among the German people to whom I was sent, and to obey your commands."³

Among the last public acts of Boniface in Germany, belongs the part he took in a political revolution, which was not without its importance, as contributing to the firm establishment of the

¹ Ep. 82.

² He proposed this to the pope some years later, in the letter, in which he requested him to confirm what he had done in founding the monastery of Fulda, ep. 86.

³ In quo loco proposui aliquantulum vel paucis diebus fessum senectute corpus requiescendo recuperare, et post mortem jacere. Quatuor enim populi, quibus verbum Christi per gratiam Dei diximus, in circuitu loci hujus habitare dinoscuntur. Quibuscum vestra intercessione, quandiu vivo vel sapio, utilis esse possum. Cupio enim vestris orationibus, comitante gratia Dei in familiaritate Romanae ecclesiae et vestro servitio, inter Germanicas gentes, ad quas missus fui, perseverare et praecepto vestro obedire.

new ecclesiastical foundations. The mayor of the palace, Pipin, after having for a long time exercised the royal *authority*, determined to assume the royal *name*, and to deprive the last branch of the old legitimate, ruling family, Childeric III., who was in fact, a king only in name, also of this name. That he could believe it possible to justify, by the authority of the pope this illegal act to his own conscience and in the eyes of the people, this without doubt was already one result of the influence exercised by Boniface in changing the religious mode of thinking, a result of the new point of view in which the church was presented, as a theocratical institution, and the pope, as theocratical head over the nations. To Boniface himself, it must have appeared of the utmost advantage to his field of labour, that Pipin by assuming the royal name should obtain still greater authority, so as to be able to place a stronger check on the individual dukes, whose arbitrary will threatened to become destructive to all civil and ecclesiastical order; and with the views he entertained respecting the relation of the church to civil society, and of the pope to the church, such an act, promising to be so advantageous both to church and state, could easily be rendered legal by the decision of the pope, as the supreme organ of Christ in the government of the household of faith.¹ From the close alliance between Boniface and the pope, from his position as mediator between the latter and the Frankish church, it may be inferred, that the negotiations concerning this important matter, were not managed without his intervention; though it remains uncertain, whether anything in the oral communications which Boniface's delegate, the presbyter Lull, is said to have made about this period to the pope, had reference to this business.² Certain it is, that it was Boniface, who in the year 752, at Soissons, by the pope's commission, administered to Pipin the royal unction.

His vast field of labour among foreign nations did not, however, render Boniface forgetful of his native land. Though his duties compelled him to forego his cherished wish of returning

¹ Thus Willibald, in the life of Boniface, § 23, shows that this insurrection of paganism in Thuringia, had been in great measure provoked by the tyrannical dukes.

² See ep. 86, concerning Lull, *habet secreta quaedam mea, quae soli pietati vestrae profiteri debet.*

there once more, yet he ever took a special interest in its affairs.¹ He maintained a constant correspondence with bishops, monks, nuns and princes of his country, and as it gave him peculiar pleasure—to use his own words²—to hear his countrymen praised, so he was grieved at being told of their faults. He was much pained on learning, that one of the princes of his native land, Ethelbald, King of Mercia, led an immoral life; and thereby encouraged immorality among his people, and that he was guilty of arbitrarily appropriating the property of the church, conceiving himself both bound and fully authorized, by the pope's commission, to exert his influence against any unchristian conduct which came to his knowledge among the nations, even beyond the more narrow circle under his immediate superintendence,³ he felt himself constrained to transmit, in the name of a small synod, a very decided letter of remonstrance to this petty sovereign. In this letter he described to him, how severely, to the shame of the English people,⁴ the violation of chastity was punished in the mother country, among the pagan Anglo-Saxons, who followed the laws of God written on the heart; and held up for his warning the divine judgments on immoral nations. But to conciliate the good-will of the prince, and secure a favourable reception of this admonitory epistle, Boniface wrote him also another shorter letter, which he accompanied with presents, namely, a hawk, two falcons, two shields and two lances.⁵ He exhorted the primate of the English church, Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury,⁶ informing him of the regulations adopted by himself in the Frankish and German churches, to take measures for improving the condition of the church in England; and it was probably owing to his influence, which extended even to this distant region, that in the year 747, a

¹ In writing to a priest of his native land, to whom he sent the letter of recommendation, presently to be mentioned, for the purpose of being transmitted to the King of the Mercians, he says: *Haec verba admonitionis nostrae ad illum regem propter nihil aliud direximus, nisi propter puram caritatis amicitiam et quod de eadem gente Anglorum nati et enutriti hic peregrinamur ep. 71*

² In the letter referred to: *Bonis et laudibus gentis nostrae laetamur, peccatis et vituperationibus contristamur.*

³ See ep. 54, as the *praeceptum Romani pontificis, si alicubi viderem inter Christianos pergens populos erroneos vel ecclesiasticas regulas depravatas vel homines a catholica fide abductos, ad viam salutis invitare et revocare totis viribus niterer.*

⁴ Ep. 72.

⁵ Ep. 55.

⁶ Ep. 73.

synod for the reformation of abuses was convened at Cloveshove (Cliff), under the presidency of this archbishop.

Boniface, acting on the permission he had received from the pope, appointed his countryman Lull, who had been for twenty years trained under his eye, and had served as his colleague, to succeed him in office, and ordained him a bishop. Nothing was wanting, except that he should be recognised as his successor by royal authority, and thus secured in the exercise of all the rights pertaining to such a relation. Impressed with a feeling that the infirmities of age announced for him a speedy death,¹ his mind was occupied with the care of providing for his ecclesiastical foundations, the destruction or dismemberment of which he had reason to fear, unless they were placed under the direction of a firm and able head, such as he wished to give them in the person of Lull. The letter in which he solicited Fulrad, the Frankish lord chamberlain, to bring this matter before King Pepin, touchingly expresses the paternal anxiety of Boniface for those who had been committed by God to his pastoral care: "Nearly all my disciples," he writes, "are foreigners, a few priests, established at various points for the service of the church and of the people; monks, distributed among the monasteries, for the purpose of teaching the children to read; and many aged persons, who have long lived and laboured with me and sustained me. For all these I am anxious, lest after my death they become scattered. I beg, therefore, that they may enjoy a share of your protection, so that they may not be scattered like sheep without a shepherd, and that the people living on the borders of the pagans may not lose the law of Christ. I beg earnestly, in the name of God, that you would cause my son and fellow-bishop, Lull, to be appointed for this service of the people and the churches, as a preacher and guide of the priests and the people. And I hope, if God so will, that in him the priests will find a guide, the monks a teacher of their rule, and the Christian people a faithful preacher and shepherd. I beg such a favour especially for this reason, because my priests sustain a miserable life on the borders of the heathen. Bread to eat they can obtain

¹ Ep. 90, to the Frankish Lord Chamberlain Fulrad, quod mihi et amicis meis similiter videtur, ut vitam istam temporalem et cursum dierum meorum per istas infirmitates cito debeam finire.

by their own exertions ; but clothing they cannot find there, unless they receive help and counsel from other quarters ; for so have I sustained them, that they might be enabled to persevere in their labours for the people in those places."

Having obtained what he wished, and thus made the preservation of the German church independent of his own existence, Boniface concluded not to follow out his earlier intention of passing the remnant of his days in the monastery of Fulda, but to consecrate them to the work with which his missionary activity had first commenced. Probably it was with a special view of having it in his power to enter again, in a more direct and personal manner, upon this mission in Friesland, that it had been his wish to make the city of Cologne the seat of his archbishopric. But now he was brought into collision with the newly appointed bishop, Hildegard of Cologne ; for the latter availed himself of certain claims, founded on ancient tradition, to make the church of Utrecht dependent on himself ; though he took no active part in preaching the gospel in those regions. Boniface maintained, on the other hand, that the bishops of Cologne, who gave themselves no concern about the mission among the Frieslanders, had no claims to make upon this province of the church, but that the church of Utrecht had been founded by Pope Sergius, as a metropolis for the conversion of the Frieslanders, and subject only to the pope ;¹ whence also it followed, that this church ought, for the present, to stand under no oversight but his own, inasmuch as the pope had committed to him, as his legate, the oversight over all these churches, planted among pagan nations. It is so much more reasonable to trace this controversy of Boniface with the Bishop of Cologne to his desire of once more taking upon himself, as papal legate, the direction of the mission in Friesland, that we should hardly be justified in adopting the contrary supposition, and in ascribing the plan of his journey to Friesland to an ambition which incited him to make good his power of legate in that country against the Bishop of Cologne. Why should he have sought, through so many dangers and difficulties, at such an advanced period of life, to acquire for his few remaining days an honour, which in a much more convenient and less hazardous way, he could have procured for

¹ See ep. 105 to Pope Stephen II.

himself by negotiation with the pope,¹ and with the King of the Franks?

Boniface set out on his journey to Friesland, in the beginning of the year 755, under the firm persuasion that he should never return. With this conviction, he took leave of his disciple Lull, and commended to him the preservation and prosecution of the work begun by himself, and in particular the completion of the church, now erecting at Fulda, in which his body was to be deposited. In the book-chest, which he was in the habit of taking with him wherever he went,² that he might have a supply of spiritual books at hand, from which he could read or sing by the way—he gave his disciple charge to place a shroud, in which his body was to be enveloped and conveyed to the monastery of Fulda. With a small retinue, composed partly of clergy and monks, and partly of servants, he embarked on a boat by the river Rhine, and landed at the Zuyder-zee. His disciple, Bishop Eodan, joined him in Friesland. They traversed the country; many received them gladly; they baptized thousands, and founded new churches. Boniface had sent numbers home, after having instructed and baptized them, with the direction to return to him on an appointed day, for the purpose of receiving from him the rite of confirmation. Meanwhile he had established himself with his associates in tents, on the river Burda, not far from Dockingen,³ and it was the 5th of June, 755, when he expected the return of his spiritual children. Early in the morning, he heard at a distance the noise of an approaching multitude, and full of joy came forth from his tent; but he soon found himself painfully mistaken. The clash of weapons announced anything but a friendly disposition and purpose in the approaching bands. The truth was, that numbers of the pagans, maddened to find that Boniface drew away so many from idolatry, had conspired to devote this day, when so many were to be received into the

¹ It is singular, that the Bishop of Cologne provoked this controversy, in opposition to the papal charter founding the metropolitan see at Mentz (see Würdtwein ep. 83), by virtue of which Utrecht and Cologne were subordinated to it; and that Boniface did not appeal, before Pope Stephen II., to the authority of this arrangement by his predecessor. We might infer from this, that if the text of this charter is correct, yet it could not in this form obtain from the first the power of law.

² The priest from Utrecht says of him, § 18: *Quocunque ibat, semper libros secum gestabat. Iter agendo vero vel scripturas lectitabat, vel psalmos hymnosve canebat.*

³ Dockum, between Franeker and Gröningen.

bosom of the Christian church, to vengeance for their gods. The lay servants would have defended Boniface with their weapons ; but he forbade them. With the relics in his hand, he calmly awaited the issue ; he exhorted his attendants not to fear those, who could only kill the body, not harm the soul ; but rather to be mindful of the infallible promises of their Lord, and to confide in Him, who would soon bestow on their souls the reward of everlasting glory. Thus, in his seventy-fifth year, he died a martyr ;¹ and with him many of his companions, as well as the Bishop Eodan, died the same death.²

Boniface left behind him a series of disciples, who laboured on in his spirit, zealously devoting themselves to the education of the youth, to the business of clearing up and cultivating the soil, partly as bishops and priests, partly as abbots. Among these, the Abbot Gregory takes an important place, who prosecuted the work in Friesland. The singular manner in which this person, while a young man, was led to attach himself to Boniface, furnishes a remarkable example of the power which the latter exerted over the minds of youth. When Boniface, on his second journey from Friesland to Thuringia and Hestia, came into the territory of Triers, he met, in a monastery near this town, with a hospitable reception from a certain Abbess Addula, who, sprung from a noble family, had retired from the society of the great world to this spot. During meal-time, the duty was assigned to her nephew Gregory (a boy fourteen years old, who had just returned from school), to read some passages from the holy Scriptures. Boniface praised him for reading so well ; and asked him to translate what he had read into the German language. As he was compelled to confess his inability, Boniface himself translated and explained the passages read, and made the whole the subject of a discourse, which left a deep impression on the mind of the youth. The latter felt himself so drawn towards him, that he declared himself resolved to go with him, and never to leave him, that he might learn from him how to understand the holy Scriptures. The grandmother, to whom Boniface was

¹ The presbyter of Utrecht informs us, that in the district where this occurred, an old woman was still living, who related that Boniface, when he saw the fatal blow about to be struck, made a pillow for his head of a volume of the gospels.

² According to the story of the ecclesiastic of Munster, there were fifty-two of them.

at that time wholly unknown, did all in her power to dissuade the boy from executing his resolution, but in vain. He told her if she would not give him a horse, he would follow Boniface on foot wherever he went. Finally she yielded to his wishes, and gave him a horse and servants, that he might be able to follow the missionary in his journeys.¹ From this time forward he was the companion of Boniface amidst every difficulty, and went with him also on his last journey to Friesland.² And now, since Bishop Eodan had suffered martyrdom with his teacher, and the bishopric of Utrecht was for the present unoccupied, Gregory took upon himself the whole care of the mission in Friesland, which charge was also conferred on him by Pope Stephen II., and by King Pipin. He did not assume, it is true, the episcopal dignity, but remained a priest; whether he was deterred by his modesty from aspiring after a higher rank, or whether the business connected with the episcopal office did not agree with what he felt to be his peculiar calling, or whether it was that special reasons, in the circumstances of the times, prevented the re-occupancy of the bishopric, does not clearly appear. But, as abbot of a monastery at Utrecht, to which boys of English, French, Bavarian, Suevian, Frieslandish, and Saxon extraction, were sent to be educated, he had an ample field of activity. He himself laboured in instructing the Christian and pagan population; and he founded a missionary school, from which missionaries went forth into various fields. To supply the want of a bishop, he got episcopal ordination conferred in his native land on Alubert, an English clergyman, who had joined him in his work. He lived to the age of more than seventy years, and laboured as a faithful teacher to the end. Three years before his death, in the year 781, he was attacked on his left side by a stroke of palsy. Yet he did not cease labouring for the instruction and spiritual culture of his people, until his disease became so severe, that he had to be borne on the arms of his scholars

¹ Liudger, the disciple and biographer of Gregory, who had, without doubt, received this story from his own mouth, says respecting it: *Idem spiritus videtur mihi in hoc tunc operari puero, qui apostolos Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei ad illud inflammavit, ut ad unam vocem Domini relictis retribus et patre sequerentur redemptorem. Hoc fecit artifex summus, unus atque idem spiritus Dei, qui omnia operatur in omnibus dividens singulis prout vult.*

² If he had not before, as having himself come from the neighbouring district pointed out to Gregory this field of labour among the Frieslanders, for whose welfare he ever continued to manifest a special solicitude.

wherever his presence was needed. In his last hours, his disciples gathered round his bed, to hear from his lips the word of exhortation, and to be edified by the example of his faith. "He will not die to-day," said they to each other;—but, summoning his last powers, he turned to them and said, "To-day I shall have my release." He died, after having prayed and received the holy supper, with his eyes fixed on the altar.

A second among the disciples of Boniface, to whom the German church and the early culture of the nation were greatly indebted, was the Abbot *Sturm*.¹ He descended from a nobly and devotedly Christian family in Bavaria. While Boniface was engaged in organizing the Bavarian church, Sturm, yet a boy, was committed to him by his parents, to be regularly trained for the spiritual office. The former placed him in the monastery of Fritzlar, one of his earliest foundations, over which presided the Abbot Wigbert, a companion in missionary labours. To the direction of this person he entrusted the boy's education. This being completed, he was consecrated as priest, and assisted Boniface as a fellow-labourer in the missionary work. After having laboured three years under Boniface's direction, he was seized with a desire of following the example of others who had retired into the wilderness, and trained themselves, by every sort of self-denial, in the contest with savage nature, to the austere life of the monk. Boniface yielded to the wishes of his disciple. He hoped to make use of him as an instrument for converting the vast wilderness, which then, under the name of Buchwald (Buchonia), covered a large part of Hessa, into a cultivated country. He gave to Sturm two companions, to go with him on his journey, and dismissed them with his blessing, to find a dwelling-place in the wilderness. After having for three days traversed the forest, riding on asses, they finally came to a spot which seemed to them susceptible of cultivation, Herold's Field (Hersfeld). Here they built huts, which they covered with bark; and here they spent some time in devotional exercises. Thus, in the year 736, was laid the foundation of the monastery of Hersfeld. After this, Sturm returned again to his beloved master, for the purpose of making report to one so exact and prudent in the examination and calculation of the minutest details concerning the situation

¹ *Sturmi*, or *Stirme*.

of the place, the quality of the soil, and the springs of water. He was satisfied with all but one thing; the place seemed to him too much exposed to the ravages of the Saxons. Long and vainly did they seek, wandering up and down on the Fulda, for a place of settlement such as Boniface would approve. But the latter stimulated his disciple to new activity, exhorting him to patience, and confidently assuring him, that God would not fail to show him the place prepared for his servants in the wilderness. For many days he roamed the forest, in all directions, entirely alone, singing psalms as he went, to strengthen his faith and cheer his heart, fearless of the numerous wild beasts prowling in the wilderness. He took repose only at night, constructing a rude hedge of hewn branches around his ass, to protect him from beasts of prey; and then, after calling upon the Lord, and signing the cross on his forehead, laying himself down composedly to sleep.

Thus he discovered at last a spot for a settlement, against which Boniface had nothing to object; and here, in 744, was founded the monastery of Fulda. This was Boniface's favourite foundation. Through his influence the monastery obtained great privileges from the pope. It was to be independent of all spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop, and subject to no one but the pope.¹ He directed that his body should be deposited there, which contributed in no small degree to give consideration to the monastery. He sent the Abbot Sturm to Italy, for the purpose of studying there the patterns of the old conventual institutions, particularly of the original convent of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, bidding him to avail himself of all the information he could gather for the benefit of his monastery. After his return, Sturm directed, through a long series of years, the energies of four thousand monks, by whose unsparing labours the wilderness was gradually reclaimed and brought into a state of cultivation. His activity at a later period was interrupted by the devastating inroads of the Saxons. By their threats, he was often compelled, when a very old man, to seek

¹ But this exemption contributed, also, to keep alive the embittered feelings between Archbishop Lull, Boniface's successor, and the Abbot Sturm; and the influence of the former, as well as many other things, occasioned his temporary disgrace at the court of Pipin, and his banishment.



safety in flight. After a flight of this sort, to which he had been forced when sick, having returned back to his convent,¹ when security was restored, he felt the approach of death. He now caused all the bells to be rung, so as to bring together the monks, that his near death might be announced to them, and they might be invited to pray for him. A portion of the monks having assembled around his bed, he begged them to forgive him, if, through the sinfulness cleaving to all alike, he had wronged any one of their number, adding that, from his whole heart, he forgave all men all the injuries he had received, and pardoned even his constant enemy, the Archbishop Lull. On the day of his death, the 17th of December 779, one of his monks told him he was now certainly going to the Lord, and expressed the hope that when he was with the Lord, he would remember his disciples and pray for them. He looked upon them and said, "So order your conduct, that I may have courage to pray for you, and I will do what you require."² Thus was laid here the foundation of a seminary of Christian education, which in the following centuries proved eminently serviceable to the German church.

The longest continued and the most violent opposition to the establishment of the Christian church, was made by the powerful race of the Saxons, in Northern Germany. The blame is to be imputed in part to the means employed to effect this object. It required peculiar wisdom, to find a way of introducing Christianity among a people of so warlike a character, whose ancient objects of veneration were so intimately connected with their whole character and constitution. But instead of this, everything, on the contrary, was done to prejudice the minds of the people against the new religion. Along with Christianity, the whole structure of the hierarchy, against which in particular the free spirit of the Saxons revolted, was at once to be introduced. The payment of church tithes, which was to be everywhere enforced, was regarded by them as a sign of disgraceful bondage, and served to render still more odious the religion which carried with it such a regulation. In addition to this, the Christian church and the dominion of the Franks were continually presented to them as

¹ The emperor had sent him his own physician, Wintar, but the medicine prescribed by the latter made his disease worse.

² See the account of his life by his scholar and successor, Abbot Eigil, recently published in Pertz's *Monumentis*, T. II.

closely connected; and hence the attachment which bound them to their old freedom and independence led them to repel both together—Christianity being regarded as a means for subjecting them to the Frankish yoke. The army of the Emperor Charles was followed by priests and monks, prepared to baptize the conquered, or those who yielded to force, or who were inclined to purchase peace for the moment, by obedience to the church; and to found among them churches and monasteries.¹ The doctrines of Christianity, which came to them thus accompanied, would naturally be slow to gain their confidence. Large bodies of them often allowed themselves to be baptized in mere pretence, and submitted to the dominion of the church, resolved already to cast off, at the first favourable opportunity, all that had been imposed on them. This they did, when they revolted again from the Frankish empire. The monastery of Fulda, whose abbot, Sturm, had laboured most zealously to plant the Christian church among the conquered Saxons, then became a signal mark for their vengeance.² The pious and far-sighted Abbot Alcuin best understood what had prevented the establishment of the Christian church among the Saxons; and he gave the emperor, his bishops, and high officers, the wisest counsels with regard to the missionary work; of which, however, they made but little use. Thus, to the imperial chamberlain and lord of the treasury, Magenfrid,³ he wrote—appealing to the words of our Lord himself, Matt. xxviii. 19—three things should go together, the preaching of the faith, the bestowment of baptism, and the exhibition of our Lord's commandments. Without the concurrence of these three parts, the hearer could not be led to salvation. But faith was a voluntary thing, and not to be forced. To baptism, indeed, one might be forced; but that was of no avail to faith.⁴ The grown up man must say for himself

¹ See the Life of Abbot Sturm, l. c. c. 22, where it is said, respecting the effects of the campaigns of the emperor in the years 772 and 776: *Partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partim etiam muneribus maxima ex parte gentem illam ad fidem Christi convertit; and the Abbot Alcuin writes, in the year 790, to a Scottish abbot, ep. 3: Antiqui Saxones et omnes Frisonum populi instante Rege Carolo alios praemiis et alios minis sollicitante ad fidem Christi conversi sunt.*

² When the Saxons had, in 778, begun a new war, Sturm, together with his monks, was obliged to flee, having heard that the approaching Saxons intended, in their rage, to burn down the convent, with the monks, and all that was in it. See the Life of Sturm, § 23.

³ Ep. 37.

⁴ *Attrahi poterit homo ad fidem, non cogi. Cogi poteris ad baptismum, sed non proficit fidei.*

what he believed and desired ; and if he professed the faith in a hypocritical manner, he could not truly attain to salvation. Therefore preachers to the heathen are bound to instruct the people in the faith in a friendly and prudent way.¹ The Lord knew them that were his, and opened the hearts of such as He pleased, so that they might be able to recognise the truth preached to them.² But after they have received the faith and baptism, in proceeding to set before them the precepts of religion, some regard should be paid to the needs of the weaker minds ; great demands ought not to be made upon them at once, but in accordance with St Paul's direction, they should be fed at first with milk, and not with strong meat.³ Thus the Apostles, Acts xv., laid none of the burthens of the law upon the converted Gentiles. Paul gloried in supporting himself by the labour of his own hands, Acts xx. 34 ; 2 Thess. iii. 8 ; 1 Cor. ix. 15, 18. Thus the great apostle, who was specially chosen by God to preach the gospel to the heathen, had acted, in order effectually to remove every pretext or occasion for accusing the preacher of covetousness ; so that none should preach God's word out of the love of gain, but each should do so sustained by the love of Christ, as our Lord himself commanded his disciples : " Freely ye have received, freely give." " Let but the same pains be taken," he then went on to say, " to preach the easy yoke and the light burden of Christ to the obstinate people of the Saxons, as are taken to collect the tithes from them, or to punish the least transgression of the laws imposed on them, and perhaps they would no longer be found to repel baptism with abhorrence. Let the teachers of the faith but

¹ Unde et praedicatores paganorum populum pacificis verbis et prudentibus fidem docere debent.

² The Augustinian doctrine of predestination had, however, this injurious effect, that whenever such a work turned out a failure, men, instead of seeking for the cause in the want of correct teaching, and in the use of wrong means, sought rather to trace it to the want of all-efficient grace, and to non-predestination. Thus, even Alcuin, in the 28th letter to the emperor—though with the intention, no doubt, of showing, that the *whole* blame could not be cast on the emperor, says : " Ecce quanta devotione et benignitate pro dilatatione nominis Christi duritiam infelicis populi Saxonum per verae salutis consilium emollire laborasti. Sed quia electio necdum in illis divina fuisse videtur, remanent hucusque multi ex illis cum diabolo damnandi in sordibus consuetudinis pessimae.

³ Alcuin by no means intends to say here, that a loose morality should be first preached, so as not to repel the weak ; but he has in his thoughts the positive laws of the church, the claims on the people in reference to the bearing of the public burdens, and the payment of tithes.

train themselves after the example of the Apostles ;¹ let them but rely on the gracious providence of Him, who says,—‘ Carry neither purse nor scrip,’ etc., and of whom the prophet declares, ‘ He saveth them that trust in him.’ ‘ This I have written to you’—says he, after these directions—‘ that thy admonitions may be of service to those who apply to thee for advice.’”³ With peculiar freedom and sharpness does Alcuin express his views of the measures adopted by the emperor, in a letter addressed to that monarch himself.⁴ He calls upon him to conclude, if possible, a truce with the abominable people (the Saxons). All threats ought for a time to be suspended, that they might not become inveterate in their hostile feelings to the Frankish empire, and afraid to enter into any compromise whatsoever,⁵ but be encouraged by hope till by salutary counsel they could be brought back to the ways of peace. The revolts of the exasperated Saxons led to other consequences. They fell upon the provinces already belonging to the empire of the Franks, and here paganism once more revived. He therefore cautioned the emperor against allowing himself, by his zeal to win one small state more for the Christian church, to fall into the mistake of exposing to hazard a larger portion of the church in countries where it had already been established.⁶ He disapproved also of the plan of transporting many of the Saxons into the Frankish kingdom, since these very emigrants were the better class of Christians, and might have proved, among their own people, an important element towards the conversion of their countrymen, now wholly abandoned to paganism.⁷

It was not till after a series of wars, lasting for thirty years, that the Emperor Charles succeeded in reducing the

¹ Sint praedicatores, non praedatores.

² History of Susannah, v. 60, as reckoned to Daniel.

³ In his letter to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, Let. 72, Alcuin says : *Decimae, ut dicitur, Saxonum subverterunt fidem. Quid injungendum est jugum cervicibus idio- tarum, quod neque nos neque fratres nostri ferre potuerunt? Igitur in fide Christi salvari animas credentium confidimus.*

⁴ Ep. 80, in the explanation of which I agree more fully with Frobein than with Pagi, though I cannot agree entirely with the former.

⁵ Ne obdurati fugiant.

⁶ *Tenendum est, quod habetur, ne propter acquisitionem minoris, quod majus est, amittatur. Servetur ovile proprium, ne lupus rapax (the Saxons) devastet illud. Ita in alienis (among the pagan Saxons) sudetur, ut in propriis (the races already incorporated with the empire of the Franks and the Christian church) damnum non patiat.*

⁷ *Qui foras recesserunt, optimi fuerunt Christiani, sicut in plurimis notum est, et qui remanserunt in patria in faecibus malitiae permanserunt.*

Saxons, ever revolting anew against the Christian church, as well as the Frankish dominion, to entire subjection; and by the treaty of peace, concluded at Selz, in 804, the authority of both these powers was acknowledged by the Saxons, and in consideration of their binding themselves to the payment of the church tithes, they were, for the present, released from all other burdens. The Christian church having been thus established among the Saxons by force, it followed, as a natural consequence, that individuals also would, in many cases, be constrained to unite with it by force. The punishment of death was threatened against such as refused to receive baptism, or endeavoured to propagate their ancient idolatry by stealth. But it was natural also, that many who consented to be baptized, did so only in pretence, and, so far as they could without danger, treated the laws of the church with contempt, and continued secretly to observe the rites of idolatry. To put a stop to this the severest laws were enacted. Death was the penalty for setting fire to churches, for neglecting to observe the seasons of fast, for eating flesh during those seasons, if done through contempt of Christianity. Death was the penalty decreed against burning a dead body, according to the pagan mode—against *human sacrifices*—pecuniary mulcts, against the practice of other pagan rites.¹ In this way, the transfer of many pagan customs to Christianity was encouraged; and thus arose various superstitions, growing out of the mingling together of Christian and pagan elements. More than could possibly be effected by these forcible measures in the present generation, was done for the Christian culture of the rising generation by the establishment of churches and schools. Besides, several individuals now appeared, who did not confine their efforts barely to the suppression of idolatry and of pagan customs, and to providing for the erection of churches, and the establishment of an external form of worship, but also distinguished themselves by their zeal as teachers of the faith. These were partly such as came from the school of the Abbot Gregory in Utrecht, and, in part, such as had been led by the report of the great field of labour, and the want of labourers among the Saxons, to come over from Eng-

¹ See the capitulary for the Saxons, A.D. 789. Mansi Concil. T. XIII., Appendix fol. 181.

land. To all these, the Emperor Charles assigned their several spheres of labour.

One of the most distinguished among these was *Liudger*, a descendant of Wursing, that pious man among the Frieslanders, who had actively assisted the Archbishop Willibrord. Sprung from a devotedly Christian family, he had early received into his heart the seeds of piety, and these were nourished and still further developed by the influence of the Abbot Gregory at Utrecht, into whose school he entered. To indulge the eager thirst for knowledge, which discovered itself in him from childhood, the abbot, in process of time, sent him to England, that he might gather up the knowledge to be obtained in the school of the great Alcuin in York. Well instructed, and provided with a store of books, he returned back to his country. After Gregory's death, he assisted, as a presbyter, Gregory's successor, Albrich, who had been ordained a bishop in Cologne; labouring with him especially to accomplish what still remained to be done for the conversion of the Frieslanders. The district in which Boniface had been martyred was the principal theatre of his activity as a teacher of Christianity. His seven years' labour in these parts was, however, interrupted by the revolt of the Saxon leader, Wittekind, against the Frankish dominion, in the year 782. When the arms of the pagan Saxons penetrated to this spot, and the pagan party in this place once more gained the ascendancy, the churches were burnt, the clergy driven away, and the idol-temples restored. Upon this, he made a journey to Rome, and to the abbey of Monte Cassino, for the purpose of studying the great model of ancient monasticism, in this latter place. On his return, after an absence of three years, he found peace restored in his country, Wittekind having finally submitted, and in the year 785 received baptism at Attigny. The Emperor Charles assigned him his sphere of labour among the Frieslanders, in nearly the same circuit which now includes the towns of Gröningen and Norden. It was he, too, who first succeeded in destroying paganism and establishing the Christian church on the island of Heligoland (Fosites-land), while Willibrord had made the attempt in vain. He baptized the prince's son, Landrich, gave him a clerical education, and consecrated him to the office of presbyter. This person laboured, for many

years, as a teacher of the Frieslanders. Liudger founded a monastery at Werden, then on the boundary between Friesland and Saxony, on a piece of land belonging to his family. After the Saxons were completely subjugated, the emperor sent him into the district of Münster, and a place called Mimigerneford, was the principal seat of his labours, where afterwards a bishopric was founded, which, from the canonical establishment (monasterium) founded by him, received the name of Münster. With untiring zeal he went from place to place instructing the rude Saxons, and everywhere founding churches, over which he placed, as pastors, priests who had been trained under his own direction. After having, for a long time, administered the episcopal functions, without the name of bishop, he was finally compelled to assume the episcopal dignity by Hildebold, Archbishop of Cologne. His zeal for the spread of Christianity led him to visit the wild Normans, who were then a terror to the Christian nations; and became still more so in the following times—where he could reckon upon no human assistance. But the Emperor Charles absolutely refused to permit it. From such a man nothing else could be expected, than that he would seek chiefly to work on the *hearts* of men by the power of *divine truth*, as, indeed, he had been trained to do, by the example and the instructions of men who looked upon teaching as their proper calling—Gregory and Alcuin. Even in the sickness which befel him shortly before his death in 809, he did not allow himself to be prevented, by bodily weakness, from discharging the spiritual duties of his office. On Sunday preceding the night of his death,¹ he preached twice before two different congregations of his diocese, in the morning in the church at Cosfeld, in the afternoon, at the third hour, in the church at Billerbeck, where he expended his last energies in performing mass.²

Another of these individuals was *Willehad*, who came from Northumberland. He also laboured at first, and with happy results, in the district of Docum, where Boniface had poured out his blood as a martyr. Many were baptized by him. Many of the first men of the nation entrusted to him their children for

¹ He died on the 26th of March, 809.

² The history of his life by his second successor Alfrid, and published in the second volume of Pertz's *Monumenta*.

education. But having come into the territory of the present Gröningen, where idolatry was at that time still predominant, his preaching so excited the rage of the pagan populace, that they would have killed him, when it was proposed by some of the more moderate class, that they should first determine, by lot, the judgment of the gods concerning him ; and it was so ordered, in the providence of God, that the lot having fallen for the preservation of his life, he was permitted to go away unharmed. He now betook himself to the district of Drenthe. His preaching had already met with great acceptance, when some of his disciples, urged on by an inconsiderate zeal, proceeded to destroy the idol-temples, before the minds of the multitude were sufficiently prepared for such a step. The pagans, excited to fury, threw themselves upon the missionaries. Willehad was loaded with stripes. One of the pagans dealt him a cut with his sword, intending to kill him, but the blow struck a thong by which the capsule, containing the relics he carried about with him, according to the custom of those times, was suspended from his neck, and so he escaped. This, according to the prevailing mode of thinking, was regarded as a proof of the protecting power of relics ; and even the pagans were led thereby to desist from their attack on Willehad, who, as they believed, was protected by a higher power. The Emperor Charles, who possessed the faculty of drawing around him the able men from all quarters, having by this time heard of Willehad's undaunted zeal as a preacher, and being just at that moment, after the conquest of the Saxons in 779, in want of men like him to establish the Christian church among that people, sent for him ; and having made him acquainted with his views, assigned him his post in the province of Wigmodia, where afterwards arose the diocese of Bremen. He was, for the present, to preside as priest over this diocese, which included within it a part of Saxony and of Friesland, and to perform every duty of the pastoral office in it, until the Saxons were brought into a condition to be satisfied with the organization of bishoprics. He accomplished more by his zeal in preaching the gospel, than could be effected by the forcible measures of the emperor ; and by his labours, during two years, he succeeded in bringing over many of the Frieslanders and Saxons to the faith. He founded communities and churches,

and placed other priests over them for their guidance. Yet *his* circle of labours also, promising so many happy results, was broken in upon by the revolt of Wittekind in 782, the effects of which extended to this spot. As he felt no fanatical longing after the death of a martyr, and wished not to expose himself to the fury of the pagan army, which threatened death to all Christian clergymen, but in accordance with our Saviour's direction, Matt. x. 23, considered it his duty to flee from persecution, and to preserve his life, in order to preach the gospel, he availed himself of the opportunity he had to effect his escape by flight. Many of the clergy, however, appointed by him, died as martyrs. Finding no opportunity, during these times of war, of preaching the gospel, he availed himself of this interval of leisure to make a journey to Rome, at the same time that Liudger also visited Italy. Returning from thence, he found a quiet retreat in the convent founded by Willibrord at Aternach (Epternach), and this became the rallying place of his scattered disciples. There he spent two years, partly in exercises of devotion, partly occupied with reading the Holy Scriptures, and partly with writing.¹ But as he ever felt a longing to be actively engaged in promoting the salvation of others, it was with great delight that, after the conquest of Wittekind in 785, he found himself enabled to resume the former field of labour assigned him by the Emperor Charles, to whom he had devoted his services in building up the church among the Saxons. Circumstances now for the first time made it possible to carry out the design of here founding an episcopal diocese. In 787, the Emperor Charles drew up the records defining the limits of the diocese of Bremen, and Willehad was ordained Bishop of Bremen.² On Sunday, the 1st of November, in 789, he consecrated the episcopal head-church in Bremen, St Peters, which he caused to be built in a magnificent style.

¹ In this place he wrote out a copy of the epistles of St Paul, which was preserved as a precious memorial by his successors, the bishops of Bremen.

² Anschar says, in his account of his life, c. 9: "Quod tamen ob id tamdiu prolongatum fuerat, quia gens, credulitati divinae resistens, quum presbyteros aliquoties secum manere vix compulsam sineret, episcopali auctoritate minime regi patiebatur. Hac itaque de causa, septem annis prius in eadem presbyter est demoratus parochia, vocatur tamen episcopus, et secundum quod poterat cuncta potestate praesidentis ordinans.

But it was only for two years he was permitted to administer the episcopal office. On one of his tours of visitation, which the wants of his large diocese, consisting of new converts, or those who had received baptism only in pretence, caused him frequently to make, he arrived, in 789, at Blexem¹ on the Weser, not far from Wegesack, where he was attacked with a violent fever. One of the young men, his disciples, who were assembled round his bed, anxiously solicitous for his life, said to him, "what are the new communities, and the young clergy, whose head you are, to do without you? They cannot spare you—they would be like sheep without a shepherd, in the midst of wolves." Said Willehad to this: "O let me no longer be kept away from the presence of my Lord! I desire to live no longer; I fear not to die. I would only pray my Lord, whom I have ever loved with my whole heart, that He would, according to his grace, give me such a reward of my labour as He may please. But the sheep, whom He has committed to me, I commend to his own protection, for even I myself, if I have been able to do anything good, have done it in his strength. So neither to you will his grace be wanting, of whose mercy the whole earth is full." Thus he died on the 8th of November 789.²

The victory of the Emperor Charles over the Avares (also called the Huns), then dwelling in Hungary, led to attempts to found the Christian church among them. Tudun, one of their princes, came in the year 796,³ with a numerous suite, on a visit to the emperor; and, with his companions, received baptism. The emperor resolved to establish among them a mission, and entrusted the direction of it to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg. When the subject of planting the Christian church among the Avares was agitated, the Abbot Alcuin gave the emperor excellent advice as to the way in which he might prosecute this work with happier results than had been experienced among the Saxons.⁴ He should seek out for the people to whom the Christian faith was as yet altogether new, pious preachers, of exemplary lives; such as were well instructed in the Christian

¹ At that time Pleccateshem.

² His life by Anschar, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, lately published in Pertz Monumenta, T. II.

³ See Einhardi Annales, at this year.

⁴ Ep. 28.

system of doctrines and morals. He then subjoined exhortations similar to those which we have already quoted on a former page.¹ The emperor should himself consider, whether the apostles, instructed and sent forth to preach by Christ, had anywhere demanded tithes, or given directions for any such thing. Next, he exhorted them to see to it, that everything was done in the right order, and that conviction of the truths of faith went before baptism; since the washing of the body without any knowledge of the faith, in a soul gifted with reason, could be of no use.² No one, said he, should receive baptism, till he has become firmly grounded in his persuasion of the principal doctrines of Christianity.³ And then by a faithful performance of the duty of preaching, the precepts of the gospel should at the proper time be often inculcated on each, until he attained to the ripeness of manhood, and became a worthy dwelling for the Holy Spirit. His friend, Archbishop Arno, having requested Alcuin to give him some directions as to the right mode of dispensing religious instruction among the pagans, he at first sent him this letter intended for the emperor.⁴ Then he wrote him another special letter on the subject,⁵ in which he again strongly insisted on the point, that everything depended on the preaching of the faith and the conviction of the hearers; without this, baptism could be of no

¹ He fitly applies here the example of Christ (Matt. ix. 17: *Unde et ipse Dominus Christus in evangelio respondet interrogantibus se, quare discipuli ejus non jejunarent: nemo mittit vinum novum in utres veteres.*

² *Ne nihil prosit sacri ablutio baptismi in corpore, si in anima ratione utenti catholica agnitio fidei non praecesserit.*

³ He mentions the several parts of religious instruction in the following order: *Prius instruendus est homo de animae immortalitate et de vita futura et de retributione bonorum malorumque et de aeternitate utriusque sortis. Postea pro quibus peccatis et sceleribus poenas cum diabolo patiat aeternas et pro quibus bonis vel bene factis gloria cum Christo fruatur sempiterna. Deinde fides sanctae trinitatis diligentissime docenda est, et adventus pro salute humani generis filii Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hunc mundum exponendus. Et de mysterio passionis illius et veritate resurrectionis et gloria adscensionis in coelos, et futuro eius adventu ad judicandas omnes gentes et de resurrectione corporum et de aeternitate poenarum et praemiorum.*

⁴ Ep. 30: and probably he was thinking of the guilty failure of the missionary efforts among the Saxons, when he complained: *Vae mundo a scandalis! Quid enim auri insana cupido non subvertit boni! Tamen potens est Deus recuperare quod coeptum est et perficere quod factum non est.*

⁵ Ep. 31.

avail.¹ For how could a man be forced to believe what he did not believe? Man, gifted with reason, must be instructed, must be drawn onward by word upon word, that he may come to the knowledge of the truths of faith. And especially was it necessary to implore for him the grace of the Almighty; since the tongue of the teacher taught in vain, unless divine grace penetrated the heart of the hearer.² And here, he insisted with great earnestness upon the necessity of proceeding gradually and by successive steps, in pressing the requisitions of the gospel on such as had attained to the faith, and of not attempting to extort everything at once.³ A person long established in the faith was more ready and better fitted for every good work than the mere novice. Peter, when full of the Holy Ghost, bore testimony to the faith before the Emperor Nero in one way; he answered the maid in the house of Caiaphas in quite another. And the example of gentleness exhibited by our Saviour, when He afterwards reminded him of his fall, should teach the good shepherd how he, too, ought to conduct himself towards the fallen.⁴ In another letter, he says, to the same prelate, "be a teacher of the faith, not a tithe-gatherer."⁵—It is true, this work among the Avars seems to have been interrupted by a new war, in the year 798, with this people; but it was in all probability prosecuted again after their total subjugation. Alcuin complained, that the same zeal was not shown in building up the Christian church among the Avars, as was manifested for the same cause among the ever-resisting Saxons; and he traced it to the negligēce with which a business is wont to be passed over, where nothing has been effected.⁶

¹ Idcirco misera Saxonum gens toties baptismi perdidit sacramentum, quia nunquam fidei fundamentum habuit in corde.

² Quia otiosa est lingua docentis, si gratia divina cor auditoris non imbuit. Quod enim visibiliter sacerdos per baptismum operatum in corpore per aquam, hoc spiritus sanctus invisibiliter operatus in anima per fidem.

³ Matt. ix. 17. Qui sunt utres veteres, nisi qui in gentilitatis erroribus obduraverunt? Quibus si in initio fidei novae praedicationis praecepta tradideris, rumpuntur et ad veteres consuetudines perfidiae revolvuntur.

⁴ Quatenus bonus pastor intelligerit, non semper delinquentes dura invectione castigare, sed saepe pia consolationis admonitione corrigere.

⁵ Ep. 72. Esto praedicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor.

⁶ Ep. 92. Hunnorum vero, sicut dixisti, perditio, nostra est negligentia, laborantium in maledicta generatione Saxonum Deoque despecta usque huc et eos negligentes, quos majore mercede apud Deum et gloria apud homines habere potuimus, ut videbatur.

The dominion of the Franks, as well as the Christian church, still met with determined resistance from the numerous Slavonian tribes dwelling on the northern and eastern borders of Germany. It is said to have been the intention of the Emperor Charles to found a metropolis of the north in Hamburg, with a view to the conversion of these tribes, and to the diffusion of Christianity throughout the entire north: but he failed to execute this plan, which was reserved for his successor.

II. IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

Whilst a stock of nations altogether new and rude was thus gained over to Christianity, and the germ of a new spiritual creation, proceeding out of Christianity, planted in the midst of them, new dangers were threatening destruction, or a continual encroachment on its limits, to the Christian church in the countries which formed its original seat. When the Persian king, Chosru-Parviz, in the beginning of the seventh century, deprived the Roman empire of several provinces, in the year 614 conquered Palestine, and in the year 615, 616, Egypt, many Christians were killed, many carried off as slaves, or forced to unite with the Nestorian church, and many churches and monasteries destroyed.¹ This, however, was but a transient evil; since, in the years 622–628, the East Roman emperor, Heraclius, subdued the Persian empire, and liberated the conquered provinces. But soon afterwards there rose up against the Christian church in those countries a hostile power, with which that church had to sustain a much longer and more difficult contest.

A Christianity which was already beginning to die out in meagre forms of doctrine, ceremonial rites, and superstition, bowed before the might of a new religion, striding onward with the vigour of youth, and powerfully working on the imagination; a religion which, moreover, called to its aid many physical auxiliaries—the new religion founded by Mohammed in Arabia. In the year 610, Mohammed appeared as a prophet among the Arabian tribes, where, in the midst of prevailing idolatry, par-

¹ See Theophanes Chronograph. f. 199, etc. Makriz. *Historia Coptorum Christianor.* pag. 79. Renaudot *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* pag. 154.

ticularly Sabaism, and of various superstitions connected with charms and amulets, the remembrance was still preserved of an original, simple, monotheistic religion; while by the numerous Jews scattered among these tribes, in part also by Christians, who possessed, however, but a very imperfect knowledge of their faith, the recollection of this primeval religion was freshly revived. Under such influences, it was quite possible, that in a man possessed of the lively temper and fiery imagination of Mohammed, the awakened consciousness of God would lead to a reaction against the idolatry in which he had been nurtured, and by which he was surrounded—a reaction, however, which would be disturbed by the sensuous element so predominant in the national character of his people. Mohammed felt himself inspired with a certain zeal for the honour of the one only God, whom he had been taught by those traditions of a primitive religion, as well as by what he had learned from Judaism and Christianity, to recognise and adore. The sense of God's exaltation above all created things, of the infinite distance between the Creator and his works; the sense of utter dependence on the Almighty and Incomprehensible—this one element of the knowledge of God—constituted the predominant ground-tone of his religious character; whilst the other element which belongs to the complete unfolding of the consciousness of God, the sense of relationship and communion with God, was, in his case, wholly suppressed. Hence his one-sided mode of apprehending the divine attributes, in which the idea of almighty power predominated, while that of holy love was overlooked. Hence almighty power, apprehended in this religion as unlimited arbitrary will; or if some occasional presentiment of the love and mercy of God gleamed out in the religious consciousness, yet it did not harmonize with the prevailing tone of the religion, but necessarily borrowed from the latter a certain tincture of *particularism*. Hence the predominant fatalism, and the total denial of moral liberty. And as it is the ethical shaping assumed by the idea of God which determines the whole moral spirit of a religion, hence notwithstanding the sublime maxims of morality—in contradiction, however, with the general character of the religion—that are to be found here and there scattered among the teachings of Mohammed, yet the whole system, because lacking in the main foundation of

a right ethical apprehension of the idea of God, is radically defective. The God who was worshipped as an almighty and arbitrary Will, could be honoured by entire submission to his will, servile obedience, the performance of various insulated outward ceremonies, which He had seen fit to describe as marks of reverence to Him, and by works of charity; but also, and especially, by the extermination of his enemies, the idolaters; by the subjugation of infidels; by the repetition of prayers; by festivals, lustrations, and pilgrimages. Answering to that narrow apprehension of the idea of God, was the lack also, in the moral province, of that principle which, wherever it exists, pervades and ennobles every other human quality, a holy love. As the ethical element retires to such a distance in the teachings of Mohammed, so on this very account the sense of the need of a redemption finds no place in the system. The tradition respecting an original state of the first man, and of his eating the forbidden fruit, occurs, it is true, in the Koran, as it had been derived as well from the Old and New Testaments as from apocryphal writings of Jews or Judaizing Christians;¹ but only as an isolated story—the form in which it would be likely to captivate the poetical fancy of Mohammed and his people—without reference to a great ethical truth, without connecting itself with the whole religion, so that Mohammedanism would lack nothing of its proper essence, were this story entirely expunged from its records. It belongs to the antagonism between Mohammedanism and Christianity, that the former utterly excludes the need of a redeemer and of a redemption.

It was by no means the intention of Mohammed, at the outset, to found a new religion for the entire human race; but he believed himself called, as a national prophet of the Arabians, to proclaim to his people, in their own language, and in a form

¹ The story about Adam's exalted dignity, and the homage done to him by the angels, which Satan, who envied him, refused to pay, belongs among the Gnostic elements that are to be found in the Koran. See my *Genetische Entwicklung der Gnostischen Systeme*, pp. 125, 265; *History of the Church*, Vol. II., 655, 656. Geiger—in his instructive essay: *Was hat Mahomed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?* Bonn, 1833, p. 100—is right in not tracing this notion to the Judaism of the Old Testament, but wrong in deriving it from Christianity. More probably the source of it is a Gnostic tradition, or a still older Oriental one, from which Gnosticism itself was derived.

suited to their wants, the same Theism of the primitive religion, which he recognised as a doctrine communicated by divine instruction in Judaism and Christianity.¹ He required at first to be acknowledged only as a prophet sent to teach the Arabians, and declared hostility against none but idolaters. But when the success which crowned his first undertakings, and the enthusiasm of his followers, stimulated his imagination and his vanity to a bolder flight, and when, moreover, he became excited by the opposition he met with from Jews and Christians, he came forward with still greater pretensions, not only against idolaters, but also against Jews and Christians themselves. He declared himself a messenger, divinely sent for the restoration of pure Theism, by whom it was to be freed from the foreign elements which had become incorporated with it even in Judaism and Christianity. He expressed, it is true, no hostility to the earlier revelations by Moses, the prophets, and Jesus; but ascribed to these the same authority as he claimed for that communicated by himself; but he attacked the pretended corruptions which had entered into those revelations. Now it was unquestionably true, that Christianity, *in the form in which it was presented to him*, might furnish abundant occasion for such a charge, respecting the corruption of its original truth; as for example, when he rebuked the idolatrous worship of Mary and of the monks (the saints); and the view taken by the church of the doctrine of the Trinity might, to one who looked at it from an outward position, from the position of an abstract Monotheism, and not as a form of expressing what was contained in the Christian consciousness, easily appear as a tritheistical doctrine. Still, however, the chief reason which led Mohammed to declare hostility against Christianity certainly did not consist in these corruptions of the gospel doctrine, which he found intermingled with it, so much as it did in the relation of his own fundamental position in religion to the original and peculiar essence of Christianity itself—that fundamental position of an abstract Monotheism, placing an infinite chasm,

¹ See the Koran, Sura 14, f. 375 ed. Maracci—the words ascribed to the Almighty, *non misimus ullum legatum nisi cum lingua gentis suae*. How the different religions were distributed by the Almighty to different nations, through his revelations in Judaism and Christianity—Sura V. f. 226. How the revelations by Mohammed were designed for those who could not read the Old Testament and the gospels, on account of their ignorance of the language in which they were written—Sura VI., f. 262.

never to be filled up, between God and his creatures, from which position a mediatorial action of God, for the purpose of bringing human nature into fellowship with himself, must appear as derogatory from the dignity of an infinitely exalted Being, and an approximation to idolatry. It was not merely a certain speculative mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Trinity, which gave offence to Mohammed as savouring of Tritheism; but it was the essential element of Christianity itself, here lying at the bottom, and constituting the ground of antagonism both to a stiff and one-sided Monotheism on the one hand, that placed God absolutely out of man, and man absolutely out of God, and to the deification of nature that degrades and divides the consciousness of God in polytheism on the other—it was this that remained incomprehensible to Mohammed. And hence, too, the doctrine of Christ's divinity,¹ and, in a word, everything else in Christianity over and above the general ground-work of Theism—everything by which Christianity was essentially distinguished from the Jewish stage of religion, could not appear otherwise to Mohammed than as a corruption of primitive Christianity, as he would have it to have been. The gospel history he quotes only in the fabulous form in which it appears in the older apocryphal gospels. But even if he had had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the genuine history of Christ, still his imagination, and his poetical temperament, would have been more strongly attracted by those fantastic pictures in the apocryphal writings; and the image of Christ which these set forth, harmonized more completely with his whole religious turn of mind, than the one presented in the genuine gospels.

It is evident from these remarks, that Mohammedanism corresponds in the nearest degree with Judaism; but a Judaism which, sundered from its connection with the theocratic development, robbed of its prevailing character the predominating idea of God's holiness—of its prophetic element and its peculiar luminous point, the animating idea of the Messiah, was degraded from the historical, to the mythical, form, and accommodated to the

¹ In the final judgment, God, according to the Koran, shall say to Jesus: *O Jesu, fili Mariae, tunc dixisti hominibus: accipite me et matrem meam in duos Deos praeter Deum?* And Jesus shall call God to witness, that He had never taught so: *Non dixi eis, nisi quod praecepisti mihi: colite Deum dominum meum et dominum vestrum,* Sura V., f. 236.

national character of the Arabians. And here we may notice an important law, relating to the progressive development of the kingdom of God in humanity. Just as, *within the church itself*, a Judaism ennobled by Christianity and permeated by its spirit, or a Christianity in Jewish form (the Catholicism of the middle ages) formed for the converted barbarous nations a medium of transition to the appropriation of a Christianity expressing in essence and form its true character; so *without the pale of the church*, a Judaism degraded to the level of natural religion in Mohammedanism, formed a theistic medium of transition from idolatry, at its very lowest stages, to the only genuine theism of Christianity fully developed and pervading the entire life.

In respect to the relation of Christianity to Mohammedanism, as it was understood by Christian teachers among the Mohammedans in the eighth century, we find that their apologetic writings—so far as we can form a judgment of them from the fragments still preserved in the works of John of Damascus and his scholar Theodore Abukara, both belonging to the eighth century,¹—relate particularly to the doctrines of free-will and of the divinity of Christ. In seeking to defend the doctrine of free self-determination and moral responsibility against the Mohammedan principle, whereby good and evil were derived alike from the divine causality, and the distinction between a permission and an actual efficiency on the part of God² was denied, men fell, as usual, when combating one extreme, into directly the opposite, namely, into an anthropopathical mode of apprehending the relation of God to his creatures, that led to Pelagianism, without being aware of the consequences flowing from this view of the matter. God, having once completed the work of creation, exerted no further creative power, but left the universe to go on and shape itself according to the laws therein established—everything, by virtue of the creative word which God spake in

¹ The dialogue between the Christian and the Turk, by John of Damascus, T. I., in his works ed. Le Quien, f. 466. Galland. Bibl. Patrum, T. XIII., f. 272; and the *ἰσχυρισμοὶ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις* between the Βάσιλος and the Χριστιανός of Theodore Abukara in Bibliotheca Patrum Parisiens, Tom. XI., f. 431. It is difficult to decide which was the original form of this dialogue, and which of the two was its author.

² The Mohammedan, disputing with the Christian κατ' ἀνθρώπων, on the question, was it God's will, or not, that Christ should be crucified?

the beginning, unfolding itself spontaneously out of the seminal principles clothed by God with their several specific powers.¹

The schisms subsisting among the Oriental Christians, the dissatisfaction of the oppressed schismatic party (in Egypt and Syria) with the Byzantine government and the reigning church, would naturally tend to promote the triumphant advance of the Mohammedan Saracens; and these were inclined, from motives of policy, to manifest special favour to the hitherto persecuted parties, such as were the numerous Monophysite party in Egypt and the Nestorian party in Syria.² Wherever the Saracens, in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, obtained the ascendancy in Asia (Syria and the countries adjacent) and in North-Africa, they forebore, indeed, to persecute the old Christian inhabitants on account of their faith, if they paid the tribute imposed on them; yet there was no lack of extortions, oppressions, and insults, and the fanatical temper of the rulers might easily be excited to deeds of violence.³ Moreover, they who in ignorance were depending on a dead faith, might be led by various inducements to abandon their creed for a religion which was spreading with the fresh vigour of youth, which flattered the inclinations of the natural man, and which was favoured by the ruling powers.

The Nestorian communities, established in Eastern Asia, which were favoured by the Persians, and afterwards, for the same reason, by their Mohammedan rulers, were best qualified for labouring to promote the extension of Christianity in this quarter of the world; and, in fact, we observed, in the preceding period, that from Persia, Christian colonies had gone to different

¹ Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ αὐτεξούσιος ὦν ἐν τε καλοῖς, ἐν τε κακοῖς, ὅπου ἐὰν σπείρω, κἄν εἰς ἰδίαν γυναῖκα, κἄν εἰς ἄλλοτριαν, τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ χρωόμενος, ἀναβλαστάνω, καὶ γίνεται τῷ πρώτῳ προστάγματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπακούουσα, ὅτι τὸ καταβληθὲν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ σπυρματικὴν δύναμιν· οὐχ ὅτι δὲ νῦν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Θεὸς πλάττει καὶ ἐργάζεται· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε. Theodor Abukara. l. c. f. 432.

² The major part of the population in Egypt, the Copts, were inclined to Monophysitism; and these assisted the conquerors in driving out the descendants of the Greeks, who, as followers of the doctrines that prevailed in the empire, were called Melchites. All the churches were now transferred to the former, and the Coptic patriarchate was founded. See the accounts of Macrizi, which especially deserve to be studied on the subject of Egypt. *Historia Coptorum Christianorum*, ed. Wetzer, 1828, pp. 88, 89. Renaudot *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, P. II.

³ Particulars in Macrizi, Renaudot, and Theophanes.

parts of India. Timotheus, the Patriarch of the Nestorians in Syria, who filled this post from 778 to 820,¹ took a special interest in the establishment of missions. He sent monks from the monastery of Beth-abe in Mesopotamia, as missionaries among the tribes dwelling in the districts of the Caspian Sea, and beyond them to India, and even to China. Among these were two active men, Cardag and Jabdallaha, whom he ordained bishops.² Jabdallaha drew up for the patriarch a report of the happy results of the mission; and the patriarch clothed them with full powers to ordain, where it should be found necessary, several of the monks as bishops. He expressly directed, that for the present, in order to conform to the rule requiring three bishops to assist at the ordination of another, a book of the gospels should take the place of the third. A certain David is named as the bishop ordained for China.³ According to an inscription, published by the Jesuits, and purporting to belong to the year 782,⁴ in the Chinese-Syrian tongue, Oloquen, a Nestorian priest, visited this empire, in the year 635, from the eastern provinces bordering on the west of China, and laboured successfully as a missionary; and it is said that Christianity, amid many persecutions at first, but favoured at length by the emperors, was still more widely diffused. But even if this inscription cannot be considered as genuine,⁵ it still remains certain, from the notices above stated, that in this period, attempts were made by the Nestorians to pave the way for the entrance of Christianity into Eastern Asia, and even into China.

Under the Emperor Justinian, Christianity had found entrance

¹ See Assemani *Bibliotheca Oriental*, T. III., P. I., f. 158, ff. III.

² L. c. f. 163.

³ Ibn-Wahab, an Arabian, who travelled to China in the ninth century, found at the emperor's court an image of Christ and images of the apostles, and he heard the emperor say, that Christ discharged the office of a teacher thirty months. See *Travels of an Arabian of the ninth century*, in Renaudot's *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 68. Comp. Ritter's *Asia*, Vol. I., p. 286.

⁴ Printed with others in Mosheim *Hist. Eccles. Tartarorum*, Appendix n. III.

⁵ The controversy about the genuineness of this inscription is still undecided; and in the present condition of our knowledge of Chinese literature so it must remain. A very important authority in this department of learning, though, perhaps, not perfectly free from all bias on the point in question, has already declared in favour of its genuineness. See Abel Rémusat *Mélanges Asiatiques*, T. I., p. 36. Professor Neumann, from whom we may expect a more full investigation of this subject, takes the other side.

from Egypt into Nubia.¹ In Nubia a Christian empire was founded, as in Abyssinia, and the churches of the two kingdoms recognised the Coptic patriarch in Egypt as their head, and had their bishops ordained by him.²

¹ See the declaration of a Christian prince of Nubia touching the inscription; and remarks on the introduction of Christianity into Nubia, in Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'Hist. du Christianisme in Egypte, en Nubie et en Abyssinie.* Paris, 1832.

² See Renaudot *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 178, and in other places. A fact worthy of notice is the connection of the Christians of India with the Coptic patriarchs. See Renaudot, p. 188; Makrizi, p. 93. It were singular, indeed, that these Christians should have preferred resorting to Egypt rather than to their mother church in Persia; and hence we might be led to conjecture that some Ethiopian tribe was really meant; but in this connection such a supposition has also its difficulties.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

I. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

IT is true, that along with Christianity, the entire church fabric, with all its regulations, as it had thus far shaped itself, passed over to the newly converted nations. The whole appeared to them as one divine foundation ; and at the stage of culture in which Christianity found them, they were but little capable of distinguishing and separating the divine from the human, the inward from the outward, the unchangeable from the changeable. But, as a matter of course, the church fabric which had shaped itself under entirely different circumstances, must, in accommodating itself to these altogether new relations, undergo various changes. First, as regards the relation of the church to the state, it was, for the advancement of the church, and the attainment of its ends, in promoting the culture of the nations, a matter of great importance, that it should be preserved independent in its course of development, and protected against the destructive influences of a barbarous secular power. The encroachments of the arbitrary will of barbarous princes would be no less dangerous here, than the encroachments of the arbitrary will of the corrupt Byzantine court at the stage of over-civilization. The Frankish princes were often as slow as the Byzantine emperors to acknowledge the fact, that within their own states, there was a province to which their sovereign power did not extend, an authority wholly independent of their own.¹ But on

¹ The Frankish monarch, Chilperic, in the sixth century, who took it into his head to add several letters to the Latin alphabet, and to direct, that the boys in the schools of his empire should all be taught to read and write accordingly, and that all the old books should be rubbed over with pumice-stone, and re-copied according to this alphabet, would certainly be very likely to act over again the part of a Justinian in his conduct towards the church ; and what would have followed, had not a monarch

the other hand, they were checked by the faith in a visible theocracy, represented by the church ; which principle, closely connected, especially in the Western church, with the idea of the sacerdotal dignity, had long since been fully established, and was transmitted to these nations at the same time with Christianity. This principle was also better suited to their stage of culture, than the faith in an invisible church and its power working outwardly from within. The untutored mind, when struck with religious impressions, was inclined to see, to reverence and to fear God himself in the visible church, in the person of the priests. This point of view, in which the church presented itself, would be favoured by its whole relation to these races ; for it appeared, in fact, as the one perfect organism of human society, and as the fountain-head of all culture for the untutored nations. It alone could, by the reverence which it inspired for a divine power, present a counterpoise to barbarous force and arbitrary will. But whilst, on the one hand, the impression of reverence towards the church, as God's representative, was capable of exerting a mighty influence on the minds of rulers ; so, too, on the other hand, there was tremendous force in the consciousness of absolute authority, and in the violence of suddenly-excited passions, which in rude men was the less likely to be controlled. Many conflicting elements must therefore necessarily arise under these circumstances ; and the theocratical church system, which alone, under such a state of things, could maintain the independence of the church, even in respect to its own internal development, had no other way to shape itself out but in conflict with a secular power which often resisted it.

The princes of the Frankish empire in particular, acquired the

of this character been obliged to yield to the superior power of an independent church? He composed, in the year 580, a small tract, combating the distinction of three persons in the Trinity, in which he maintained, that it was beneath the dignity of God to be called a person, like a mortal man. He seems to have framed for himself a Samosatenean or Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity. He appeals to the Old Testament as making mention of but one God, who appeared to the prophets and patriarchs, and who revealed the law. This tract he had read in his presence to Gregory, Bishop of Tours, and then said to him : "It is my will that you, and the other teachers of the churches, should believe thus." He supposed he understood this doctrine better than the fathers of the church, whose authority was quoted against him. Yet the decided manner in which he was opposed by Gregory and other bishops, who rested on the authority of the church traditions, induced him to desist from his purpose. See Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. 1. V. c. 45.

greatest influence over the church in a quarter where it would be precisely the most injurious to her interests, and most directly calculated to render her wholly dependent on the secular power, viz., in the nomination of bishops, who, according to the existing church polity, had the entire governance of the church in their hands; so that, if by the manner in which they obtained their places they became subservient to the princes, the mischievous consequences of this their servility would affect the whole administration of church affairs. In the old Roman empire, the influence of the emperors had only extended, and that, too, chiefly in the East, to the filling up of the vacant bishoprics in the most important cities. But to the princes of whom we now speak, it appeared a strange matter, that such considerable posts within the circle of their own empire, and with which, sometimes, so large revenues and important political privileges were connected, should be conferred without consultation with them; and the clergy themselves, who sought to obtain bishoprics through the influence of the princes, contributed to increase this influence of the latter, and to confirm them in the belief that they were entitled to it. Thus, in the Frankish empire, under the successors of Clovis, the ancient regulation respecting ecclesiastical elections went entirely into disuse, or where it was preserved, the Frankish princes did not consider themselves bound by it, if they wished to supply vacancies in some other way. The old church laws with regard to the *interstitia*, the stages through which candidates must rise to the higher spiritual offices, and against the immediate elevation of a layman from secular employments to such offices,—these laws, which had maintained their force in the Western church still more than in the East, even though re-enacted there by synods,¹ were yet in practice no longer regarded. The princes bestowed the bishoprics arbitrarily on their favourites, or sold them to the highest bidders, or to those who, without so open a resort to simony, made them tempting presents.² Hence,

¹ See the third Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, c. VI.

² Gregory of Tours states, in his life of Gallus, Bishop of Arverna (Clermont), *vitæ patrum* c. VI. f. 1171, ed. Ruinart, that the clergy of Clermont came with *many presents*, before Theodoric, one of the sons and successors of Clovis, hoping to persuade him to confirm the choice made by themselves. And Gregory observes, with regard to this incident: *Jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus aut compararetur a clericis.* The king, however, did not allow himself in this case to be influenced by the presents, but bestowed the bishopric on Gallus, a deacon, highly respected and venerated on account of his previous life,

naturally, it often happened that unworthy persons were nominated to the bishoprics, while worthy ones were deposed.¹ The only good result was, that still, in many cases, the character which an individual had acquired by his past life, the reputation in which he stood as a saint, had more influence with the princes than the presents and the intrigues of the bad.

It is true, laws were, from the first, passed against these encroachments on the ecclesiastical elections;² but those in power did not allow themselves to be bound by them. The third council of Paris, in 557, endeavoured once more to suppress these abuses; directing in their eighth canon, that the election of bishops should proceed from the communities and the clergy, with the concurrence of the provincial bishops and of the metropolitan; that whoever came to such office in a way not agreeing with these conditions, by a command of the king, should not be recognised as their colleague by the bishops of the province.³

and he caused a feast to be made in the city, at the public expense, in honour of the new bishop, that all might take joy in his appointment. And so common was the practice of simony, either of the grosser or of the more refined sort, that Gallus was in the habit of jocosely remarking, he had paid for his bishopric, but one trias (the third part of an as), his *bonne main* to the cook who waited at the table. So, too (in l. IV. c. 35, Hist. Francor.) it is mentioned as the common means of obtaining a bishopric; *Offerre multa, plurima promittere.*

¹ So it happened after the death of the Gallus above-mentioned. A certain Archdeacon Cratinus, an intemperate, avaricious man, obtained the office by help of the princes, while Crato, a presbyter, who, though excessively given to spiritual pride, had been tried in every stage of the clerical office, and had distinguished himself by the faithful discharge of its duties, and a kindly regard for the welfare of the poor, and who had, moreover, the voice of the church, the clergy and the bishops in his favour, was set aside. He afterwards distinguished himself again by remaining in the city, when deserted by the bishop, and many of the other clergy, on account of a fatal sickness (the lues inguinaria), which raged in France about the middle of the sixth century. Here he attended to the burial of the dead, held masses for each and all, till at length, falling himself a sacrifice to the plague, he died in the discharge of his duty. See Gregor. Hist. 1, IV. c. XI., etc.

² Thus, for example, Concil. Arvernense, A.D. 535, c. II. In order to the regularity of a choice, was required *electio clericorum vel civium et consensus metropolitani*, and of the candidate it is said: *non patrocina potentum adhibeat, non calliditate subdola ad conscribendum decretum alios hortetur praemiis, alios timore compellat*; and Concil. Aurelianense V. 549 c. 10, *ut nulli episcopatum praemiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci, sed cum voluntate regis juxta electionem cleri ac plebis.*

³ *Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum electio plenissima quaesierit voluntate, non principis imperio neque per quamlibet conditionem contra metropolis voluntatem vel episcoporum comprovincialium ingeratur. Quodsi per ordinationem regiam honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimia temeritate praesumserit, a comprovincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebite ordinatum agnoscunt.*

Conformably with this decree, a synod at Xaintes (Santones), convened in 564, under Leontius, Archbishop of Bordeaux (Burdelaga), as metropolitan, pronounced sentence of deposition on Emeritus, the bishop of the former place, because he had obtained his office by a command of the deceased King Clotaire, without a regular church election, and they had the courage to elect another in his place. But Charibert, the then reigning king over this portion of the Frankish empire, was highly incensed at this decree, which the synod caused to be laid before him by a presbyter, as their delegate. "Thinkest thou," said he angrily to the delegate, "that of Clotaire's sons none has been left behind, to take care that his father's will shall not be defeated?" He ordered the delegate to be conveyed out of the city on a waggon filled with thorns, and condemned him to banishment from the country;—he also fined the members of the synod in a sum proportioned to their several ranks, and replaced Emeritus in his post.¹ The Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, was indefatigable in exhorting the Frankish bishops and princes to remove this abuse, whose injurious effects on the church he explained to them in detail, and strenuously urged them to appoint a synod for this purpose.² "We are deeply grieved," he writes in one of these letters, "when we find money having anything to do in the disposing of the offices of the church, and that which is holy becoming secular. He who could purchase such places, desires not the office, but only the name, of a priest, to gratify his vanity. What is the consequence, except that no further regard is paid to life and manners, he only being considered the worthy candidate who has money to pay? He who merely, for the sake of the honour, is eager after an office meant for use, is but the more unworthy of it, because he seeks the honour." The fifth synod of Paris, in 615, actually renewed, in their first canon, the ordinance respecting free church elections, and King Clotaire II. confirmed this law; yet with such provisoes as left abundant exceptions; for a power was reserved to the princes of examining into the worthiness of those elected, and of directing their ordination accordingly. The case was also supposed possible, that the monarch might choose a bishop directly from his

¹ See Gregor. Turon. Hist. Francor. L. IV. c. 26.

² See his Letters, Lib. XI. ep. 58, and the following, Lib. IX. ep. 106.

court.¹ And though this synodal law had been unconditionally confirmed by the king, yet it was still far from being the case that the monarchs were determined by it in their conduct. Boniface found these abuses connected with the filling up of vacant offices still prevailing ; and although he might, by his great personal influence do something towards counteracting them, yet the relations could not in this way be permanently altered. Among the things done by Charlemagne for bettering the condition of the church, belongs the restoration of free church elections ;² in which, however, the power of confirmation remained tacitly reserved to the monarch. Yet the succeeding history shows, that between the law and its fulfilment an immense interval still remained. In the English and in the Spanish church, the princes exercised, it is true, on the whole, no such direct influence on the filling up of vacant bishoprics, but even in these churches their acquiescence was held to be necessary.

Again, the state, under the new relations, obtained a certain share in ecclesiastical legislation. In the old Roman empire, the secular power had exercised an influence only on the general church assemblies—the provincial synods were left to themselves. But in the new states, men found it difficult to enter into the conception of a double legislation, and besides, the church required the civil power to carry a part of its own laws into execution ; such, namely, as related to the suppression of pagan customs, penance, the observance of Sunday, etc. Hence it happened, that the synods, which should have guided the church legislation, were convened after consultation with the princes ;³ that the latter assisted at them, and their decrees were published under the royal authority. Finally, the synods became confounded with the general assemblies, at which the princes with their noble vassals were used to draw up the civil laws, and

¹ Si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem principis ordinetur, vel certe si de palatio eligitur, per meritum personae et doctrinae ordinetur.

² The capitulary of the year 803. “ Ut sancta ecclesia suo liberius potiretur honore, ad sensum ordini ecclesiastico praebuimus, ut episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria diocesi remota personarum et munerum acceptione ob vitae meritum et sapientiae donum eligantur, ut exemplo et verbo sibi subjectis usque quaque prodesse valeant.”

³ See the ordinance of the Frankish king Sigebert, ad Desiderium, episcopum Cadurcensem, Bishop of Cahors, A.D. 650, ut sine nostra scientia synodale concilium in regno nostro non agatur. Baluz. Capitular. T. I. f. 143.

ecclesiastical and civil laws were drawn up at one and the same time. Thus, in the Frankish kingdom, till far into the eighth century, the assemblies of the bishops, for purely ecclesiastical purposes, becoming continually less frequent, at length went into entire desuetude—a result to which the internal political contests and disorders, and the indifference of such multitudes of worldly-minded bishops, no doubt, greatly contributed. Already the Abbot Columban, in his letter to the bishops convened on account of their quarrel with him, complains, that synods were no longer held, though he admits, that in the turbulence of those times, they could not be convened so frequently as formerly.¹ Gregory the Great² was obliged to apply to the Frankish princes and bishops, for the convening of a synod to devise measures for the removal of ecclesiastical abuses; and, as we have already remarked on a former page, Boniface found occasion to complain that no synod had been held for so long a time. But even in the synods held by him, the most considerable men of the nation took a part, and along with the ecclesiastical laws, others also were passed by them, having no relation to ecclesiastical affairs. In like manner, under King Pipin, and the Emperor Charlemagne, it continued to be the prevailing custom for ecclesiastical and civil laws to be drawn up at the same time, at their great national assemblies; though it was still the fact that, in particular cases, assemblies purely ecclesiastical were held, which however were convened by the princes. Now by this union the bishops, it is true, who took part in these general legislative assemblies, obtained some influence on civil legislation, and on the institutions of civil society. But this influence fell to their share not merely by accident, and by reason of the circumstances above described; but the whole form under which the theocratic system was contemplated, carried along with it the necessity of their having such influence. As, on the one hand, the church needed the arm of the civil power to carry a part of their laws into effect, so on the other, the civil power needed that sanction

¹ In reference to the convocation then held: “*Utinam saepius hoc ageretis, et licet juxta canones semel aut bis in anno pro tumultuosis hujus aevi dissensionibus semper sic servare vos non vacat, quamvis rarius potissimum hoc debuit vobis inesse studium, quo negligentes quique timorem haberent et studiosi ad majorem provocarentur profectum.*”

² See the letter before referred to.

from the church, and that commanding authority which the latter had to offer, in order to maintain itself against rude arbitrary will, and to place a check on barbarian insolence. The feeling of this want was, no doubt, a universal one; for it proceeded from the character of the social condition of the people, and the prevailing turn of their religious way of thinking. It was, however, an effect of peculiar circumstances, that, in the Visi-Gothic empire in Spain, this feeling asserted itself with peculiar force; for the successors of Reckared, the first Catholic King of Spain, were obliged to resort to the authority of the church, as a substitute for the sanction which they wanted, a right to the throne by the law of inheritance; and as a means of securing them against the spirit of revolt. Many of the Spanish synods in the seventh century made a point of conceding this to the royal authority. Thus, for example, the sixteenth council of Toledo, in 693, declared that every one was bound to preserve inviolate the fidelity they had vowed, next after God to the king, as his vice-gerent;¹ and, appealing to passages from the Old Testament, not very applicable, indeed, to a purely gospel economy,² they declared kings to be the inviolable anointed ones of God. Hence, in this Spanish church, the regulation was also brought about, whereby all checks of the secular power on the church were to be avoided, and the latter only was to be secured in its efficient influence on the state, which needed its sanctifying power; for the seventeenth council of Toledo decreed, in 694, that in the first three days of each such meeting, only spiritual affairs should be transacted by the clergy alone, and afterwards civil. To the Emperor Charles, who, with his more independent judgment, was more inclined to separate ecclesiastical affairs from political,³ it seemed expedient, that the bishops, abbots, and comites should divide themselves, at these general assemblies, into three several chambers, and each attend to the affairs be-

¹ Post Deum regibus, utpote jure vicario ab eo praeëlectis, fidem promissam quemque inviolabili cordis intentione servare.

² According to which, Jesus alone is the anointed of the Lord, or through Him all believers alike are become the anointed of the Lord.

³ See the capitulary of the year 811, c. 4. *Discutiendum est, in quantum se episcopus aut abbas rebus secularibus debeat inserere vel in quantum Comes vel alter laicus in ecclesiastica negotia.* His interrogandum est acutissime, quid sit, quod apostolus ait: "nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus." 2 Tim. 2, vel ad quos sermo iste pertineat. See Baluz. Capitular. T. I. f. 478.

longing to them,—the bishops to the affairs of the church ; the abbots, to all that related more particularly to the monastic life ; and the counts to the political affairs. So it was done at the council of Mentz, in 813. The ordinances of every kind, however, were published under the imperial authority.

As it regards the exemption of the church from state burdens, the older laws respecting this matter also passed over to the new state of things ; they had to undergo, however, of course, in these new circumstances, many changes in their application. The incompatibility of the spiritual office with military service, was indeed, universally acknowledged in the preceding period ; yet it had been held necessary at the same time to adopt certain precautionary measures against the reception of such into the spiritual order as were liable to such service,¹ and even at the commencement of *this* period, the Emperor Maurice involved himself in a quarrel with the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, by the enactment of some such restrictive law. But in the new states, greater difficulty must be experienced in this quarter, because the obligation to do military service did not fall on particular classes of the citizens alone, but on all freemen. True, men felt how incompatible it was with the spiritual calling for the clergy to take any part in war ; but it was sought to secure the interests of the state, by a law that no person should be allowed to enter into a spiritual or monastic order, without permission from the supreme authority.² The church now saw itself reduced to the necessity of selecting members for the spiritual

¹ Gregory considered it altogether just and proper, that no countenance should be given to the practice of passing immediately from civil and military, to spiritual offices (which was still customary in the East), because such a transition easily excited the suspicion of worldly motives : *Quia qui secularem habitum deserens, ad ecclesiastica officia venire festinat, mutare vult seculum, non relinquere.* But it seemed to him contrary to the interests of piety, that the abandoning of these offices with a view to embrace the monastic life should likewise be forbidden ; since in this case no such suspicion could arise. He refers to his own experience for examples of honest conversions of this kind : *Ego scio, quanti his diebus meis in monasterio milites conversi miracula fecerunt, signa et virtutes operati sunt.* L. III. ep. 65 et 66.

² Concil. Aurelianense I., under King Clovis, A.D. 511, c. 4. *Ut nullus secularium ad clericatus officium praesumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum iudicis voluntate.* The capitulary of Charlemagne A.D. 805, c. 15, Baluz. T. I. f. 427. *De liberis hominibus, qui ad servitium Dei se tradere volunt, ut prius hoc non faciant, quam a nobis licentiam postulent.* In the latter law, the object is stated ; that it is designed only against such as were desirous of this from impure motives, and not devotionis causa.

order from *that* class, who were not affected by the obligation to do military service, namely the *bondmen*. Besides, among these there was often less rudeness of manners; and bishops, who were disposed to exercise a despotic lordship over their clergy, could more easily secure their object when they had among this body a number of the bondmen who were held as the property of the church. This plan was so often resorted to, that it became necessary to check the wide extension of the practice by particular ordinances; yet without forbidding the thing itself. Thus the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633, can. 74, decreed, that it was unquestionably allowable, to place in the parishes priests and deacons, created from the bondmen of the church; provided only they were such as recommended themselves by their life and manners, and that they had been first restored to freedom. In the rule approved by the council of Aix in 816, and published by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, we find the following singular remark, from which also it is seen that bondmen were often consecrated to the clerical office, without being enfranchised.¹ "Many select their clergy exclusively from the bondmen of the church, and they seem to adopt this course, because such persons, when injured by them, or deprived of the salary due to them, cannot complain, from fear of being subjected to corporeal punishment, or of being reduced again to servile labour."² Yet it was added, this is not said, because we think it wrong that men of reputable life should be taken from the class of bondmen, especially since with God there is no respect of persons; but we say it, that for the reason assigned, no prelate may take for his clergy persons of the lower class alone, to the exclusion of all of higher rank." Thus the bishops were led by their own interest, to help in promoting the object which Christianity had aimed at from the first, and to restore an excluded class to the enjoyment of their common rights as men, although, for the most part, it was not the *Christian spirit* that moved them to this, as it should have done of itself.

And here we may take occasion to glance backward upon what had been thus far done by Christianity in this regard.

¹ See can. 119.

² *Timentes scilicet, ne aut severissimis verberibus afficiantur aut humane servituti denuo crudeliter addicantur.*

From the beginning and onward, Christianity—not indeed by any sudden outward change, but by its secret influences on the modes of thinking and feeling—had prepared a transformation of this relation which is so repugnant to the common worth and dignity of man.¹ It was the new ideas of the image of God in every human creature ; of the redemption destined alike for all ; of its higher fellowship of life, the fellowship of God's kingdom embracing all without any distinction of earthly relations of life, slaves as well as freemen ; it was these ideas by which the prevailing mode of regarding the relation of this class of men, their rights, and the duties owed to them, was changed, and the way prepared for a milder treatment of them. The more respectable church teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries speak with decision and emphasis on this subject. In the manumission of slaves, the church was especially called upon to lend her assistance ; and thus it was acknowledged that such a proceeding was especially suited to the position of the church. Frequently, slaves were set free in order that they might become monks ; and this was regarded as a pious work. At an early period, too, many, especially of the Oriental monks, declared themselves opposed to this whole relation, as repugnant to the dignity of the image of God in all men. Thus the Abbot Isidore of Pelusium, in writing to a person of rank, with whom he is interceding in behalf of one of his slaves,² said he could hardly credit it, that a friend of Christ, who had experienced that grace which bestowed freedom on all, would still own slaves. It is related of Johannes Eleemosynarius, who, from 606 to 616, was patriarch of Alexandria, that he called together those persons who treated their slaves with cruelty, and addressed them as follows :—“ God has not given us servants that we may beat them, but that they may serve us ; but perhaps even not for this purpose, but that they may receive out of the abundance which God has bestowed on us the means of sustenance ; for tell me, what price can man pay to purchase him, who was created after the likeness of God, and thus honoured by God ? Hast thou, who art his master, a

¹ Church History, Vol. I. p. 267,—my Denkwürdigkeiten Bd. II. p. 253 f., and my Chrysostom Bd. I. p. 376 f. Compare Dr Möhler's Essay in the Theologischen Quartal-Schrift, Jahrgang 1834, 1 H.

² οὐ γὰρ αἶμαι οἰκίτην ἔχιν τὸν φιλόχριστον εἰδὸτα τὴν χάριν τὴν πάντας ἐλευθερώσαν.

single member more to thy body ; or hast thou a different soul ? Is he not, in all things, thy equal ? Do ye not hear what the great light of the church, the Apostle Paul says :—‘ For as many of you as are baptized, they have put on Christ ?’ Here is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ. If then, before Christ we are all equal, let us also be equal among ourselves. For Christ took on Him the form of a servant to teach us, that we ought not to be proud toward our servants ; since we all have one master, even Him who dwells in heaven and looks down on the lowly. Pray, what is the gold we pay for the right to subject to us as our servant him who, equally with ourselves, has been honoured by our Lord, and with us redeemed by his blood ? For his sake, heaven, earth, and sea, and all that therein is were created. It is true also, that angels minister to him ; on his account Christ washed his disciples’ feet. On his account Christ was crucified, and for his sake did He suffer everything else. But thou abusest him, who has been thus honoured of God, and treatest him with as little mercy as if thou hadst not one and the same nature in common with him !’ Next, if he learned, that this rebuke failed of its intended effect, and that the slave was still treated no better, he purchased him himself and set him at liberty.¹ The Oriental monks were generally agreed in the principle, never to use the service of slaves ; partly because they considered it as belonging to their calling to perform for each other those services which were usually done by slaves ; partly, because they believed themselves bound to respect the image of God in all men.² When, near the close of the eighth century, the famous Greek monk, Plato, retired from the world, he manumitted his slaves,³ and after that refused to permit any slave to wait on him in the monastery.⁴ These principles were propagated by his disciple and friend, the famous Theodorus Studita, at Constantinople. The latter directs his

¹ See the life of Johannes Eleemosyn. by Leontius—translated by Anastasius in the *Actis Sanctorum* Januar. T. II. § 61, fol. 510.

² Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (see above) says, in his *Capitulis*, c. 8, *Graecorum monachi servos non habent, Romani habent.*

³ See the account of his life, composed by his scholar, the famous Theodorus Studita, in his works published by Sirmond, or in the *Actis Sanctorum* April. T. I. Appendix f. 47. § 8.

⁴ § 23. l. c. πῶς γὰρ ἂν μονάστῃς ἀλήθινος, ὁ δισποτείας φόβον δούλοις ἱπανατινόμενος ;

disciple, the Abbot Nicolaus,¹ not to employ men, created in the image of God, as slaves, either in his own service, or in that of the monastery under his care, or in the labour of the fields; for this was permitted to seculars alone. In his last will also, he gave directions to the same effect.² The Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, in manumitting two slaves, introduced the subject in a deed drawn up for this purpose, with the following words:³—As our Saviour, the author of all created beings, was willing for this reason to take upon Him the nature of man, that He might free us by his grace from the chains of bondage, in which we were enthralled, and restore us to our original freedom; so a good and salutary thing is done, when men whom nature from the beginning created free, and whom the law of nations has subjected to the yoke of servitude, are presented again with the freedom in which they were born.⁴ Among the rude Franks, the slaves had much to suffer from cruel masters; but in the churches, as well as with the priests, they in some cases found relief.⁵ The asylum of the churches was to serve especially for the protection of such slaves as fled from the cruelty of their masters. Such an one was restored to his owner only on condition the latter promised, on his oath, to spare him from bodily punishment. And if the master broke his promise, he was expelled from the communion of the church.⁶ Among the works of pious charity were reckoned especially the redemption and

¹ L. I. ep. 10. ² See opp. Theodori in Sirmond. opp. T. V. f. 66.

³ L. VI. ep. 12.

⁴ The same Gregory writes, in reference to a woman, held as a slave, but who was discovered to be freeborn, and restored to her rights as such: *Quod revelante Deo libertatis auctore approbata sit libera.* L. VII., ep. 1.

⁵ Gregory of Tours, in his history (V. 1, III.), cites the example of a servant and maid belonging to a cruel master, who had won each other's affections. They finally went to the priest, and were married. Their master, as soon as he was informed of this, hurried to the church, and required them to be given up. The priest, reminding him of the respect due to the church, refused to give them up except on condition he promised not to dissolve the connection just formed, and not to inflict upon them any personal harm. The cruel and cunning master promised equivocally that they should not be separated, and deceived the priest. He caused them, both together, to be buried alive. As soon as the priest heard of this, he hastened to the master, nor did he leave him till he consented that both should be dug up again; but the young man only was saved, the woman was suffocated.

⁶ Concil. Epaonense, A.D. 517, c. 39: *Servus reatu atrocior culpabilis si ad ecclesiam confugerit, a corporalibus tantum suppliciis excusetur.* Concil. V. Aurelianense, A.D. 549, c. 22. Of the master who breaks his word, *sit ab omnium communione suspensus.*

manumission of slaves, whereby laymen and monks, who stood in high reputation for their piety, distinguished themselves. But at the present time, the bishops were led by an oftentimes selfish policy,¹ sometimes to liberate slaves in order to adopt them into the number of their clergy, sometimes to give them ordination without releasing them from their previous obligation. At all events, this class of men could not fail thereby to be placed in an advantageous light before the eyes of the people. When in the rule of Chrodegang, and at the church assembly of Aix, a resolution was made against the exclusive adoption of bondmen into the spiritual order, an express clause was inserted, as we have already remarked, to guard against the mistaken view, that these men were to be considered unworthy, on account of their descent, of being received into the spiritual order; as if the dignity of men and Christians were not to be recognised in all alike.

The possessions and wealth² of the church, especially in landed estates, increased greatly under the new relations. It was not a pious sympathy alone in the cause of the church, but superstition also which contributed to this increase. Men believed that by making gifts and legacies to the churches they did a work of peculiar merit, which would atone for their sins; as is shown by the oft-occurring phrases, *pro remissione peccatorum, pro redemptione animarum.*³ But then again these possessions

¹ In the monasteries, also, many slaves were received as monks;—whence the law of the Emperor Charles in the capitulary of the year 805, c. XI. Baluz. T. I. f. 423. *De propriis servis vel ancillis non supra modum in monasteria sumantur, ne desertentur villae* (that there might be no want of persons to cultivate the land).

² Among the new sources of wealth to the church, belonged also the obligation imposed on the laity to pay tithes. The confounding together of the state of things under the Old and under the New Testament, had already led the ecclesiastical authority, in occasional instances, to require of the laity, that they should consecrate, in the name of God, the tenth part of their goods to God and the priests. Thus, for example, the letter of the bishops of Tours in the year 567: “*Illud vero instantissime commonemur, ut Abrahae documenta sequentes decimas ex omni facultate non pigeat Deo pro reliquis, quae possidetis, conservandis offerre, ne sibi ipsi inopiam generet, qui parva non tribuit, et plura retinet.*” But the Emperor Charles was the first who, moved by this requisition, derived from the Old Testament, made the payment of tithes legally binding. In enacting this law, he still met with much opposition. We have seen above how Alcuin expressed himself on this subject.

³ Chilperic, King of the Franks, often complained,—*Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiae nostrae ad ecclesias sunt translatae, nulli penitus, nisi soli episcopi regnant, perit honor noster et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum.* Gregor. Turon. l. VI. c. 46.

were thus rendered the more insecure,¹ being exposed to the covetous desires and forcible contributions of the nobles and princes, against whom the donors sought to protect themselves by terrible forms of execration inserted in the deeds of gift, and by stories and legends touching the punishment of sacrilege. The landed estates of the church in the Frankish empire were for the most part liable to be taxed in the same manner as all property belonging to the old landed proprietors; perhaps, however, with the exception, from the beginning, of a smaller portion considered as an hereditary possession of the church²—as we find it in fact defined by law, from the time of Charlemagne.

The church had little reason to expect, that she would be enabled to obtain for her property any exemption from the law which required all property of Franks to send its contribution to the common fund for the support of the army (Heerbann). True, the bishops and abbots were declared free from the obligation of rendering personal service in war; but as we have already remarked in the history of Boniface, many Frankish bishops and clergymen still thought proper, in despite of their spiritual calling, to engage personally in warlike expeditions, and all the labours of Boniface to suppress this abuse of barbarism, had failed as yet of having the desired effect. But the sight of a large number of clergy wounded and killed in battle, having produced a very bad effect on the multitude,³ the Emperor Charles was solicited to take measures for the prevention of this evil for the future. He commanded, in a capitulary of the year 801,⁴ that in future no priest should take part in a battle; but only two or three chosen bishops, with a few priests, should attend the army, for the purpose of preaching, bestowing their blessing, holding mass, hearing confessions, attending upon the sick, imparting the extreme unction, and especially of seeing that none should leave the world without the communion. What

¹ To protect the churches and defend them against wrongs, beadles, or bailiffs, so called, were appointed (*Advocati, Vice domini*) from the order of laymen (analogous to the *defensores* of the ancient church), because they were obliged to undertake many sorts of business with which ecclesiastics could not properly meddle.

² Of the *mansus ecclesiae*.

³ In the petition addressed to the emperor for this purpose, it is said:—*Novit dominus, quando eos in talibus videmus, terror apprehendit nos, et quidam ex nostris timore perterriti, propter hoc fugere solent.*

⁴ Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 1054.

hope could there be of victory, where the priests, at one hour, presented Christians the body of the Lord, and in the next, with their own wicked hands killed the Christians to whom they had presented it, or the pagans to whom they should have preached Christ; especially, as Christ called them the salt of the earth. But at the same time, however, the emperor commanded that the bishops who remained at home with their churches, should send their people well equipped to the army-bann. And so strong was the public opinion that exclusion from all participation in war was discreditable, that the emperor was obliged to affix to this ordinance forbidding the clergy to do personal military service, an express defence and justification of their honour.¹

As already in the Roman empire, Christianity and the church representing it had exerted a special influence on the administration of justice, by introducing and diffusing new views respecting the sacredness of human life,² respecting human law as emanating from the divine law, respecting the administration of justice, for which account must be rendered to God, and respect-

¹ Quia audivimus, quosdam nos suspectos habere, quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minorare eis voluissemus. Alcuin also complains that bishops were obliged to leave the duties of their spiritual calling to engage in the foreign employments of war. Thus to Bishop Leutfrid (ep. 208), who must have expressed his own views on the subject, he writes to declare how very much opposed he was to this practice:—Vere fateor, quod tua tribulatio torquet animum meum, dum audio te in periculo esse statutum, nec officii tui implere posse ministerium, sed bellator spiritualis bellator esse carnalis. Which letter, if the law of the emperor was immediately carried into execution, must have been written before its enactment.

² Christianity exerted a mighty influence on public opinion, also, through the decided expressions of the church on the subject of suicide, a crime not likely to be unfrequent among barbarous tribes. The second council of Orleans, in 533, decreed in its fifteenth canon, that oblations might be received when offered in behalf of those who *had been executed* for a crime, but not in behalf of those who (perhaps to escape execution) had taken their own lives. The synod at Auxerre (synodus Antisiodorensis), in 578, decreed, c. 17, that no oblation should be received from a person who had drowned or strangled himself, or taken his own life by throwing himself from a tree, or by the sword, or in any other way. In the capitulis of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, it is laid down (c. 63) that mass was not to be performed for suicides, but only prayers offered and alms distributed. It was only when the act seemed to have proceeded from a sudden excess of passion or mental derangement, that some were disposed to make an exception. As many persons in moments of desperation, when condemned to church penance, had attempted to destroy themselves, the sixteenth council of Toledo (A.D. 693, c. 4), who defined this as animam suam per desperationem diabolo sociare conari, decreed, that whoever was rescued from such an attempt, should be excluded for the space of two months from the fellowship of the church.

ing a charity that ennobles justice, a mercy and compassion tempering the severity of the law, so the same effect would be still more strongly manifested among these nations, contrasted with the existing barbarism, which was so destitute of all regular legal forms. This effect of Christianity, it may be allowed, was not the same as if it had proceeded out of the pure essence of the gospel; but it was modified by the form in which the gospel was presented among these nations, a form in which the respective points of view of the Old and New Testaments were constantly confounded. On the one hand, among nations where hitherto the majority of punishments consisted of pecuniary fines, and where, by the payment of a sum of money, every crime, even murder, could be expiated, the idea was first awakened by Christianity of a punitive justice and regular forms of law; and hence by Christianity still greater severity might be introduced than had existed before. To the rude people, whose feelings had not yet become pervaded and softened by Christianity, this increased severity might wear a colouring of cruel harshness, of revengeful retaliation. But on the other hand, there proceeded from the church ideas of grace and of compassion which strove to temper the exercise of rigid justice. Whilst on the one hand, Christianity taught men to behold in human life an inviolable sacredness, and hence the murderer must appear but the more worthy of punishment, so on the other hand, it taught them also to recognise in the transgressor the image of God obscured, the fallen man, who could still be an object of God's redeeming love, to whom therefore a space should be granted for repentance and reformation. For this reason, an Alcuin declared himself opposed to the punishment of death.¹ It is often mentioned with praise, as the works of pious monks and clergy, that they inter-

¹ See Alcuin, ep. 176. This letter can hardly be understood otherwise than as relating to the supposed assassination of Pope Leo III. and to the election of a successor (the reading in this place, should doubtless be *caput ecclesiarum orbis*). But as Leo was not murdered, but only shamefully mishandled, and Alcuin (see ep. 92) declared himself opposed to his deposition, it is most natural to suppose, that Alcuin wrote this letter on receiving the first exaggerated report of the pope's assassination. Now, with regard to the murderers of the pope, Alcuin, after having demanded their punishment, proceeds to say: *Non ego tamen mortem alicujus suadeo; dicente Deo Ezech. 33: "Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat," sed ut sapienti consilio vindicta fiat per alia poenarum genera vel perpetuum (perhaps to be supplied *carcerem vel*) exilii damnatione (m).*

ceded with the judges to obtain a milder punishment for the guilty, especially that they sought to procure pardon for criminals condemned to death; and in case they failed, still attempted to reanimate their bodies when taken down from the gallows. If such pious men sometimes failed of discerning the true limits of gentleness; and if, where the administration of justice yielded to their influence, civil order was liable to suffer injury;¹ yet of far greater importance was the antagonism thus created against the rude popular feeling, and the influence which thus went to soften the dispositions of men, and make them look upon human life as a sacred thing; while in some cases, perhaps, a convent might be converted into a house of reformation for such pardoned criminals.

The right already conferred on churches under the Roman empire, of forming an inviolable sanctuary for the unfortunate and the persecuted, would the more easily pass over to the new churches, because it undoubtedly found a point of attachment in an ancient custom, handed down from the pagan times. Especially important and salutary must such a privilege have become in these days of rude arbitrary will and barbarian cruelty. Thus persecuted individuals could for the moment evade the ferocity of their persecutors, and slaves the anger of their masters; and, in the meantime, ecclesiastics step in as their mediators. It sometimes happened, no doubt, that men in power, while under the influence of their passions, paid no regard to these sacred asylums; but if they were afterwards overtaken by misfortune, as they might sometimes be, as a natural consequence of the insolence which had emboldened them to invade the sanctuary, the common mind seldom failed to interpret this as a terrible example of warning for others.² The Emperor Charles, in order

¹ There lived in the sixth century, near the town of Angouleme, a retired monk, by name Eparchius, to whom large sums of gold and silver were given by devout persons, all which he employed in maintaining the poor and in redeeming captives. The judges were unable to resist the influence of his kindly nature, and often allowed themselves to be persuaded to spare the guilty. Once, however, when a robber, who was accused also of several murders, was about to be executed, the judge, though inclined to spare the man's life in compliance with the intercession of this monk, found himself compelled to yield to the indignation of the populace, who cried out, that if this person was suffered to live, not a man would be safe in the whole country. *Gregor. Turon. L. VI. c. 8.*

² Thus, *e. g.*, a duke had fled for refuge from the persecutions of the Frankish prince Chramnus, to the church of St Martin of Tours. This Chramnus then caused

to prevent these places of refuge for the persecuted from becoming a means of impunity for all transgressors, commanded, by an ordinance of the year 779, that to murderers, and others liable to capital punishment, no means of subsistence should be allowed in the asylum.¹ On the other hand, in the laws of the English king, Ina, it was laid down, that whenever such persons took refuge in a church, their lives should be spared, and they should only be subjected to a legal pecuniary fine (composition).² It was considered as a duty of the church to take under its protection the afflicted and oppressed, and to mitigate the sufferings of prisoners. Thus the fifth council of Orleans, in 549, decreed in its twentieth canon, that on every Sunday the prisons should be visited by the archdeacon or presiding officer of the church, in order that the wants of the prisoners might be mercifully provided for, according to the divine laws; and the bishop was to take care that a sufficient supply of food was furnished them by the church. In Spain, particularly—where, however, the sense of weakness in the state inclined men to lean more habitually on the protecting arm of the church—every effort was made to increase this department of her influence. The fourth council of Toledo, in 633, decreed in its thirty-second canon, that the bishops should not neglect the sacred charge intrusted to them by God, of protecting and defending the people. Whenever, therefore, they saw that the judges and magistrates were oppressors of the poor, they should first endeavour to set them right by priestly admonitions; and, if they would not amend, by complaining of them to the king. And it had already been ordained before, by a royal law,³ that the judges and tax-

him to be so narrowly beset on all sides as to render it impossible for him to get even a draught of water, meaning to force him by hunger and thirst to leave the church. When the man was nearly dead, some one contrived to bring him a vessel of water. But the local judge of the district hastened to the spot, forced the vessel from his hands, and poured its contents on the ground. A great sensation was produced on the public mind by the circumstance, that on the same day this judge was attacked by a fever, and died on the following night. The consequence was, that food in abundance was brought to the unfortunate man from all quarters, and so he was saved. Chramnus himself perished miserably at a later period. Gregor. Turon. L. IV., c. 19, comp. L. V., c. 4.

¹ See Baluz. Capitular. I. 197.

² See Wilkins Concil. Angl. f. 59. Alcuin also thought it wrong for a person accused, a fugitivus ad Christi Dei nostri et Sanctorum ejus patrocinia de ecclesia ad eadem reddi vincula. See ep. 195 to Charles the Great.

³ See Concil. Tolet. III. of the year 589, c. 18.

gatherers should be present at the assemblies of the bishops, that they might learn from them how to treat the people with piety and justice. The bishops should also keep an eye on the conduct of the judges.¹ We learn from the picture of a devoted bishop, delineated by Gregory of Tours, what was then reckoned as belonging to such a calling. He obtains justice for the people and succour for the needy, imparts consolation to widows, and is the chief protection of minors.² Thus, owing to the peculiar point of view in which, by virtue of their spiritual character, they were regarded on the part of the people and the princes, and owing to what they gradually became as a secular order, the bishops could exercise a very great and salutary formative influence on every department of civil society; but this could only be done, when they understood their calling in a truly spiritual sense, and were enabled, in this sense, to direct and manage the heterogeneous mass of business which had become connected with their office. Yet great also was the temptation to which they were exposed, when drawn into the management of affairs so foreign from their holy calling, of overlooking spiritual things in the crowd of secular; nor by so doing, could they avoid making themselves dependent on the secular power, which they ought rather to have guided by the spirit of Christianity.³

¹ *Sunt enim prospectores episcopi secundum regiam admonitionem qualiter iudices cum populis agant.*

² *Gregor. Turonens. L. IV. c. 35.* We make no mention of a law of the Emperor Charlemagne, extending the older judicatory power of the bishops beyond its limits, and when but one party applied to their tribunal, obliging the other to follow, willing or not willing; because more recent investigations have thrown doubt on the genuineness of this law, which, indeed, does not well accord with the character of the government of Charlemagne.

³ *Alcuin complains of this, ep. 112. Pastores curae turbant seculares, qui Deo vacare debuerunt, vagari per terras et milites Christi seculo militare coguntur et gladium verbi Dei inter oris claustra qualibet cogente necessitate recondunt.* The same writer complains of the priests, who aspired only after worldly honours, and neglected the duties of their spiritual office, ep. 37: *Quidam sacerdotes Christi, qui habent parochias, et honores seculi et gradus ministerii non (perhaps it should read una) volunt habere.* In epistle 114, he writes to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, who had complained that he was compelled to neglect the more important duty of the care of souls, to attend to secular business: *Si apostolico exemplo vivamus et pauperem agamus vitam in terris, sicut illi fecerunt, seculi servitium juste abdicamus. Nunc vero seculi principes habent justam, ut videtur, causam, ecclesiam Christi servitio suo opprimere.*

II. THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

As it regards the internal constitution of the churches, many changes would unavoidably take place here also, owing to the manner in which Christianity had been first introduced among the people, and to the new social relations. A natural consequence of the former was the increasing respect entertained for the monks,¹ as compared with the clergy. For the most part the former were, in truth, the founders of the new churches, from which proceeded the civilization of the people and the improvement of the soil; and by the severity of their morals, and an activity of zeal which conquered every difficulty, they but distinguished themselves the more from the barbarised clergy; till the wealth, which the monasteries had acquired by the toilsome labours of the monks, brought in its train a deterioration of the primitive monastic virtue. Now, as the degenerated condition of the clergy in the Frankish empire inspired a wish for their reformation, so the consideration and respect in which the monastic order was held, naturally led men to propose the latter as a model for imitation; and, in fact, many similar attempts had been made, ever since the canonical institute of Augustin, to incorporate the clergy into a body resembling the monastic societies. The most complete experiment of this sort was made after the middle of the eighth century, by Chrodegang of Metz, the founder of the so-called canonical order of the clergy. His plan for the union of the clergy into societies was modelled, for the most part, after the pattern of the Benedictine rule. The clergy scarcely differed from the monks, otherwise than by possessing a certain property of their own. They lived together in the same house, and ate at the same table; to each was assigned

¹ From the monks, the practice of tonsure passed over to the clergy. In the fourth century, it became customary for the monks, at their entrance upon the monastic life, to get their hair shorn, as a token of renunciation of the world; perhaps with some allusion to the vow of the Nazarite. In fact, the monks were usually regarded in the Greek church as Christian Nazarites. In like manner, it was employed in the fifth century to denote consecration to the clerical office, for the clergy too must separate themselves from the world. In the case of the clergy, the distinguishing mark of the tonsure was next, that it should be in *formam coronae*. See Concil. Tolet. IV. 633, c. 41, *omnes clerici vel lectores sicut levitae et sacerdotes detonso superius toto capite inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant.*

his portion of food and drink, according to a fixed rule; at appointed hours (the *horae canonicae*) they came together for prayer and singing; at an appointed time, assemblies were held of all the members, in which portions of the Holy Scriptures, together with the rule,¹ were publicly read; and then, with reference to what had been read, reproofs administered to those who had been delinquent. This rule met with general acceptance; and was, with some alterations, made legal by the council of Aix, in 816, for the Frankish empire. This change in the life of the clergy was attended, in the outset, with a beneficial influence; in that it served to counteract, on the one hand, the barbarism of the clerical order, and on the other, their too servile dependence on the bishops, which had grown in part out of the increased authority of the bishops, who, under the new relations, were important even in their political character, and in part out of the practice of taking bondmen into the spiritual order.² Thus, too, a more collegiate mode of living together in common was introduced between the bishop and his clergy.

The wide territory over which the new dioceses often extended, and the many remnants of pagan barbarism and of pagan superstition which still lingered behind in them, rendered a careful supervision of them, on the part of the bishops, of the utmost importance. For this reason, what had been before a customary practice, and what conscientious bishops had been used to consider as their special duty, was now settled as an ecclesiastical law. Thus the second council of Braga, in Spain,³ in 572, decreed in their first canon, that the bishops should visit every place in their diocese, and first inform themselves as to the condition of the clergy—whether they were well instructed in everything pertaining to the church ritual, and if they found them not so, they should instruct them. The next day they should call together the laity, and exhort them against the errors of idolatry, and the prevailing vices to which they were formerly addicted.⁴ And

¹ *Capitula*; hence the name Dom-chapter—chapter of the cathedral.

² So that they might be allowed to inflict bodily punishment on their clergy.

³ *Concilium Bracaraense II.*

⁴ *Doceant illos, ut errores fugiant idolorum vel diversa crimina, id est homicidium, adulterium, perjurium, falsum testimonium, et reliqua peccata mortifera, aut quod nolunt sibi fieri non faciant alteri et ut credant resurrectionem omnium hominum et diem judicii, in quo unusquisque secundum sua opera recepturus est.*

the Synod at Cloveshove decreed, in the year 747, canon third, that the bishops should annually hold a visitation in their communities, call together the men and women of all ranks and degrees in each place, preach to them the word of God, and forbid them the pagan customs.

With these visitations of the bishops was connected, in the Frankish churches, a regulation which was designed to facilitate the execution of this moral oversight, namely, the regulation¹ of the so-called *Sends*.² The bishops were, once a year, to hold a spiritual court in each place of their diocese. Every member of the community should be bound to give information of every wrong action known to him, that had been done by another. To seven of the most approved persons in each community, under the name of Deans (*Decani*), was committed the oversight over the rest. The archdeacons were to go several days beforehand, and announce the approaching visit of the bishop, so that all the preparations might be made for the court which was to be holden. The bishop, on his arrival, should first place the deans under oath that they would not be moved, by any consideration whatever, to conceal any action which, to their knowledge, had been done contrary to the divine law. Next, he should proceed to question them in details; for example, concerning the observance of pagan customs; whether every father taught his son the creed and the Lord's prayer; concerning the commission of such crimes, in particular, as were formerly prevalent among these people, and, owing to the reigning spirit of immorality, were not usually recognised as such. The punishments fixed by law, in part corporeal, were inflicted at once; and to carry this out, the civil authorities were bound, in case of necessity, to sustain the bishops with the force at their command.³ These *Sends* might, no doubt, be attended with many advantages to the people in that rude condition, but they were also attended with injurious effects.

¹ The Emperor Charles commanded, in a capitulary of the year 801, *ut episcopi circumeant parochias sibi commissas et ibi inquirendi studium habeant de incestu, de parricidiis, fratricidiis, adulteriis, cenodoxiis et aliis malis, quae contraria sunt Deo.*

² Probably a corruption of the word Synod, Diocesan-synod,—called at a later period, in allusion to the court here held by the bishops, *placita episcoporum.*

³ Regino of Prüm has more exactly described, in his work *De Disciplina*, how these *Sends* were held.

The tribunal of the church, which, according to its original destination, should be spiritual, and inflict only spiritual punishments, assumed the form of a civil court, and the church assumed a coercive power foreign to its peculiar province and calling; all which, in fact, led afterwards to various forms of oppression and tyranny over the conscience.

To preserve the ancient union among the dioceses, a powerful counteraction was needed against the manifold abuses creeping in under the new relations—abuses which threatened the utter dissolution of that union. In the ancient church, there existed in fact a law, that no clergyman should be ordained at large, or otherwise than for a particular church.¹ The missions first made it a *matter of necessity* to depart from this principle, since it was impossible at once to appoint the monks and ecclesiastics who went out as missionaries, to any particular dioceses. But that which was necessarily occasioned at first, by particular circumstances continued long afterward when these circumstances had ceased to exist, and became a disorderly practice, which was the source of other disorders. Unworthy individuals contrived, sometimes by simony, to get themselves ordained; and then travelled about the country, making traffic of their spiritual functions. To counteract this abuse, the ancient laws against indeterminate ordinations (*ordinationes absolutae*)² were revived, but still with little effect. To this was added another abuse. According to the ancient principles of the church, monarchs, as well as all others, should publicly worship God in the church where the whole community assembled. But the spirit of the Byzantine court first introduced an innovation which was opposed to the spirit of the ancient church, in allowing the emperor and the empress to have within their palace a chapel of their own, and along with it an established court clergy.³ Now whether it

¹ The law forbidding the *ordinare absolute*, *χειροτονεῖν ἀπολύτως*.

² See the capitularies of the Emperor Charles, A.D. 789 and A.D. 794.

³ This custom is said to have been introduced already by Constantine the Great. Eusebius (*de vita Constantini* L. VI., c. 17), strictly understood, says only that he converted his palace into a church, being accustomed to hold in it meetings for prayer and the reading of the Bible. But Sozomen (I. 8) says that he had caused a chapel (*εὐκατήγιος οἶκος*) to be fitted up in his palace; while in time of war he used to take along with him a tent prepared expressly for the purposes of worship, for the performance of which a special class of ecclesiastics were appointed. It is clear, also, that other persons of rank already followed the example of the emperor, and founded chapels

was the case, that the Frankish sovereigns simply followed this example, or were led to adopt the same course by the necessities of their roving camp-court, they selected their own clergy to go with them and administer the divine service, at whose head stood an arch-chaplain (archicapellanus, primicerius palatii); and these, on account of their continual and intimate connection with the princes, obtained great influence in ecclesiastical affairs. The example of the sovereign was now followed by the nobles and knights, who built private chapels in their castles, and established in them priests of their own—an arrangement which began to be attended with many mischievous effects. These clergy, relying on the protection of the nobles, threatened to make themselves independent of the diocesan oversight of the bishops.¹ Another consequence of this arrangement was, that the public worship of the parish ceased to command the same respect and observance, and might even come to that pass, as to be attended by the poor country people alone—the rich and the poor, each had their worship by themselves. Moreover, these knights often chose unworthy persons, such as the above described itinerant ecclesiastics, who could be hired at a bargain to perform the liturgical acts, and who could easily be used as tools for any work, or else their own bondmen, whom they employed at the same time in the lowest menial services, thus degrading the spiritual office and religion itself. To counteract these evils many laws were enacted, having it for their object to preserve the parish worship in due respect.² Again, the diocesan power of the bishops was liable to be injured by the influence, which was conceded to the laity as founders of churches for themselves and their posterity. The Emperor Justinian, by laws of the year

in their houses;—hence the decree of the second Trullan council, that no clergyman should perform the rite of baptism, or celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper in such a chapel, without the bishop's permission, c. 31. *τοὺς ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι λειτουργοῦντας ἢ βαπτίζοντας κληρικούς ὑπὸ γνώμης τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπου.*

¹ The council of Chalons-sur-Saone, concilium Cabilonense, of the year 650, c. 14, cites the complaint of the bishops, quod oratoria per villas potentum jam longo constructa tempore et facultates ibidem collatas ipsi, quorum villae sunt, episcopis contradicant et jam nec ipsos clericos, qui ad ipsa oratoria deserviunt, ab archidiacono coërceri permittant.

² The council of Clermont A.D. 535, c. 15, and in the capitulary of the year 789, c. 9, decreed, ut in diebus festis vel dominicis omnes ad ecclesiam veniant et non invitent presbyteros ad domos suas ad missas faciendas.

541 and 555, laid the first foundation for these so-called rights of patronage. He granted to those who founded churches, with specific endowments for the salaries of the clergy, a right for their posterity to propose worthy candidates to the bishops for these spiritual offices, so, however, that the determination of the choice should depend on the bishop's examination.¹ As under the new relations many churches were founded by individual landholders on their estates, and endowed by them out of their own resources, so this relation had to be more clearly defined. On the one hand, it was considered just to give the founders of such churches a guarantee that the church property which they had sequestered for this holy purpose should not be dissipated by the negligence or greediness of bishops. A right of oversight was therefore conceded to them in this respect, and they were also allowed the privilege of proposing to the bishop suitable men to be placed over such churches founded by themselves, as we find it determined by the ninth council of Toledo, in 655.² Moreover, their descendants were entitled to the same right of oversight; and in case they found from the bishops and metropolitans no hearing of their complaints concerning the abuse of the property bequeathed to the church by their ancestors, they were allowed the right of appealing to the king. But on the other hand, it must at a very early period have been remarked as an abuse, that these patrons made an arbitrary use of the church property, as if it were their own; that they were as ready to practise simony in disposing of these parish offices, as the sovereigns in disposing of the bishoprics; and that they considered the clergy as *their retainers*, and strove to make them independent of the diocesan power of the bishops. Hence, from the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the ninth, many laws were devised by the synods against these abuses.³ The sixth council of Arles,

¹ The novels of Justinian, *Εἰ τις ἐκτῆριον ὄκρον κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουληθεῖη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεισθαι, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ τοῦτου κληρονόμοι, εἰ τὰς διαπάνας αὐτοὶ ταῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι, καὶ ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονεῖσθαι.*

² C. 2. *Ut quamdiu ecclesiarum fundatores in hac vita superstites exstiterint, pro eisdem locis curam permittantur habere sollicitam atque rectores idoneos iisdem ipsi offerant episcopis ordinandos.*

³ The fourth council of Orleans 541, c. 7, *Ut in oratoriis domini praediorum minime contra votum episcopi peregrinos clericos intromittant*, c. 26, *Si quae parochiae in potentum domibus constitutae sunt, ubi observantes clerici ab archidiacono civitatis, admoniti, fortasse quod ecclesiae debent, sub specie domini domus implere neglex-*

in 813, complained¹ that unsuitable men were often recommended to the priestly vocation by the laity, commonly for the purpose of gain. It was forbidden them for the future to exact presents for their recommendations.²

Amidst so many influences, which threatened to dissolve the bond of the diocesan constitution, the bishops would naturally look about them for some means of securing themselves, and of facilitating the supervision of their extensive dioceses. They began dividing them up into several districts (*capitula ruralia*); placing over each an arch-presbyter, to superintend the other parish clergy and priests. But the case was, that the deacons, and particularly the archdeacons, by reason of the close connection in which they stood with the bishops, and of their being frequently employed by the latter to transact special business as their delegates and plenipotentiaries, had by degrees obtained an authority transcending the original intention of their office.³ Hence it happened, that the bishops of the eighth and ninth centuries would appoint archdeacons, as their plenipotentiaries, for the superintendence of the several great divisions of their dioceses; and to these, as such, even the parish clergy who were priests became subordinate.⁴ Hence arose the great power of the archdeacons, designed at first to counteract abuses in the administration of the dioceses; but which being abused began already to introduce the same oppressions, and thus to become mischievous itself.⁵

erint, corrigantur secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam. Comp. the third council of Toledo 589, can. 19. So Boniface ordered: "Ut laici presbyteros non ejiciant de ecclesiis nec mittere praesumant sine consensu episcoporum suorum, ut omnino non audeant munera exigere a presbyterio propter commendationem ecclesiae cuique presbytero." Bonifac. Epistolae ed. Würdtwein f. 140. ¹ C. 5.

² Ut laici omnino a presbyterio non audeant munera exigere propter commendationem ecclesiae.

³ Against this Concil. Toletan. IV., A.D. 633, c. 39, Nonnulli diacones in tantam erumpunt superbiam, ut se presbyteris antepoant, and the council of Merida in Spain, concilium Emeritense A.D. 666, c. 5, that the bishop should send an arch-presbyter, not a deacon as his plenipotentiary to a council.

⁴ Thus the archdeacon appears as a plenipotentiary of the bishop in the council of Chalons, A.D. 650, c. 7. The power of the arch-diaconate, and the revenues of the office caused it already to be sought after by laymen; hence the decree of the Emperor Charles, A.D. 805, c. 2. Ne archidiaconi sint laici. But the same thing was decreed also with regard to the appointment of arch-presbyters by a council of Rheims 630 c. 19, Ut in parochiis nullus laicorum archi-presbyter praeponatur.

⁵ A proof of this is the ordinance of a synod held by Boniface in the year 745: Prae-

As it respects the general forms of ecclesiastical union, the metropolitan constitution passed over, it is true, to the new churches; and many laws were enacted by the synods for the purpose of establishing it. But as this stood originally in the closest connection with the political constitution of the Roman empire, it therefore could not, under circumstances so different, where there were no cities exactly corresponding to the Roman metropolitan towns, be made by the dead letter of these laws so vital an institution, as it had been in the ancient church. The paramount authority, and the paramount influence of a bishop depended far more, under the new relations, on the capacity and position of the individual, than on the political standing of the city embraced in his bishopric. The Frankish bishops, therefore, had no interest in subjecting themselves to a dependence of this sort; and the Frankish love of freedom was averse to it. This disinclination of the bishops to the recognition of any such form of dependence in their neighbourhood, contributed to make them more ready to acknowledge the dependence, less burdensome to themselves, on a more distant head of the whole church, as in this they might find a means of protection against the detested power of the metropolitans; and accordingly this had an important influence on the shaping of that form of ecclesiastical constitution which became a thing of so *great moment* to the *entire* system of the church, namely the *papacy*.

In the gradual unfolding of the theocratical system, everything depended on the complete form of the papacy; for so long as the bishops stood singly opposed to the sovereigns at the same time that they were dependent on them, the church as a whole could not easily come off triumphant out of the contest with the secular power. But everything would have to assume a different shape, when a man, independent of the sovereigns by his position, stood at the head of the entire church,—a man who pursued a consistent plan, and knew how to avail himself of every circumstance for its execution. Now we saw in the preceding period, how the ideal of such a papacy had in fact already been formed in the minds of the Roman bishops, and how they had already taken advantage of various circumstances for the support of their claims.

videant episcopi, ne cupiditas archidiaconorum suorum culpas nutriat, quia multis modis mentitur iniquitas sibi. Bonifac. epp. f. 161.

In an age which had been rent from all historical connection with the earlier centuries, many things of this sort, however, might, when contemplated from a distance, seem invested with greater importance than, in themselves considered, they really possessed.

We commence this period with a man who, penetrated with the conviction that to him, as the successor of St Peter, was divinely committed the oversight of the entire church, and its supreme guidance, showed by the vigilant eye which he directed to every part of the church, far and near, and by his no less constant activity, what a single individual, in the midst of disorders breaking in on all sides, could effect when placed at the head of the whole. This man was Gregory the First, called the Great. Taken from his retreat in a monastery¹ consecrated to silent meditation, Gregory was suddenly thrown into an active situation, where he found himself surrounded by business of the most complicated and heterogeneous character. When he would have gladly devoted himself with all his energies to the duties of a spiritual shepherd, he found himself compelled, by a regard for the good of his communities, for his duties to his church and to the Greek empire, whose vassal he was, to undertake the management of a multitude of affairs, toilsome in themselves, and altogether foreign from his spiritual office. While beholding with his own eyes the desolations spread far and wide by wasting pestilences, and by the sword of merciless barbarians,² while prostrated himself, for months, by bodily sufferings on the bed of sickness, he must still bear the heavy and manifold burdens of his office.³

¹ Gregory says of himself: *Quasi prospero flatu navigabam, cum tranquillam vitam in monasterio ducerem, sed procellosis subito motibus tempestas exorta in sua perturbatione me rapuit, Lib. IX. ep. 121.*

² He himself gives the following description of the state of his times: *Destructae urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est, nullus in agris incola, paene nullus in urbibus habitator remansit et tamen ipsae parvae generis humani reliquiae adhuc quotidie et sine cessatione feriuntur. Alios in captivitate duci, alios detruncari, alios interfici videmus. Ipsa autem, quae aliquando mundi domina esse videbatur, qualis remanserit, conspicimus. Immensis doloribus multipliciter attrita, desolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum. In Ezechiel, L. II. H. VI. § 21. The devastation caused by pestilence seemed nothing compared to that by the sword. He thus drew comfort from death by the pestilence: *Quantas detruncationes, quantas crudelitates vidimus, quibus mors sola remedium et erat vita tormentum. epp. L. X. ep. 63.**

³ He himself says: *Quam grave sit confusus temporibus locis majoribus esse prae-positum, ex nostro prorsus dolore sentimus, epp. L. X. ep. 37.*

He had to watch for the security of the imperial provinces in Italy, which were continually encroached upon by the Longobards, and to conduct the negotiations with this people; and when, to preserve the quiet and peace of his own communities, he yielded anything to *them*, he exposed himself to be accused by the emperors, of having given up too much which was rightly theirs. He spared no pains to alleviate the distress of the inhabitants of Italy impoverished by the wars, and to relieve the sufferers who, from all the wasted districts, took refuge with him. He kept a vigilant eye on the bishops of his own particular patriarchal diocese, and dealt severely with the negligent, who hoped to take advantage of the general disorder to escape with impunity. He had to maintain a strict watch over the administration of the property belonging to the Roman church in Africa, in Gaul, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and in several provinces of the East. To these latter he sent for this purpose defensores chosen from among his own clergy; and by their means he was moreover enabled to contract ecclesiastical and political alliances¹ in all those countries, to inform himself of their ecclesiastical condition, and to bring his influence to bear upon it.

Gregory was governed by the conviction that on him, as the successor of St Peter, devolved the care of the whole church, and its sovereign guidance; which, therefore, he believed himself authorized to extend over the Greek church.² He held it to be his duty to preserve inviolate this authority of the Roman

¹ Gregory could not, indeed, judge with impartiality respecting the conduct of monarchs who ruled over the East Roman and Frankish empires, especially when viewed at a distance, but was blinded by a regard for the interests of the church. He was moreover so far misled as to speak in his letters, for example, to the Emperor Phocas, and to Brunehild, rather in the language of the court and of the politician, than in that of simple Christian truthfulness. Thus it brought great reproach upon him, that he should be so far led astray, as to approve, in a congratulatory letter to the Emperor Phocas (L. XIII. ep. 31) his accession to the throne, which, though it was brought about by crime, he called a glorious work of God. Yet he gives the emperor, on this occasion, excellent advice, delivering himself here not like a courtier, but as the Christian bishop: "Reformetur jam singulis sub jugo imperii pii libertas sua. Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicae imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt, imperatores vero reipublicae, domini liberorum." Surely suitable advice to a Byzantine emperor.

² De Constantinopolitana ecclesia quis eam dubitet, apostolicae sedi esse subjectam? Quod et piissimus imperator et frater noster ejusdem civitatis episcopus assidue profitentur, L. IX. ep. 12. Which, to be sure, was refuted by the quarrel between Gregory and the Patriarch of Constantinople, hereafter to be mentioned. He

church, which seemed to him to have been conferred on her for the welfare of the church universal. But he himself repelled all those marks of honour, which subserved no higher end, and by which the bishops might be turned aside from fulfilling the duties of the pastoral office. It being a prevailing custom in Sicily, for the bishops to observe a festival on the anniversary of the ordination of the Roman bishop, Gregory put a stop to it, as a foolish, vain and superfluous mark of respect.¹ If they must come together, he said, they ought much rather to choose for this purpose the festival of St Peter, that they might thank him, from whom they had received the pastoral office.² A bishop of Messina having sent him, as an honourable present, a magnificent dress, he caused it to be sold, and sent back the avails to the bishop, telling him³ it was behoving to abolish those customs which tended to oppress the church; that presents never should be sent to a quarter whence they should rather be received;⁴ and he forbade them for the future. When the same bishop proposed to visit Rome, Gregory begged him to spare himself this trouble, and to pray rather, that the more distantly they were separated from each other, the more cordially they might, by the help of Christ, be united in the fellowship of a mutual charity. We have already said,⁵ that it was far from his wish to make the Roman Church the sole model for all liturgical regulations. Accordingly, on another occasion, he avowed the principle, that the good, wherever found, even though it might be in churches of inferior name, should be copied and retained.⁶ He reproved his agent and plenipotentiary

already lays down the principle in reference to the transactions of the church assembly at Constantinople (L. IX. ep. 68): *Sine apostolicae sedis auctoritate atque consensu nullas quaeque acta fuerint vires habeant.*

¹ *Quia stulta et vana superfluitas non delectat.*

² *Ex cujus largitate pastores sint.* As the power to bind and to loose committed to St Peter, was the fountain-head of all episcopal power, so all the bishops were instruments of the apostle Peter—which idea gradually passed over into the other, according to which all episcopal power, and the nomination of all bishops, ought to proceed from the Roman church. See Lib. I. ep. 36.

³ L. I. ep. 66. *Non delectamur xeniiis.*

⁴ *Ne illuc aliqua cogantur inferre, unde sibi inferenda debent potius expectare.*

⁵ L. IX. ep. 12. *Ego et minores meos, quos ab illicitis prohibeo, in bono imitari paratus sum. Stultus est enim, qui in eo se primum existimat, ut bona, quae viderit, discere contemnat.*

⁶ See Lib. I. ad Petrum Subdiaconum, ep. 36.

in Sicily,¹ because he encroached on the rights of others in defending those of the Roman church; no man, he said, could be a faithful servant of St Peter, who did not, even in his own affairs, fearlessly maintain the rights of truth.

The wise manner in which Gregory exercised his authority over negligent bishops, uniting gentleness and forbearance with a due degree of severity, is illustrated by a remarkable example, in the case of Natalis, Bishop of Salona in Dalmatia,—a case which shows at the same time how much the bishops of this age stood in need of such oversight. Bishop Natalis of Salona neglected his spiritual vocation as a pastor, spending his time and money in festive entertainments. He made presents to his relations of the vessels and hangings of the churches; and being annoyed by the honesty of a certain Archdeacon Honoratus, who protested against such unlawful proceedings, he removed him from this office, under the pretext that he intended to promote him.² Gregory commanded the bishop to restore the archdeacon to his office; he pointedly rebuked his unspiritual conduct, and threatened to subject him to a rigid trial.³ But the impudent sophistry with which Natalis defended his habits of life, redounded to his greater shame. In defence of his banquets, he said that Abraham had been honoured by entertaining angels; that such hospitality was a charitable work;⁴ that Christ had been called a glutton and wine-bibber, Matt. xi., that he who eateth not should not judge him that eateth, Rom.

¹ Tunc vere Petri apostoli miles eris, si in causis ejus veritatis custodiam etiam sine ejus acceptione teneris. And gave him these instructions besides, which, no doubt, were seriously meant: Laici nobiles pro humilitate te diligant, non pro superbia perhorrescant. Et tamen quum eos fortasse contra quoslibet inopes injustitiam aliquam agere cognoscis, humilitatem protinus in erectionem verte, ut eis semper et bene agentibus subditus et male agentibus adversarius existas.

² Whoever was raised from the office of an archdeacon to the rank of a presbyter, seemed by this elevation to lose more than he gained. See above, p. 147.

³ See Lib. II. ep. 18.

⁴ Gregory gave the bishop, who seems to have used sarcastic language towards him, as a friend of fasting, the suitable reply: Convivia, quae ex intentione impendendae caritatis fiunt, recte sanctitas vestra in suis epistolis laudat. Sed tamen sciendum est, quia tunc ex caritate veraciter prodeunt, quum in eis nulla absentium vita mordetur, nullus ex irrisione reprehenditur, et nec inanes in eis secularium negotiorum fabulae; sed verba sacrae lectionis audiuntur, quum non plus quam necesse est servitur corpori, sed sola ejus infirmitas reficitur, ut ad usum exercendae virtutis habeatur. Hæc itaque si vos in vestris conviviis agitis, abstinentium fateor magistri estis.

xiv.¹ When admonished to study the Holy Scriptures, Bishop Natalis had excused himself, partly on account of bodily infirmities which would not allow him to read, and partly on the ground of Christ's promise to grant the illumination of the Spirit, Matt. x. 19. In reference to the first difficulty, Gregory replied, that as the Holy Scriptures were given for our comfort, therefore, the more we are bowed down by suffering, the more they ought to be read. As to the second, he said it would follow from it, that divine revelation had been given us to no purpose,—he who is filled by the Spirit, needs not the outward word. But that which we might confidently rely upon in times of trouble and persecution, was one thing; that which we are bound to do in the peaceful times of the church, was quite another.²

Though Gregory claimed for the Roman church an authority of supreme jurisdiction over all the others; which authority he expressly maintained in its relation to the church of Constantinople;³ yet he was far from denying, or from wishing to disparage the independent episcopal rank of any other. Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, who, as a Greek, was not careful to weigh phrases when dealing in the language of compliment, having in a letter to him used the words “as you commanded,” Gregory begged him always to avoid expressions of that sort; “for,” said he, “I know who *I* am and who you are,—in dignity and rank you are my brother; in piety, my father. I did not *command* you, but only endeavoured to point out to you what seemed to me to be expedient.” Again, he had addressed him as *Papa universalis*, a title which the Greek bishops of the principal cities, accustomed in their fulsome style to take words for less than they meant, were often used to apply to each other; but Gregory, who more nicely weighed the import of words, found it offensive. He was ashamed of a title which seemed to

¹ On this point, too, Gregory aptly remarks: *Quia neque ego non comedo neque ad hoc a Paulo dictum est, ut membra Christi, quae in ejus corpore id est in ecclesia invicem sibi caritatis compage connexa sunt, nullam de se ullo modo curam gerant.*

² *Aliud est, frater carissime, quod angustati persecutionis tempore absque dubitatione confidere, aliud quod in tranquillitate ecclesiae agere debemus. Oportet enim nos per hunc spiritum modo legendo percipere quae possimus, si contigerit causa in nobis, etiam patiendo demonstrare.*

³ So that an appeal could also be made from the decision of the Patriarch of Constantinople to Rome. *Gregor. epp. Lib. VI. ep. 24.*

disparage the dignity of his colleagues.¹ Away, said he, with expressions which nurture vanity and wound love. On the same principle, Gregory found fault with Johannes the Faster (*ἡγσταντής*), Patriarch of Constantinople, when he assumed to himself the title of ecumenical bishop—which was not uncommon with the bishops of the chief cities in the East. But to Gregory their was a dangerous import in this not badly intended epithet of Oriental vanity. True, he was so blinded by his passionate zeal for what he supposed to be the injured honour of the Roman church, as to make an important matter of a thing which, in this connection, was utterly insignificant;² and by no explanations of the patriarch, and of others who wished in some way or other to settle the difficulty, would he allow himself to be satisfied; being determined to look simply at what the word *might signify*, not at what it *ought to signify*, according to the intention of those who used it.³ Nor did he strictly conform, in his conduct towards the Patriarch John, to the rule of Christian integrity, when he rebuked him on account of his pretensions, in mild, but earnest language, not because he was prompted so to do by the temper of Christian love, but simply because he wished to spare the feelings of the emperor; for so he wrote to his plenipotentiary in Constantinople.⁴ Yet the Christian spirit of the man expresses itself remarkably in his language, when he so earnestly insists, that as this epithet belongs to our Saviour alone, the common though invisible head over all, it should be

¹ Nec honorem esse deputo, in quo fratres meos honorem suum perdere cognosco. Meus namque honor est honor universalis ecclesiae. L. VIII. ep. 30.

² Thus he could say, as though *one* individual could make the faith of the entire church dependent on *his* person: In isto scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere. L. V. ep. 19.

³ The Patriarch Anastasius of Antioch had, not without reason, admonished him that he ought not, by this dispute, to belie his own character, nor to make room in his soul for the evil spirit; that he ought not, for so trivial a cause, to disturb the unity and peace of the church. But Gregory, who stuck firmly to that which the word might signify in itself, was, therefore, unwilling to admit this; and said, on the other hand: Si hanc causam aequanimiter portamus, universae ecclesiae fidem corrumpimus. Scitis enim, quanti non solum haeretici, sed etiam haeresiarchae de Constantinopolitana sunt egressi. L. VII. ep. 27.

⁴ L. V. ep. 19. It was not his wish to write two letters; he had, therefore, written but one: Quae utrumque videtur habere admixtum, id est et rectitudinem et amaritudinem. Tua itaque dilectio eam epistolam, quam nunc direxi, propter voluntatem imperatoris dare studeat. Nam de subsequenti talis alia transmittetur, de qua ejus superbia non laetetur.

applied to no merely human being. "Verily, when Paul heard that some said, I am of Paul; others, I am of Apollos; others, I am of Cephas, he exclaimed, with the strongest abhorrence of this rending asunder of the body of Christ, by which his members were, so to speak, attached to other heads—Was Paul crucified for you, or were you baptized in the name of Paul? If, then, he could not tolerate that the members of the Lord's body should be arranged in parcels, as it were, and become attached to other heads than Christ, even though these heads were apostles, what wilt thou say, who, by assuming the title of 'universal,' seekest to subject all Christ's members to thyself? What wilt thou say to Him, the head of the universal church, at the final judgment? In truth, what is Peter, the first of the apostles, other than a member of the holy and universal church?—what are Paul, Andrew, and John, other than heads of single communities? And yet all subsist as members under the one only head."¹ Gregory, however,² was not able to carry his point, and later Roman bishops did not scruple to apply this epithet to themselves.

As to the relation of the popes to the Roman emperors in the East, these latter, their ancient masters, would, no doubt, be peculiarly indulgent to them, as their wealthiest and most powerful vassals, who had the greatest influence with the people; particularly while the situation of their Western provinces, which were threatened more and more by the encroachments of the Longobards, continued to be so dubious. For the same reason, they would be inclined to allow them many privileges. Yet the Roman bishops ever acknowledged their dependence on the Roman empire. From their entrance into office until their end, they maintained, by plenipotentiaries chosen from among their clergy, a constant connection with the emperors;³ and at

¹ Certe Petrus apostolorum primus membrum sanctae et universalis ecclesiae, Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? et tamen sub uno capite omnes membra. L. V. ep. 18.

² That Gregory was led to assume, in his own letters, the epithet *Servus servorum Dei*, in opposing the arrogance of the patriarch, is not so certain; nor is it necessarily implied in the words of Johannes Diaconus, *vita Gregorii*. L. II. c. 1. *Primus omnium se in principio epistolarum suarum servum servorum Dei scribi satis humiliter definiuit.* For the rest, this epithet well accords with the manner in which he administered his office. L. XI. ep. 44. *Ego per episcopatus onera servus sum omnium factus.*

³ *Responsales. Apocrisiarii.*

Constantinople, the confirmation of their election made by the Roman clergy and the notables of the communities, was applied for, before they could be ordained.¹ It sometimes happened, as appeared in our history of doctrines, that individual popes were obliged to suffer from the Greek emperors very severe ill-usage, from refusing to accommodate themselves to their will; yet, as the power of the emperors in Italy was drawing to an end, this dependent relation of the popes on the Greek empire also relaxed, and hence so much the more was depending on the question, respecting the shape which their new relation would take to the states and churches formed out of the ruins of the Roman empire.

The popes stood in the most unfavourable relation, both in an ecclesiastical and in a political point of view, to the people who had established themselves nearest to them, viz., the Longobards; for these were hostile to the East Roman empire and devoted to Arianism. This last cause of misunderstanding ceased, it is true, when, in 587, Queen Theodolinde came over to the Catholic church; but the former still continued to operate; though occasional examples may be noticed, in the eighth century, of an impression of respect produced even on Longobardian princes, by those who claimed to be successors of the apostle Peter. The Spanish church had, from the earliest times, maintained a close connection with the Roman. This connection may now, indeed, have been interrupted by the Visigothic dominion in Spain, in which Arianism predominated; but the older Spanish communities kept it up, even under the foreign domination, which in fact rendered it of so much the more importance to them. Accordingly, when in the year 589, Reckared, King of the Visigoths, embraced the church doctrine of the Trinity, the whole Spanish church now entered into the same relation to the Roman, as had been maintained before by the minority; and the most eminent individual among the Spanish bishops, Leander, Bishop of Seville, solicited and obtained, from Pope Gregory the Great, *the pall*,

¹ In the Diary of the popes of the eighth century,—the *liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum*,—is to be found the form of such an application, addressed to the emperor, wherein it is said: *Lacrimabiliter cuncti famuli supplicamus, ut dominorum pietas servorum suorum obsecrationes dignanter exaudiat et concessa pietatis suae jussione petentium desideria ad effectum de ordinatione ipsius praeceptat pervenire.*

as the token of his supremacy. This was the beginning of a long-continued, an active and living intercourse. The indefatigable Gregory the Great took advantage of this, to establish his authority as supreme judge, in the case of two bishops deposed by the arbitrary will of a nobleman. This he carried through to a successful issue. True, the Spanish king, Witiza, attempted, in the year 701, to restore the independence of the Spanish church; and, on occasion of an appeal by certain Spanish bishops, forbade all such appeals, refusing to allow any legal force to ordinances made by a foreign bishop for the churches belonging to his states. Yet as Spain was soon afterwards severed from all connection with the rest of Christendom by the conquest of the Arabians, this act lost by that event all its influence on the further development of the church.

The English church, from the very form and manner of its foundation, would, as we have already remarked, be brought into a peculiar relation of dependence on the church of Rome; and the same relation continued to exist, and to be still further developed. English monks and nuns, bishops, nobles, and princes, often made pilgrimages to Rome, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of St Peter; and these frequent pilgrimages served to knit closer that original connection. Although these pilgrimages in the eighth century often exercised an injurious influence on morals, yet it should not be overlooked, that by these travels, and the correspondence which they occasioned with countries where, from ancient times, a higher state of culture existed, something was contributed to the work of transplanting that culture among a yet uncivilised people; while a store of Bibles, and other books, as well as the elements of many of the arts, were thus conveyed to England.¹ The acts of individual princes, who,

¹ Of the English Abbot Benedictus Biscopius, who lived near the close of the seventh century, Bede says: *Toties mare transiit, nunquam vacuus et inutilis rediit; sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae, nunc vitri-factores ad fenestras ejus decorandas ac muniendas, nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornatum solummodo ecclesiae, verum etiam ad instructionem proponerentur, advexit, videlicet ut qui literarum lectione non possent, opera Domini et salvatoris nostri per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum.* See Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*. Mens. Januar. T. I. f. 746. Of the same person Bede says: *Oceano transmisso Gallias petens caementarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit.* See Mabillon. *Acta Sanct. ord. Benedict. saec. II. f. 1004.*

under the influence of passion, revolted against the papal authority, could effect no important alteration in the hitherto prevailing rule.

The relations of the church of Rome to that of the Franks in Gaul were not of so favourable a nature; the latter having, in fact, sprung up more independently of Rome, in a country where examples were already, at a much earlier period, to be found, of a spirit of ecclesiastical independence, and among a people who, in general, were not inclined to become subject to any foreign yoke, and whose sovereigns could not easily accustom themselves to the idea of a foreign power interfering in the institutions of their state. Hence in the time of the new Frankish church, as far down as to the age of Gregory the Great, but few examples are to be found of papal interference.¹

Gregory, who was so active in extending his supervisory care over the whole church, contrived to enter into various alliances with the princes, nobles, and bishops of the Franks. He took a lively interest in the affairs of the Frankish church. He considered it subject to his superintendence, and treated it accordingly. But amid the political disorders of the Frankish kingdom in the next succeeding times, the connection with Rome became continually more lax. We noticed, indeed, in our account of the missions, how many tendencies, repugnant to the system of the Roman hierarchy, were threatening to make good their entrance into the Frankish kingdom; till Boniface, by his far-reaching activity, laid the foundation for an entirely new relation of the

¹ An example, however, which shows to what extent the supreme judicial authority of the popes was recognised in the empire of the Franks, is this: Two bishops, Salomius of Embrun (Ebredunensis) and Sagittarius of Gap (Vapingensis), had been deposed, on account of certain violent proceedings, altogether inconsistent with their vocation, in which they had indulged. They afterwards appealed, however, to Pope John III., and obtained permission from King Guntramm, whose favour they enjoyed, to proceed for this purpose to Rome. The French bishops probably paid no attention to this appeal, and therefore sent no prosecutors to Rome. Yet the pope allowed himself to be determined by the false reports of these appellants alone, and in a letter to the king, demanded that they should be restored again to their places; with which requisition their protector, the king, immediately complied, since it was in accordance with his own inclination; and by the power of the king, who lent himself to the pope, because he was much more inclined to serve the humour of the moment than the real interests of the church, they got possession again of the offices of which they had been justly deprived, and continued also to show themselves unworthy of them. Gregor. Turon. Hist. L. V. c. 21.

churches to the papacy, under his direction, as papal legate.¹ The influence of this change was soon manifested in the fact, that Pipin could hope, by securing the pope's approval, to sanction his illegal act in seizing the royal dignity; and this weight of influence attributed to the voice of the pope, could not fail to react again upon the popular opinion entertained of the papacy. Yet at the bottom of all this lay a tacit recognition of the pope's authority to decide in the last instance, on matters pertaining to civil relations. From King Pipin, Pope Stephen II. afterwards obtained in his difficulties with the Longobards, then threatening Rome and the possessions of the Roman church, that assistance which he had sought in vain from the feeble government of the East Roman emperors. When, in the year 755, Pipin reconquered from the Longobards the territories they had acquired, he declared that he fought in defence of the patrimony of St Peter, and declined giving back what he had won to the Greek empire. On the contrary, he ordered the deed of gift, whereby the possessions were bestowed on the Roman church, to be placed by his chaplain on the tomb of St Peter. By degrees, the connection between the popes and the East Roman empire grew continually more feeble, and in place of this antiquated relation came in the new one to the empire of the Franks.

This new relation was more firmly established, when Charlemagne destroyed the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy, and founded there, in its stead, the dominion of the Franks. He often, in company with the most eminent of his nobles and bishops, visited Rome; and on all such occasions showed the greatest respect for the memory of St Peter. On one of these occasions, the Christmas of the year 800, Pope Leo III., amid the joyful shouts of the people, placed on his head, in the church of St Peter's, the imperial crown. This act, though it may not have proceeded with any distinct consciousness, from the theocratic point of view in which the Popes regarded their relation to the new states and churches, and though it may not have been

¹ By means of Boniface it was also made a custom, that the robe of honour (made of white linen [pallium], bysso candente contextum. Joh. Diacon. vita Gregor. IV. 80), conferred at first by the popes on their special representatives among the bishops (the apostolicis vicariis), or on the primates, should be conferred by the popes on all metropolitans, as a mark of their spiritual rank,—by which means also a relation of dependence on the Roman church was established.

distinctly looked upon in this light by those present, was easily capable, however, of being referred by the later popes to this point of view, and appealed to, as laying the foundation of a right which had resulted from that relation, and which had been practically acknowledged.

There was much that still remained vague and unsettled in this new relation, which had arisen between the popes and the Emperor of the West; much that could not be clearly and satisfactorily decided till a later period. The popes, in their letters to the Emperor Charles, avowed it as a principle which admitted of no question, that they, as the successors of St Peter, were heads of the entire church; that to them belonged spiritual jurisdiction over all; and that they themselves could be judged by no man; that all other spiritual power was derived from them; and in particular, that the several dioceses had received from them the determination of their boundaries.¹ Already the popes began to bring other matters before their theocratical courts than those purely spiritual. Pope Stephen II. peremptorily forbade King Charles to take a wife from the unclean nation of the Longobards,² whom by a singular confounding together of things spiritual and temporal, he unchristianly denounces, on account of their hostility to the Roman states, as outcasts from the divine favour. He wrote to the Frankish princes, that, in general, they were not to presume to contract any marriage alliance contrary to the will of him who represented the first of the apostles. To do so, would be showing contempt, not to himself personally, but to St Peter, in whose place he stood, and concerning whom Christ had said, He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, Matt. x.³ Nor should a princess of

¹ Pope Hadrian I. says: *Sedes apostolica caput totius mundi et omnium Dei ecclesiarum.* Cod. Carolin. ed. Cenni. T. I. p. 389. *Cujus sollicitudo delegata divinitus cunctis debetur ecclesiis.*—*A qua si quis se abscedit, fit Christianae religionis extorris* p. 443. *Quae de omnibus ecclesiis fas habet judicandi neque cuiquam licet de ejus judicare judicio, quorum libet sententiis ligata pontificum jus habebit solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiae cura confluit* p. 519. *Dum unusquisque episcopus per instituta sanctorum canonum atque praedecessorum nostrorum pontificum privilegiorum et sanctionum jura receperint.* p. 510.

² To be sure, he required also, at the same time—a matter which more properly belonged to his tribunal—that the emperor should not thrust away his lawful wife; yet he would have insisted on the same thing, independently of this latter.

³ See l. c. pag. 285.

the Franks be allowed to marry any person descended from the royal family of the Longobards. And the pope threatened, in the most appalling language, the anathema of the church against any who should disregard this papal ordinance; as if it rested wholly with the pope to open or to shut the kingdom of heaven.¹

As this view of the spiritual power belonging to the papacy was intimately connected with the whole theocratic idea, which had its foundation in the peculiar development of the church in that period, hence it was that even the most distinguished men of the age, such, for instance, as Alcuin, were under the influence of the same mode of thinking.² This view of the matter would enter, therefore, no less into the mind of the Emperor Charles; but, on the other hand, there are indications that other influences were brought to bear on him, which aimed to produce a rupture between him and the pope, and to work him up to a dispute of the papal authority. There was no lack of those, who filled his ears with evil reports about the pope and the Roman church.³ But such isolated instances of reaction against the dominant spirit of the church, whether proceeding from personal enemies of the popes, or from freer dogmatic tendencies in Ireland or Spain, could avail nothing. The emperor, in all ecclesiastical matters, sought to act in a common understanding with the Roman church. In doubtful cases, he frequently solicited advice from the popes; yet he by no means allowed himself to be governed alone and

¹ *Sciat se auctoritate domini mei St Petri apostolorum principis anathematis vinculo esse innodatum et a regno Dei alienum atque cum diabolo et ejus atrocissimis pompis aeternis incendiis concremandum, pag. 288.*

² In his ep. 20, to Pope Leo III., he calls him *princeps ecclesiae, unius immaculatae columbae nutritor*, and he says, *vere dignum esse fateor, omnem illius gregis multitudinem suo pastori licet in diversis terrarum pascuis commorantem una caritatis fide subjectam esse.*

³ Thus, for example, bad reports had come to the ears of the emperor respecting the incontinence of the Roman clergy, so that he thought it necessary to represent the matter to Pope Hadrian. The latter vindicated himself, and warned him against believing the false charges of those who wished to destroy the friendly relations subsisting between them: *Nunc vero quaerunt aemuli nostri qui semper zizania seminaverunt, aliquam inter partes malitiam seminare, pag. 371.* Thus, the report had been spread (perhaps also a forged letter of the English king to the emperor), that the English king, Offa, had invited the emperor to depose Pope Hadrian, and nominate another pope of Frankish descent, l. c. 506. He felt constrained to warn him of the influence of the heretics, who sought to draw him off from the doctrines and ordinances of the Romish church: *procaces ac haereticos homines, qui tuam subvertere nituntur orthodoxam fidem et undique te coarctantes, angustias et varias tempestates seminant, p. 390.*

always by their decision, but acted freely, also, according to his own independent convictions; and, in many cases, followed the better wisdom of his enlightened theologians, even though at variance with the then prevailing tendency of the Roman church and with the judgment of the pope; of which we shall see examples under the history of doctrines.

In respect to the landed property of the Roman church, Charles added new territories to those already bestowed by his father; and to stimulate him to further benefactions, the bequests to the Roman church by Constantine the Great were often appealed to—deeds which were either forged for this very purpose, or which had been already forged at an earlier period for similar purposes.¹ Yet the pope was by no means sovereign master over this kind of property, but subject to the superior lordship of the emperor, who exercised his control here, as over the lands of his other vassals, by means of messengers (*Missi*.) When, in the year 800, Pope Leo III. was roughly treated by conspirators, who plotted to take his life, and who afterwards sought to extenuate their conduct by accusing the pope, the emperor convened at Rome a synod, which he attended in person, for the purpose of investigating the affair; but the bishops² chosen for this purpose declared, it belonged to the pope to judge them, and not to them to judge the pope. The latter could be judged by no man; and so also thought Alcuin.³

¹ Worthy of notice in this respect are the words of Pope Hadrian I., A.D. 777, to the Emperor Charles: *Et sicut temporibus St Silvestri a piissimo Constantino M. imperatore per ejus largitatem Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est et potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est caet. ecce novus Christianissimus Constantinus imperator his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae ecclesiae apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignatus est. Sed et cuncta alia, quae per diversos imperatores, Patricios etiam et alios Deum timentes pro eorum animae mercede et venia delictorum in partibus Turciae, Spoletio seu Benevento atque Corsica simul et Savinensi (Sabinensi) patrimonio Petro apostolo concessa sunt caet. vestris temporibus restituantur.* He appeals to the donations in scrinio Lateranensi reconditas, which he sent to the emperor as evidence of the fact, p. 352.

² See Anastas. *Life of Leo III.*, in the *Vitis Pontificum*.

³ See ep. 92 to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg. He appeals to the apocryphal fragments of ecclesiastical law, which were subsequently adopted into the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*.

SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE, AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

OWING to the vast extent of the territory over which Christianity spread, among the races which planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire, it was, of course, only by slow degrees, that it could so operate as to exert its true influence on the minds of men—only by gradual steps that it could penetrate the masses. In proportion to the facility with which the earlier superstition might reappear under a Christian dress, finding, as it did, so convenient a foothold in the foreign elements which had already attached themselves to the Christian faith, as in the doctrines of the magical effects of the sacraments and of the worship of saints; in proportion to the tendency of the earlier sinful habits of the nations to lay hold of these superstitions as a prop; in the same proportion was the need of an uninterrupted course of religious instruction, in order that, upon the basis of the external church, an impulse might be given to the further internal development of the kingdom of God. This need was strongly affirmed also by the synods which were occupied in devising measures for improving the condition of the church. The council of Cloveshove, as we have already noticed, made it the special duty of bishops, in visiting their churches, to preach the word of God to the inhabitants of every place; which, at the same time, however, implied that these persons otherwise seldom had opportunity of hearing such preaching.¹ In the rule of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz,² it was laid down, that the word of salvation should be preached twice a month, though it would be still better if it could be heard on all Sundays and feast-days, and so as to be understood by the people. Charlemagne was

¹ *Utpote eos, qui raro audiunt verbum Dei. c. 3.*

² *C. 44. D'Achery Spicileg. I. 574.*

fully impressed with the conviction, that the well-being of the church depended on the right performance of the duty of preaching; and to this he exhorted the clergy on every suitable occasion.¹ The persons, also, with whom he was accustomed to consult on ecclesiastical affairs, confirmed him in this opinion. Alcuin is especially to be named among those who understood the importance of preaching as a means of promoting the Christian life, and who sought to interest the bishops in the performance of this duty, as constituting the most important branch of their vocation.² And in order that they might be qualified for this, he exhorted them to a diligent study of the Bible.³ In a letter of exhortation addressed to the people of Canterbury,⁴ he says, "Without the Holy Scriptures, it is impossible to come to the right knowledge of God; and, if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. On the other hand, the multitude of the wise is the safety of the people. Provide yourselves with teachers of the Holy Scriptures, that there may be no lack among you of the word of God; that you may never fail to have among you such as are able to guide the people; that the fountain of truth among you may not be dried up." In a letter to the Emperor Charles, he earnestly insists, that not only bishops, but priests and deacons should preach; and if it were actually the case that the bishops hindered them from so doing,—if the priests and deacons did not use this as a mere pretext to exculpate themselves, he calls upon the emperor to provide some remedy for the evil.⁵ To show the propriety of

¹ An example of his exhortation to the bishops: *Ut magis ac magis in sancta Dei ecclesia studiosae ac vigilantis cura laborare studeas in praedicatione ac doctrina salutari, quatenus per tuam devotissimam sollertiam verbum vitae aeternae crescat et currat et multiplicetur numerus populi Christiani in laudem et gloriam salvatoris nostri Dei.* See Mabillon *Analector.* Tom. I. page 22.

² E. g. ep. 193, his letter of congratulation to Theodulf, Archbishop of Orleans, when the latter had received the pallium from Rome: *Sicut regium diadema fulgor gemmarum ornat, ita fiducia praedicationis pallii ornare debet honorem. In hoc enim honorem suum habet, si portitor veritatis praedicator existit. Memor esto, sacerdotalis dignitatis linguam coelestis esse clavem imperii et clarissimam castrorum Christi tubam; quapropter ne sileas, ne taceas, ne formides loqui, habens ubique operis tui itinerisque Christum socium et adiutorem. Messis quidem multa est, operarii autem pauci, eo instantiores qui sunt, esse necesse est.*

³ Ep. IX., to an English archbishop: *Lectio scripturae saepius tuis reperiat in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios pascere valeas.*

⁴ Ep. 59.

⁵ See ep. 124. *Audio per ecclesias Christi quandam consuetudinem non satis laudabi-*

this, he refers to Rev. xxii. 17: "Whoever thirsts, let him come: and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely;" where he supposes it therefore to be implied, that the water of life should be offered to all by the clergy, preaching the word. He also quotes the Apostle Paul, who says (1 Cor. xiv. 30) that all should prophesy, that is, teach, in their turn; and 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let them only inform themselves—says he—of the many and wonderful preachers, from different classes of the clergy, that have appeared in the history of the world; and let them but cease considering that as belonging only to a few, which, to the great advantage of souls, may be common to a great many. Why are homilies¹ publicly read in the churches by clergymen of all grades? It were strange if all were allowed to *read* these, but might not explain them to the common understanding. What would this signify, but that the hearers must remain without fruit?"² We may here observe, how important it seemed to this great man, that Christian knowledge should be diffused among the laity, and that they should participate understandingly in the public worship of God. He was firmly convinced, also, that the formation of God's kingdom was a concern which by no means belonged exclusively to the clergy, but one which ought to be shared by all Christians. Far was he from wishing to confine the study of the divine word to ecclesiastics as their exclusive province; on the contrary, he expresses gratification whenever he finds the laity also engaged in such studies. He wished the Emperor Charles might have many such diligent searchers of the Scriptures among his ministers of state.³

lem, quam vestra auctoritas facile emendare potest, si tamen vera est opinio et non magis falsa excusatio, ut quod facere non volunt presbyteri, suis injiciant episcopis.

¹ The homilies of the church-fathers, arranged with reference to Sundays and feast-days, see below.

² Et impleatur Virgilianum illud: Dat sine mente sonos.

³ In his ep. 124 to the Emperor Charlemagne, in allusion to Matt. xxv. 21, Nec enim hoc solis sacerdotibus vel clericis audiendum ibi arbitreris, sed etiam bonis laicis et bene in opere Dei laborantibus dicendum esse credas et maxime his, qui in sublimioribus positi sunt dignitatibus, quorum conversatio bona et vitae sanctitas et admonitoria aeternae salutis verba suis subjectis praedicatio poterit esse. And in the same letter, referring to a layman, who had proposed to him a query respecting the interpretation of a passage of Scripture: Vere et valde gratum habeo, laicos quandoque ad evangelicas effloruisse quaestiones, dum quendam audivi virum prudentem aliquando dicere, clericorum esse evangelium discere, non laicorum. Tamen iste laicus quisquis fuit, sapiens est corde, et si manibus miles, quales vestram auctoritatem plurimos habere decet.

While the emperor, following the advice of such men, earnestly recommended to the bishops the duty of providing for the religious instruction of the people, the synods, under his name,¹ made the same thing an object of special attention. The council of Mainz, in 813 (can. 25), decreed, that, in case the bishop were absent, or sick, or otherwise hindered, still there should not fail to be some one present, on Sundays and feast-days, who could preach the word of God so as to be understood by the people;² and in the same year the sixth council of Arles directed, that the priests should preach not only in all the cities, but also in all country parishes.³ Among those who laboured earnestly in the work of religious instruction, Theodulf, Archbishop of Orleans, particularly distinguished himself. His instructions to his parochial priests (*Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes*) furnish a living testimony to the zeal and wisdom with which he administered his pastoral office.⁴ He admonishes his clergy, in these instructions, to be always prepared for the instruction of their flocks. Whoever understood the holy Scriptures, should explain them; whoever did not, should hold forth to the flock what he knew best, that they should eschew evil and do good. No one could excuse himself on the ground that he wanted a tongue to edify others. The moment they saw one in a wrong way, they should do their utmost to reclaim him. And when they met their bishop at a synod, each should report what success had attended his labours; and they would find him ready to lend them a cheerful assistance, according to his ability, wherever they needed it.

It is plain from these slight requisitions, which were all that Theodulf found it in his power to demand of his clergy, how exceedingly deficient the majority of ecclesiastics were in that culture and knowledge of the Scriptures which were needed for the successful discharge of the duties of their calling; and this is confirmed, when we compare them with other requisitions laid down by the synods; as for example, when it is supposed as a

¹ Gheerbald, Bishop of Liege, says himself of the emperor in his pastoral letter to his flock: *Excitat pigritiam nostram, ut non dormiamus et praedicationis officium unusquisque consideret.* Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 1084.

² *Qui verbum Dei praedicet, juxta quod intelligere vulgus possit.*

³ C. 10. *Ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis presbyteri ad populum verbum faciant.*

⁴ C. 28. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 918.

possible case, that the priests, in public worship, might do no more than mechanically repeat the liturgical forms in Latin, without understanding them. In reference to this, the synod at Cloveshove directed, in their tenth canon, that the priests should be able to translate and expound, in the language of the country, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the liturgical forms used at the celebration of mass and in baptism; and should thus endeavour to understand the spiritual sense of the offices they performed, so as not to be dumb and ignorant instruments.¹

There could be no improvement, therefore, in the religious instruction of the people, until more care was bestowed on the education of the clergy. And this was to be aimed at in the schools established by the bishops and parochial clergy, as well as in the monasteries. Hence the establishment of schools was another object which commanded great attention in the times of Charlemagne. Thus, the second council of Chalons in 813, decreed in their third canon, that the bishops should found schools for giving instruction in the other sciences and also in the expounding of scripture, and where persons might be so educated, that our Saviour could truly say of them, "ye are the salt of the earth."² But, for the present, there was a great want of ecclesiastics capable of directing the religious instruction of the communities, according to the ordinances of those synods. To supply the wants of such as were unable to compose sermons of their own, collections of discourses, by the older church-teachers, had been formed already at an earlier period, which were to be publicly read in the churches during the time of divine service. But as these collections (*Homiliaria*) had suffered various corruptions through the ignorance of these centuries, the Emperor Charles ordered an improved collection to be prepared by one of his clergy, Paul Warnefrid, or Paulus Diaconus, from the abbey of Monte Cassino. This work, he published himself for the use of the churches, with a preface, in which he admonished the clergy, by his own example, to a diligent study of the sacred Scriptures;

¹ Ne vel in ipsis intercessionibus, quibus pro populi delictis Deum exorare poscuntur vel ministerii sui officiis inveniantur quasi muti et ignavi, si non intelligunt nec verborum suorum sensum nec sacramenta; quibus per eos alii ad aeternam proficiunt salutem.

² Et qui condimentum plebibus esse valeant et quorum doctrina non solum diversis haeresibus, verum etiam antichristi monitis et ipsi antichristo resistatur.

stating that he had endeavoured, by his own labours on the text, to provide himself with a correct copy of the Bible.¹ Now as in this Homiliarium, the sermons were arranged in the order of Sundays and feast-days, and as that arrangement of biblical texts was laid at the foundation, which had been gradually formed in the church of Rome, since the time of Gregory the Great, it thus came about, that the textual arrangement of this church was more widely diffused, and greater uniformity in this respect secured. For the rest, with regard to this collection, which relieved the clergy from the necessity of exertion, and furnished them with an encouragement to indolence, it was no doubt calculated upon, that the sermons, when read to the congregations, would be translated into the vernacular tongue; a thing which was expressly directed by several councils of this period.²

We see from what has thus far been said, that in the Carolingian age, there was certainly no wish to banish from public worship in the Frankish church the use of the popular tongue, but rather a desire to encourage it; but, by the force of custom, the Latin had already been a long time established as the predominant liturgical language. In the countries belonging to the Roman empire, the Roman was indeed the language generally current and understood; and hence there could be no necessity of translating the church hymns and the liturgical forms into the old popular tongues, the use of which had been long suppressed or restricted by the language of Rome. But now, wherever races of German origin had settled in Roman provinces, the seats of Roman culture, there the Roman language still held its ground, as the language of refinement and of courts, and also as the liturgical language; and it was only by slow degrees that a particular dialect sprang out of the mixture of the Roman language with the new popular tongue. The mis-

¹ Ad pernoscenda etiam sacrorum librorum studia nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo. Inter quae jampridem universos veteris ac novi testamenti libros librorum imperitia depravatos Deo nos in omnibus adjuvante examussum correximus. See Mabillon *Analectorum* T. I. pag. 26.

² As for example, by the second council of Rheims, in the year 813, in the 15th canon, *Ut episcopi sermones et homilias St Patrum, prout omnes intelligere possint, secundum proprietatem linguae praedicare studeant*, and by the third council of Tours, in the same year, c. 17, *Ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quae dicuntur.*

sionaries that went from the church of Rome followed also the ancient custom, and could not prevail on themselves to make use of the barbarous tongues of the people to whom they brought Christianity, for the purpose of translating into them the divine word and the liturgical formulas, until, by degrees, from the practice of the church, it grew to be a principle in theory, that the Roman language should be considered pre-eminently the language of the church. The striving after conformity with the church of Rome naturally promoted an attachment to the liturgy as expressed in the Roman language and form; while the latter, again, would react upon the former. King Pipin no doubt found a Latin church psalmody already existing in the Frankish church, which had been transmitted downward from the ancient Gallic church; but as this differed originally from the Roman church psalmody, especially since Gregory the Great had done so much to improve the music of the church, and as it had moreover been corrupted by the barbarism of the intervening time, Pipin endeavoured to restore it after the model of the church music at Rome, wishing, here as elsewhere, to make Frankish barbarism give way to superior refinement, and to bring the Frankish church into agreement with the Roman,¹ after the example of Boniface; wherein he was zealously sustained by that warm friend of decency and order in church regulations, Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz.² Roman psalmody, however, was soon altered again by the peculiarity of the French pronunciation, while, at the same time, it was found impossible to suppress entirely the old Gallic form of church music by the new regulations of Pipin; and hence the Emperor Charles, when attending the high festivals at Rome, could not but notice the great difference between the Franco-Gallic and the Gregorian church music of Rome. Hence he was led to desire that the Frankish psalmody might be altered and improved wholly after the pattern of the

¹ In the capitulary of the Emperor Charles, of the year 789, which was issued at Aix-la-Chapelle, it is said of Pipin (c. 78): Gallicanum cantum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicæ sedis et ecclesiæ pacificam concordiam; and in the preface to the homilies: Totas Galliarum ecclesias suo studio Romanæ traditionis cantibus decoravit.

² Paul Warnefrid, or Paul the Deacon, says, in the *Gestis Episcoporum Mettensium*, respecting Bishop Chrodegang: Ipsum clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena morem atque ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ servare præcepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Mettensi ecclesia *factum minime fuit*. *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, ed. Pertz, T. II. f. 268.

Roman.¹ His friend, Pope Hadrian, to enable him to accomplish what he desired, gave him, as assistants in remodelling the Frankish church music, the two most skilful singers in his own church, Theodore and Benedict, and presented him with a number of Roman chants (*Antiphonarii*).² By means of two musical schools, the one established at Soissons, the other at Metz, the last of which was the most distinguished, the entire music of the French church was remodelled after the Roman form.³

Thus, it is true that, under the reign of Charlemagne, the use of the Latin language in the worship of the Frankish church, although not first introduced, was yet, by a closer connection with the church of Rome, more firmly established; but at the same time the notion was expressly contradicted, that certain languages only could be employed for religious purposes: "Let no man believe that God may be prayed to only in three languages; for in every language God may be adored, and man will be heard, if he prays aright."⁴ Now, while it is true that, if

¹ Thus, in the *Annales Einhardi*, in an appendix, at the year 786, it is related, that on the Easter festival in Rome, a contest arose between the Roman church-singers and the Franks brought along with him by the emperor, the former calling the latter *rusticos et indoctos velut bruta animalia*. The emperor decided the quarrel by saying that men ought to go back to the fountainhead, rather than to follow the brooks that flow from it. *Revertimini vos ad fontem S. Gregorii, quia manifeste corrupistis cantilenam ecclesiasticam*. The anecdotes told after his own style by the monk of St Gall, are less deserving of credit.

² In the passage referred to it is said: *Correcti sunt ergo antiphonarii Francorum, quos unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vitiaverat, addens vel minuens et omnes Franciæ cantores didicerunt notam Romanam, quam nunc vocant notam Franciscam; excepto quod tremulas vel vinnulas (h. e. lenes et molles) sive collisibiles et secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere. Franci, naturali voce barbarica frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes.*

³ From the French church proceeded the use of the organ, the first musical instrument employed in the church. A present of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus to King Pipin gave occasion to its use: *Annal. Einhard, a. 757*, hence the Greek name *organum*. But what is said in these *Annals* (l. c. at the year 786) seems to presuppose that the art of playing on the organ, and of using it in divine service, was first brought to perfection in the Church of Rome: *Similiter erudierunt Romani cantores supradicti, see above, cantores Francorum in arte organandi*. And if it seems to be inconsistent with this, that a century later Pope John VIII. obtained from the church at Freysingen, a good organ and a skilful organist (*Vid. Baluz. Miscellan., T. V.*), we must suppose that afterwards the Frankish church excelled the Roman in this art. This may be explained as owing to the declension of the Church of Rome in the next following times.

⁴ In the capitulary issued at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, of the year 796, c. 50: *Ut nullus credat, quod non nisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit, quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur, et homo exauditur, si justa petierit.*

the missionaries of this time, following the example of Ulphilas, had given the people the Bible in their own language, and introduced it into the public worship, much would have been done to promote the worship of God in spirit and in truth; so, on the other hand, the employment of a language which was not generally understood, actually served to promote a worship consisting in mechanical forms, or in vague and undefined feelings, and to open an easier way for the entrance of superstition.

Special care was necessary, not only to counteract the various superstitions of paganism, which still kept their hold of the rude multitude,—such as resorting to amulets for the cure of diseases, and for the prevention of unlucky accidents,¹—but also to hinder the old superstition from reappearing under some Christian form, by attaching itself to Christian practices not rightly understood. In this way had arisen such abuses, for example, as the following:—The Scriptures, instead of being searched for the purpose of finding the way of everlasting salvation, were turned over for an oracular response to some question of moment relating to the immediate temporal future. He who was about to engage in an important or hazardous undertaking, would open the Bible, and interpret the first passage that met his eye as an oracle addressed to him; or the same use was made of such words of Scripture as one happened to hear read or sung as he entered a church.² A very common custom was, to place on the tomb of some saint, as that in the famous church of St Martin of Tours, a volume of the gospels, or some other book of Scripture, and after due preparation by prayer and fasting, to turn open a page, when the first passage that occurred was considered as a response given by the saint (*sortes sanctorum*).³ But although this practice seemed

¹ Against these, the council of Auxerre (Antissiodorensis) of the year 578, c. 5: *Quaecunque homo facere vult, omnia in nomine Domini faciat.* In a capitulary of the Emperor Charles, of the year 814, c. 10: *Ut inquirantur sortilegi aruspices et qui mensis et tempora observant et qui omnia observant, et ita phylacteria circa collum portant nescimus quibus verbis scriptis;* and in the third capitulary of the year 789, c. 18: *Ne chartas per perticas appendant propter grandinem.*

² When Clovis was about to make war on the West Goths in Spain, he prayed God that he would reveal to him, as he entered the church of St Martin, a fortunate issue of the war; and as at that moment the words of Ps. xviii. 40, 41, were chanted, the king regarded this as an infallible oracle, by which he was assured of the victory. He in fact obtained the victory, which confirmed him in his belief. Gregor. Turon. Hist. L. II. c. 37.

³ An example in Gregor. Turon. L. V. c. 14.

to be hallowed by a certain air of Christianity, yet the voice of the ecclesiastical synods was opposed to it from the beginning. The first council of Orleans decreed,¹ in the year 511, that clergymen and monks who consented to be employed as instruments in obtaining such responses,² as well as those who believed in them, should be excommunicated from the church; and this prohibition was repeated by the council of Auxerre, in 578.³ But a branch of superstition so intimately connected with the whole religious mode of thinking, could not be extirpated by such single ordinances—the Emperor Charles was obliged to issue a new law against it.⁴

Another mode of appealing to the judgment of God, which found its way into the administration of justice, was still more intimately blended with the manners and opinions of these races. We find it a prevailing sentiment among nations of opposite quarters of the earth,—nations of German descent, as well as in China, Japan,⁵ India,⁶ and among the ancient Greeks⁷—that nature itself, in contested questions, was ready to appear as a witness in behalf of justice and of innocence. At the bottom of this, lay the belief in a moral government of the world, to which nature itself was subservient; and the more unskilled and unpractised the understanding in bringing the truth to light by investigation, the more inclined were men to summon to their aid an immediate judgment from heaven. Thus it came about particularly among these races of German origin, that the revelation of guilt or of innocence was expected in contested questions, from the issue of a combat, or from the effects of the elements of fire and water. In the form under which the theocratical principle, which Christianity introduced, was understood by these races, this *judgment of God* might easily find a point of attachment. Yet Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, protested in the strongest terms against the practice, when intro-

¹ Aurelianense I.

² C. 30, Sortes, quas mentiuntur esse sanctorum.

³ C. 4.

⁴ In the third capitulary of the year 789, c. 4: Ut nullus in psalterio vel in evangelio vel in aliis rebus sortire praesumat.

⁵ See Kämpfer *Amoenitates Exoticae*.

⁶ Compare Rosenmüller's *Altes und Neues Morgenland*, B. II. p. 226.

⁷ See Sophocles *Antigone*.

duced by King Gundobad into the Burgundian legislation. This monarch contended, that in war, the judgment of God decided between nations, and gave the victory to the party which had the right. Avitus answered him:—If sovereigns and their people respected the judgment of God, they would tremble first at the words in the 68th Psalm (v. 30), “He scattereth the people that delight in war;” and they would act according to what is written in Romans xii. 19, “Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.” Had not divine justice power to decide, without resorting to javelins and swords? Whereas in war the party in the wrong had often been known to obtain the victory, by superior force or cunning.¹ But such isolated voices sounded feebly, in opposition to ancient customs and the prevailing spirit of the times. The judgments of God were received into the systems of jurisprudence; and even Charlemagne, who combated superstitious opinions of a kindred nature, yielded in this case to the spirit of his age, and gave these judgments of God the sanction of his approbation.²

Men were inclined to seek justification in outward works,—in gifts to churches, especially those dedicated to the memory of saints, in adorning them with costly ornaments, in the distribution of alms; thus relaxing the strictness of Christianity in requiring an entire change of inward disposition. Still, instances were not wanting of a reaction of the Christian spirit against delusions, which served so directly to encourage security in sin. Thus the Emperor Charles, in a capitulary of the year 811, addressed to the bishops and abbots,³ says: “In seeking to have fine churches, we should not overlook the genuine ornament of the church, which consists in correctness of manners; for great pains bestowed on the erection of churches, belongs, in a certain sense, to the times of the Old Testament; but the emendation of manners belongs peculiarly to the New Testament and to

¹ The words of Avitus, in the book of Agobard of Lyons: *Adversus legem Gundobadi*.

² In a law of the year 809: *Ut omnes iudicio Dei credant absque dubitatione*. Baluz. *Capitular*. T. I. f. 466. The proof of innocence in case of a murder, in the capitulary of the year 803: *Ad novem vomeres ignitos iudicio Dei examinandus accedat*. l. c. f. 389. That a vassal of the bishop submitted to a judgment of God to prove his innocence against the charge of high treason. See in the capitulary of the year 794, l. c. f. 265.

³ Mansi. T. XIII. f. 1073.

Christian discipline.”¹ Theodulf of Orleans says, in his “Instructions to the Parochial Clergy,” “It is our duty, indeed, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and those in prison, and to show hospitality to strangers, Matt. xxv. ; but of little avail towards securing everlasting life will all this be to him who gives himself up to gluttony, to pride, and other vices, and who neglects other good works. It is needful to remind the people, that true charity is seen only in this, that a man loves God more than himself, and his neighbour as himself—in this, that he does not conduct towards others as he would not wish that others should conduct towards himself; for they who make charity consist in merely bestowing food, drink, and other outward gifts, are in no slight error; for the apostle says, ‘The kingdom of God consists not in meat and drink.’ All this, too, is then only good when done out of love.” The second council of Chalons, in 813, denounced² the false confidence placed in the *opus operatum* of pilgrimages to Rome and to the church of St Martin at Tours. “There were ecclesiastics of a careless life, who imagined themselves cleansed from sin, and qualified to perform the duties of their station—laymen, who supposed they could sin, or had sinned, with impunity, because they undertook such pilgrimages; nobles, who, under the same pretext, practised extortion on their subjects; poor men, who did it to secure a better chance of begging; as for example, those that roamed the country, falsely pretending that they were about to set out on a pilgrimage, or who were so foolish as to believe that by the mere sight of a holy place they should be cleansed from their sins, not thinking of those words of St Jerome, that it was no praise to have seen Jerusalem, but to have led a good life there.” Those pilgrimages alone were here accounted commendable, which had originated in motives of sincere piety, and aimed at the emendation of the whole life.³ Thus Alcuin wrote to a nun

¹ Quamvis bonum sit, ut ecclesiae pulchra sint aedificia, praeferendus tamen est aedificiis bonorum morum ornatus et culmen, quia, in quantum nobis videtur, structio basilicarum veteris legis quandam trahit consuetudinem, morum autem emendatio proprie ad novum testamentum et Christianam pertinent disciplinam. ² C. 45.

³ Qui vero peccata sua sacerdotibus, in quorum sunt parochiis, confessi sunt, et ab his agenda poenitentiae consilium acceperunt, si orationibus insistendo, elemosynas largiendo, vitam emendando, mores componendo apostolorum limina vel quorumlibet sanctorum invisere desiderant, horum est devotio modis omnibus colaudanda.

whose conscience troubled her, because she had been unable to perform the pilgrimage on which she had started: "This was no great harm: for God had chosen some better thing for her; she had now only to expend in supporting the poor, what she had appropriated to so long a journey."¹ Theodulf of Orleans wrote against this over-valuation of pilgrimages to Rome in one of his minor poems, where he says: It is only by a pious life a man can find his way to heaven, no matter whether he lives at Rome or elsewhere.²

The exaggerated veneration paid to saints and to the Virgin Mary, concerning the origin of which we spoke in the preceding period, presented, by the deifying of human beings in their individual capacity, the readiest channel for the admission of those elements of pagan ideas, which had not been vanquished by Christianity. Although the veneration of saints was determined and limited in the church system of doctrine, by its connection with the whole Christian consciousness of God and Christian worship of God,—for it was only the grace of God, exhibited in the saints as his instruments, which was to be adored, and only the mediating sympathy of the just made perfect which was to be sought after in them; yet, in common life, the saints who were peculiarly venerated became a sort of guardian deities, to whom men were wont to resort in all times of danger and sickness, and in all weighty undertakings; and the reference of the whole self-conscious man to God revealed in Christ, the sense of fellowship with God obtained by Christ for every believer, was thereby greatly hindered. Furthermore, as the feeling of the need of redemption, in its religious and moral significance, ceased to form the ground-tone of the inward life, the great object of prayer, with invocation of the saints, was rather to seek deliverance from physical evils, than salvation from sin and from moral wretchedness. The pagan element discovered itself in both ways; in the deification of human attributes, and in the sensuous direction given to the religious need. Bishop Gregory of Tours thanks God for the gift of such

¹ See ep. 147.

² Non tantum isse juvat Romam, bene vivere quantum
Vel Romae vel ubi vita agitur hominis,
Non via credo pedum; sed moram ducit ad astra
Quis quid ubique gerit, spectat ab arce Deus.

a physician as Martin, in expressions sometimes like those of a Christian who thanks God for a Saviour, sometimes like those of a pagan speaking of Esculapius.¹ He affirms that the bare touch of his tomb stopped hemorrhages, gave the cripple strength to stand erect, restored sight to the blind, and even banished away sorrow from the heart. In all bodily complaints of his own he repaired thither, and applied the suffering part to St Martin's tomb, or to the hangings by which it was inclosed. To be sure he requires, as the necessary condition of obtaining relief, the true devotion of a penitent spirit;² and no doubt, the impression made on the feelings by the spot, with which were associated in the minds of the men of this age, by all they had been told from childhood, so many sacred recollections might sometimes produce a salutary thrill of emotion; and hence, perhaps, it may be explained how criminals might here be brought to confess their guilt, or how the suddenly awakened anguish of remorse might reveal itself to them in menacing visions, or a powerful shock of the nervous system predispose them to sudden attacks of illness. Yet we also meet with cases, where St Martin is invoked precisely after the manner of a pagan deity, as, when he is addressed in the following style: "If thou dost not perform what I request of thee, we will here burn for thee no more lamps, nor pay thee any honours at all;"³ and the objects taken off from the places about the holy tomb, were applied to the same uses as any amulet of pagan superstition.⁴ Such being the tendency of the popular mind,⁵ it

¹ Gregory, in the beginning of the third book on the miracles of St Martin. *Gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, qui nobis talem medicum tribuere dignatus est, qui infirmitates, nostras purgaret, vulnera dilueret ac salubria medicamenta conferret.*

² *Si ad ejus beatum tumulum humilietur animus et oratio sublimetur, si defluant lacrimae et compunctio vera succedat, si ab imo corde emittantur suspiria, invenit ploratus laetitiam, culpa veniam, dolor pectoris pervenit ad medelam.*

³ See Gregor. Turon. de Miraculis Martini, L. III. c. 8.

⁴ Gregory of Tours having observed that one of his vineyards was ruined every year by hail-storms, fastened a piece of wax taken from the vicinity of the tomb, on one of the tallest trees, and from that time the place was spared. *De Miraculis Martini, L. I. c. 34.* Oil was used as an amulet, to cure a disease among cattle. *Ib., L. III. c. 18.*

⁵ A monk, who had already in his lifetime acquired the character of a miracle-worker, requested that he might not be buried in his cloister, foreseeing that after his death multitudes of the people would be continually flocking to his grave, in order to be cured of their diseases. *Gregor. Turon. Vitae Patrum, c. I.* Vain-minded bishops now aspired to the honour of having it said, that miracles were

would now follow, as a very natural consequence, that deception in the use of pretended relics would be common,¹ or that those least entitled to the name would be honoured, after their death, as saints. To put a stop to such abuses, the Emperor Charles, in a capitulary issued at Frankfort on the Main,² in 794, directed that no new saints should be worshipped, and no chapels erected to their memory on the public highways; but those only should be worshipped in the church, who had been raised to this honour by virtue of their sufferings or the worthiness of their lives.

The number of festivals, additional to the high festivals of the ancient church, had increased, up to the end of this period, in the Western church (as we find from a list drawn up by a council at Mentz in 813³), to the following extent. First, there were *two festivals of Mary*. As Christmas was naturally followed by the celebration of many other festivals relating to the infancy of Christ, so there arose, in the Greek church, the festival of Christ's presentation in the temple (Luke ii. 25); referring to the recognition of the child Jesus as the Messiah, by Simeon and Anna—hence called in the Greek church the *ἑορτὴ ὑπαντήσεως* (τοῦ κυρίου.) But, in the Western church, the worship of Mary caused it to be changed into a festival of Mary; under which name this feast is noticed by the council of Mentz—as the *festum purificationis Mariæ*. The habit of comparing Mary with Christ led men gradually to believe that something of a miraculous nature must have been connected both with the beginning and the end of her earthly life; and the silence of the gospels on the subject of her death left here ample room for legendary tradition.⁴

wrought in their name. A characteristic anecdote on this point is related by the monk of St Gall. One who had failed of gaining the favour of his bishop and feudal lord, finally resorted with success to the following expedient. Having entrapped a fox without injuring the animal, he brought it as a present to Bishop Recho. As the bishop was wondering how he managed to catch the fox with so little harm to the creature, the man said: When the fox was in full chase, I cried out to it, in the name of my Lord Recho, stop and keep still! So the fox stood immovable till I seized him. The bishop was well pleased to find that his sanctity had so plainly revealed itself, and the man had won his favour for ever. Even if the story were not true, it may none the less be considered as a characteristic satire; taken from the life of the times. *Monachi Sangallensis gesta Caroli, M. L. I. c. 20.*

¹ See Gregor. Turon. Hist. L. IX. c. 6.

² C. 40.

³ C. 35.

⁴ The legends finally reduced to form in Gregory of Tours de Gloria Martyrum L. I. c. 4. When Mary was near the point of death, all the apostles assembled around

This led to the festival of the assumption (*assumptio Mariæ*). Next followed, as *octave to the festival of Christmas, the festival of Christ's circumcision*, which was set over against the pagan celebration of new year's day. Furthermore, there was *the feast of St Michael*, the occasion of which was as follows:—The Apocalypse had set to work the imaginations of men to invent fictions about the Archangel Michael; and many were the stories about visions in which he was described as having appeared. With the story of such an appearance was finally connected in the Roman church the feast of St Michael—*dedicatio sancti Michaëlis*, as it was called by the council of Mentz, in reference to the dedication of a church in Rome, where an appearance of this sort was said to have occurred. The idea of this feast is, the communion of believers on earth with the higher world of perfected spirits—the memory of the church triumphant. Furthermore, there was the *simultaneous festival, which originated in the fifth century, in honour of the martyrdom of St Peter and of St Paul*—*Dies natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli*. The *nativity of John the Baptist*, the only one which, besides the nativity of Christ, was celebrated in the church, and that on account of its connection with the latter. Next are particularly mentioned, the *natales* of Andrew, of Remigius (of Rheims), and of Martin; and for each several diocese the particular festivals of the saints, which were buried in them; and festivals commemorating the dedication of particular churches. In this age arose also another festival, not named by this council, which afterwards obtained general validity. In the Greek church was first introduced a feast in memory of all the saints which, inasmuch as the whole number of saints represents the collective sum of the effects of the Holy Spirit, was properly observed as an octave to the festival of Pentecost. But, in the Western church, the founding of the same festival grew out of a particular occasion. Boniface IV., who became pope in the year 610, having at his own request been presented, by the Greek Emperor Phocas, with the Pantheon in Rome, following out the pagan idea, converted this temple into a church dedicated to Mary and all the saints, which now suggested the idea of founding a festival of this import. Alcuin

her bed, and watched with her. Then appeared Christ with his angels, and committed her soul to the archangel Gabriel; but her body was taken away in a cloud.

particularly designates this festival as the feast of the glorification of human nature by Christ, in the consciousness that men were now endowed with so much power, as instruments of the Holy Spirit—the feast of spiritual communion with the perfected members of the church.¹

We observed, in the preceding period, how the idea of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice, which had proceeded from a purely Christian element, became gradually transformed from the symbolical into a magical import. In this respect Gregory the Great appears especially to represent the Christian spirit of the age, ever inclining more and more to the magical. The idea, that the Holy Supper should represent, in a lively form, to the believing heart, the redemptive sufferings of Christ, whereby mankind became reconciled to God—and the communion between heaven and earth was restored—this idea took, for him, the meaning: that, whenever the priest presents this offering, heaven opens at his voice; the choirs of angels appear; the high and the low, the earthly and the heavenly unite; the visible and the invisible become one.² Who may not recognize here a heart deeply penetrated with the consciousness of what had been done by the redemption; though the truth at bottom, from being connected with the false view of the priesthood, and the false notion, grounded therein, of the sacrificial act of the priest, from being transferred to this isolated, outward act, received an erroneous application? Now Gregory, by looking at the sacrifice of the supper in this connection, could say: What must be the efficacy of this sacrifice, which continually imitates and repeats for us the redemptive passion of Christ?³ But still, Gregory did not apprehend this idea of a sacrifice in a barely outward manner, but in connection with the whole bent and tendency of the inward life, as did Augustin; for he reckoned, as belonging

¹ Aleuin (ep. 76) to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg: Quoniam si Elias unus ex illis in veteri testamento oratione sua dum voluit claudere coelum potuit praevaricatoribus et aperire conversis, quanto magis omnes sancti in Novo Testamento, ubi eis specialiter et patenter claves regni coelestis commissae sunt et claudere coelum possunt incredulis et aperire credentibus, si intima dilectione honorificantur, a fidelibus et honorificantur glorificatione eis condigna.

² See Gregor. Dial. L. IV. c. 58.

³ Quae illam nobis mortem per mysterium reparat, pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti semper imitatur. Christus iterum in hoc mysterio sacrae oblationis immolatur.

to the living appropriation of this sacrifice, the spiritual offering of one's-self, the surrendry of the whole life to the Redeemer, in an absolute self-renunciation.¹ But although he could apprehend, after this manner, the doctrine of the Holy Supper in its true religious and moral significance, as denoting the living appropriation of fellowship with the Redeemer, yet, as a consequence resulting from that magical element, he connected with this the idea of an objective, magical efficacy of that sacrifice, capable of operating both on the living and on the dead.²

As to its effect on departed souls, this was connected with that other notion, which also had come down from the previous period,³ of a purgatorial fire destined for those Christians who, though, on the whole, in a state of saving faith (that is, of faith working by love), were still burdened with many clogs of sin, for which they must suffer, and from which they must be purified, and who had died in this state. Now, the sacrifice offered for such, since the efficacy of Christ's passion was thereby appropriated to them, was to serve as a means of delivering them sooner from those purifying fires, and of enabling them to get to heaven. The stories which Gregory cites in his Dialogues in confirmation of these ideas, were peculiarly adapted, if we consider the prevailing bent of the age, to obtain currency for his views in the minds of men, whose religious feelings partook so strongly of the sensuous element, and who were governed more by an excited imagination than by the prudent dictates of the understanding. While, then, in connection with the predominant Old Testament mode of considering the priesthood, this view of the Lord's Supper became the prevailing one, the dangerous error now arose among the people, of laying the greatest stress on the sacrificial act of the priest in behalf of the living and the dead. The priest was solicited with valuable presents to say masses for the repose of departed souls; while the laity were more seldom disposed to participate in the communion. The thing was carried to such

¹ Sed necesse est, ut cum haec agimus nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mac-temus, quia qui passionis dominicae mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod agimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus.

² The presentation of this offering caused the chains to be removed from a distant captive, in whose behalf his faithful wife had offered it. In the same way, a seaman, tossed about by a storm in a small boat at sea, was supported by bread from heaven, and saved from foundering.

³ See Vol. II.

an extreme, that priests presented the offering of the mass alone and by themselves, without any participation of the congregation (the so-called *missae privatae*). Efforts were made in the Carolingian period to remove this abuse also, which was so directly opposed to the design of the institution of the Lord's Supper; and many voices of the church alleged against it the ancient liturgical forms of celebrating the eucharist. Thus the council of Mentz, in 813, says, how can the priests pronounce the words: *Sursum corda*, or *dominus vobiscum* (Raise your hearts—The Lord be with you), where none are present?¹ Theodulf of Orleans brings up the same subject in his Instructions to the Parochial Clergy;² and objects to private masses, that our Lord said, "Where two or three are assembled in my name, I will be in the midst of them." Hence, too, it was found necessary to exhort the laity to a more frequent participation in the communion. This was done by the synod at Cloveshove, and by Theodulf of Orleans, who insists, however, upon the necessity of due preparation in order to participate worthily in the holy ordinance.³

The ancient rules of church penance were transmitted also to this period. Yet some regard was paid, in the administration of church discipline, to the new relations which had sprung up among a barbarous people. Thus, to those who *personally* confessed their sins to the priest,⁴ it was granted as a favour that they should not be subjected to any *public* church penance, but only to penitential exercises which were to be performed in private. There was a deviation from the ancient laws of the church also in this, that to those who confessed their sins, and declared their readiness to engage in the penitential exercises imposed on them, the priest might grant absolution at once,

¹ C. 23.

² C. 7. It could not be celebrated *sine salutatione sacerdotis, responsione nihilominus plebis*.

³ C. 44. *Admonendus est populus, ut nequaquam indifferenter accedat, nec ab hoc nimium absteineat, sed cum omni diligentia eligat tempus, quando aliquamdiu ab opere conjugali absteineat et vitiis se purget, virtutibus exornet, eleemosynis et orationibus insistat.*

⁴ The distinction of *peccata occulta* from *peccatis publicis*, which latter came to the knowledge of the bishops by other witnesses, and were publicly punished according to their decisions at public tribunals (see what has been said before concerning the Sends.)

although they could not as yet be allowed to partake of the communion.¹ And since, in general, there were now many things in the laws relating to church penance which could not be adapted to the new relations, or, amidst such relations, could not be applied without encountering a violent opposition; this circumstance led to changes which, oftentimes, were undertaken to be carried through in so arbitrary a manner, as threatened to enfeeble the severity of church discipline, so wholesome for those rude times, and to encourage security in crimes. Whenever a real interest was felt to improve the condition of the church, as was the case in the Carolingian period, men endeavoured to banish the *libelli poenitentiales* (penitential certificates), which sprang into use in so abusive a manner; and to restore again the severity of the ecclesiastical laws.² The directions for administering church penance, drawn up by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Egbert of York in the eighth century, and by Halitgar, Bishop of Cambrai, at the opening of the ninth century, were designed for the purpose of rendering the ancient laws of the church, relating to penance, applicable to the new relations and manners. Now, these races of people were much accustomed to pecuniary mulcts, which had been adopted also into the systems of jurisprudence; so that, by paying a certain specified fine, those who had been guilty of theft or of murder could purchase exemption from the punishment due to those crimes, and, by a *composition*, could come to an understanding with those whom they had injured, or with the relations of those whom they had murdered. The regulations of church penance were now accommodated to these customs,³ and a *composition* of this sort was

¹ Among the ordinances of Boniface—where also it is spoken of as a compliance, introduced by the circumstances of the times. *Et quia varia necessitate praepedimur, canonum statuta de conciliandis poenitentibus pleniter observare, propterea omnino non dimittatur* (it should not be wholly omitted, everything should be done that was possible.) *Curet unusquisque presbyter statim post acceptam confessionem poenitentium singulos data oratione reconciliari.* Würdtwein, f. 142.

² So the second council of Chalons, c. 38. *Repudiatis penitus libellis, quos poenitentiales vocant, quorum sunt certi errores, incerti auctores. Qui dum pro peccatis gravibus leves quosdam et inusitatos imponunt poenitentiae modos, consuunt pulvillos secundum propheticum sermonem Ezech. xiii., sub omni cubito manus et faciunt cervicalia sub capite universae aetatis ad capiendas animas.*

³ Even a church-father of the fifth century, perhaps Maximus of Turin, felt constrained to speak earnestly against the abuse of indulgences practised by Arian ecclesiastics among the barbarian tribes, and which had sprung out of accommoda-

received among the number of ecclesiastical punishments; or, those who could not be induced to undertake certain kinds of church penance, to which they should have been subjected according to the old laws of the church, were allowed to substitute for these a pecuniary fine proportionately estimated, and the money thus contributed was either to be given as alms to the poor, or paid for the ransom of captives, or for defraying the expenses of public worship.¹ This was the first, in itself considered, innocent, occasion of indulgences. They were, accordingly, nothing else at first than a substitution for the church punishments hitherto customary, of others better suited to the manners of these races. But, as it generally happened that some fatal misapprehension, whereby the barbarous people were made to feel secure in their sins, became easily attached, not only to this, but to every kind of church penance, when the ecclesiastical tribunal was not duly distinguished from the divine, and the church absolution from the divine forgiveness of sins, and when penitence was not contemplated in its connection with the whole economy of Christian salvation,² so it happened here, that the practice of granting absolution for money soon gave birth to the fatal error, that it was possible in this way to purchase exemption from the punishment of sin, and to obtain its forgiveness. The false confidence in the merit of almsgiving was in fact nothing new. Against this delusion, and the abuse resulting from it, many of the reforming synods of this period earnestly contended. Thus the synod at Cloveshove, so often mentioned before, dé-

tion to these prevailing customs. See the passage already referred to in connection with another subject: *Praepositi eorum, quos presbyteros vocant, dicuntur tale habere mandatum, ut si quis laicorum fassus fuerit crimen admissum, non dicat illi: age poenitentiam; defle peccata; sed dicat: pro hoc crimine da tantum mihi et indulgetur tibi. Vanus plane et insipiens presbyter, qui cum ille praedam accipiat, putat, quod peccatum Christus indulgeat. Nescit, quia salvator solet peccata donare et pro delicto quaerere pretiosas lacrimas, non pecunias numerosas. Denique Petrus, cum ter negando Dominum deliquisset, veniam non muneribus meruit, sed lacrimis impetravit. Apud hujusmodi praeceptores semper divites innocentes, semper pauperes criminosi.* See Mabillon *Museum Italicum*, T. I. P. II. p. 28.

¹ *Halitgar. Liber Poenitentialis*, that whoever could not submit to the prescribed fasts, should pay a sum of money proportionate to his means, for the determinate period of fasting remitted to him. *Sed unusquisque attendat, cui dare debet, sive pro redemptione captivorum, sive super sanetum altare, sive pro pauperibus Christianis erogandum.*

² See, respecting the germ of these errors, the section relating to *Church-Life*, Vols. I. and II.

clared in the year 747, can. 26, that alms were by no means to be given under the impression of being able thereby to indulge more freely in certain sins, of however trifling a nature. Nor should alms be given except out of property that had been lawfully acquired. When, on the contrary, alms were given out of property unlawfully obtained, the divine justice was thereby rather offended than appeased. Neither might any give alms to the hungry for the purpose of surrendering himself to gluttony and drunkenness; lest, perchance, in making the divine justice venal, he might draw down on himself the heavier condemnation. They who so acted or judged, seemed to give their property to God; but, beyond a doubt, they much rather, by their vices, gave themselves to the devil.¹ This synod denounced also the dangerous, arbitrary, and novel custom, by which men imagined (an error occasioned no doubt by the above-mentioned introduction of *compositions* into the practice of the church), that, by the giving of alms, they were released from all the other more difficult kinds of church penance—when, on the contrary, the ordinary church penance ought only to be strengthened thereby.² So, too, the second council of Chalons, A.D. 813,³ declared against such as expected to purchase immunity from punishment by the giving of alms.⁴ A false confidence of the same kind was placed also in the mechanical repetition of forms of prayer, of psalms, and even upon those so-called good works, which men procured others to do for them. The council of Cloveshove declared, on the contrary,⁵ that the singing of psalms was without meaning, except as an expression of the feelings of the heart.⁶ This council was led to declare itself so strongly and explicitly against these erroneous tendencies, because they had exhibited themselves in the grossest forms. A rich man, who applied for

¹ Hoc enim modo facientes sive aestimantes sua Deo dare videntur, seipsos diabolo per flagitia dare non dubitantur.

² Postremo sicuti nova adinventio nunc plurimis periculosa consuetudo est, non eleemosyna porrecta ad minuendam vel ad mutandam satisfactionem per jejunium et reliqua expiationis opera, a sacerdote jure canonica indicta, sed magis ad augmentandam emendationem.

³ C. 36.

⁴ C. 36. Qui hoc perpetrarunt, videntur Deum mercede conducere, ut eis impune peccare liceat.

⁵ C. 37.

⁶ The intima intentio cordis.

absolution on account of a heavy crime, had stated in his letter, that he had distributed so many alms, and procured such a number of persons to sing psalms and to fast for him, that even if he lived a hundred years longer, he would have furnished a sufficient compensation. If the divine justice could be so propitiated, say the council, on the other side, Christ would not have said, "How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven."

In the regulations touching church penance, which belong to the Carolingian period, allusion is constantly made to the fact, that the penance should be measured, not by the length of the time, but by the change of disposition.¹ Attention was directed also to the difference between the divine forgiveness of sin and priestly absolution. Alluding to the opinion of those who held that confession of sins before God was alone necessary, and maintaining on the contrary, that both should be united, this council says: We should confess our sins to God, who is the forgiver of all sins according to Psalm xxxi., and mutually pray for each other's salvation. By confession before God, we obtain the forgiveness of sins, by confession to the priest we learn from him the means, by which sin may be purged away. For God, the author and giver of salvation and of health, bestows these blessings, sometimes by the invisible agency of his power, sometimes by employing the agency of the physician.² It is here allowed, that the divine forgiveness of sins could be bestowed, even without the priestly absolution; but that the priest acted only as an instrument of divine grace, for the purpose of leading men to the appropriation of the divine pardon.³ So too Halitgar

¹ Thus the second Council of Chalons 813, c. 34: *Neque enim pensanda est poenitentia quantitate temporis, sed ardore mentis et mortificatione corporis. Cor autem contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.*

² *Confessio itaque, quae Deo fit, purgat peccata, ea vero, quae sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor plerumque hanc praebet suae potentiae invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione.*

³ Also Theodulf of Orleans supposes the forgiveness of sins conditioned solely on the inward confession of sins before God: *Quia quanto nos memores sumus peccatorum nostrorum, tanto horum Dominus obliviscitur.* But he considers it to be the end of auricular confession, that penitents by following the counsel of the priest, and applying the remedies by him prescribed, and through the mediation of his prayers, might be cleansed from the stain of sin. *Quia accepto a sacerdotibus salutari consilio, saluberrimis poenitentiae observationibus sive mutuis orationibus, peccatorum maculas diluimus,*

says :¹ “ When a man has committed any sin, whereby he is excluded from the body of Christ, a great deal more certainly depends on contrition of heart than on the measure of time ; but as no one can look into the heart of another, particular times have been rightly fixed upon by the heads of the church, in order that satisfaction be also given to the church, in which the sins are forgiven.”² It is evident, how much better it would have been for the religious and moral condition of the communities, if there had not been so great a lack of priests capable of administering the system of church penance according to the principles here expressed.

Besides the changes in the system of penance, which proceeded from too lax a tendency, we have still to mention the new and severer kinds of penance, which, although more rarely, were imposed in extraordinary cases, such as murder,—where the delinquent was compelled to go about with a heavy weight of iron chains and rings, made fast to different members of his body ; or, thus loaded, to make a pilgrimage to some distant holy place, as the tomb of St Peter, where, according to the nature of his case, he was to obtain absolution.³ Against the vagrancy of such penitents, more resembling the spirit of Oriental self-castigation, than the moral culture of a Christian, and imitated no doubt by enthusiasts and deceivers in other cases besides those described, the Emperor Charles finally passed, in the year 789, a special law.⁴

c. 30. To be sure, according to the church theory of satisfaction, it might be considered necessary, after the forgiveness of sin had been obtained, to obtain also exemption from its punishment by means of church penances voluntarily undertaken, so as to avoid the necessity of being subjected to the fires of purgatory.

¹ In his preface de poenitentiae utilitate.

² Ut satisfiat etiam ecclesiae, in qua remittantur peccata.

³ The description of such an one: Pauperculus quidam presbyter propter homicidii centum circulis ferreis tam in collo quam in utroque constrictus brachio, quam gravibus quotidie suppliciiis afficeretur, per sulcos, quos ferrum carnibus ejus inflixerat, videntibus fidem fecit. Vita S. Galli, L. II. c. 34.

⁴ Nec isti nudi cum ferro (sinantur vagari), qui dicunt se data sibi poenitentia ire vagantes. Melius videtur, ut, si aliquid inconsuetum et capitale crimen comiserint, in loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod sibi canonice impositum sit. Baluz. capitular. I. 239.

SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

I. IN THE LATIN CHURCH.

GREGORY the Great, with whom we begin this period, concludes the series of classical church-teachers of the West. By him, that form of the development of church doctrine which had obtained in the Christianized Roman world, was carried over into the succeeding centuries; and he represents the very important middle point between the Christian creation under the Roman form of culture, now in the process of decline, and the new Christian creation, destined to spring forth out of the stock of the German races. Born in Rome, between the years 540 and 550, of a noble, patrician family, he was educated in a style corresponding to his rank, and possessed a good knowledge of Roman literature. Of the Greek language he always remained ignorant. He filled for some time the office of praetor at Rome, till, in his fortieth year, he retired from active duties and embraced the monastic life. He founded six monasteries, and in one of these, which he had established in the vicinity of Rome, he entered as a monk himself, and was afterwards made its abbot. The Roman bishop, Pelagius II., drew him into the active service of the church, making him one of the seven deacons in the church of Rome. Availing himself of that knowledge of the world and skill in the management of affairs, which Gregory had acquired in his former civil capacity, the pope sent him as his agent¹ to Constantinople. On the death of Pelagius, in 589, Gregory was chosen his successor. Although he considered it his duty, to devote himself with vigilant and unsparing activity to the manifold external business then connected with his official station,²—a course which appeared to him in the light of a neces-

¹ *Ἀποκρισιώγιος*, responsalis.

² He himself describes the vast amount of foreign business which fell upon his hands, L. I. in Ezechiel, H. XI. § 6. *Cogor namque modo ecclesiarum, modo monas-*

sary condescension of love to the necessities of the weak, after the example of Christ, who for the salvation of men took upon Him the form of a servant,¹—yet the immediate, spiritual duties of his vocation ever seemed to him the most weighty and interesting. And, in fact, he devoted the energies of his mind even to the improvement of the ecclesiastical music,² and of the liturgical element in worship generally. He exerted a great influence on the peculiar shaping given to the whole mode of worship in the following centuries. Yet he by no means neglected the appropriate duties of his office as a preacher; but rather accounted them among the most essential duties of the priestly calling.³ He held it to be an essential duty of his priestly vocation to admonish and exhort the collective body of the flock in public discourses, and the individual members of the flock by private conversations.⁴ He complained that the bishops of his time neglected, by attending so much to outward affairs, the business of preaching, which belonged to their vocation, and to their own reproach, called themselves bishops without actually performing the duties indicated by this name;⁵ and he acknowledged that in so doing he accused himself, although he was compelled by the exigencies of the times and in spite of his wishes, to become immersed in these external things.⁶ Difficult as it often was for

teriorum causas discutere, saepe singulorum vitas actusque pensare, modo quaedam civium negotia sustinere, modo de irruentibus Barbarorum gladiis gemere et commisso gregi insidiantes lupos timere, modo rerum curam sumere, ne desint subsidio eis ipsis, quibus disciplinae regula tenetur.

¹ *Nec taedere animum debet, si sensus ejus contemplationi spiritalium semper intentus, aliquando dispensandis rebus minimis quasi minoratus inflectitur, quando illud verbum, per quod constant omnia creata, ut prodesset hominibus, assumpta humanitate voluit paulo minus ab angelis minorari, L. 19. in Job. § 45.*

² *As late as the beginning of the ninth century, the chair was still pointed out on which Gregory was wont to sit when he led the church psalmody of the boys received into the "schola cantorum." Joh. Diaconi Vita, L. II. c. 1.*

³ *Praeconis officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotiam accedit. Sacerdos vero si praedicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est praeco mutus? L. I. ep. 25.*

⁴ *Et qui una eademque exhortationis voce non sufficit simul cunctos admonere, debet singulos, in quantum valet instruere, privatis locutionibus aedificare, exhortatione simplici fructum in filiorum suorum cordibus quaerere. L. I. Hom. XVII. in Evangelia, § 9.*

⁵ *Ad exteriora negotia delapsi sumus, ministerium praedicationis relinquimus et ad poenam nostram, ut video, episcopi vocamur, L. c. § 14.*

⁶ *Me quoque pariter accuso, quamvis Barbarici temporis necessitate compulsus valde in his jaceo invitus.*

him to compose, by reason of his frequent illness, and the multitude of affairs of all kinds which claimed and distracted his thoughts, as he himself complains,¹ yet he was a diligent preacher, and the majority of his writings grew out of sermons which he had delivered. He exerted himself also to stimulate the diligence of others in sermonizing; while it was ever on his lips, that in order to a successful discharge of the preacher's office, life and doctrine must go together. "Words—he said—that came from a cold heart, could never light up in hearers the fervour of heavenly desires; for that which burned not itself could kindle nothing else."² In order to lead the clergy of his times to a sense of the dignity of their office, he drew up for their use a "Pastoral Rule," (*Regula Pastoralis*), in which a great deal was brought together that lies scattered in different parts of his writings. In this work, he endeavoured to show in what temper of mind and in what way the spiritual shepherd should come to his office; how he should live in it; how he should vary his mode of address according to different circumstances, and according to the different character of his hearers, and how he should guard against self-exaltation in perceiving the happy results of his official labours. This work had an important influence during the next succeeding centuries, in exciting a better spirit among the clergy, and in leading to efforts for improving the condition of the church. The reforming synods under Charlemagne made it their text-book in devising measures for the improvement of the spiritual order.³ Very soon after its

¹ Quum itaque ad tot et tanta cogitanda scissa ac dilaniata mens ducitur, quando ad semetipsam redeat, ut totam se in praedicatione colligat? In Ezechiel. L. I. H. XI. § 6.

² Ad supernum desiderium inflammare auditores suos nequeunt verba, quae frigido corde proferuntur, neque enim res, quae in se ipsa non arserit, aliud accendit. *Moralia*, L. I. VIII. in Cap. VIII. Job. § 72. So also L. I. in Ezechiel, H. XI. § 7. The preacher, he said, could inspire in the hearts of his hearers a love of their heavenly home only quum lingua ejus ex vita arserit. Nam lucerna, quae in semetipsa non ardet, eam rem, cui supponitur, non accendit. To this he applies the words of John the Baptist (John v. 35): *Lucerna ardens et lucens, ardens videlicet per coeleste desiderium, lucens per verbum.*

³ See the preface to the Council of Mentz, 813, the second council of Rheims in the same year; the third council of Tours directs in its third canon, that no bishop should, if it could possibly be avoided, be ignorant of the Canons of the Councils and of the *Liber Pastoralis*, in quibus se debet unusquisque quasi in quodam speculo assidue considerare.

appearance, the question was proposed to the author by a bishop, What was to be done, in case that such men as, in this work, were required to fill the offices of the church, could nowhere be found :¹ whether perhaps it was not enough to know Jesus Christ and him crucified (scire Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum),—where it is quite evident, that he who proposed the question, was hardly aware, how much is implied in *really knowing and understanding* this, according to the sense of St Paul. With regard to the peculiar theological character, the doctrinal and ethical bent of Gregory, upon all this, the study of Augustin, for whom he had a peculiar veneration,² had exercised the greatest influence. By him, the Augustinian doctrines in their milder form, and directed rather to the interests of practical Christianity than to those of speculation, were handed over to the succeeding centuries. The practical interest was with him everywhere predominant; it led him to adopt the Augustinian scheme of doctrine only on the side on which it seemed to him peculiarly necessary to receive it in order to the cultivation of a Christian habit of feeling, so as to beget true humility and self-renunciation, without leading to the investigation of speculative questions; as, in fact, he was wont to trace heretical tendencies to the circumstance that men had not searched the Scriptures, to find that for which they were given to mankind, and which belonged to the discipline necessary for salvation, but prying after what was hidden and incomprehensible, neglected to apply what was revealed to immediate profit.³ Men boldly speculated on the essence of the divine nature, while they remained ignorant of their own wretched selves.⁴

Knowledge in God, Gregory contemplated as a causative, creative and eternal knowledge; whereby the doctrine that predestination is conditioned on a foreknowledge of given events,

¹ See Lib. II. ep. 54.

² A praefect of Africa having solicited a copy of his *Moralia* for his own instruction, Gregory wrote to him, L. 10, ep. 38. *Sed si delicioso cupitis pabulo saginari, beati Augustini patriotae vestri opuscula legite et ad comparationem siliginis illius nostrum furfurem non quaeratis.*

³ *Omnes haeretici, dum in sacro eloquio plus secreta Dei student perscrutari, quam capiunt, fame sua steriles fiunt. Dum ad hoc tendunt, quod comprehendere nequeunt, ea cognoscere negligunt, ex quibus erudiri potuerunt.*

⁴ *Plerumque audacter de natura divinitatis tractant, cum semetipsos miseri nesciant.* L. 20 in cap. 30 Job. § 18.

seems by him to be excluded. It is only by a necessary anthropathism, that it is possible to speak of a divine foreknowledge; since the relations of time do not admit of being applied to God, and we can attribute to him properly only an eternal knowledge.¹ Yet in the application of this maxim, he was prevented, by his practical spirit, from extending it to such length, as to make the causality of evil revert back on God; though he nowhere enters into any close investigation of this relation. Where it is said that God creates good and evil, Isaiah xlv. 7, the latter he says refers only to the evil which God ordains for good. The creative agency of God cannot be referred² to evil, as being in itself a negative thing.³ Thus, too, he explains the expression, God hardens men's hearts, as meaning simply that He does not, when they have involved themselves in guilt, bestow on them the grace whereby their hearts might be softened.⁴ By reason of the prevailing notion respecting infant baptism, concerning the origin of which we have spoken already in the preceding period, the question must have occurred to him, why should one child, if it dies after receiving baptism be saved, and another if it dies before receiving the same, be lost? which he answers, rejecting all other modes of explanation, simply by referring to the incomprehensibility of the divine judgments, which men ought humbly to adore.⁵ In another place,⁶ where he dwells in like manner, on the incomprehensible character of God's providential dealings, he makes the following practical application of this truth: "Let man, then, come to the consciousness of his ignorance, that he may fear.⁷ Let him fear, that he may humble himself; let him humble himself, that he may place no confi-

¹ Scimus, quia Deo futurum nihil est, ante cujus oculos praeterita nulla sunt, praesentia non transeunt, futura non veniunt, quia omne quod nobis fuit et erit, in ejus conspectu praesto est, et omne quod praesens est, scire potest potius quam praescire, quia quae nobis futura sunt videt, quae tamen ipsi semper praesto sunt, praescius dicitur, quamvis nequaquam futurum praevideat, quod praesens videt, nam et quaeque sunt, non in aeternitate ejus ideo videntur, quia sunt, sed ideo sunt, quia videntur. L. 20 in cap. 30 Job. § 63.

² Quae nulla sua natura subsistunt.

³ L. III. in cap. 2 Job. § 15.

⁴ See L. 31 in cap. 39 Job. § 26, and in Ezechiel. L. II., H. XI., § 25.

⁵ Quanto obscuritate nequeunt conspici, tanto debent humilitate venerari, L. 27 in cap. 36. Job. § 7.

⁶ See 29 in cap. 38 Job. § 77.

⁷ In reference to the question respecting himself, whether he belonged to the number of the elect, a point about which no person could be certain.

dence in himself. Let him place no confidence in himself, that he may learn to seek help of his Creator, and when he has come to know, that in self-confidence nothing is to be found but death, he may by appropriating the help of his Creator, attain to life.”¹ With Gregory, the important point touching the relation of free-will to grace, is this—that every motion to good, proceeds from divine grace; but that the free-will co-operates, while grace works within it in a manner conformed to its nature, following the call of grace with free self-determination; all which, too, may be very easily reconciled with Augustin’s doctrine of the *gratia indeclinabilis*;—and in this sense alone does he ascribe any merit to free-will.² By this connection of ideas, Gregory can reconcile with the assertion of a free-will, the assertion also of a grace attracting and transforming man’s corrupt will with a power which is essentially irresistible. “O what a consummate artist is that Spirit, says he. Without the tardy process of learning, the man is impelled onward to all that this Spirit wills. No sooner does he touch the soul than he teaches, and his touch is itself a teaching; for at one and the same time he enlightens and converts the human heart. It suddenly turns stranger to what it was, and becomes what it was not.”³ He considers goodness the work of God, and man’s work, at the same time; in as much as it is to be traced to the casuality of divine grace, while the free-will, as an instrument of the agency of grace, freely surrenders itself, that is, without being conscious of any constraining necessity. Hence we can speak of a reward—although indeed without this determined agency of grace, which God bestows on none but the elect, this act of free-will would not have been exerted. And had Gregory been disposed to follow this train of ideas still further, he must

¹ Et qui in se fidens mortuus est, auctoris sui adiutorium appetens vivat.

² Quia praeveniente divina gratia in operatione bona, nostrum liberum arbitrium sequitur, nosmetipsos liberare dicimur, qui liberanti nos Domino consentimus. He explains the phraseology of St Paul 1 Cor. xv. 10, as follows: Quia enim praevenientem Dei gratiam per liberum arbitrium fuerat subsequutus, apte subjungit: mecum, ut et divino muneri non esset ingratus, et tamen a merito liberi arbitrii non remaneret extraneus. L. 24 in cap. 33 Job. § 24.

³ Gregor. L. II. Hom. in Evangel. 30, § 8. O qualis est artifex iste spiritus! Nulla ad discendum mora agitur in omne quod voluerit. Mox ut tetigerit mentem docet solumque tetigisse docuisse est, nam humanum animus subito ut illustrat immutat, abnegat hoc repente quod erat, exhibet repente quod non erat.

have come to the result, that this was a necessary agency of grace, though exerted in the form of the subject's own self-determination.¹ Now, as Gregory made the salvation of the individual depend on the question, whether or no he belonged to the number of the elect; and yet, according to his opinion, no man could penetrate into this hidden counsel of the divine mind without a special revelation, it followed, that no man, in the present life, can have any certainty with regard to his salvation; and this uncertainty appeared to him a most salutary thing for man, serving to keep him ever humble, and in a watchful care over himself. On one occasion, a lady in waiting, of the emperor's household (*cubicularia*) at Constantinople, by name Gregoria, wrote to him, that she could have no peace, till Gregory could assure her, it was revealed to him from God, that her sins were forgiven. To this he replied,² that she had required of him a thing which was at once difficult and unprofitable; difficult, because he was unworthy of such a revelation; unprofitable, because it was not till the last day of her life, when no more time was left to weep over her sins, she ought to have the assurance that they were forgiven. Till then, distrustful of herself, trembling for herself, she should always fear on account of her sins, and seek to cleanse herself from them by daily tears. This was the state of mind which Paul found himself to be in (1 Cor. ix. 27), notwithstanding he could boast of such high revelations. This mode of viewing the matter, which in the following centuries continued to be entertained in the Western church, gave occasion, it is true, to a tormenting species of asceticism, to dark and melancholy views of life, and to various kinds of holiness by works or superstitious observances, which were started into existence by the oppressive feeling of this uncertainty; but Gregory still directed the anxious soul to trust in the objective promise of divine grace in Christ. Thus, for instance, he concludes one of his sermons:³ "relying on the compassion of our Creator, mindful of his justice, be concerned

¹ Bonum, quod agimus, et Dei est et nostrum, Dei per praevenientem gratiam, nostrum per obsequentem liberam voluntatem. Quia non immerito gratias agimus, scimus, quod ejus munere praevenimur, et rursus, quia non immerito retributionem quaerimus, scimus, quod obsequente libero arbitrio bona elegimus, quae ageremus. L. 33 in cap. 41 Job. § 40.

² L. VII. ep. 25.

³ In Evangelia L. II. H. 34.

for your sins ; recollecting his grace, despair not ; the God-man gives man trust in God."

If we remark in the doctrinal system of Augustin two elements ; the purely Christian, which proceeded from a profound apprehension of the ideas of "*grace*" and of "*justification*" as essentially spiritual ideas ; and the sensual Catholic, which he had received from the church tradition, and which had become mixed up with the former in his inward life, so too we meet with the same elements in Gregory ; and they were transmitted by him down to the succeeding centuries. From the latter, proceeded the development of Catholicism in the middle ages, in its sensual Jewish form ; from the former, the seeds of a vital and inward Christianity, which is to be found also under the envelope of Catholicism, and which, sometimes, even excited and produced a reaction against the sensual Catholic principle. The antagonism between these two elements discovered itself in him in various ways.

Though, on the one hand, he was easily inclined to believe the stories about miracles wrought in his own time, and especially to ascribe such miraculous operations to the sacraments ; and though, by collections of this sort in his Dialogues,¹ he nourished the passion for miracles in the times which succeeded him ; yet on the other, his intuitive perception coming from the depths of the Christian consciousness of the essence of Christianity, and of the new creation grounded in the redemption, together with the inward miracle of the communication of a divine life,² led him to appreciate more correctly the external miracle, as an isolated and temporal thing, compared to the one and universal fact which was thereby to be introduced and marked, and to form a counter-influence to the fleshly passion for miracles. He considered external miracles as having been once necessary, in order to pave the way for the introduction among men of the

¹ In which, by the way, several remarkable phenomena are related, belonging to the higher province of psychology, where the energy of a divine life, breaking through mere earthly limits, may perhaps have been revealed.

² Thus, concerning the relation of the diffusion of the Holy Ghost to the incarnation of the Son of God, he says : In illa Deus in se permanens suscepit hominem, in ista vero homines venientem desuper susceperunt Deum, in illa Deus naturaliter factus est homo, in ista homines facti sunt per adoptionem Dii. In Evangelia Lib. II. Hom. 30. § 9.

new creation, to elevate the mind from the visible to the invisible, from the miracle without, to the far greater miracle within. They who had something new to announce, must procure credence for themselves by these new facts, accompanying the new annunciation.¹ Wherever that highest of all miracles and end of them all, the divine life, has once entered humanity, it no longer needs the external sign. Paul on an island full of unbelievers, healed the sick by his prayers; but to his sick companion Timothy, he only recommended the natural remedies (1 Tim. v. 23), for the former needed first to be made susceptible for the inward power of the divine life; but the sick friend who was already sound and healthy within,² had no need of the outward miracle.³ The true miracle ever continues to operate in the church; since the church daily accomplishes, after a spiritual manner, such works as the apostles accomplished after a sensible manner—a thought which he finally carries out with reference to the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, etc., spiritually interpreted; and he then goes on to say, these wonders are the greater, because they are of a spiritual kind—the greater, because by their means, not the bodies, but the souls of men are revived. Such wonders—he adds in the sermon from which these remarks are taken⁴—you may work, if you will, by the power of God. Those physical miracles are sometimes *evidences* of holiness, but they do not constitute it; but these spiritual miracles which are wrought in the soul, are not *evidence* of the virtue of the life, but they *constitute* that virtue. The former, even the wicked may have (Matt. vii. 22); the latter, none but the good enjoy. Labour not then after miracles which one may have in common with the reprobate, but after the miracles of love and piety, which are the more sure, in proportion, as they are the more hidden. After citing the words of Christ above referred to, Gregory says in another place:⁵—“It is plain from this, that humility, love should be honoured in men, not the

¹ Ut nova fecerent, qui nova praedicarent. Ad hoc quippe visibilia miracula coruscant, ut corda videntium ad fidem invisibilium pertrahant, ut per hoc, quod mirum foris agitur, hoc quod intus est, longe mirabilius esse sentiatur. In Evang. L. I. H. IV. § 3.

² Qui salubriter intus vivebat.

³ Compare also L. 27 in cap. 37 Job. § 36. ed. Benedictin. T. I. f. 869.

⁴ L. II in Evangel. H. 29. § 3.

⁵ L. 20 in cap. Job. cap. VII. § 17.

power of working of miracles. The proof of holiness is not the working of miracles, but the loving all as we do ourselves."¹ The gift of brotherly love, he means, is the only token of discipleship, as described by Christ himself. He finely unfolds the idea of a *moral* power proceeding from faith, which would get the victory even over the power of Anti-Christ, accompanied though it might be with seeming miracles.²

Though Gregory spoke highly of the operations of divine grace in the miraculous cures effected at the tombs of saints, yet he denounced that direction of prayer at these holy places which sought help chiefly in matters relating to the body. "Behold," says he in a sermon preached at the festival of a martyr,³ "how many have come up to the feast, bowing the knee, beating your hearts, uttering words of prayer and confession of sins, moistening your cheeks with tears. But ponder, I beseech you, the character of your prayers, consider whether you pray in the name of Jesus, that is, whether you pray for the joys of eternal bliss; for you seek not Jesus in the dwelling of Jesus, if, in the temple of eternity, you pray in an impatient manner for temporal things. Behold, one seeks in his prayer a wife; another longs for an estate; another for clothing; another for the means of subsistence. And very true, even for these things, if they be lacking, men must ask the Almighty God. But, in so doing, we should ever be mindful of that which we have learned from the precept of our Saviour, 'Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' It is no error, then, to pray to Christ even for these things, if we do not seek them *too earnestly*. But he who seeks by prayer the death of an enemy, he who persecutes with prayer one whom he cannot persecute with the sword, incurs the guilt of a murderer;—he fights, while he prays, against the will of his Creator;—his very prayer is sin."

From what has now been said concerning the doctrinal prin-

¹ He adds: *De Deo vera, de proximo vero meliora quam de semetipso sentire.*

² *Ante enim a fidelibus miraculorum divitiæ subtrahuntur et tunc contra eos antiquus ille hostis per aperta prodigia ostenditur, ut quo ipse per signa extollitur, eo a fidelibus sine signis robustius laudabilisque vincatur. Quorum nimirum virtus omnibus signis fit potior, quum omne, quod ab illo terribiliter fieri conspicit, per internæ constantiæ calcem premit.* L. 34. in Job. c. III. § 7.

³ In Evangelia, L. II. Hom. 27.

ciples of Gregory, we may infer the intimate connection in which, in his case as in that of Augustin, the ethical element would stand to the doctrinal, and the peculiar direction his mind would take in the discussion of ethical¹ questions. It was the peculiar direction adopted and carried out by Augustin, in opposition to that Pelagianism which severed Christian morality from its intimate connection with the doctrines of faith. It was the tendency which seeks to refer everything back to the central point of the Christian life, the divine principle of a life growing out of faith, the essential temper of love; and the opposition, thence resulting, to the isolated and outward mode of estimating morality by the standard of quantity. "It is from the root of holiness within," says Gregory, "from which the single branches of holy conduct must proceed, if that conduct is expected to pass as an acceptable offering, an *oblatio verae rectitudinis*, before God;² and the essence of this inward holiness consists in love, which spontaneously gives birth to all that is good. As many branches spring from a single tree and a single root, so many virtues spring from love, which is one. The branch of good works is without verdure, except it abide in connection with the root of love. Hence the precepts of our Lord are many, while yet there is but one: many, as it respects the manifoldness of the works; one, in the root, which is love."³ He therefore recognizes the necessary inward connection subsisting between all the virtues, particularly of the so-called cardinal virtues, since one cannot subsist in absolute separation from the rest.⁴ He enters into the following exposition, among others, to illustrate the necessary connection subsisting between the cardinal virtues. *Prudence*, which has respect to the knowledge of what is to be done, can avail nothing without *fortitude*, which supplies the power for the actual performance of that which is known to be right. Such knowledge would be a punishment rather than a virtue. He, then, who by *prudence* knows what he has to do, and by *fortitude* actually does

¹ A subject on which he had particularly employed his thoughts, especially in his *Moralia*, in his practical allegorizing interpretation of Job, which grew out of homilies on this book.

² Lib. XIX. in Job. c. 23, § 38.

³ Lib. II. in Evangelia, H. 27, § 1.

⁴ *Una virtus sine aliis aut omnino nulla est aut imperfecta.* Lib. XXII. Moral. c. 1. L. II. in Ezechiel, H. 10, § 18.

it, is just indeed; but the zeal of justice ceases to be a right zeal, unless it be accompanied with *moderation*.¹ On this principle, he combatted several individual forms of that fundamental error in morals, of estimating works of piety in a separate and outward manner, *opera operata*; as, for instance, very frequently in the case of almsgiving, in the case of the monastic life, which, in other respects, was so highly valued by him. "It is often observed," says he, "that individuals, under the urgent feeling of a momentary contrition, become monks; but, in changing the outward garb, they are not found to be changed also in inward disposition."² Such persons might be addressed in the language of Paul to those who observed the externals of the law: "That with Christ, neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." To despise the present world; to cease loving the transient and perishable; to be thoroughly humble before God, and towards our neighbours; to bear with patience the insults to which we may be exposed, and with patience to banish every feeling of revenge from the heart; not to covet the goods of others, and to communicate of our substance to the needy; to love our friends in God, and for the sake of God to love even our enemies; to be grieved when our neighbours suffer, and not to rejoice over the death of an enemy—this is the new creation.³ So he often speaks slightly of those ascetic austerities, which had not grown out of true love and self-renunciation, and which served as a foothold for pride and vanity;⁴ and of that mock humility which, beneath an appearance of outward self-debasement, concealed the greater pride, making use of the one to nourish the other;⁵ and of the humility that consisted in the *opus operatum* of confessing one's sinfulness or particular sins, and betraying, at the same time, the

¹ In Ezekiel, Lib. I. Hom. III. § 8.

² Ad vocem praedicationis quasi ex conversione compunctos habitum, non animum mutasse, ita ut religiosam vestem sumerent, sed ante acta vitia non calcarent et de solo exterius habitu, quem sumserunt sanctitatis fiduciam habere.

³ In Ezekiel, L. I. H. 10, § 9.

⁴ See, e. g. L. II. in Evangelia Hom. 32. Fortasse laboriosum non est homini relinquere sua, sed valde laboriosum est, relinquere semetipsum.

⁵ Sunt nonnulli, qui viles videri ab hominibus appetunt atque omne, quod sunt, dejectos se exhibendo contemnunt; sed tamen apud se introrsus quasi ex ipso merito ostensae vilitatis intumescunt et tanto magis in corde elati sunt, quanto amplius in specie elationem premunt. L. XXVII. Moral. § 78.

insincerity of this confession, by the manner in which reproofs were received from another.¹ Moreover, Gregory transmitted the fundamental principle of the Augustinian ethics, by expounding, in the same strict sense, the obligation to truthfulness, and by utterly condemning every species of falsehood.²

Gregory by no means inculcated a blind faith, excluding all rational investigation; but on this point also followed the principle of Augustin on the relation of reason to faith, though, by virtue of his peculiar bent of mind, he ventured less deeply into doctrinal speculations. "The church," says he, "requires faith only on rational grounds of conviction; and even when she presents matters which could not be comprehended by reason, she rationally advises that human reason should not be too earnest to fathom what is incomprehensible."³ The influence of Gregory in hastening the decline of the study of ancient literature, has often been greatly exaggerated. In this respect, he simply followed out the views which had become predominant in the *Western church*. We remarked, on a former page, how much he insisted on study as a duty of the clergy; but we must allow, he required such studies of them as were suited to their calling—spiritual studies;⁴ and he severely reproved a certain bishop, Desiderius of Vienne,⁵ because, while a bishop, he gave instruction in grammar, and explained the ancient poets.⁶ We ought

¹ Saepe contingit, ut passim se homines iniquos esse fateantur; sed quum peccata sua veraciter aliis arguentibus audiunt, defendunt se summopere, atque innocentes videri conantur. Iste de confessione peccati ornari voluit, non humiliari, per accusationem suam humilis appetiit videri, non esse. L. XXIV. Moral. § 22.

² He would not approve of telling a falsehood, even to save life: Ut nec vita cujuslibet per fallaciam defendatur, ne suae animae noceant, dum praestare vitam carni nituntur alienae, quanquam hoc ipsum peccati genus facillime credimus relaxari. Moral. L. XVIII. § 5. So also against falsehood springing from a mistaken notion of humility: Qui necessitate cogente vera de se bona loquitur, tanto magis humilitati jungitur, quanto et veritati sociatur. Moral. XXVI. § 5.

³ Ecclesia recta, quae errantibus dicit, non quasi ex auctoritate praecipit, sed ex ratione persuadet. He makes the church say: Ea, quae assero, nequaquam mihi ex auctoritate credita, sed an vera sint, ex ratione pensate. Moral. L. VIII. § 3.

⁴ The studies of the clergy extended more rarely, however, to the older Greek fathers; partly on account of their ignorance of the language, partly because the doctrinal opinions of those fathers were less agreeable to the prevailing bent of mind in many. Thus we may explain how it should happen that, in the Roman libraries, not a single book of the writings of Irenaeus was to be found. L. XI. ep. 56.

⁵ L. XI. ep. 54.

⁶ Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt et quam grave



to be exactly informed respecting the motives which influenced the bishop, and of the manner in which he contrived to unite these labours with the duties of his vocation, which, no doubt, under the existing circumstances in France, demanded great attention, to be able to judge how far Gregory was right in passing on him so severe a censure. At all events, we cannot possibly infer, from the fact that he considered this employment unbeseeming a bishop, that he considered the study of ancient literature generally an unsuitable employment for a Christian. But, when he says that it is unbecoming, even in a pious layman, to recite poems that have anything to do with the pagan doctrine of the gods, it would seem to follow from this, that he considered it unbecoming a pious Christian to teach the ancient literature. Yet, in the vehemence of his feelings towards a bishop who thus employed his time, he may perhaps have expressed himself more strongly than he would otherwise have done.¹

The death of Gregory the Great, in 604, was followed by the political movements and revolutions among the nations of the West, amid which, the culture transmitted from ancient times was more and more exposed to utter extinction. Although in

nefandumque sit episcopis canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera.

¹ If the commentary on the books of Kings, which is ascribed to Gregory, might be taken as evidence of his mode of thinking, it would be clear from this, that he was much rather a defender of the study of ancient literature, in the same sense as Augustin was. He held the study of the liberal arts (*artes liberales*) to be necessary, in order to learn how to understand rightly the sacred Scriptures. He looks upon it as a device of the evil spirit, to dissuade Christians from these studies: *Ut et secularia nesciant et ad sublimitatem spiritalium non pertingant.* Moses, in order to be prepared for the right setting forth of divine things, was first instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Isaiah was more eloquent than all the other prophets, because he was not, like Jeremiah, an *armentarius*, but *nobiliter instructus*. So, too, St Paul was pre-eminent among the apostles *per doctrinam, quia futurus in coelestibus terrenarius studiosus didicit.* L. V. in I. Reg. IV. § 30. At all events, from whomsoever this work may have proceeded, it was a remarkable reaction against the tendency to despise ancient literature. But although this language is too strong to have been used by Gregory himself, yet it is plain from his writings that, while he considered it unbecoming in a Christian to employ his thoughts a long time on many of the works of antiquity, he certainly must have supposed an acquaintance with ancient literature necessary, as a general thing, in order to theological culture—at least if he was consistent with himself. The story about the burning up of the *Bibliotheca Palatina*, by Gregory's command, cannot be considered as sufficiently attested—the sole foundation for it are the traditions of the twelfth century. John of Salisbury II. 26. Polieratic.

Rome and Italy¹ libraries were kept up, from whose stores the new churches in England and Germany were afterwards made fruitful, yet the degree of scientific interest was still insufficient in those countries, to make any use of them amid the storms and convulsions by which Italy especially was agitated in the next succeeding centuries. The great interval, in theological cultivation and evangelical knowledge, between Gregory the Great and the popes of the eighth century, is strikingly apparent. During this wild torrent of destruction, Providence was preparing a few places of security in isolated districts, where the remains of the older culture were preserved, as materials to be used and appropriated in the new Christian creation among the nations.

In Spain, at the close of the sixth century, and the opening of the seventh, laboured Isidorus, Bishop of Hispalis or Seville, who embraced within his knowledge all that, in his own age, was to be obtained from scientific culture. As a theological writer, he exerted some influence by a liturgical work on the duties of ecclesiastics (*De Officiis Ecelesiasticis libri duo*); and by another, which contains, in three books, a collection of thoughts, arranged in the order of the more important subjects, relating to the doctrines of Christian faith and practice (*Sententiarum libri tres*.) In this he follows, sometimes word for word, Augustin and Gregory the Great; and thereby contributed to spread and propagate their principles in the following centuries; as, for example, the doctrines concerning grace and predestination²—Augustin's stricter principles on the subject of truthfulness.³ In his Chronicle of the Goths, also, he disapproves the violent measures resorted to for the conversion of the Jews in Spain, and follows the principles of Gregory.⁴ The seeds of scientific

¹ Where the famous Cassiodore, after retiring from public life to a cloister, collected together rich treasures of literature; and, by his *institutio divinarum literarum*, inspired the monks with a love of study, and stimulated them to the copying of books.

² The form of expression deserves notice, L. II. c. 6. *Gemina est praedestinatio sive electorum ad requiem sive reprobatorum ad mortem.*

³ L. II. c. 30. *Hoc quoque mendacii genus perfecti viri summopere fugiunt, ut nec vita cujuslibet per eorum fallaciam defendatur, ne suae animae noceant, dum praestare vitam alienae carni nituntur, quamquam hoc ipsum peccati genus facillime credimus relaxari.*

⁴ He says, concerning such measures of king Sisabut: *Aemulationem quidem Dei habuit, sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei*

and theological culture, scattered by Isidorus, long continued to operate in Spain, even after the conquest of this country by the Saracens in the eighth century; and the separation of Spain from its connection with the rest of the Christian world, may have been the very reason why many things were more freely developed there now, than at an earlier period, the clergy being no longer so cramped and restricted by the system of the Romish church. Hence the signs of the reaction of a freer spirit against the traditional, Roman tendency.

We said, on a former page, that the monasteries of Ireland became asylums and centres for collecting the elements of theological and learned culture. Far renowned were the masters from Scotland (*Magistri e Scotia*), who travelled not only to England, but to France and Germany, and taught various branches of knowledge. From Ireland, as we have seen, England was enriched with books and science; and the enthusiasm which was first excited in that country, led English clergymen and monks to procure books from Rome and Gaul.¹

In the seventh century, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbot Hadrian, who had accompanied him from Rome, gained for themselves deserved credit by their efforts to further the progress of culture in England. They traversed the country in company with each other, and made arrangements for the establishment of schools. They left behind them many disciples; and among these, as Bede reports,² were men able to speak Latin and Greek as their mother tongue. Under these influences, grew up a man, who deserves to be called emphatically the teacher of England, the venerable Bede. Born in the year 673, in the village of Yarrow, in Northumberland, he received his education, from the time he was seven years old, in the monastery of Wearmouth; and this monastery was also, until his death, the seat of his great, though unobtrusive, activity as a teacher.

ratione oportuit. He then, to be sure, adds: *Sed sicut scriptum est Phil. I, sive per occasionem sive per veritatem, Christus adnunciatur, in hoc gaudeo et gaudebo.*

¹ In the account of the life of the abbot, and afterwards Bishop Aldhelm, composed by William of Malmesbury, who wrote, it is true, in the twelfth century, but made use of earlier sources, it is mentioned, that the merchant vessels from France often brought with the rest of their merchandise, Bibles and other books. See cap. 3, *Acta Sanctorum Bolland. Mens. Maj. T. VI. f. 82.*

² *Hist. Eccles. L. IV., 2.*

By him many other church-teachers, who became eminent also as instructors in other countries, were educated. Of himself he says,¹ that he had bestowed every pains upon the study of the Scriptures; and, amid the devotional exercises and liturgical duties which devolved on him as a monk and priest, it had been his delight to be ever learning, teaching, or writing.² The manner of his death corresponded with such a life, consecrated in noiseless activity to God. In the last fourteen days of it, he calmly and cheerfully contemplated his approaching departure, surrounded by his disciples, thankful for all the good he had received in this life, and even for his final sufferings, which he looked upon as a means of sanctification.³ His last hours were consecrated to the work of his life, the instruction of youth, and he died in the midst of his beloved pupils, on the 26th of May, A.D. 735.⁴

¹ In the report on his life and writings, in his history of the English church; also Acta S. Maj. T. VI. f. 721, and Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Benedicti Saec. III. p. 1.

² *Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.*

³ His scholar Cuthbert says of him: *Vere fateor, quia neminem unquam oculis meis vidi nec auribus audivi tam diligenter gratias Deo vivo referre.*

⁴ In those last fourteen days of his sickness, he was employed in translating the gospel of John into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and in correcting the collection of Isidore's Abbreviations for the benefit of his scholars; for, said he—"My scholars ought not to read a false text, and after my death labour to no purpose." When his disease grew more violent, and it was only with difficulty he could breathe, he still continued to teach during the whole day; and, on the day before his death, he cheerfully dictated to his amanuensis, and remarked to one of his scholars, "Make haste to learn; I know not how long I shall still remain with you, and whether my Creator may not soon take me to himself." Thus he employed the last days of his life in dictating to his scholars, in correcting what they had written, and in answering their questions. Having thus occupied himself till after the third hour past noon, he begged one of his scholars to summon quickly the priests of the convent. "The rich of this world," said he, "can make presents of gold, and silver, and other precious things; these I have not; but with much love and joy will I give my brethren what God has given me."—It was a little pepper, frankincense, and some articles of church apparel.—When they arrived, he begged each of them to read the mass diligently, and pray for him. "It is time," said he, "if it so please my Maker, that I should return back to Him who created me from nothing. I have lived long; the time of my dissolution approaches; I long to depart, and to be with Christ, for my soul earnestly desires to see my king Christ in his beauty." These and like things he said, till it was evening. Then one of his scholars, whom he had given something to write, begging him to make haste and finish it, came, and told him he had but one sentence to write. "Write it quickly then," said he. Soon afterwards, the young man reported: "The sentence is now finished." "Yea," answered Bede, "thou hast spoken rightly; it is finished. Take my head in thy hands, for it is a great joy to me to sit over against the consecrated spots, where I have been wont to pray, in order that I may quietly call upon my Father." Thus supported by his scholar, on whose hands he had laid

In the spirit of Bede, the same work was carried forward by Egbert, one of his scholars and particular friends, who superintended a school at York, where instruction was given in all the then existing branches of knowledge, and where especially the study of the Bible, and of the writings of ancient church-teachers that served to expound them, were diligently pursued; and even after Egbert became Archbishop of York, he still devoted much time to the direction of this school, which he placed under the immediate care of his disciple Albert.¹ From this school proceeded Alcuin, the great teacher of his times; born in York, the very same year, in which the eminent master, whose place he was to fill in a still wider field of action, the venerable Bede departed from this life. He afterwards became head of the school in York, which was so flourishing under his direction, that many from distant places were here his scholars; until the Emperor Charles invited him to join in the great work of educating the Franks, and of improving the condition of the Frankish church.

The Frankish church under Charlemagne was the central point which united all the scattered rays of culture from England, Ireland, Spain, and Italy; and Charles took advantage of every opportunity to stimulate the bishops of his kingdom to diligence and zeal in promoting learned studies, setting them an example by his own personal exertions. Having, for example, received letters from the abbots and bishops, in which they stated their petitions to him, he was pained to observe the extreme deficiency they manifested in an ability to express their thoughts with correctness and propriety. This led him to issue a circular letter,² in which he exhorted them to the zealous pursuit of scientific

his head, he kneeled down on the floor of his cell, and sang the words of the doxology: "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto;" and, with the last words of praise to the Holy Spirit, he breathed out his life on earth.

¹ His scholar Alcuin, who always clung to him with great affection, said of him in his poem on the archbishops and holy men of York:

Cui Christus amor, potus, cibus, omnia Christus,
Vita, fides, sensus, spes, lux, via, gloria, virtus.

And,

Indolis egregiæ juvenes quoscunque videbat,
Hos sibi conjunxit, docuit, dextravit, amavit.

² Bouquet *Collectio Scriptorum rerum*. Franc. T. V. f. 621. *Concilia Galliae* T. II. f. 621.

studies, as a means which would enable them better and more easily to understand also the mysteries of holy writ.¹ He considered it of great importance that the heads of the churches should co-operate, for the same object, with the learned men whom he had assembled around him.² And among these, Alcuin was beyond doubt the most distinguished. When, in the year 780, the latter was on his return from a mission to Rome, which had been entrusted to him by the Archbishop of York, and the emperor, who had been acquainted with him before, met him at Parma, he pressinglly invited him to remain with him, for the purpose of taking the direction of the institutions which he was about to establish. Having returned to his native land, and obtained permission from his king and from his archbishop to comply with this request, he fulfilled the wish of the monarch. The latter granted him a monastery near the city of Troyes, and the monastery of Ferrieres in the diocese of Sens, that he might direct the studies of the monks, and be provided for by the revenues of these establishments. But he placed under his particular charge the institution of learning which he himself had established, for youth of the higher ranks, in the vicinity of his own palace (the schola Palatina). Here he came into immediate contact with the emperor, and the most eminent men in the state and church, and was invited to give his advice on all affairs pertaining to the church, and to the education of the people. He instructed the emperor himself, and the latter called him his most beloved teacher in Christ.³ He often proposed to him questions on difficult passages of Scripture, on the meaning of liturgical forms, on church chronology, and other theological topics, which had been started in the conversations at the court of the Emperor Charles. When absent from his residence, the emperor, until his death, kept up a familiar correspondence with

¹ Quum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi et cætera his similia inserta inveniuntur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritaliter intelligit, quanto prius in literarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.

² The discordia inter sapientes et doctores ecclesiae, he held to be the worst thing that could happen, as he wrote to the monks of the convent of St Martin of Tours, by occasion of a quarrel between Alcuin and Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans. Among Alcuin's letters, ep. 119.

³ Carissime in Christo praeceptor, he calls him in a letter from which Alcuin quotes a few lines in his answer, ep. 124.

him, in which Alcuin was accustomed to express his opinions with great freedom.¹

We remarked on a former page, how important it was regarded by the emperor, both in relation to his own wants and those of the church, that the text of the Bible, in the then current Latin translation, which, through the negligence and ignorance of transcribers, had in many cases become wholly unintelligible, should be corrected; and this weighty task he imposed on Alcuin.² In the beginning of the year 801, wishing to congratulate the king on his accession to the imperial throne, Alcuin sent him as a present, a copy of the entire Bible carefully corrected throughout by his own hand.³

Having spent eight years in this circle of labours, Alcuin returned once more to his native country, where he resided about two years, and then, somewhere near the year 792, came back and resumed his former occupation. At the approach of old age, however, he was desirous of withdrawing from the bustle of court, and from the multiplied concerns in which he here found himself involved, to renounce all employments whatsoever except those immediately connected with religion, and retiring from the world, to be allowed to prepare in quiet for his departure from the present life, to which everything else should be subordinated.⁴

¹ As a monument of Alcuin's devout and Christian temper of mind, the consoling words which in the year 800 he wrote to the emperor on the death of his wife, Liodgarde, may stand here: *Domine Jesu, spes nostra, salus nostra, consolatio nostra, qui clementissima voce omnibus sub pondere cujuslibet laboris gementibus mandasti dicens: Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Quid hac promissione jucundius? Quid hac spe beatius? Veniat ad eum omnis anima moerens, omne cor contritum, fundens lacrimas in conspectu misericordiae illius, neque abscondat vulnera suo medico, qui ait: Ego occidam et vivere faciam, percutiam et ego sanabo. Deut. xxxii. 39. Flagellat miris modis, ut erudiat filios, pro quorum salute unico non pepercit filio.* He then represents the Son of God saying to the soul: *Propter te descendi et patiebar, quae legisti in literis meis, ut tibi praepararem mansionem in domo patris mei. Regaum meum tantum valet, quantum tu es. Te ipsam da et habebis illud. Ep. 90.*

² As he himself says: *Domini regis praeceptum in emendatione veteris novique Testamenti.* See the letter prefixed to the sixth book of his commentary on the Gospel of St John, T. I. Vol. II. f. 591. ed. Froben.

³ Alcuin ep. 103. He had long been thinking what to send him. *Tandem Spiritu Sancto inspirante inveni, quod meo nomine competeret offerre et quid vestrae prudentiae amabile esse potuisset.*

⁴ See epist. 168. *Seculi occupationibus depositis soli Deo vacare desidero. Dum omni homini necesse est vigili cura se praeparare ad occursum Domini Dei sui, quanto magis senioribus, qui sunt annis et infirmitatibus confracti.*

* If the ancient account of Alcuin's life is to be credited,¹ it was his wish to find a resting-place for the evening of his life in the monastery of Fulda. But when the emperor had concluded to release him from immediate service, he still wished to employ his abilities, though in the tranquillity of retirement, in the work to which they had thus far been consecrated. The abbey of St Martin at Tours having been left vacant in the year 796, he resolved on employing Alcuin to restore, among the monks of that convent, the discipline which had begun to decline, and also to found here a flourishing school. In this spot, Alcuin continued to labour as a teacher with the same activity and zeal as he had shown before, though under different circumstances.² But when urged by his increasing infirmities, and the presentiment of approaching death, to seek a release from all external business, he obtained permission to commit, during the last years of his life, the direction of the convent under his care to chosen scholars of his own.³ Thus, as he said,⁴ he could quietly live in the abbey of St Martin, waiting for the summons to depart.⁵ The wish which, in the last years of his life, and under the sense of its approaching end, he had been used to express, that he might die on the festival of Pentecost, was fulfilled on the 19th of May 804.

There was during this period too little scientific life in the Western church, to give occasion for the starting up of opposite views of doctrines, and of controversies arising therefrom. Even in the Carolingian age, in the epoch formed out of the whole period, in which learning flourished most, men were far more busily occupied in firmly establishing, and practically

¹ Which may be found in the first volume of Frobenius' edition; in the *Actis Sanctorum*, at the 19th of May; *Mens. Maj. T. IV*; and in *Mabillon Acta S. O. B.*

² He speaks of this in his thirty-eighth letter to King Charles. He says here that he instructed some in the exposition of Scripture, others in ancient literature, others in grammar, others in astronomy, *plurima plurimis factus, ut plurimos ad profectum sanctae ecclesiae et ad decorem imperialis regni vestri erudiam, ne sit vacua Dei in me gratia nec vestrae bonitatis largitio inanis.* But he complains of the want of books, and begs permission of the emperor to send some of his scholars to England, to procure books from that quarter.

³ Ep. 176 to the Archbishop Arno: *Ut scias, quanta misericordia mecum a Deo omnipotenti peracta est, nam rebus omnibus, quae habui per loca diversa, adjuutores mihi ex meis propriis filiis elegi adnuente per omnia suggestionibus meis Domino meo David, as he was in the habit of calling the Emperor Charles.*

⁴ Ep. 175.

⁵ *Spectans, quando vox veniat: aperi pulsanti, sequere jubentem, exaudi judicantem.*

applying what had been handed down by tradition, than in entering into any new investigations of the doctrines of faith. Yet, naturally, it was in this epoch alone that oppositions of doctrine could busy the Western church of this period. But it is singular to observe, that it was in the Spanish church of all others—a church which, though not oppressed, was yet, under the rule of a foreign race that professed the religion of Mohammed, in no very favourable situation for progress in science—a revival commenced of the old opposition between the Antiochian and the Alexandrian schools;—though we must admit that in the Spanish church, owing to this very fact of its peculiar situation, such an opposition would have room for more freely unfolding itself, than would have been possible under other circumstances. In order to trace with certainty the origin of such a dogmatic tendency in the Spanish church of those times, we need more distinct information respecting the manner in which the controversy about to be mentioned began, and of the internal relations of the church itself. In this regard, it is an important question, which of the two principal persons whom we see standing up as the defenders of the new system, Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, or Felix, Bishop of Urgellis,¹ is to be considered as the real author of this revived Antiochian tendency.

Elipandus, if we may judge from those writings of his which still remain, was a violent, excitable man, governed by the impulses of a blind zeal,² who had diligently studied, it is true, the

¹ La Seud' Urgelle, in the dukedom of Cerdana, in Spain.

² So he appears also in the first doctrinal controversy in which he publicly engaged. In his disputes with Migetius, a Spanish false teacher, Elipandus had occasion, it is true, to draw more sharply the line of distinction between the humanity and deity of Christ; and here, no doubt, he already made use of expressions which might give occasion to his being charged with Nestorianism; for example, in the letter to Migetius, § 7: *Persona filii, quae facta est ex semine David secundum carnem et ea, quae genita est a Deo Patre.* Indeed, as a general thing, he was extremely awkward and unskilled in the use of doctrinal terms. But in this polemical writing no other marks of Adoptianism are as yet to be found. He here employs the term *assumptio*, not *adoptio*. It would throw light on the subject, had we the means of investigating the doctrines of this Migetius with a view to determine the precise relation of Elipandus to him and to his system; but we must despair of arriving at any satisfactory result in this way, unless some new sources of information should still be opened in Spain. As the isolated and scattered accounts of Migetius are of no importance, the only valuable source still continues to be the letter of Elipandus to this Migetius, published by Florez in the *España Sagrada*, T. V. Ed. II. Madrid, 1763, p. 524. But Elipandus writes here with too much passion, he indulges too freely in the practice of

ancient fathers, but was wholly wanting in the spirit of scientific research. We can easily believe him on his own testimony, that if once led by some accidental cause to make use of a doctrinal phrase, which should afterwards be attacked, so as to make him feel personally injured, by those whose relative position in the church entitled him, as he supposed, to expect from them submission to his archiepiscopal authority, he would only be the more tenacious of the expression which, in this conflict of opinions, would gain an importance in his eyes wholly disproportionate to its value. Now the term "adoption," which is sometimes found employed, even in the older fathers, to denote Christ's assumption of human nature into unity with the divine, was often introduced in the Gothico-Spanish liturgy¹ then in use;² and to such passages Elipandus not unfrequently refers.³

making his own inferences, he shows too little capacity of entering into another's mode of thinking, to make it possible for us to form from his contrary statements and positions anything like a clear notion of Migetius's doctrines. So far as we can derive any hints from this letter, indicating the real opinions of Migetius, it would seem that he was inclined to Sabellian views. His opinion was that the Logos was the power constituting the personality in Christ—hence he was accused of asserting: *Quod ea sit secunda in Trinitate persona, quae facta est ex semine David secundum carnem et non ea quae genita est a Patre*—but that the Holy Ghost first assumed a personality in the apostle Paul—in him appeared the Spirit promised by Christ, which was to proceed from the Father and from the Son. At any rate, it were greatly to be wished, that we knew what the views were which Migetius entertained with regard to the relation of St Paul to the more complete development of Christianity, and which, though they may have been misrepresented, were yet the occasion of his being accused of holding the opinions just described. In the next place, he was charged with maintaining, that priests should be perfect saints: *Cur se pronuntient peccatores, si vere sancti sunt? aut si certe se peccatores esse fatentur, quare ad ministerium accedere praesumunt, eo quod ipse dominus dicat: Estote sancti, quia et ego sanctus sum Dominus Deus vester.* But here also the question comes up, in what sense did he say this? Did he mean perfect freedom from sin? Next is laid to his charge a declaration, which, if he made it, would certainly go far to show that he was wrapped in a strangely fanatical conceit of his own holiness. He said, for instance, that it was not lawful for him to eat with unbelievers (Saracens), or to partake of food which had been touched by them. Compared with him, on this particular side, Elipandus appears as the representative of the true Christian spirit; for the latter appeals to the words of St Paul, that to the pure all things are pure—to the fact that Christ ate with publicans and sinners, and to the declaration of St Paul that it is permitted to accept an invitation to a feast even from an unbeliever.

¹ The officium Mozarabicum.

² *Adoptio* = *assumptio*, ἐνέληψις.

³ The expressions in the Toletanian liturgy, *Adoptivi hominis passio*,—*adoptio carnis, gratia adoptionis*. Elipandi Epistola ad Alcuinum, T. I. P. II. f. 872, ed. Froben.

We might, therefore, suppose that Elipandus had been led by such expressions to speak of an "adoption" of humanity by Christ in order to sonship with God, and to call Him, with reference to his humanity, the adopted Son of God (*Filius Dei adoptivus*); and that he would zealously defend this doctrinal phrase, when it came to be attacked, as if it were a phrase of peculiar importance. With Felix of Urgellis, however, the case stood somewhat differently. In him we may perceive a radical and thorough doctrinal tendency, which is not to be traced to any such outward and accidental cause. The more probable view is, then, that the doctrine concerning Christ's person designated by the name "Adoptianism," proceeded originally from Felix, by whom we find it presented in a strictly coherent system, rather than from Elipandus, a man hardly calculated to be the author and founder of any peculiar type of doctrine.¹ It would indeed be a very singular affair for an octagenarian like him, to provoke, at so advanced a period of life, a controversy on this point. The truth is, too much stress seems to have been laid generally upon the individual doctrinal phrases "adoption" and "adopted son," which gave its name to this whole type of doctrine; just as in the Nestorian controversies, an undue importance was given to the single expression *θεοτόκος*. As we shall see, when we come to examine this type of doctrine with reference to its internal coherence as a system, it could have subsisted independently of this particular expression, and of the comparison which it occasioned, of a son according to the flesh with a son by adoption. And it is possible, though not susceptible of proof, that the liturgy just mentioned may have led the author of the scheme to hit upon this particular comparison, while yet we should by no means be authorized, on such a ground as this, to derive from the liturgy this whole peculiar scheme of doctrine, which is itself, in fact, presupposed thereby.

In remarking the very striking agreement between the views

¹ The conflicting historical testimonies on a matter of this sort, so far out of the range of common observation, can settle nothing on this point. It would not follow as a matter of course that the individual who first brought this subject into public discussion, was the first to develop this type of doctrine. And even though Elipandus might have been the first to use some such expressions as those mentioned in his controversial writings, it would by no means prove him to have been the author of this dogmatic tendency.

of Felix on this subject, as they were gradually unfolded, and those of the Antiochian Theodore, we might be led to conjecture that the former had received his first impulse in that peculiar direction, from studying the writings of this father; and as there had been considerable intercourse in former times between the Spanish and the African churches; as the dispute concerning the three chapters had led to a translation of the writings of Theodore into Latin, for the use of the African church-teachers, while that controversy was pending; it is quite possible that these writings, in such translations, may have been circulated in Spain. Still, however, we are not warranted by the few fragments of Felix which remain, to form any certain conclusion with regard to the nature of this agreement, which, indeed, may have resulted, independent of such outward derivation, from a resemblance of intellectual character between the two men, and in the circumstances of opposition under which they developed themselves.

If it be true, that Felix had been employed in defending Christianity against the objections brought against it from the standing-point of Mohammedanism, and in proving the divinity and truth of Christianity for the use of Mohammedans,¹ which he might naturally be led to do by the vicinity of the latter, and by his own close connection with the Spanish bishops; the first impulse to the formation of that peculiar type of doctrine might easily be traced to this circumstance. In an apologetic effort of this kind, it would be unnecessary for him to prove the divine origin of Christianity generally, or the divine mission of Jesus; for these he could assume as already acknowledged in the doctrine of the Koran. But what he had to prove, was the doctrine of the incarnation of God, and of the deity of Christ, against which, and the doctrine of the Trinity, the fiercest attacks of the Mohammedans were directed; and by his apologetic efforts in this direction, he may have been led to seek after some such way of presenting this doctrine, as to remove, wherever possible, that which proved the stone of stumbling to those of the Mohammedan persuasion. Thus we might explain the origin of the Adoptian type of doctrine, respecting the internal coherence of which, as a system, we shall now proceed to speak.

¹ The emperor Charles had heard, that Felix had written a *Disputatio cum Sacerdote*: yet this was unknown to Alcuin. See Alcuin, ep. 85.

Felix, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, was opposed to the indiscriminate interchange of predicates belonging to the two natures in Christ. When the same predicates were applied to Christ, in reference to his deity, and in reference to his humanity, he required that it should always be precisely defined in what different sense it was done; particularly in what different senses Christ is called Son of God, and God, according to his deity, and according to his humanity. He insisted here on the distinction, that when Christ is called by these names in reference to his deity, that is designated which has its ground in the divine essence; and when so called in reference to his humanity, that is designated which came from an act of free-will, a particular decree of God—the antithesis of *natura, genere*, on the one side, and of *voluntate, beneplacito*, on the other. As in the former reference, Christ is in essence God and Son of God; so in the second reference He is God and Son of God, inasmuch as He was taken into union with Him, who is in essence Son of God. Now, over against the notions *essential* and *natural* stands that also which can be so designated only in another sense, by a sort of metonymy (nuncupative). Unless it was meant to be said, that Christ derived his humanity from the essence of God himself, no other course remained, according to Felix, but to make *this* antithesis. In the same sense, he now introduced the antithesis also between a son by birth and nature (*filiis genere et natura*), and a son by adoption (*adoptione filius*). The notion of adoption, he supposed, stands for nothing else than precisely that filial relation which is grounded, not in natural descent, but in a free act of the father's will. And hence, to those who objected that the title of "Son by adoption" is nowhere attributed to our Saviour in the Scriptures, he replied, that still the fundamental idea was in strict conformity with Scripture; since other determinate conceptions, of like import, were actually to be found in Scripture.¹ All these

¹ Si adoptionis nomen in Christo secundum carnem claro apertoque sermone in utroque testamento, ut vos contenditis, reperire nequimus, caetera tamen omnia, quae adoptionis verbo conveniunt, in divinis libris perspicue atque manifeste multis modis reperiuntur. Nam quid quaeso est cuilibet filio adoptio, nisi electio, nisi gratia, nisi voluntas, nisi adsumptio, nisi susceptio, nisi placitum seu applicatio? Si quis vero in Christi humanitate adoptionis gratiam negare vult, simul cuncta, quae dicta sunt, cum eadem adoptione in eo negare studeat. Alcuin contra Felicem. L. III. c. 8, T. I. opp. 816.

determinate conceptions are closely connected; and without them the conception of Christ's human nature, as one not derived from the divine essence, but created by the divine will,¹ could in nowise be retained. He who denies one of these determinate conceptions, must therefore deny also the true humanity of Christ.² But the term "adoption" seemed to him peculiarly appropriate, as a designative term, for this reason, namely, that it was plain, from a comparison with human relations, that one person could not have two fathers by way of natural origin, though he might have one father by natural origin, and another by adoption;³ and in like manner Christ could, in his humanity, be son of David by natural derivation, and by adoption, Son of God. He searched the Scriptures for all those predicates which denote a relation of dependence in Christ, for the purpose of proving the necessity of that distinction, as one presupposed in the Scriptures themselves. When the form of a servant is attributed to Christ, the name servant had reference, not merely to the voluntary obedience rendered by Him as man, but also to the natural relation, in which He, as man, as a creature, stood to God; in antithesis to the relation in which He stood to the Father, as Son of God, by his nature and essence as the Logos. This opposition he designated by the phrase, *servus conditionalis, servus secundum conditionem*.⁴ Nowhere, he affirmed, is it asserted in the gospel, that the Son of God—but always and only, that the Son of Man was given up for us.⁵ He adduces

¹ *Humanitas in qua extrinsecus factus est, non de substantia patris subsistens, sed ex carne matris et natus est.* L. VI. 843.

² *Rationis veritate convictus velit nolit negaturus est eum verum hominem.* L. III. c. 2, f. 817.

³ *Neque enim fieri potest, ut unus filius naturaliter duos patres habere possit, unum tamen per naturam, alium autem per adoptionem prorsus potest.* L. III., f. 812.

⁴ *Numquid qui verus est Deus fieri potest, ut conditione servus Dei sit, sicut Christus Dominus in forma servi, qui multis multisque documentis, non tantum propter obedientiam, ut plerique volunt, sed etiam et per naturam servus patris et filius ancillae, ejus verissime edocetur.* L. VI., f. 840. But here his opponents would not admit the distinction between the *propter obedientiam et per naturam*, since they derived the latter from the former, referred the assumption of human nature by the Son of God to his self-renunciation, and applied to this, Philipp. ii. 8, 9. Furthermore: *Illum propter ignobilitatem beatae virginis, quae se ancillam Dei humili voce protestatur, servum esse conditionalem, f. 839.* Where the manner in which he speaks of the virgin Mary may have given offence, in the prevailing tendency of the times.

⁵ L. c. 834, 835. Here Alcuin could bring against him several passages of the New Testament, John iii. 16; Rom. viii. 32; Ephes. v. 2; Acts iii. 13, 14, 15. But

the fact, that Christ himself (Luke xviii. 19), said of his humanity, that it was not good of itself, but God in it, as, everywhere else, was the original fountain of goodness.¹ He alleges, furthermore, that Peter says of Christ (Acts x. 38), God was in Him; (Paul, 2 Cor. v. 19), God was in Christ—not as though the deity of Christ were for this reason to be denied, but only that the distinction of the human from the divine nature should be firmly held.² He maintained, that by this mode of designating the purely human element in Christ, the Son of God, as Redeemer, is glorified; since He assumed all this only out of compassion for, and to secure the salvation of mankind. In order faithfully and fully to represent the doctrine of Holy Scripture, we should alike place together that which marks his humiliation and his exaltation.³ Felix himself, however, could not enter, with an unprejudiced mind, into the views of the New Testament writers. While his opponents were disposed to torture and force them wholly into the form of their own theory of the mutual interchange of predicates, or, as it was afterwards called, the communication of idioms, Felix, on the other hand, allowed himself to twist the scriptural view into accommodation with his theory of distinction, which he would everywhere force upon the sacred writers; as, for example, when he says that, in the words of Peter, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,—the predicate

Felix was led into this error by following exclusively, with regard to the name, Son of God, the *usus loquendi* of the church, instead of going back to that of the Scriptures.

¹ Ipse, qui essentialiter cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto solus est bonus, est Deus, ipse in homine licet sit bonus, non tamen naturaliter a semetipso est bonus. L. V. f. 837. Hence, indeed, if we may judge from his language, Felix seems to have fallen into a self-contradiction. This arose from his confounding together two different points of view, that derived from his own peculiar notions, and that taken from the doctrinal standing-ground of the church. By his own peculiar notions he was strictly speaking, not led to an *ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων*; but he was so, no doubt, by adhering to the prevailing doctrinal terminology of the church; and he now sought to render this transfer of predicates harmless, by adding explanations according to his own theory of distinction. Proceeding in a consistent manner, on his own principle, he ought rather to have said: the human nature, taken into union with Him who is, in his essence, Son of God, and in his essence good, is in its essence not good.

² Non quod Christus homo videlicet assumptus, Deus non sit sed quia non natura, sed gratia atque nuncupatione sit Deus. V. 832.

³ Sicut ea, quae de illo celsa atque gloriosa sunt, credimus et collaudamus, ita humilitatem ejus et omnia indigna, quae propter nos misericorditer suscipere voluit, despiciere nullo modo debemus. L. III. f. 818.

Christ has reference to the humanity in which he was anointed, the predicate, *Son of the living God*, to his deity.¹ Felix agreed with Theodore, also, in comparing the manner in which the humanity of Christ was taken into fellowship with the deity, with the manner in which believers attain, through Him, to union with God, Adoption, the reception into union with God, by the grace of God, by virtue of a special act of the divine will, according to the divine good pleasure, he defined as being, in this case, the same in kind; without meaning, for this reason, to suppose that what he considered to be the same in kind only in a relative sense, especially as opposed to that which is grounded in, and derived immediately from, the divine essence, was absolutely identical. On the contrary, he affirmed, that, notwithstanding this relative sameness in kind, everything was to be conceived, in the case of Christ, after a far higher manner (*multo excellentius*); and he here supposes, no doubt, not a merely gradual, but a specific difference, as may be gathered from the fact, that he by no means represents the human nature of Christ as appearing first in its self-subsistence, and then entering into union with the deity; but, on the contrary, he started with supposing that the true and essential Son of God assumed humanity into union with himself, from the moment of its conception; that the human nature ever unfolded itself in this unity, though conformably with its own laws; that no separate being for itself was to be ascribed to it; but that its existence from the first, developed itself in that union with the divine Logos, into which the human nature had been assumed from its creation. He adduces the words of Christ himself (John x. 35), to prove, that he placed himself in a certain respect in one and the same class with those, on whom, by virtue of that fellowship with God in which they stood by divine grace, the divine name had been conferred.² So there existed between Him and all the elect the truest communion, in this respect also, that He shared along with them a divine nature and divine names (though these belonged to Him in a pre-eminent sense); even as He shared with them all other things, predestination,

¹ L. V. f. 832.

² Qui non natura, ut Deus, sed per Dei gratiam ab eo, qui verus est Deus, deificati dii sunt sub illo vocati.

election, grace, the form of a servant.¹ Accordingly, he could now say, the same person, who in the unity of the divine essence is the true God, becomes, in the form of humanity, by the grace of adoption, which was to pass from Him to all the elect, partaker of the divine essence, and is therefore called God; *or*, the Son of God became, without change of his divine nature, Son of Man, inasmuch as He vouchsafed to unite the man, from his origin, into personal unity with himself; and the Son of Man is Son of God, not in the sense that the human nature was changed into the divine, but in the sense that the Son of Man *in the Son of God* (by virtue of this assumption of the former into union with the latter) is true Son of God.²

But like Theodore, Felix too felt constrained to controvert such propositions, stated without restriction or limitation, as that Mary is the mother of God.³ Felix, again, like Theodore, compared the baptism of Christ with the baptism of believers, and places both in connection with the spiritual birth by adoption (*spiritalis generatio per adoptionem*). This certainly he could not so have understood, as if baptism were related in altogether the same manner to the adoption of Christ, as to the adoption of believers; for in fact he supposes the adoption which relates to the humanity of Christ to have begun with the creation of that humanity. He probably meant, therefore, simply to say, that the sign of this adoption began to be revealed in an outward manner, from Christ's baptism onwards, by the divine powers bestowed on Him as the Son of God after his humanity. Probably, like Theodore, he supposed a revelation of the divine

¹ In hoc quippe, ordine Dei Filius Dominus et Redemptor noster juxta humanitatem, sicut in natura, ita et in nomine, quamvis excellentius cunctis electis, verissime tamen cum illis communicat, sicut et in caeteris omnibus, id est in praedestinatione in electione, gratia, in adsumptione nominis servi. IV. 820.

² Ut idem, qui essentialiter cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in unitate Deitatis verus est Deus, ipse in forma humanitatis cum electis suis per adoptionis gratiam deificatus fieret et nuncupative Deus; and in the other passage at the beginning of the fifth book which is more strictly allied to the church form of doctrine: Qui illum sibi ex utero matris scilicet ab ipso conceptu in singularitate suae personae ita sibi univit atque conseruit, ut Dei Filius esset hominis filius, non mutabilitate naturae, sed dignatione, similiter et hominis filius esset Dei Filius; non versatilitate substantiae, sed *in Dei filio* esset verus filius.

³ Though he perhaps did not venture to combat this expression which was now generally adopted, yet he called upon the other party to produce his authority for such a position as this: Quod ex utero matris verus Deus sit conceptus et verus sit Filius Dei. VII. 857.

power manifesting itself in the form of Christ's humanity, and following, step by step, the course of the development of His human nature; and hence he probably supposed also that the resurrection of Christ was the completion of this revelation which began first, in the form of the supernatural, with the baptism.¹ In conformity with this theory of the revelation of Deity under the forms of human nature, Felix also defended Agnoetism, and cited in its favour Mark xiii. 32.²

From this exhibition of the Adoptianist doctrine we may easily understand how its opponents would see in it, as judged from the platform of the ordinary church-system of doctrines, a sort of revived Nestorianism, a lowering down of the doctrine of Christ's divinity. It was, so far as it concerned the dogmatic interest, a similar contest to that between the Antiochan and the Alexandrian schools in the earlier centuries,—on one side, interest on behalf of the rational, on the other, the interest in behalf of the supranatural mode of apprehending Christianity,—on one side, the interest to give prominence to that which in the person of Christ answers to the analogy of human nature, on the other, the interest to seize on those points in the character of Christ which prove his exaltation above human nature.³

Two ecclesiastics in Spain first stood forth openly in opposition to this Adoptianistic system, Beatus, a priest in the province of Libana, and Etherius, a Bishop of Othma. According to the representations of the other side, Beatus must have been a man of notoriously bad morals; but the credibility of this accusation becomes suspicious, when we consider the passionate temper of his opponents.⁴ Another charge appears more worthy of cre-

¹ L. II. c. Felicem f. 809. *Acceptit has geminas generationes, primam videlicet, quae secundum carnem est, secundam vero spiritalem, quae per adoptionem fit. Idem redemptor noster secundum hominem complexas in se continet, primam videlicet, quam suscepit ex virgine nascendo, secundam vero, quam initiavit in lavacro (et consummavit) a mortuis resurgendo.* Without the parenthetic clause, the words give no sense.

² See L. V. f. 835.

³ When Felix threw out the question: *Quid potuit ex ancilla nasci nisi servus?* Alcuin replied: *Hujus nativitatis majus est sacramentum quam omnium creaturarum conditio. Concede Deum aliquid posse, quod humana non valeat infirmitas comprehendere, nec nostra ratiocinatione legem ponamus majestati aeternae, quid possit, dum omnia potest, qui omnipotens est.* L. III. c. 3. Alcuin. c. Felic.

⁴ This charge might appear more credible, it is true, from the consideration that Elipandus seems to appeal to a fact, viz., that Beatus was deposed from his spiritual

dence, which represents Beatus as bearing the character of a false prophet (psuedo-propheta). He employed himself a good deal on the exposition of the Apocalypse. The situation of the Spanish church, under the rule of a Saracenic Mohammedan race,¹ was well calculated to excite expectations of extraordinary divine judgments, to direct the imaginations of men towards the future, and to the indulgence of the most extravagant prospects. Accordingly, Beatus seems to have predicted that Christ's coming to judge unbelievers was near at hand, and to have gone so far as to fix the precise time at which He would appear.² The controversy in Spain was conducted with great acrimony on both sides; each denouncing the other as unworthy the name of Christian. Elipandus pronounced his antagonists heretics and servants of Anti-Christ, who ought to be exterminated.³ To him it appeared an unheard of thing, that a provincial priest of Libana should take it upon him to instruct the church at Toledo, that time-honoured seat of the pure doctrine of tradition.⁴ He brought up against his antagonists his own authority as the first bishop of the Spanish church, and seems moreover, to have gained the secular power over to his side.⁵ Not only the theologians and clergy, but the churches were divided by these dis-

office for immorality; as he says in his letter to Alcuin: Antiphraſius (that is, the *κατ' ἀντιφρασίαν*, such was the epithet commonly applied to him by his opponents) Antiphraſius Beatus, antichristi discipulus, carnis immunditia foetidus et ab altario Dei extraneus; also, in the letter of the Spanish bishops to the Emperor Charlemagne, he is called carnis flagitio saginatus: but it would be necessary to know more exactly how the case really stood with this deposition, before we could draw from it any certain conclusion.

¹ It is plain, from the letter of Elipandus, that the Spanish Christians must have felt themselves oppressed. He says, near the conclusion of his letter to Alcuin (Alcuin. opp. ed. Froben. T. I. P. II. f. 870, *Oppressione gentes afflicti non possumus tibi rescribere cuncta*, and in his letter to Felix, L. c. f. 916, *Quotidiana dispendia, quibus duramus potius quam vivimus*.)

² Thus in a letter of the Spanish bishops (Alcuin. opp. T. II. f. 573), it is said, he had predicted the world would come to an end on a certain day which he had fixed; and the people were thus led with excited expectations to pass the time from the night of Easter Sabbath to the third hour of the afternoon of Easter Sunday in fasting.

³ Elipandus writes: *Qui non fuerit confessus Jesum Christum adoptivum humanitate et nequaquam adoptivum divinitate et haereticus est et exterminetur*. See the fragment in the work of Beatus against Elipandus, Lib. I., in the *Lectiones Antiquae of Canis. ed. Basnage T. II. f. 310*.

⁴ Non me interrogant, sed docere quaerunt, quia servi sunt antichristi.

⁵ Beatus says, L. c. fol. 301, *Et episcopus metropolitanus et princeps terrae pari certamine schismata haereticorum unus verbi gladio, alter virga regiminis ulciscens*.

puted points.¹ As neither party was able to separate its own peculiar notions from the essential thing of Christian faith in the Redeemer, each side, as Beatus expressed it, contended with the other for the one Christ, though their common cause against a common enemy, Mohammedanism, should have served to call forth, and keep in livelier action, the sense of their Christian fellowship in the fundamentals of faith. The controversy spread beyond the boundaries of Spain into the adjacent provinces of France. Felix, Bishop of Urgellis, being the most distinguished representative and champion of Adoptianism, it followed, as a matter of course, that the Frankish empire must be brought to participate in this dispute. Both the friends and enemies of Felix agree in representing him as a man distinguished for his piety and Christian zeal. The fragments of his writings which we possess evince his superiority not only to Elipandus, but to all his antagonists, in acuteness of intellect. Eminent above all other theological writers of this age, for the calm and unimpassioned manner in which he stated his opinions, the only great defect to be observed in his character as an author, is the frequent obscurity of his style, which was owing perhaps in part to the particular form of the Latin language, as then cultivated in Spain.²

The spread of this controversy into the Frankish provinces led the Emperor Charles to cause the matter to be investigated by an assembly convened at Regensburg, in the year 792, before which Felix himself was summoned to appear. His doctrines were here condemned, and he himself consented to a recantation. The emperor thereupon sent him to Rome; a procedure which may be easily explained, partly from the emperor's undeniable respect for the Romish church, without whose aid and counsel he was unwilling to take a step in any affair of moment, and partly from his want of confidence in the sincerity of Felix. At Rome, it was hardly to be expected that the explanations

If a Saracenic prince was here meant, it would be a remarkable proof that the opinions of Adoptianism were the most acceptable to the Mohammedans. Yet it is possible the reference was to a West-Gothic monarch, if we can only suppose, that in the then political state of Spain, such a monarch was to be found in that country.

¹ Duo populi, duae ecclesiae, says Beatus L. c.

² Yet the incorrectness of the copy of the declarations of Felix, which has come down to us, is also to be taken into account.

which had been thus far made by Felix would give complete satisfaction. He was arrested and confined; and, while in prison, was induced to prepare a new written recantation. Of course, these recantations of Felix did not proceed from any change that had really taken place in his mode of thinking, a thing which could not possibly be so brought about. On his return home, he repented having denied his own convictions of the truth, and betook himself to those parts of Spain which were under the Saracenic dominion, where he could once more express his convictions with freedom. Upon this the Spanish bishops issued two letters, addressed to the emperor and to the Frankish bishops; the latter a polemical writing, which entered fully into the defence of Adoptianism; and they proposed both a new examination, and the restoration of Felix to his former place. These letters the emperor sent to Pope Hadrian. But without awaiting his decision, the emperor caused the matter to be brought before the council of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in the year 794. The decision of this council, as might be expected, went against Adoptianism; and the emperor now sent the transactions of the synod, together with a letter certifying his own approval of them, to Elipandus, and the other Spanish bishops.

When the Frankish church first became enlisted in these controversies, Alcuin was absent in England. But having in the meantime returned to Frankfort, as he held the first place among the theologians of the Frankish church, the Emperor Charles was especially anxious to employ his influence for the suppression of Adoptianism. At first, Alcuin availed himself of the acquaintance which he had formed with Felix at some earlier period,¹ and wrote him a letter breathing all the spirit of Christian love. He begged him not to destroy by this one word so much that was good and true in his writings, and thus bring to nought the efforts of a life spent from his youth upwards in works of piety. To the party of Felix, he opposed the authority of the entire church. The controversy, he said, was, in truth, about a single word—a superficial judgment, we must allow, and refuted by the conduct of Alcuin himself, in laying so much stress upon the difference. As he had requested Felix, in this

¹ See his short letter to Felix, expressing esteem and love for him, and asking for an interest in his prayers.

letter, to try to draw off Elipandus from his error, so he wrote to the latter a friendly and respectful epistle, in which he entreated him to use his influence on Felix for the same purpose. Next, he composed a treatise against the doctrine of Adoptianism, which he addressed to the clergy and monks in the French provinces bordering on Spain,¹ and which was designed to fortify them against the influence of the erroneous opinions coming from that quarter. But Felix did not feel himself touched in the least by those passages from the older fathers which Alcuin had quoted against him, and in a work from his own pen defended himself at length, and endeavoured to prove the correctness of his doctrines. Alcuin, in his letter, had opposed to the small party of the Adoptianists, the uniform agreement of the whole church, which led Felix to unfold in this work his own idea of the church; and on this point, we may assuredly discover in him a very liberal tendency, widely departing from the system of the Romish church. "We believe and confess," said he, "a holy Catholic church, which, diffused through the whole world by the preaching of the apostles, is founded on our Lord Christ, as on an immoveable rock (therefore not on Peter)²—but the church may also, sometimes, consist of few."³ Elipandus, at a subsequent time, answered Alcuin in a letter filled with violence and bitterness. He upbraids him on the score of his wealth, stating that he owned twenty thousand slaves.⁴ In opposition to the authority attached to universality, Elipandus said: Where two or three are assembled together in the name of Christ, there Christ *is*, as He promised,⁵ in the midst of them. The

¹ In Gothia.

² In Christo Domino velut solida petra fundatam.

³ Aliquando vero ecclesia in exiguis est. See c. Felicem L. I. See 791, 792.

⁴ As it regards the first, Alcuin, in his letter to the three spiritual delegates of the emperor, says on the other hand (opp. T. I. P. II. p. 860), In the holding of worldly goods, everything depends on the temper of the heart: Quo animo quis habeat seculum, aliud est habere seculum, aliud est haberi a seculo. Est qui habet divitias et non habet, est qui non habet et habet. As regards the second: Hominem vero ad meum numquam comparavi servitium, sed magis devota caritate omnibus Christi Dei mei famulis servire desiderans.

⁵ In accordance with this, are also the declarations of Elipandus, in the above cited letter to Migetius. In opposition to the extravagant titles which the latter seems to have bestowed on the Romish church, Elipandus says (L. c. p. 534): Haec omnia amens ille spiritus te ita intelligere docuit. Nos vero e contrario non de sola Roma dominum Petro dixisse credimus: Tu es Petrus, scilicet firmitas fidei, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, sed de universali ecclesia catholica, per universam orbem in pace diffusa. He demands of him, how it could be reconciled with the as-

broad way, in which the multitude go, was a way leading to destruction; but the narrow way, which but few travel, was the one that led to everlasting life. God had chosen not the rich, but the poor.¹ As the work of Felix against Alcuin had, in the meantime, been sent to the Emperor Charles, the latter called upon Alcuin to refute it. But Alcuin begged that so important a matter should not be devolved on him alone, but that the work of Felix should also be sent to the pope, to Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, to Theodore, Bishop of Orleans, and to Richbon, Bishop of Triers. All these should engage in the refutation of it. If they agreed in their arguments, this would be evidence of the truth. If not, that should stand valid which most fully accorded with the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient fathers.² *Thus it appears that he, too, was not for allowing the pope an absolute power of decision in matters of faith.* The emperor adopted this plan. He caused the work of Alcuin, in refutation of Felix,³ to be read in his presence, to which he listened with such critical care as to mark what seemed to him to be capable of improvement, and to have it in his power to send Alcuin a list of passages which in his own view needed correction.⁴ And inasmuch as Adoptianism had found its way among many of the clergy, monks, and laity in the Frankish

sertion, that the Roman church was the *ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, that the Roman Bishop Liberius had been condemned along with heretics? It must no doubt have been the case, too, that Elipandus was on many points far superior to the popes of these times in Christian freedom of spirit. In the letter already cited, Elipandus earnestly contends, that nothing barely external, nothing that comes from without can defile the man. But to Pope Hadrian such principles appeared offensive. In Rome, at this period, the apostolical decree (Acts xv.), the barely temporary significance of which was recognized in Augustin's time, was held to be of perpetual validity. The delegates of the pope had to dispute with persons in Spain who maintained, in the sense of Elipandus, that, *Qui non ederit pecudum aut suillum sanguinem et suffocatum rudis est aut ineruditus*. But the pope pronounced the anathema on those who maintained this, see *España Sagrada*, T. V. L. c. pag. 514. He also declared against those who, following likewise the principles of Elipandus, believed there was nothing defiling in holding intercourse and eating with Jews and Saracens.

¹ We certainly recognize in such expressions the archbishop of an oppressed church.

² See ep. 69.

³ His seven books against Felix, which, as they contain many fragments from the works of Felix himself, are the most important source of information on the subject of his doctrines.

⁴ Ep. 85 to the emperor. *Gratias agimus, quod libellum auribus sapientiae vestrae recitari fecistis et quod notari jussistis errata illius et remisistis ad corrigendum.*

provinces bordering on Spain, the emperor considered it necessary to send a clerical committee to those parts for the purpose of counteracting it. For this business, he chose Benedict, Abbot of Aniana, in Languedoc, Leidrad, Archbishop of Lyons, and Nefrid, Bishop of Narbonne. These prelates succeeded in obtaining a conference with Felix himself in the town of Urgell. They here promised him, that if he would come into the Frankish kingdom, they would not proceed against him with violence, but that a calm investigation should be made of the whole subject in dispute, on rational grounds. Confiding in this promise, he appeared before a synod at Aix, in the year 799, in the presence of the emperor himself. The promise was sacredly observed; and here the Abbot Alcuin disputed with him for a long time. At length, he declared himself to be convinced; and Alcuin supposed, that through divine grace, and by the authorities of the ancient fathers arrayed against him, a true conviction had been wrought in his mind.¹ At the same time, however, he betrays a shade of suspicion with regard to the sincerity of Felix.² In his work against Elipandus, he testifies his joy, in the spirit of Christian love, over the supposed conversion of Felix. The manner in which the truly devout and gentle Alcuin received and conversed with Felix at Aix, no doubt made a deep impression on the latter, and he afterwards testifies his love towards him.³ But although, perhaps, the imposing character of the assembly, and the exposing of some dangerous consequences to which his expressions might lead, produced on him a momentary impression, and forced him to yield, yet it is by no means probable in itself, that the man, who in theological dialectics excelled his opponents, could have been induced, by a *single* disputation, to alter that mode of apprehending doctrines which was so deeply rooted in the very constitution of his mind. As his sincerity or his firmness was not fully trusted, he was not permitted to return to his bishopric, but was placed under the oversight of Leidrad, Archbishop of Lyons. He drew up himself a form of recantation for the benefit of his former adherents,

¹ Ep. 76. Divina clementia visitante cor illius novissime falsa opinione se seductum confessus est.

² Nos vero cordus illius secreta nescientes occultorum judici causam dimisimus.

³ Alcuin ep. 92. Multum amat me totumque odium quod habuit in me, versum est in caritatis dulcedinem.

in which, rejecting the phrase "adoption," he still endeavoured to hold clearly apart the predicates of the two natures. The delegates already mentioned were afterwards sent for a second time, in the year 800, to visit those districts; where, according to Alcuin's report,¹ they laboured with success, having induced ten thousand persons to recant. Felix lived in Lyons till the year 816; and it is clear from reliable evidence, that he continued to retain unaltered his type of doctrine concerning the person of Christ, with which Agnoëtism was closely connected. He endeavoured to bring those who conversed with him to concede, that the knowledge of our Saviour, while on earth, so far as it concerned his humanity, was not, judging from His own professions with regard to himself, absolutely unlimited. Agobard, who succeeded Leidrad as Archbishop of Lyons, having heard of such remarks by Felix, asked him, if he really thought thus. Felix replied in the affirmative. But when Agobard placed before him a collection of the sayings of the older fathers, directly opposed to this view, he promised to take all possible pains to arrive at a better knowledge²—words, however, which still implied, that he was not yet ready to adopt a different opinion; and the probability is, that he merely sought to get rid of a dispute. Besides, a card of his was found, after his death, written over with questions and answers, in which the theory of distinction maintained by Adoptianism was clearly asserted.³

II. IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

In the Greek church the cultivation of letters had been preserved to a far greater extent than in the Latin, though all true intellectual progress had long since been suppressed by a political and spiritual despotism. There was the want of a living, self-moving, creative spirit, to animate the inert mass of collected materials. In interpreting the sacred writings, the chief object was to bring together the expositions of the older fathers, and

¹ See ep. 92.

² Promiset se omnis emendationis diligentiam sibimet adhibiturum.

³ See the tract composed by Agobard, on this account, against the doctrines of Felix—the last in this controversy.

arrange them in the order of the several books of the Bible,—out of which collections afterwards arose the so-called *Catena* (*σειραί*) on the Holy Scriptures. The Monophysite controversies had at length contributed in a special manner to awaken the dialectic spirit, which derived fresh nourishment from the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, and fresh practice from the prolonged controversies with the Monophysites. The same causes tended to promote an abstract, dialectical method of expounding the doctrines of faith, which was employed chiefly on the doctrine of the Trinity, and the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, less attention being paid to the practical element in the system of faith. An undue stress was laid on a formal orthodoxy, to the neglect of practical Christianity; and beside the former an external holiness of works, or a piety consisting in the observance of outward forms, or bound up with and upheld by superstition, could peacefully proceed. This dialectical tendency, which, seizing upon the results of the doctrinal controversies, elaborated and arranged them, produced, in the eighth century, the most important doctrinal text-book of the Greek church, which was entitled “*An accurate summary of the orthodox faith*” (*ἀκριβῆς ἔκδοσις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*), drawn up near the beginning of that century by the monk John of Damascus; where the expositions of doctrine are given for the most part in the expressions of the older fathers, especially the three great teachers from Cappadocia. Nevertheless, in the Greek church, the original and free development of spiritual life was too scanty to allow any such important creation to start forth here out of the union of the ecclesiastical and dialectical tendencies, as deserves to be compared with the scholastic theology of the Western church.

Monasticism had ever continued, in the Greek church, to maintain an important influence—an influence, too, which, in kind, differed entirely from that which prevailed in the Western church of this period; for the predominant contemplative tendency had still been preserved in it, and hence the Greek monasteries were the favourite seats of a mystical theology. At these places, the writings which, as we remarked in the history of the preceding period, were forged under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, had an unbounded influence. It is remarkable that the spread of these writings was due, in the first place, to oppo-

nents of the dominant church ; and that, while they were in the hands of these men, the church was familiar with the arguments against their genuineness. The Severians (a party of the Monophysites) at a conference with theologians of the Catholic church, held at Constantinople in 533, adduced, among other things, testimonies from these writings in favour of their opinions. But their opponents refused to admit such testimonies as genuine, alleging, that as these writings were wholly unknown to the ancients,—as neither Cyrill in the controversy with Nestorius, nor Athanasius in the controversies with Arius, had made any use of them,—it was sufficiently evident that they could not be so old as was pretended.¹ A certain presbyter, Theodorus, composed, in the seventh century, a work in defence of the genuineness of these Dionysian writings;² and from what is known to us respecting the contents of that work, it is clear that the genuineness of those writings was impugned on right grounds. The arguments against them were four—1. That none of the later church-teachers cited them ; 2. That Eusebius in his catalogue of the writings of the older fathers, makes no mention of them ; 3. That they are filled with comments on church traditions, which had arisen only by degrees, and had been progressively shaping themselves into form, during a long period of time, in which they had received many additions ; 4. That in them were cited the letters of Ignatius, though he lived after Dionysius. Nevertheless, the spirit of historical criticism was too little prevalent in this period, and the force of that symbolizing, mystical, and contemplative bent of mind, was too potent to allow any chance of victory to arguments based on grounds of criticism. Now, by means of these writings, the elements of New-Platonism, and, in part, of the older Alexandrian theology, were transferred into the later Greek church ; and as, in earlier times, there had been formed out of the same elements, a certain religious idealism, which spiritualised religious Judaism and the sensual rights of pagan religions, so the recurrence of a like phenomenon might be expected in the Greek church.

¹ See the Acta of the Collatio Constantinopolitana of the year 533, Harduin. Concil. II. 1163.

² The notice of its contents, where we have only to regret that Photius has not cited what Theodorus said in refutation of the weighty arguments, is to be found in Photius' Bibliotheca, Pag. 1.

A theology which had sunk into this spiritualizing mode of interpretation, could adopt the whole round of superstitious notions connected with the worship of saints and of images, and by this spiritualization place them on a firmer basis; while the people, who were profoundly ignorant of this contemplative theology, would apprehend the whole in the grossest material form. By distinguishing two different positions,—a mode of apprehension by symbols, and another which stripped away everything symbolical, and soared to the intuition of pure ideas, by distinguishing a humanizing and a *dehumanizing*, a positive and a negative mode of apprehension (a *θεολογία καταφατική* and *ἀποφατική*);¹ a way was contrived for blending with that idealism the whole system of church ordinances and customs. Furthermore, the excessive use of these writings led to a fulsome style of language, easily inclining to exaggeration, which marred the simplicity of the gospel. From the same cause arose, also, a singular combination of dialectical and mystical theology, whereby the dogmatism of the understanding became permeated by a certain element of religious intuition and of the fervour of the feelings. We may consider as a representative of this dialectical, contemplative tendency, the Monk Maximus, in the seventh century, a man distinguished for acuteness and profundity of intellect. He had filled an important station at the imperial court, as the emperor's first secretary,² and was in the way of attaining to still higher posts, but partly for the purpose of holding fast his convictions amid the Monotheletic controversies, he retired to the seclusion of the monastic life, and finally became an abbot. It is evident from his works, that the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and of the Pseudo-Dionysius had exerted a very considerable influence on his mode of thinking in theology. The grand features of a coherent system may be discovered in them, together with many fruitful and pregnant ideas, which, if he had developed himself, and acted his part under more favourable circumstances, might have been the means of leading himself and others to an original construction of the Christian system of faith and morals. He was also distinguished for his zeal in endeavouring to promote a vital, practical Christianity, flowing

¹ As this distinction had been already used by Philo; see Vol. I.

² Πρῶτος ὑπογραφεύς τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων.

out of the disposition of the heart,¹ in opposition to a dead faith and outward works. The solid inward worth and importance of this individual induces us to dwell the longer upon his peculiarities, and to give the fuller exposition of the ideas which lie at the centre of his theology.

Christianity, as it seemed to him, forms the exact mean betwixt the too narrow apprehension of the idea of God in Judaism, and the too broad one of the deification of nature in paganism; and this mean is expressed by the doctrine of the Trinity.² The highest end of the whole creation he supposed to be the intimate union into which God entered with it through Christ—when, without detriment to his immutability, he assumed human nature into personal union, for the purpose of rendering humanity god-like; God becoming man without change of his own essence, and receiving human nature into union with himself without its losing aught that belongs to its peculiar essence. It was with a view to secure this point that he attached so much importance also to the articles touching the union of the two natures, in which each retains, without change, its own peculiar properties.³ The end and purpose of the redemption was not solely to cleanse human nature from sin, but to elevate it to a higher stage than it could attain by its original powers—to raise it up to an unchangeable divine life.⁴ Hence, the history of creation falls into two grand divisions—the preparation for that assumption of human nature by the Divine Being, and the deification of human nature progressively unfolding itself out of this fact, in all such as become susceptible of it by the bent of their will, even to the attainment

¹ To the authorities of the Greek fathers against slavery let us here add that of Maximus. He regarded slavery as a dissolution, introduced by sin, of the original unity of human nature, as a denial of the original dignity of man's nature, created after the image of God, while it was the aim of Christianity to restore the original relation. He says of slavery: *ἡ τῆς αὐτῆς δηλονότι παρὰ γνώμην διαίρεσις φύσεως, ἄτιμον ποιουμένη τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὁμότιμον, νόμον ἐπίκουρον ἔχουσα, τὴν τυραννοῦσαν τὸ τῆς εἰκονος ἀξίωμα τῶν δεσποζόντων διάθεσιν.* Exposit. in Orat. Dom. I., f. 356.

² The antithesis of the *διαστολή* and the *συστολή* τῆς *θειότητος*, on one side, the *καταμείζειν τὴν μίαν ἀρχήν*, on the other, the *μία ἀρχή*, but *στενὴ καὶ ἀτελής*. See the exposition of the Paternoster. Maximi Opera ed. Combefis. T. I. f. 355.

³ Quaest. in Scripturam, p. 45 and p. 209. Θεοῦ ἀφραστως ὑπεράγαθος βουλή, to the fulfilment of which all else is but preparatory; ἀτρέπτως ἐγκραθεῖναι τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀληθοῦς ἐνώσεως, ἑαυτῶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἀναλλοιώτως ἐνώσαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην.

⁴ Τη θεώσει πλεονεκτοῦσαν τὴν πρώτην διάπλασιν. Quaest. in Script. f. 157.

of perfect blessedness.¹ Accordingly, he often speaks of a continual incarnation of the Logos in believers, in so far as the human life is taken up into union with Christ, and permeated by the principle of his divine life.² And he considers the soul of the individual who thus begets a divine life out of himself as a *θεότοκος*.³ As the Logos, being God, was the creator of the woman, whom, from love to mankind, he caused to become his mother, so far as it concerned his bodily generation as a man, so the Logos in us is, in the first place, the creator of faith, and then a son of the faith that is in us, embodying himself, by the virtues that spring out of faith, in Christian action.⁴ Now, as human nature was so formed by God as to be the organ of a divine life exceeding the limits of the finite creation,—as to be capable of receiving a higher principle, and of being permeated thereby, though without exceeding the limits of the peculiar essence given to it by creation,—a way was provided in this theory for establishing a harmonious connection between creation and redemption, nature and grace, the natural and the supernatural, reason and revelation; and the scattered hints pointing at this connection we may consider as the luminous points of his system. “The faculty of seeking after the godlike,⁵ has been implanted in human nature by its Creator; but it is first enabled to arrive at the revelation of the godlike by the supervening power of the Holy Spirit. But as this original faculty has, in consequence of sin, become suppressed by the predominance of sense, the grace of the Holy Spirit must supervene for the purpose of restoring this faculty to its pristine freedom and purity. We cannot properly say that grace, by itself alone, and independent of the natural faculty of knowledge, communicates to the righteous the knowledge of mysteries;⁶ for in that case we must suppose that the prophets understood nothing at all of what was revealed to them by the Holy Spirit. As little can we suppose that they attained to true knowledge by seeking for it with the natural faculty alone; for thus we should make all supervision of the

¹ L. c. p. 45.

² Ὁ χριστὸς διὰ τῶν σωζομένων σαρκούμενος.

³ Exposition of the Paternoster, p. 354.

⁴ Κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς σαρκούμενος.

⁵ Αἱ ζήτητικαὶ καὶ ἐρευνητικαὶ τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεις.

⁶ Χαεῖς τῶν τῆς γνώσεως δεκτῶν κατὰ φύσιν δυναμῶν.

Holy Spirit superfluous. When St Paul says, The one and the self-same spirit which worketh in all, divideth to every man severally as he will, this is to be understood to mean, that the Holy Spirit wills that which is suited to each individual, so as to guide the spiritual striving of those who are seeking after the godlike to its desired end.¹ Accordingly the Holy Spirit works not wisdom in the saints without a mind which is susceptible of it;—it works not knowledge, without the recipient faculty of reason; it works not faith, without a rational conviction respecting the future and the invisible;² it works not the gift of miraculous healing, without a natural philanthropy; and, in a word, it produces no charisma whatsoever without the recipient faculty for each.³ The grace of the Spirit destroys not in the least the natural faculty, but much rather makes that faculty which has become inapt by unnatural use once more efficient, by employing it conformably to its nature, when it leads it to the contemplation of the godlike.”⁴

So, in like manner, the union of the divine and human natures in Christ corresponds to the mutual adaptation to each other of the divine and the human elements in believers. “As the Logos could not have wrought the natural works of the body after a manner worthy of God, without a body animated by a rational soul, so neither could the Holy Spirit produce the knowledge of the mysteries without a faculty seeking after knowledge in the way of nature.”⁵ All Christian contemplation and action are so brought about in believers that God works within them as his instruments,⁶ and the man contributes nothing thereto but a disposition that wills what is good.⁷ In conformity with this relation of the natural to the supernatural, of revelation to the reciprocity of man, which is the condition of it, Maximus sup-

¹ Βούλεται τὸ ἕκαστῷ δηλονότι σύμφερον εἰς πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀπαθουῆς τῶν ἐπιζητούντων τὰ θεῖα ἐφέσεως.

² Ἄνευ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λόγον τῶν μελλόντων καὶ πᾶσι τίως ἀδήλων πληροφορίας.

³ Χωρὶς τῆς ἕκαστου δεικτικῆς ἕξεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως.

⁴ Ἡ χάρις οὐδαμῶς τῆς φύσεως καταργεῖ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καταργηθεῖσαν πάλιν τῇ χεῖσει τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τρεῖσκων ἐνεργῶν ἐποιεῖ πάλιν τῇ χεῖσει τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν κατανόησιν εἰσάγουσα.

⁵ See Quaest. in Script. 59 T. I., p. 199, and what follows.

⁶ Πᾶσαν ἐν ἡμῖν ὡς ὄργανοις ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτελεῖ πράξιν καὶ θεωρίαν.

⁷ Πλὴν τῆς θειλύσης τὰ καλὰ διαθέσει. Quaest. in Script. 54 p. 152.

poses a progressive development of the divine revelations, according to the point attained by the individuals to be educated. Hence, in the Old Testament, the revelation and agency of God was connected with forms of sense for the purpose of elevating man from sensible things to spiritual.¹ As he proceeds upon the idea of a communion with the divine source of life imparting itself to man, which man is enabled to appropriate by means of the organ originally implanted in his nature, and now once more unfolded to freedom, so he apprehends the idea of faith as the internal fact of this appropriation. But it is from faith that this divine life must first unfold itself—from faith penetrating into the disposition of the man, incorporating itself with his actions, ruling him in the form of love; and together with this love, as the union with the godlike, arises the life of contemplation, the peculiar element of the Gnostic point of view, and the highest thing of all, but which he considers not as a mere theorizing state of mind, but as the highest transfiguration of Christianity in the complete unity of life and knowledge. Faith, says he, “is a certain relation of the soul to the supernatural—the godlike;”² an immediate union of the spirit with God, so that the being of God in man is therewith necessarily presupposed. The kingdom of God, and faith in God, differ only in the abstract conception. Faith is the kingdom of God, which has not yet come to a determinate shape,—the kingdom of God is faith, which has attained to shape in a way answering to the divine life.³ The faith which is actively employed in obeying the divine commands becomes the kingdom of God, which can be known only by those who possess it, and the kingdom of God is nothing other than operative faith.” In speaking against those who considered the charismata as isolated gifts, simply communicated from without, he says:⁴—“He who has genuine faith in Christ, has within him all the charismata collectively. But since, by reason of our inactivity, we are far from that active love towards him which unveils to us the divine treasures which we bear within our own

¹ The divine wisdom, in having respect to the *ἀναλογία τῶν προνοουμένων*. Quaest. 31, p. 74.

² The *πίστις δύναμις σχετικὴ τῆς ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀμέσου τοῦ πιστεύοντος πρὸς τὸν πιστευόμενον θεὸν τελείας ἐνώσεως*. Quaest. 33 in Script., T. I. 76, and the following.

³ L. c. *ἡ μὲν, πίστις ἀνείδως θεοῦ βασιλεία ἐστίν ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, πίστις θεοειδῶς εἰδοποιημένη*.

⁴ In the thoughts concerning charity, I. f. 453.

souls, so we justly believe that we are without the divine charismata. If, according to St Paul, Christ dwells in our hearts by faith, and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, then all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in our hearts. But they reveal themselves to the heart in the same proportion as the heart becomes pure through obedience to the divine commands." Of love, he says,¹ contemplating it as the perfection of the Christian life—"What kind of good is there which love possesses not? Does it not possess faith, which bestows on him that has it as firm and assured a conviction of the godlike as the sensuous perception of the eye can bestow of visible objects? Does it not possess a hope which represents to itself the truly good, and grasps it more firmly than the hand ever grasps an object which can be felt? Does it not bestow the enjoyment of that which is believed and hoped for, when, by virtue of the whole bent of the soul, it possesses in itself the future as the present?"² With regard to the union of the theoretical with the practical element, he says, that he who represents to himself knowledge as something embodied in action, and action as something instinct with knowledge, has found the right way of true divine action. But he who severs the one from the other either converts knowledge into an unsubstantial fancy, or action into a lifeless shadow.³

In describing how the whole life of the Christian should be one prayer, Maximus explains himself thus:—Constant prayer consists in this, that one has his mind constantly directed to God in true piety and sincere aspiration; that the whole life should be rooted and grounded in hope on him; that in everything one does or suffers, one's whole reliance is placed only in Him.⁴ He nowhere suffers himself to fall into the mistake into which the mystics were often misled—that of confounding together eternal life and the present earthly existence. He thus contrasts them: One is the relative knowledge of the godlike by conceptions, which consists in the striving after that perfect union with the

¹ In a letter, T. II., p. 220.

² Δι' ἑαυτῆς ὡς παρὸν τὰ μέλλοντα κατὰ διάθεσιν ἔχουσα.

³ "Ἡ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀνυπόστατον πεποιήκει φαντασίαν ἢ τὴν πράξιν ἄψυχον πατίστησεν εἶδωλον. Among the scattered thoughts, which harmonise well with his other writings. I. 606.

⁴ See his ἀσκητικός, I. p. 378.

object of knowledge, which, in this life, is not yet to be attained; the other, the absolute, perfect intuition, in immediate presence, where knowledge by conception retires into the back-ground.¹ The fundamental ideas of Maximus seem to lead to the doctrine of a final universal restoration, which, in fact, is intimately connected also with the system of Gregory of Nyssa, to which he most closely adheres. Yet he was too much fettered by the church system of doctrine distinctly to express any theory of this sort.²

The first doctrinal controversy which we have to notice in the Greek church of this period, originated partly in causes within and partly in causes without the church itself. The internal cause was the effort to unfold from the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, the consequences which it involved. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ combined together in personal union, while each retained its own attributes unaltered, would, if consistently carried out, lead men also to suppose two forms of working corresponding to these two natures; as, in fact, they allowed to subsist along with the two natures the attributes also answering to each which remained unaltered. The external cause of these controversies was, as had so often been the case, the inclination of the Byzantine emperors to intermeddle with ecclesiastical proceedings; and in particular, the effort so often

¹ Ἡ μὲν τῶν θείων γνῶσις σχετικὴ, ὡς ἐν μονῶ λόγῳ κειμένη καὶ νοήμασι, ἡ δὲ κυρίως ἀληθὴς ἐν μονῇ τῇ πείρᾳ κατ' ἐνεργίαν δίχα λόγου καὶ νοημάτων ὄλην τοῦ γνωσθέντος κατὰ χάριν μετέξει παρεχομένη τὴν αἴσθησιν, δι' ἧς κατὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν λῆξιν τῆν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὑποδεχόμεθα θείων ἀπαύτως ἐνεργουμένην. Quaest. Script. f. 210.

² In the collection of Aphorisms derived from Maximus, the ἑκατοντὰς τετάρτη, § 20, T. I. f. 288, the reunion of all rational essences with God is established as the final end: πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πάντως πᾶσιν ἐνωθησομένου κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τῶν αἰώνων. In his ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις, c. 13, I. f. 304, he himself cites Gregory's doctrine concerning the restoration, and with approbation, but explains it thus: τὰς παρατραπίσας τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις πῆ παρατάσει τῶν αἰώνων ἀποβαλεῖν τὰς εὐτεθείσας αὐτῇ τῆς κακίας μνήμας· καὶ πέρασσαν τοὺς πάντας αἰῶνας καὶ μὴ εὐρεσκουσαν στάσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐλθεῖν τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα πέρασ. But then he adds: καὶ οὕτως τῇ ἐπιγνώσει οὐ τῇ μετέξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαβεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατασθῆναι καὶ δειχθῆναι τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀνάσιον τῆς ἀμαρτίας. According to this, then, God will finally be glorified by the complete extirpation of all evil. Yet how, according to his own ideas, he could distinguish the *knowledge* of the highest good in which all would participate, from the *participation* in it, cannot be well seen. In expounding Collos. II. 15, from different points of view (Quaest. Script. 21), he had in his mind, perhaps (see T. I. f. 44), a final redemption even of fallen spirits; since he says that there is also a λόγος μυστικώτερος καὶ ὑψηλότερος, but that we are not authorised to rely on the ἀπορήτοτερα τῶν θείων δογμάτων of Scripture.

made without success, and from which they still could not desist, to bring about a conciliation of the opposite doctrinal views existing in the church by means of formulas designed to conceal the existing differences. It was not merely a religious, but also a political interest by which the Greek emperor, Heraclius, whose arms were successful in recovering the provinces rent from the Greek empire by the Persians, was led to desire this. It was to him a matter of great political importance to strengthen the power of the Greek empire, by reuniting the large body constituting the Monophysite party with the dominant church of the empire. The interviews he had had with Monophysite bishops whom he happened to meet in his campaigns during the war against the Persians in 622 and the following years, inspired him with the thought that the formulary of one divinely human mode of working and willing in Christ might serve the purpose of bringing about the result which had been so long sought in vain, and if not to reconcile, at least to render harmless to the unity of the church the opposition between the Monophysite party and the Catholic church, which held fast to the decisions of the Chalcedonian council. The formulary—one mode of Christ's willing and working—seemed the less liable to give offence, because in the writings of Dionysus the Areopagite, which stood in the same high authority with both the parties, an *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική* was set down as the distinguishing predicate of Christ.¹

¹ It cannot, indeed, be proved that the emperor, when he first hit upon this formulary, had this object in view. It is possible that, having heard, perhaps, from Monophysite bishops, in conversation, some such expression, and not knowing what to think of it, he consulted on the subject his patriarch at Constantinople, or that the Monophysite bishops of the dominant church had, in the course of some discussion, raised it as an objection, that as they supposed two natures in Christ, they must also affirm two modes of willing and working; and that the emperor was thus led to ask the opinion of the patriarch, whether it might not be right to suppose one mode of willing and working. It is possible that Bishop Cyrus also, when he first spoke with the emperor, and consulted the Patriarch Sergius about this formulary, had no thoughts of employing it as a means for higher objects. It is possible that his elevation to the Alexandrian patriarchate stood in no connection whatever with these transactions; and that it was only by occasion of this elevation that he was led to make such a use of this formulary. Great mistakes are often made by reasoning back from some result really brought about by a concurrence of circumstances to the motives of individuals; still, however, the interest shown by the emperor in this formulary renders it probable that, from the first, it appeared to him an important means to this end; and by comparing this case with the like attempts to bring about a union with the Monophysites, as, for example, the added clause to the Trishagion,

Heraclius by no means designed to make this formulary of doctrine a universally dominant one in the Church. He was governed here far more by political than by doctrinal motives; and without taking any particular interest in the doctrinal disputes, or wishing to have any influence in determining the doctrines of the church, his only object was to employ this formulary as a means for promoting union in districts where the Monophysite party was numerous and powerful, as was the case in the Alexandrian diocese. The Patriarch Sergius, of Constantinople, whom the emperor consulted touching the propriety of employing this formulary, having found nothing offensive in it, he was the more confirmed in his contemplated project.¹ Perhaps the use which Heraclius was making of this formulary would never have engendered a controversy if he had not finally succeeded by it in effecting his purpose among the Monophysites in the Alexandrian church.

Among the bishops with whom the emperor had conversed on this subject, was Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, in the territory of the Lazians of Colchis. As the latter felt some scruples about the employment of this formulary, he applied for advice to the Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople.² Sergius sought, in his reply, to remove these scruples,³ but in so doing he expressed himself very ambiguously, showing the want of an independent theological judgment of his own. He wrote him that, at ecumenical councils, this subject had never come under discussion, nor had anything been determined about it. Several eminent fathers had used the phrase *one mode of working*, but as yet he had found no one who approved the phrase *two modes of working*. If, however, any such case could be pointed out, it would be necessary to follow that authority, for men were bound, not merely to seek to agree with the fathers in doctrine, but also to use the same language with them, and to be cautious of all innovations.⁴ To such a pitch of extravagance was carried this the condemnation of the three chapters, we shall find much serving to confirm this view of the matter.

¹ That the emperor had for this reason applied to the patriarch may be gathered from the letter of Bishop Cyrus to him, soon to be mentioned. Harduin. Concil. T. III., 1338.

² See L. c.

³ See the tract L. c. f. 1309.

⁴ Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον κατ' ἔννοιαν τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἕπεσθαι δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἑκείνοις κεχρησθῆναι φωναῖς καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν καινοτομεῖν.

slavery to the letter, which substituted the sayings of individual men in place of an independent examination of doctrines!¹ Nevertheless Cyrus represented himself as satisfied by this decision of the patriarch; and we may conjecture that it was to his approbation of this formulary, and his declared readiness to form a union with the Monophysites, he was indebted for his elevation to the patriarchate of Alexandria in the year 630. He actually succeeded to bring back thousands of the Monophysites in Egypt and the adjacent provinces, who had remained hitherto separated from the dominant church, to reunite with the same, by means of a doctrinal compromise established on nine points, which compromise placed the peculiar articles of Monophysitism beside those of the creed of the Chalcedonian council, so that every man could explain the one in conformity with the other.² And in the seventh article of this compromise, it was derived, as a consequence from the idea of the real³ union of the two natures, that the one Christ and Son of God works that which is divine and that which is human by one divinely-human mode of agency.⁴

But this compromise⁵ met with the same fate with all the earlier attempts at conciliation: namely, the union thus brought about was soon dissolved again, and new schisms sprung out of it. There was then residing at Alexandria an eminent monk of Palestine, by name Sophronius,⁶ who, with logical consistency, defended the system of the two natures, and was not inclined

¹ It deserves to be noticed, that Sergius, in his reply, makes no mention whatever of his own earlier explanation, to which Cyrus had appealed. It might be inferred from this, though it is not certain, that Sergius, in that explanation, had been moved by the wishes of the emperor to express himself in too decided a manner in favour of that formulary, so that he was now willing to ignore it.

² Namely, on the one hand, εἰς χριστὸς ἐκ δύο φύσεων, on the other, ἕνα χριστὸν ἐν δυοῖ θεωρεῖσθαι ταῖς φύσεσιν, are brought together by the expression μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη and μία ὑπόστασις σύνθετος, ἕνωσις φυσικὴ and ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

³ Not merely φαντασία, ψευδεῖ καὶ διὰ κένους νοῦ διαπλάσμασι

⁴ Τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπερετῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μία θεανδρικῆ ἐνεργεία. See the formula of union in the 13th action of the 6th ecumenical council. Harduin. III. 1342.

⁵ Called by the Greeks the ἕνωσις ὑδροβαφής, because it so quickly came to nothing.

⁶ Sophronius was, in his younger years, known as a learned man and teacher, under the name of the *Sophist*. This was before he became a monk, if, as it is probable, he is the same with the one to whom Johannes Moschus dedicated his history of the monks (λείμων πνευματικός), and of whose resolutions to quit the life of the world he speaks in this history, c. 110.

to sacrifice consistency in doctrine to church policy. To him, the doctrine of one mode of working and willing seemed to lead necessarily to Monophysitism; and an accommodation (*οικονομία* was the word) ventured upon at the expense of truth, in order to promote the peace of the church was a thing he could by no means approve. It was agreed on both sides to leave the matter to the Patriarch Sergius; and Sophronius himself went to see him. Sergius foresaw the important consequences which this opposition, once agitated, might have, and he sought to suppress the controversy in the bud. It is true he himself perhaps approved the phrase one mode of willing and working; yet he was of the opinion, that it would be wrong to make a law and a dogma for the church out of the manner in which only a few approved fathers, in a few passages, and but occasionally, had expressed themselves; and it was necessary to avoid this phrase in the public language of the church, because to many it might give offence, and be so misapprehended, as if the doctrine—which was by no means implied therein—of one nature, might be deduced from it. He was more decided, however, with regard to the phrase “two modes of willing and working,” not merely on account of its possible abuse, but because this phrase seemed to him to denote something that was false in itself. Men would be led thereby to conceive of two opposite wills of the Logos and of the humanity in Christ,—to annul the true unity of the person of Christ—inasmuch as two wills cannot be conceived to exist at the same time in one person. It was therefore safest to use none but the doctrinal formulas hitherto employed, as these perfectly answered the interests of Christian faith. He therefore advised the Patriarch Cyrus to make no change in the compromise at Alexandria, which was so important for the peace of the churches, and which could not be dissolved without prejudice to the same; but after having attained his object, no longer to speak either of “one mode of willing and working,” or of “two,” but only to hold fast to this, that the self-same Christ, the true God, works that which is divine and that which is human, and all the divine and human agency proceeds undivided from the same incarnate Logos, and is to be referred back to him. And Sophronius finally promised the patriarch that he would refrain from both forms of expression, and from all dispute

about them.¹ Much, we must allow, depends on the form in which Sophronius worded this promise, in judging as to his good faith and sincerity. On this point we can form no opinion, since we have only the report of Sergius, who was a party in the case. But at all events, Sophronius believed himself bound by the promise he had given only so long as he remained in this subordinate relation of dependence as a monk. From this he was removed, and attained himself to one of the highest stations in the general guidance of the church, for he was made, in 634, Patriarch of Jerusalem. As Sergius now had reason, no doubt, to dread the zeal of Sophronius, who, by this new position, had acquired so great an influence, he endeavoured to procure, as a counterpoise to this, the concurrent decision of the Roman bishop, Honorius. He informed the latter² of what had thus far been done, and asked him for his own judgment. Honorius, in two letters, declared his entire concurrence with the views of Sergius, and wrote also in the same terms to Cyrus and Sophronius. He, too, was afraid of logical determinations on such matters. It seemed to him altogether necessary³ to suppose but one will in Christ, as it was impossible to conceive in him any strife between the human and the divine will, such as, by reason of sin, exists in men.⁴ He approved, indeed, of the accommodation (*οἰκονομία*) whereby the Patriarch Cyrus had brought about the reunion of the Monophysites with the Catholic church. But as hitherto no public decision of the church had spoken of "one mode of working" or "of two modes of working" of Christ, it seemed to him the safest course that in future such expressions should be avoided, as the one might lead to Nestorianism, the other to Eutychianism. He reckoned this whole question among the

¹ The source of these accounts is the relation, faithful as it seems to the truth, of the Patriarch Sergius to the Roman bishop, Honorius, in the twelfth action of the sixth ecumenical council. Harduin. III., f. 1315.

² See the last cited letter of Sergius, L. c.

³ See L. c. f. 1319.

⁴ *Nam lex alia in membris aut voluntas diversa non fuit vel contraria salvatori, quia super legem natus est humanae conditionis.* Now, to such passages, the defenders of Honorius on the principles of church orthodoxy might appeal, in order to show that he had not attacked the doctrine of two natures in Christ by itself considered, but only the hypothesis of an opposition between the divine and the human will in Christ. This defence, however, will not stand the test of examination, for it seemed to him, as well as to Sergius, that a duplicity of will in one and the same subject could not subsist in fact without opposition.

unprofitable subtleties which endanger the interests of piety. Men should be content to hold fast to this, in accordance with the hitherto established doctrine of the church, that the self-same Christ works that which is divine and human in both his natures.¹ Those other questions should be left to the grammarians in the schools. If the Holy Spirit operates in the faithful, as St Paul says, in manifold ways, how much more must this hold good of the Head himself! Meantime Sophronius, in the circular letter which, according to ancient custom, he issued on entering upon his office,² when laying down a full confession of his faith, presented at the same time the doctrine of two modes of operation answering to the two natures in Christ, as a necessary consequence flowing from the doctrine of the two natures. He by no means rejected the phrase *ἐνέργεια Θεανδρική* (divinely human agency); but he maintained that this stood in no sort of contradiction with the designating of two modes of operation answering to the peculiar natures, but referred to quite another thing, to that which is not predicated of one of the natures in particular, but of the action of both in union with each other,—of the collective activity of the person of Christ. True, Palestine, soon after Sophronius had issued this letter, was, by the conquest of the Saracens, severed from its connection with the rest of the Christian world. But the controversy must already have spread to a considerable extent, for the Emperor Heraclius considered it necessary to resort, for the purpose of suppressing it, to a common expedient, which generally served but to aggravate the evil. He issued, in 638, a dogmatic edict, under the name of the Ecthesis, without doubt the work of Sergius,³ drawn up according to the principles which Sergius had hitherto always expressed. The doctrine of one person of Christ in two natures was held forth conformably to the doctrine of the church, and that one and the self-same Christ works that which is divine and that which is human was affirmed; but the phrases one energy

¹ In the second letter, f. 1354: *Unus operator Christus in utrisque naturis, duae naturae in una persona inconfuse, indivise, inconvertibiliter propria operantes*;—although the theory of the two modes of working lies at the foundation of the very thing he here asserts, yet he carefully avoided expressing this.

² His *γράμματα ἐνθρονιστικά* in the XI. actio of the VI. ecumenical council, Hard. III. 1258, and what follows.

³ *Ἐκθεσις τῆς πίστεως.*

(ἐνεργεία) or two energies were to be avoided—the first because, though it had been employed by some of the fathers, it yet created uneasiness in many who supposed that such an expression carried with it the denial of the duality of natures; the second because it had been used by no one of the approved church-teachers, and because it gave offence to *many*.¹ There would moreover follow from it the hypothesis of two contradictory wills in Christ, which Nestorius himself had not ventured to assert. Following the doctrines of the fathers, it was necessary, on the contrary, to affirm one will of Christ, since the humanity, with its own rational soul, had never determined itself out of its own will in opposition to the will of the Logos united with it, but always so, as the Logos willed.²

This edict expressed itself in language too favourable to the doctrine of “one mode of willing and working,” ever to satisfy the opponents of the latter doctrine. Nor were the defenders of Dyothelitism contented to be merely tolerated; but the doctrine of two modes of willing and working, corresponding to the two natures, seemed to them closely connected with the true idea of the Redeemer and of the redemption; and it would therefore be considered by them of the greatest importance, that the same should be adopted into the church system of faith. The majority of the Greek bishops were wont, it is true, to be governed by the prevailing tendency of the court. The Patriarch Sergius could easily convoke at Constantinople an *endemic* council (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) which would approve the new religious edict; nor would there be much difficulty in compelling to acquiescence the majority of the other bishops of Asia. But the arm of the emperor was powerless in the provinces of Africa and of Italy; where, besides, a more independent hierarchical spirit opposed itself to the influence of court dogmatism. There was one man in particular, who by his acuteness as a dialectician, by his activity, and his invincible courage, was singularly fitted to take the lead of the party opposed to Monotheletism, and to concen-

¹ It is easy to see, that the language is stronger against the second expression, than against the first.

² Ὡς ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοεῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὀσμῆς ἐναντίας τῷ νύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῷ κατ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὄσῃ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ἠβούλετο. Harduin. III. 796.

trate all his powers to this object. This was the above mentioned *Maximus*, who had then retired to the monastic life.

As *he* must be called the most important representative of Dyothelitism, so *Theodore*, Bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, of whom however we know nothing except from single fragments of his writings, was the most important doctrinal representative and spokesman of the opposite party. Now as to the dogmatic interest connected with this latter tendency, the truth was, it attached itself to the reigning mode of thinking and speaking since the last decision of the controversy about the two natures of Christ, by virtue of which mode of thinking and speaking, the formulary: "One incarnate nature of the Logos," was joined with the formulary: "two natures;" and without infringing on the abiding duality of the natures, it was thought possible to refer the human nature, as well as the divine, to the one incarnate Logos as one personal subject; and *in* thus referring it, a special religious interest was involved. Accordingly, it was now considered of importance to say, that it was not, so to speak, the self-subsistent human nature in Christ that was subject to, and submitted itself to, the sensuous affections, but that everything human in Christ was no less a free act, than the assumption of human nature itself; all sprung from the one will and the one activity of the Logos;—all appropriation of purely human attributes and affections was, in fact, nothing else than a continued exertion of that one determination of will and act, by virtue of which the Logos, from the first, appropriated to himself the human nature. All the actions and sufferings of Christ proceed from three factors. The efficient cause in them all is the *divine will*, the divine agency as the determining power; and this operates *by means of the rational soul*, and through the *body* as its instrument.¹ Whatsoever pain or suffering of Christ we may choose to name, it must still be considered, and justly, as the one activity of the same Christ.² God is the author of all,

¹ Μία ἐνέργεια τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ νοῦ, τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος καὶ οργανικοῦ τὰ πάντα λεχθεῖν Πάντα ὅσα τῆς σωτηριώδους οἰκονομίας εἴτε θεία εἴτε ἀνθρώπινα περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν χριστοῦ ἀισθητῆται ἀρχειοιδῶς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐνδοσιν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐλάμβανε, διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς νοεῖας καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς ὑποεργεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ σώματος. See the fragments of Theodore of Pharan, in the acts of the VI. Ecumenical Council, actio 13. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 1343, and 44.

² Ὁ σταυρὸς ἢ νέκρωσις, οἱ μῶλωπις ἢ ὄστειλή καὶ καθήλωνσις, τὰ ἐμπτύσματα, τὰ βαπίσματα, πάντα ταῦτα ὁρθῶς ἂν καὶ δικαίως κληθεῖν μία καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἴνος χριστοῦ ἐνέργεια.

the humanity the instrument, which he makes use of.¹ On the contrary, Maximus affirms: For the complete redemption of human nature, it was requisite that God should appropriate it with the identity and totality of all its powers without sin, in order to purify human nature from sin, in all its parts, and to interpenetrate it with a principle of divine life. Whatsoever was not taken up into this union, would therefore remain excluded from redemption. In particular, the will peculiar to man's rational nature, as that by which sin is brought about, must be assumed into this union, and thereby sanctified.² Neither human nature generally, nor the nature of any other being whatsoever, can subsist separate from its peculiar powers; nor, accordingly, human nature, without its *ἐνέργεια* and *θέλησις* (powers of working and willing). It is impossible, therefore, without recognizing this, to affirm any true incarnation of the Logos; he who does not recognize it, must fall into Docetism. He refers to all those passages of the gospel history, which speak of a willing or a working of Christ with respect to anything limited and sensuous—his walking, eating, etc. This does not admit of being transferred to the infinite all-present will, and to the infinite all-present agency of God. It would be necessary, therefore, to understand all this after the manner of Docetism, unless we attributed to the human nature in Christ the *θέλησις* and *ἐνέργεια* which are peculiar to it.³ When the divine Logos

¹ Μία ἐνέργεια, ἥς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὄργανον δὲ ἡ ἀνθρώπιότης.

² Εἰ παρεβάντες τὴν ἐντολὴν διὰ θελήσεως ἀλλ' οὐ δίχα θελήσεως παρέβημεν ἐδεόμεθα τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἰατρείας, τῇ προσλήψει τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ σπερμαθέντος Θεοῦ θεραπεύοντες. opp. ed. Combefis. T. II. f. 83.

³ In truth, there is to be found in Monothelitism, as it is expressed by Theodore of Pharan, much that borders on Docetism. For example, he regards it as the peculiar character of all bodily affections in the case of Christ, that he, as man, was not subjected to these affections by any natural necessity, but produced them, each moment, by the divine will, to which the corporeal nature must, of necessity, be subjected; that, by virtue of its appropriation by the Logos, the body of Christ had become, in a sense, deified and spiritualized, and could be freed from the limitations and defects of a corporeal nature, or subjected to them, as he pleased;—hence the miracles. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέτερα ψυχὴ οὐ πέφυκε τοσαύτης δυνάμεως εἶναι, ἵνα τὰς φυσικὰς τοῦ σώματος ιδιότητας ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἐαυτῆς ἀπελαύνη. As this was so in the case of Christ, hence the ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν συμφυῶν τοῦ σώματος, ὄγκου, βροῆς καὶ χρώματος; hence, that Christ ἀογκῶς καὶ οἷον εἴπιν ἀσωματῶς ἀνεῦ διαστολῆς προῆλθεν ἐκ μητρῶς καὶ μήματος καὶ θύρου καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἑδαφοῦς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπέζωσεν. In one point Maximus did, it is true, agree with him; namely, in holding that Christ was not subjected to bodily sufferings by any necessity of nature, but that he subjected himself to them by a free act of the will, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, for the good of mankind.

became man, he appropriated, along with the human nature, the inclinations and aversions also which belong to that nature, the positive and negative impulses which lie within it: and he gave signs of both in his life.¹ Maximus said, for example, that as there is implanted in each creature an impulse for self-preservation, and therefore along with this positive principle a negative one,² the natural feeling which struggles against the extinction of life; so this feeling, inasmuch as it belongs to the essence of human nature, must have existed in the case of Christ; and indeed was manifested by him at the approach of death. But the schism existing between this natural impulse and reason—the irrational tendency of it growing out of sin, the fear of death in conflict with the call of duty—such a tendency could find no place in him.³ But with all this, Maximus also derived, from the hypostatic union, a consequence in which he agreed with the Monotheletians, in that he represents the Logos to be efficient, after a peculiar manner, as the personal subject in all these cases, so that the Logos revealed, in the form of the peculiar human “working” and “willing,” his own agency for the salvation of mankind. Hence natural necessity is, in every case, to be excluded; everything occurred in a manner entirely different from what is otherwise usual in human nature; everything took place in a divine and supernatural, and at the same time, a human and natural way.⁴ Accordingly Maximus also admitted an *ἐνέργεια Θεάνδρική* (a divinely human activity) in *his own* sense, as denoting the activity of one subject, viz. the Logos become man, in the forms at once of the divine and the human nature, by virtue of a *τρόπος ἀντιδόσεως* (the interchange of attributes), which applied to the peculiar properties of each nature.⁵

¹ Τῆς ἀνθρώπινης τὴν ὀρεμὴν καὶ ἀφορεμὴν θέλων δι' ἐνεργείας ἔδειξε, τὴν μὲν ὀρεμὴν. ἐν τῷ τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ ἀδιαβλήτοις τοσούτον χρῆσασθαι, ὡς καὶ μὴ θεὸν τοῖς ἀπίστοις νομίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀφορεμὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πάθους, ἐκουσίως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον συστολὴν ποιήσασθαι. Disputat. c. Pyrrho. l. c. f. 165.

² The ἀφορεμὴ, the opposite to the ὀρεμὴ.

³ Ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν δειλία καὶ κατὰ φύσιν μὲν δειλία ἐστὶ δύναμις κατὰ συστολὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἀνθεκτικὴ, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ παράλογος συστολή.

⁴ Οὐ προηγείται ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ καθάπερ ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς θελήσεως τὰ φυσικά, ἀλλ' ὡςπερ πείνασας ἀληθῶς καὶ δίψησας οὐ τρέπον τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπείνασεν καὶ ἐδίψησεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἐκουσίως γὰρ, οὕτω καὶ δειλίαν ἀληθῶς, οὐ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐδείλιασε καὶ καθολοῦ φᾶναι. πᾶν φυσικὸν ἐπὶ χριστὸν συνεμμένον ἔχει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ λόγῳ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν τρόπον ἵνα καὶ ἡ φύσις διὰ τοῦ λόγου πιστῶθῃ καὶ ἡ οἰκονομία διὰ τοῦ τρόπου.

⁵ That which, in later times, was called *communicatio idiomatum*.

The question concerning the relations of the human and the divine will to each other in Christ was connected also in a way that deserves notice, with the question respecting the relation of the human to the divine will in the redeemed in their state of perfection. At least, many among the Monothelites supposed the final result of the perfect development of the divine life in believers would be in them, as in the case of Christ, a total absorption of the human will in God's will; so that in all, there would be a subjective, as well as objective identity of will—which, consistently carried out, would lead to the pantheistic notion of an entire absorption of all individuality of existence in the one original spirit. Maximus well understood this, and contended earnestly against the notion. He maintained, that regarded on the objective side with reference to the object of God's will, which was also the same for all—and with reference to the energizing principle of divine grace which is the same, there was indeed one will in all; but that notwithstanding this, the subjective difference would ever remain, the difference namely between the will in God, which works salvation, and the will of those who receive it from him.¹ We may now see also, how closely connected this doctrine of Maximus was with the general principle—so important to him concerning the revelation of the supernatural and divine in the more highly refined form and individuality of the natural; a view with which the other theory stood directly in conflict. As to the appeals made on both sides to the declarations of the older fathers, the truth was, that under the influence of their different dogmatical interests each party would be so much the more likely to differ from the other in their interpretations, as the older fathers, who had no such controversy in their thoughts, expressed themselves very indefinitely on such points.²

¹ Τῶν τε σωζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ σώζοντος κατὰ τὴν θείαν γενήσεται σύμβασιν ὅλον ἐν πᾶσι γενικῶς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον ἰδικῶς χωρήσαντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πληροῦντος τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς χάριτος καὶ ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου μελῶν δικήν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἐν ἑκάστῳ πίστεως. T. II. f. 10, 11. He also points out in his disputation with Pyrrhus, the ambiguity which arises from expressing the *θείλημα* and the *θείλητόν* by the same word. II. f. 162.

² Thus in particular they differed about the right interpretation and reading of the passage in the fourth supposed letter of Dionysius to Caius, where an *ἐνέργεια θειανδρική* is ascribed to Christ. According to the context of this passage, the reading *μίαν*, defended by the Monothelites, would not be the correct one, but the read-

In Constantinople, the imperial edict still continued valid even after the death of Heraclius, in 641; but the successors of Honorius, bishop of Rome, who died soon after the breaking out of these disputes, declared themselves decidedly against Monothelism, and in favour of the doctrine of the two modes of willing and working. This dogmatic tendency prevailed also in the African church. Maximus repaired to these districts; he increased by his influence the zeal in behalf of it; and used the authority of these churches, especially the Roman, to put down Monothelism. From Africa and Rome, he directed letters and tracts to the monks of the East, in which he combatted that system. In Africa, he was supported by the governor Gregorius, who was plotting an insurrection against the imperial government, and wanted, perhaps, to avail himself of the excitement growing out of these doctrinal disputes, to further his own plans. A great sensation was created in Africa by a public transaction in which Maximus was the principal actor. The Patriarch Pyrrhus, successor to Sergius, who up to this time had himself also maintained the validity of the *Ecthesis*, had been driven by the tide of popular feeling excited against him, to resign his post, in the year 642, and had betaken himself to North Africa. A disputation between him and Maximus was held in presence of a numerous assemblage and of the governor Gregory. Maximus, it is true, displayed great acuteness in the management of his cause; and in this respect he was far superior to his opponent. Nevertheless, it was, beyond doubt, an outward interest, far more than this intellectual superiority or any force of argument, which induced Pyrrhus to own that he was beaten;—upon which confession, he was solemnly restored, by the Roman bishop, Theodore, to the communion of the church. But he very soon went over again to the other party.

The long continued troubles which arose out of these disputes, moved the Emperor Constans, in 648, to revoke the *Ecthesis*, and to publish a new religious edict, known under the name of the *Type*.¹ Although this edict was drawn up under the influence of

ing *καινήν* defended by the opposite party; for it is plainly the author's design to mark that which was *new* in the appearance of the God-man; but perhaps all the definiteness here given to the word *θεωδοξικόν* originated in glosses. At all events, each party could at least explain the words in its own sense.

¹ Τύπος τῆς πίστεως.

the Patriarch Paul, and although this prelate, as is plain from his correspondence with the Roman bishops, was devoted to Monotheletism, yet his peculiar doctrinal views were not thrust so prominently to view, as those of Sergius had been in the Ecthesis. He must have known how to distinguish the duty of a church-teacher from that of a civil ruler; or perhaps he considered this dogmatic difference as of too little importance to be suffered to disturb the peace of the church; at least, he did not wish to use the authority of the emperor to introduce Monotheletism into the church. The Type was clearly distinguished from the Ecthesis in this essential respect, that the doctrinal element therein retired further out of view; and, without taking part in any way, either with Monotheletism or against it, the edict was chiefly aimed to restrain the violent disputes, and to restore quiet to the church.¹ After having presented the two opposite views, deciding in favour of neither, it ordered, that the church should abide by the doctrine as it stood before the outbreak of this controversy, and contend no longer about these points. No person should stigmatise another as a heretic, on account of them. The *clergy* who acted contrary to this should be deposed; the monks banished; persons in office, whether in the civil or in the military service, should forfeit their places; private individuals of rank should be punished by the confiscation of their goods; those of the lower order, after being corporeally punished, should be perpetually banished.² But though the well-meant purpose was here aimed at, of putting an end, by this ordinance, to the passionate dispute on both sides, yet such an object could not be so attained; for no magisterial word has power to command on matters of religious convictions. Those to whom the subject in dispute seemed so important, would only be the more excited to controversy by the very prohibition of it, which seemed to them either the fruit of an unchristian *indifferentism*, or a sly trick to check for the present the free assertion of the truth. To the zealots for the doctrine of the two modes of willing and working,

¹ The imperial commissioners, who attended the trial of Maximus at Constantinople, could no doubt rightly say, the emperor had dropped the Type simply *διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην*, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τινὸς τῶν ἐπὶ χριστοῦ νοουμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ τὴν σιωπὴν τῶν ποιουσῶν τὴν διάστασιν φανῶν οἰκονομοῦντα. See Acta Maximi, prefixed to the edition of his works, T. I. § 8. f. 36.

² See the Acta of the Lateran Council, Act. IV. T. III. Harduin. f. 824.

the *Type* appeared under the aspect as if Christ was thereby made a being without will, or free agency—placed on a level with deaf and dumb idols.¹ Martin I., the zealous opponent of Monotheletism, who even before this, while Apocrisiarius of the Roman church at Constantinople, had violently opposed it, became, when pope, the most important pillar of this party. From different quarters of the East and the West, he received communications from the monks and clergy, complaining that truth was suppressed by the edict, which, though it appeared under the name of the emperor, was supposed to have really proceeded from the Patriarch of Constantinople. As successor of St Peter, he believed himself called upon as he was invited by these voices from different quarters, to watch over the preservation of pure doctrine in the whole church. Without consulting the emperor, he convoked a council, in 648, to meet at Rome in the Constantinopolitan church, which stood in the vicinity of the former Lateran palace, and was hence called the *ecclesia Lateranensis*. This was a general council, afterwards known under the name of the Lateran council. By this assembly, twenty canons were drawn up in opposition to Monotheletism. The doctrine of two modes of willing and working, combined in union, was established; and sentence of condemnation pronounced on the opposite doctrine and on its advocates, namely, all the patriarchs of Constantinople since the time of Sergius, and on the edicts drawn up under their influence, the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*. The pope circulated these decisions through the Western church, and sought to obtain for them a universal adoption. He wrote also, in his own name and in the name of the synod, to the Emperor Constans; sending him its proceedings, and inviting him to give his assent to the doctrines therein expressed.

Meantime Olympius, the new exarch of Ravenna, came to Rome. He was directed, in case he found himself strong enough, to publish the *Type*, to force all to subscribe it, and to arrest the pope if he resisted these measures. But if he found that he was

¹ In a query addressed by the monk Maximus, with other Greek monks, to the Lateran council, the following remarks are made respecting the *Type*: *Eis ὃν ἀνενέργητον πάντη καὶ ἀνεθέλητον, ταυτέστιν ἄνου καὶ ἀψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς δοξῆς θεὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἰσχυμάτισαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀψύχοις παραπλησίως εἰδώλοις*, and then Ps. 115 is cited, *τοιούτων γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ἀνενέργητον πάντη καὶ ἀνεθέλητον*. Harduin, *Council*. T. III. f. 724.

not strong enough to execute these orders, he was in the first place to bring together a sufficient force to execute them with certainty. Now the case may have been, that Olympius really did not feel himself strong enough at first to proceed openly against the pope, since the latter had great influence with the people, and it was feared that he might summon them to his support. On this account, he may have deemed it expedient for the present, to represent himself as more friendly to the pope than he really was, that he might prepare a trap for him under the cloak of friendship. But when shortly afterwards he plotted an insurrection against the emperor, he was led by his own political interests to take part with the pope rather than against him, hoping to find some support from him in the prosecution of his political designs. So the proceedings of the Lateran council were suffered to go on without disturbance.¹

¹ As in the trial instituted against Martin at Constantinople, the plan of an insurrection by Olympius is presupposed as an established fact, and Martin moreover does not deny the fact, it cannot be doubted, that Olympius entertained such designs; and this explains, in the most satisfactory manner, why he made no attempt to seize the pope. And his conduct towards the pope may have occasioned, or furnished a pretext for, the charge that a secret understanding existed between the two. About this connection of events, however, Anastasius, in his life of this pope, is silent; and his account seems to stand in contradiction with it. But on this ground, it would not be just to conclude that everything he relates is false; we should rather seek for some way of reconciling the two reports. It is very possible he may have followed some exaggerated story, when he says that Olympius designed to have Martin assassinated at a celebration of the Eucharist at which he was present. But there may be some truth at the bottom of this story. Perhaps Olympius had determined at the outset, and before he conceived the project of an insurrection, to seize the pope by some stratagem. This view of the case seems to be confirmed by a passage in one of the pope's letters, by which we may understand his opinion of Olympius, and how far it was from any of his thoughts to make common cause with that conspirator. The letter was written to Theodore, and in it Martin reports what he had heard said by the exarch Calliopas: *Quod semper per complexionem et fallacem accusationem incederent adversum nos et cum in adventu infamis Olympii vani cujusdam hominis cum armis me hunc potuisse repellere faterentur.* On account of the word "faterentur" here instead of "dicerent," I can understand this language in no other sense than as intended to prove the falsehood of the suspicion excited against him, as if it had been his purpose to defend himself by force. They themselves, he would say, must confess, that when Olympius first arrived, and as yet had collected no forces about him, it lay within the power of the pope, by a slight exertion of his influence, to prevent him, by force of arms, from marching into Rome. But the fact that Martin did not resort to the forcible measures which were at his command, though he might have suspected from the first that Olympius came with hostile intentions, made it perfectly evident how far it was from his thoughts to defend himself by resorting to violence.

When afterwards the exarch Olympius repaired to Sicily for the purpose of engaging in the war against the Turks, where he met his death, the emperor, in 653, sent Calliopas to take his place as exarch to Italy, who was to enforce obedience to the Type, and transport Martin for punishment to Constantinople. The political interest now predominated at Constantinople, far beyond the doctrinal. He was to be arraigned and punished not as a heretic,¹ but as a rebellious subject. What he had undertaken to do in opposition to the imperial edict, appeared to Byzantine despotism in the light of a *crimen majestatis*. In form, Martin's behaviour would certainly wear that appearance, the Type having been published as an imperial edict; and it was moreover alleged on the part of the Byzantine court, that the contents of the Type were rather of a political than of a doctrinal nature; that nothing new was established by it in matter of doctrine, but merely disputation on certain points forbidden; that no man's conscience could be injured, therefore, by this merely negative injunction. If Martin alleged, however, that the edict proceeded not so much from the emperor as from the Patriarch Paul, this surely could serve in no sense to excuse his behaviour; for so might disobedience to any law be excused, on the plea that the law did not proceed from the ruler, but from the counsellor who advised him wrongly. Nevertheless, Martin, as representing the power and interest of the church—though this was not recognized on that principle of the Byzantine court which subordinated spiritual things to political—could with still more justice allege on his own side, that the civil power, in attempting to define the limits between essentials and non-essentials in doctrine, already overstepped its proper limits, and encroached on a foreign province; that the church could not be prohibited from presenting and defining that which she understood to be essentially connected with the full development of Christian doctrine. And inasmuch as he went on the principle

¹ Once only, when at first it was attempted at Rome to excuse the violent measures resorted to against Martin (see ep. 14 ad Theodorum Harduin. T. III. f. 675), a charge was brought against him on the score of doctrine, viz., that he refused to recognize the Virgin Mary as *ἑτερόζως*; which, from the Monotheletian point of view, was regarded as bordering on Nestorianism. But subsequently this accusation does not occur again, nor did it ever accord with the principles and motives of those with whom the *Type* originated.

that on him, as the successor of St Peter, was conferred the supreme direction and guidance of the church, he might consider himself bound to defend the full development of Christian truth, and the free development of the church, against a political authority, which, as he supposed, though perhaps erroneously, was subservient to heretical influences. We must allow, however, that Martin, on his own hierarchical principle, would have been very willing to use the civil power as an instrument for establishing that which he himself recognized as the doctrine of orthodoxy, and no doubt would have applauded the act, if in submission to the decisions of the Lateran council, the same emperor had issued an edict in favour of Dyotheletism.

When Martin had once appeared to the imperial court in the light of a state criminal, there would be a strong inclination to believe the various political charges which were brought against him, it being no rare thing for extravagant charges of this sort to find credence with the suspicious government at Constantinople, or to be seized upon as a palliation of persecutions. Sometimes he was accused of entering into an understanding with the Turks,¹ sometimes of conspiring with, and lending support to, Olympius.

On the 15th of June, 653, Calliopas arrived at Rome. He did not venture at once to take any open step against the pope, because he feared the pope would arm the people for his defence. Martin, who had been ill for several months, was lying on his couch at the altar of the Lateran church, with his clergy assembled around him. Calliopas arrived in the evening; he let Sunday pass by, because he feared the multitudes then assembled for public worship; and he sent as an excuse to the pope, that owing to the fatigue of his journey, he had not been able as yet to pay him his respects; but informed him that he would come

¹ See ep. ad Theodorum. He is said to have maintained a correspondence with the Saracens, and sent them money and a confession of faith. Were the last statement true, it would be to his honour; the just conclusion to be drawn from it was, that he took a special interest in the conversion of the Saracens; and efforts for this purpose would have tended rather to hinder than to aid any design of forming a political alliance with the Saracens. But Martin denies the whole, and affirms, that there was not a particle of truth in the story, except that he had sent money to the Christians living among the Saracens (probably in Sicily) by the hands of certain persons of their own number, who had come on a visit to Rome.

on the next day. Early on Monday morning, the governor, still full of distrust, sent some of his followers to the pope to tell him he was aware that armed men were collected in the church, and that stones had been piled up in heaps for the purpose of defending the pope. All this was unnecessary; the pope ought not to permit it. Martin caused these emissaries to be conducted through every part of the church, that they might be convinced, by their own eyes, that this suspicion was groundless. Calliopas being now satisfied that he had nothing to fear, pushed forward with an armed band, into the church, and published the imperial mandate, that Martin was deposed, because he had illegally obtained the bishopric,¹ and that he should be conveyed to Constantinople. Several of the clergy invited the pope to call out an armed force to protect his person, since probably he could reckon if it were but for a moment, on the zeal of the people; but Martin declared, he would rather ten times die than that any man's blood should be shed on his account. He surrendered at once to the governor's force, who caused him to be conveyed to his own palace. Calliopas having at first given liberty to all ecclesiastics who pleased to go with the pope, many clergymen and also laymen who had resolved to accompany him, joined him on the next following days. But the governor had probably no other object in view than to deceive, so as to prevent an insurrection in the pope's favour. At midnight he suddenly caused him to be removed from the palace, and accompanied by only a few attendants, to be conveyed to the port. The gates of Rome were kept shut till he sailed. He was obliged to make a long and difficult voyage. He was left lying for a year on the island of Naxos. During the whole journey, the old, sick man was hardly and shamefully treated. He was denied every convenience, and the little comforts in particular which were necessary for him in his present condition of body. When ecclesiastics and laymen, at whatsoever place he came, sent him such articles as might serve for his refreshment, his keepers interfered, driving

¹ Quod irregulariter et sine lege episcopatum subripissem, which doubtless refers to the fact, that Martin had not applied in the usual manner to the emperor, and received from him the confirmation of his election; whether it was, that he supposed the schisms were a sufficient reason for omitting this legal formality, or whether he had been otherwise prevented.

away the bearers of them with insults, and declaring that he who showed any interest in the emperor's enemy, evinced that he was an enemy of the emperor himself.¹ The few letters of the pope, written under these sufferings, to his friend Theodore, manifest a spirit of Christian resignation. He began thus: "with the help of your prayers, and the prayers of all the faithful who are with you, I shall, living and dying, defend the faith on which our salvation reposes; as Paul teaches, for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And when, after his departure from the island of Naxos, he described to his friend the sufferings he had hitherto endured, he concluded with the following words:—"I trust in the power of God, the Omniscient, that when I shall have been removed from the present life, all my persecutors will be brought to punishment, that so at least they may be led to repentance and to turn from their wickedness." On the 17th of September 654, he arrived at the port of Constantinople, and was left on board the ship in his sick-bed until evening, exposed to various annoyances. He was next conveyed to the prison of the chief watch, where he remained confined ninety-three days, no person being allowed to visit him. After this long delay, he was conveyed, at first on his sick-bed, before the tribunal appointed to try him. Though so weak that he could not stand without being supported, he was still required to remain standing while on trial. The president of the court said to him:—"Speak, wretched man, what wrong has the emperor done thee?" Martin made no reply. Said the president, Art thou silent? Behold, thy accusers shall now appear; and several witnesses were now introduced, to prove that he had been concerned in the conspiracy of Olympius. As they were about to be put on their oath, the pope begged that it might not be done,—no swearing was necessary; they might do with him as they pleased; what need was there of destroying the souls of these people? When he undertook to give an account of the whole history of events in the case of Olympius, and began by saying, "When the Type had been drawn up, and was sent by the emperor to Rome,"—he was immediately interrupted, for fear he might come upon doctrines—

¹ See Martin's letter to Theodore, and the report of his sufferings drawn up by a friend. Harduin. III. f. 677 and what follows.

a subject which, by special command, was to be avoided ; and one of the assembly cried out "Don't mix in here anything about the faith, you are on trial for high-treason. We, too, are Christians and orthodox." Martin replied : "Would to God you were ! But even on this point I shall testify against you on the day of that dreadful judgment." With dignity and spirit, he defended himself against many things which individual judges brought forward in support of the charges alleged against him. Finally, he said to them : "I adjure you by our Lord, what you conclude to do with me, do quickly ; for God knows, death is the greatest boon you can bestow on me." The trial having been reported to the emperor, Martin, amid much shameful abuse, was stripped of his priestly robes, and conveyed in fetters to another dungeon. It seems it was the intention, at first, to condemn him to death, as guilty of high-treason. But the Patriarch Paul, then sick and nigh his end, on hearing of it, testified, notwithstanding he had been greatly injured by the popes, his dissatisfaction that a bishop should be so treated ; and the emperor promised him, in his last moments, that Martin's life should be spared. After having been left eighty-five days to pine away in the second dungeon, he was told to leave it, and remain for a few days in the house, and under the watch of one of the emperor's secretaries, for the purpose of being transported next to his destined place of exile, which as yet was not named to him. He embraced those who were with him, and, thanking God, cheerfully bid them farewell. When they began to weep and complain, he begged them not to do so, but rather to rejoice with him, and thank God, who had judged him worthy to suffer for his sake. The town of Chersonesus, on the peninsula of Crimea, in the midst of barbarians, was selected for his place of exile. On the 26th of March, 655, he departed from Constantinople, and on the 15th of May arrived at Chersonesus. Here, in the midst of unfeeling barbarians, he had to suffer the greatest deprivations. He could obtain no bread ; he was also destitute of money to purchase it of the foreign vessels which touched at this spot. A ship came from Constantinople, and he hoped it brought means for his support which might be furnished from Rome. But he was disappointed ; and, in mentioning this to his friend, he adds : "I also praised my God for

this, since he orders our sufferings according to his wisdom." Nevertheless, he wrote, that if the means of sustenance were not sent him he could not long survive; "For—said he—the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, as thou thyself art aware." He was grieved especially, that up to the month of September, he had as yet received nothing from Rome—no token of sympathy—which, perhaps, might be owing to some fear of exciting the emperor's displeasure. "I wondered, and still wonder—he wrote in the month of September—at the want of sympathy in my friends and kinsmen—that they have so utterly forgotten my misfortune, and as I see, do not even want to know whether or not I am still on the earth." But it seemed to him the strangest of all, that the clergy of the Roman church should take no further concern about him, though a member of their own body; that they should not at least provide for his bodily wants. "For although St Peter's church possesses no gold, yet, through the mercy of God, it has stores of grain and wine, and all things necessary for the support of life." "What fear—he writes—has fallen on men, which restrains them from fulfilling God's commands—fear, where nothing is to be feared? Or have I appeared to the whole church so like an enemy? But may God, who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, by the mediation of St Peter, establish their hearts in the true faith, and preserve them firm and unshaken from all influences of heretics, especially their present pastors; that so, having never deviated, even in the smallest particular, from that which in the presence of the Lord and his holy angels they have published in written decrees, they may together with me receive the crown of righteousness from the hand of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For as it regards my feeble body, the Lord himself will take care of that, so as it may please him to order all things, whether it be under continual suffering, or with some relief. For the Lord is nigh, and why should I be troubled; for I hope in his mercy, that he will soon finish my course at the goal he has ordained." His wish was fulfilled; he died on the 16th of September.

There still remained the old Maximus—he who was the head of the Dyothelians in the East, the soul of every movement both in the East and in the West against the imperial

decrees ; and though at the advanced age of sixty-five, still by the influence of his name, and by the firmness and stability of his character, Maximus might present a powerful resistance to the sovereign will. He was, therefore, seized, along with his disciple Anastasius, brought to Constantinople, and thrown into prison. The master and disciple, who had lived now for more than thirty years constantly together, were purposely separated. It was attempted to convict Maximus also on political charges, without entering at all upon the subject of doctrines. Some of these accusations, on being compared with what Maximus said in his defence, show a remarkable contrast between the Byzantine and the Roman principles of church government ; for example : the disciple of Maximus is accused of having refused to recognize the emperor as also a priest ; and indeed he had attempted to prove, from the usage of the church, that the emperor belonged to the laity, and possessed no spiritual power. Melchisedec, to whose example the other party appealed, was, he said, priest and king, only as a type of Christ.¹ The proceedings against Maximus, however, were not so harsh in the beginning as they had been against Martin. Respect for the old man, who was looked upon as a model of the monastic life, and compassion for his old age, operated with many, who wished he might be spared ; and if they could only bring him to yield, it was hoped, in this way, to overcome at once all resistance to the Type. Threats, flatteries, every mode of persuasion were tried. Maximus was told, that he was not required to deny his own dogmatical convictions ; but only to signify his consent to a compromise for the sake of peace. They set before him a new formulary of union, which Maximus might, no doubt, have so interpreted, as to include within it his own doctrinal views—" that, in relation to the difference of the two natures, it was necessary to suppose two agencies and wills (*ἐνεργείαι* and *θελήσεις*) ; in relation to their union, one." But Maximus persisted in the views, which, to maintain consistency in his doctrinal system, he believed himself bound to hold, and rejected every ambiguous concealment of the differences—which, for the reasons already stated, appeared to him important. Meantime, Martin had been wholly

¹ See Acta Maximi, § 30. T. I. opp. pag. 30 and the following.

removed from the public arena, and Eugenius, who was substituted in his place by the exarch Calliopas,¹ granted to the new Patriarch of Constantinople, the lately banished Pyrrhus,² the fellowship of the church; the Roman agents (Apocrisarii) at Constantinople had been prevailed upon to subscribe the above mentioned formulary of union; and as the authority of the Romish church stood high with him, it was now intended to employ it, for the purpose of inducing him to yield. But the deep-seated convictions of his own mind weighed more with him than the authority of a single bishop; and he declared, that though the Roman bishop had fallen from the truth, yet, according to St Paul, even an angel from heaven could preach no other gospel. Every proposition having been rejected by him, he was sent in exile to the castle of Bizya, in Thrace, where he was kept confined apart from his disciple. But when every attempt to produce an effect on him, by new negotiations, had proved unavailing, the spite against the old man, whose will could not be broken, passed all bounds! In the year 662, he was dragged back again to Constantinople, publicly scourged, his tongue cut out, and his right hand severed at the wrist; after which he was banished to the country of the Lazians, where he soon died (on the 13th of August), in consequence of the injuries inflicted on him at so advanced a period of life.

Thus the emperor succeeded to enforce everywhere in the Eastern church the adoption of the Type; and with the adoption of this, the bishops of the chief cities in the East (whom the major part of the others, without any personal interest in, or independent examination of, the points in dispute, blindly followed) united, at the same time, the defence of Monotheletism.

In the Roman church, on the contrary, the zeal for the doctrine of Dyotheletism continued to propagate itself; and out of all this arose a schism between the two churches, although the two next successors of Martin,—Eugenius and Vitalian—from dread of the emperor's power seem not to have taken any public stand against the patriarchs at Constantinople. But under Pope Adeodatus, in 677, the schism took a more decided shape. All

¹ As Calliopas would not have appointed him, unless he had pledged himself to do so beforehand.

² See above, page 245.

connection between the two patriarchs was dissolved; since the patriarchs of Constantinople, now devoted to Monotheletism, were no longer regarded in Rome as members of the Catholic church, and none of their letters were received; and the names of the Roman bishops were no longer enrolled in the church records (Diptycha) at Constantinople, and no longer mentioned in the general prayers of the church. The Patriarch Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch, were for expunging also the name of Vitalian from the church records. They were of the opinion, that the Roman patriarchs could be justly recognized as orthodox and as deserving to be mentioned, only as far down as Honorius; because since his time, the dogmatic opposition had subsisted between the two churches, which needed first to be adjusted. But the then reigning emperor, Constantinus Pogonatus, would not suffer this. On the contrary, he was troubled by this separation of the churches; and it was his earnest wish, that the general peace of the church should once more be restored. He did not venture, being a layman, to pass any judgment himself on this difference; and therefore sought by the mutual counsels of the bishops themselves, under whom the opposition existed, to bring about a safe decision. For this reason, in 678, he issued a letter to Domnus, Bishop of Rome, inviting him to send delegates to Constantinople, for the purpose of uniting with the patriarchs and bishops of the East in an investigation of this affair. The language of the emperor in the letter differs from the ordinary language of Byzantine despotism in such transactions, inasmuch as it evinces some respect for free doctrinal investigation. He declares, appealing to the Most High, that he would allow equal freedom to both parties, and equal honour to their representatives.¹ He should rejoice if the two parties could come to an agreement. But if no union could be effected, he would still send back the papal delegates with all honour to Rome. Agatho, the successor of Domnus, the latter having died soon after this letter was sent, complied with the emperor's invitation; and in the year 680 the sixth ecumenical council assembled for the examination of this controversy at Constantinople. This, therefore, was the

¹ His words are οὐκ ἐστὶ πᾶς ἡμῖν ἐπιτρομέησις οἰαδῆσασσι, ἀλλ' ἰσότητα τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις φυλάττομεν.

third universal council held at Constantinople, and from the vaulted room in the imperial castle where the assembly met,¹ it was named the Trullan council (council in Trullo). The emperor himself attended its meetings. It is true, that at this council also, there was no full and calm discussion of the disputed points; but still its proceedings were conducted in a more dignified manner and with less disturbance from foreign influences, than had been the case in earlier councils. Conformably to the ruling principle of doctrinal tradition, the standard, at this council, for the determination of disputed points, was first of all, the declarations of the older approved church-teachers, with which each party agreed, as each wanted to present only the ancient doctrine of the church. But since the older church-teachers, as we have already remarked, had written before this opposition had ever come to be discussed, and had often expressed themselves very indefinitely, hence their words might often be differently understood, being interpreted from different points of view; and one party accused the other of perverting them, or of forcing them out of their right connection and garbling them. Thus by such authorities nothing could be decided; but the dispute had to fall back upon the logical determination of conceptions; as became evident, for example, in the proceedings of the eighth session, in the case of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch. The Roman delegates brought with them a letter from their bishop, Agatho, which contained a full exposition and defence of Dyotheletism, with proof passages from the approved older fathers, and besides this a brief containing the same in substance, issued by this bishop in the name of a numerous synod held at Rome. These two documents were publicly read at the fourth session of the council. In the seventh session, on the 13th of February, they laid before the council a collection of passages from the older fathers (which they had also brought with them from Rome) in confirmation of that doctrine;—and now the Bishops George of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch, together with the other bishops siding with them, were asked, whether they agreed with the doctrine presented by the Bishop of Rome. They requested leave to defer the answer of

¹ Σεβαστήριον τοῦ βασιλέως παλατίου τὸ οὕτως ἐπιλεγόμενον Τροῦλλον. Vita Stephani ed. Muratori p. 482, ὁ τροῦλλον, ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ὠνόματον καλοῦμεν.

that question until the next session, that they might have time to turn to the passages cited from the fathers, and examine them in the connection in which they stood—and at the following session, on the *seventh* of March, the Patriarch George declared, that having made the examination, he was convinced; and accordingly he professed the Dyotheletism set forth in those letters. Nevertheless, as it is certain that in those letters, and in the collection of authorities from the fathers laid before the council by the Roman delegates, nothing was to be found, which he might not have learned from polemical writings already existing, we must either suppose, he had adopted his previous Monotheletism blindly, following the prevailing tendency, without any examination of his own, or that this change which so suddenly took place in his views had proceeded or was hypocritically assumed from outward considerations rather than resulted from honest conviction. Macarius, however, persisted in his Monotheletism, presenting it in a full confession of faith, together with a collection of authorities from the fathers in confirmation of his views. In being willing to confess but one will and one mode of working in Christ, he evinces what was in fact hovering before his mind—the truly Christian, though in his case misapprehended, interest to derive all the volitions and acts of Christ only from the being of God in him; just as he would admit in Adam before the fall, nothing but the divine will as the determining power; and considered the fleshly volitions (*σαρκικά θελήματα*) and human reasonings (*ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμούς*) to be a consequence of the fall.¹ Men agreed in their deeper convictions, though they were divided from each other by differences of conception. To what a pitch of extravagance the fanatical zeal for such a conceptual formulary could proceed, is shown by a remarkable incident that occurred in the fifteenth session of the council. A monk from Heraclea, in Thrace, made his appearance, by name Polychronius. This person declared that a troop of persons in white robes had appeared to him, and amid them, a person of ineffable majesty, by whom, perhaps, he meant Christ himself. The latter said to him, Whosoever did not confess the one will (*ἐν θελήματι*) and the divinely human agency (*θεανδρική*)

¹ See Actio VIII. fol. 1181. T. III.

ἐνέργεια) was not a Christian. He must go tell the emperor that he should neither make nor adopt a new faith. The man offered to prove that this doctrine was true by a miracle, and undertook to raise a dead man to life by means of a confession of faith, drawn up in accordance with it. It was thought necessary to accede to his proposal, in order to prevent the people from being led astray by his deceptions. The whole synod and the highest officers of state, surrounded by a vast multitude of the people, made their appearance on the public square. A corpse was brought to the spot on a silver-plated bier. Polychronius laid upon it his confession of faith, and continued to whisper for an hour or two in the dead man's ear, till finally he was obliged to confess that he was unable to awaken him. A shout now thundered forth from the people, pronouncing anathema on the new Simon Magus. But the external fact could not shake the deep-seated conviction in the mind of the man, and Polychronius still remained as firm in his faith as ever.

By means of this council, the doctrine of two modes of willing and working in Christ now obtained the victory in the Eastern church; and this doctrine, together with a precautionary clause against the conclusions derived from it by the Monotheletes, was established in a new symbol, "Two wills and two natural modes of working, united without schism, and without confusion, as well as without change; so that no conflict ever existed between them, but the human will was invariably subject to the divine and almighty will." The anathema was moreover pronounced on those who had hitherto defended Monotheletism, as well as on the patriarchs of Constantinople and on *Honorius*, whom, however, at an earlier period, some had attempted to defend by a strained interpretation of his language.¹

But since Monotheletism, as appears evident from the above cited examples, had, both among clergy and monks, so many zealous advocates, the Monotheletian party could not be suppressed at a stroke by the anathema pronounced by this council; but it continued to propagate itself, and evinced its existence by

¹ See the 18th session, Harduin. III. 1398. The Patriarch Georgius, and several bishops of his diocese, had petitioned: "Ἴνα εἰ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἴσται, μὴ ἀναθεματισθῶσι τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὰς ἐκβολὰς, namely, the patriarchs since Sergius, δι' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ; but he was obliged to yield to the majority. Act. 16. L. c. 1386.

many indications of a reaction, down from the reign of the Emperor Justinian II., which began in 685.

In opposition to such attempts, the decisions of the sixth ecumenical council on the doctrine were confirmed anew by the second Trullan council, in the year 691 or 692, which was to serve as a supplement to the two preceding general councils, the fifth and the sixth.¹

But in the year 711, a zealous partizan of the Monotheletians, Bardanes, or Philippicus,² as he was called when emperor, succeeded in wresting the throne from Justinian II., who was hated on account of his remorseless despotism. Before he entered the imperial palace, he commanded that the symbol of the sixth general council of the church, which had been placed among the symbols of the other general councils, should be removed; otherwise, he would not go in. He caused the names of Sergius and of Honorius to be re-inserted in the diptycha, among the other orthodox patriarchs; and their images were again set up in the public places. He deposed the existing Patriarch of Constantinople, and nominated in his place John, a deacon, who was ready to be used as a willing instrument in furthering the progress of Monotheletism. Under the presidency of John, a council was held at Constantinople, which overturned the decisions of the sixth general council, and drew up a new creed in favour of Monotheletism. The few clergy, who refused to accommodate themselves to the emperor's will, were deposed from their places. In Italy, on the other hand, the arm of the new emperor had no power to enforce obedience, and his attempts to introduce the

¹ Hence its name *σύνοδος πενθέκτη*, concilium quinisextum. As both the other councils busied themselves only with doctrinal matters, and had drawn up no canons in relation to church life and church discipline, so this council was designed to supply the deficiency; and it published 102 canons relating to matters of this sort. Several of them are important, from the fact that they served to establish in a more decided form the opposition between the Greek and the Latin churches, and so to prepare the way for the schism between the two churches. Of this we shall speak again in another connection.

² According to the report of the deacon and archivar (*Χαροφύλαξ*) of the Constantinopolitan church, which is an important source of information respecting these events, published by Combefis, and was appended by its author to his copy of the acts of the sixth general synod (see Harduin. Concil. III. f. 1385). This Philippicus had received his religious education from the Abbot Stephanus, who, being a disciple of the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, defended Monotheletism at the sixth general council.

new symbol into the Roman church, resulted in an insurrection of the people against his government. But this sovereignty of the Monotheletian party terminated with the short two-years reign of Philippicus; and the new emperor, Anastasius II., by whom he has dethroned, annulled all that had been done on this subject under the preceding reign. The Patriarch John of Constantinople now altered his conduct at once, and stepped forth as a zealous advocate of Dyotheletism—whether in his doctrinal bent he belonged more to one party than to the other, and now or before this acted the hypocrite, he seems, at all events, to have been one of those clergy of the court, men without character, and ready for any falsehood, who never scrupled to sacrifice every higher interest to worldly motives. He issued a letter addressed to the Roman bishop, Constantine, in which, by flattering expressions of respect, he sought to gain his support, in fact addressing him—a thing which the patriarchs of Constantinople were not easily induced to do—as the head of the church, and begging him to forget the past, and to recognize in him a Christian brother. He expressed himself, in this document,¹ as if he were a sincere follower of Dyotheletism. He pretended, that he had been forced to take the patriarchate in order to avoid a greater evil, and to prevent the late monarch from making a layman patriarch, whom he might use as a still more effectual instrument for establishing the supremacy of Monotheletism. He endeavoured to justify his whole course of procedure under the late reign, as a necessary accommodation to circumstances (*οικονομία*) designed to protect pure doctrine from more violent attacks. “The pope himself—he thought—must be well aware from his own experience, that in such matters force could not be directly resisted, but resort must be had to art and cunning.² Even the prophet Nathan used concealment, for the purpose of reproving the sins of adultery and murder in king David.”³

John of Damascus embodied the results of these controversies,

¹ The same document, first published by Combefis, is to be found in Harduin. III. f. 1388.

² Ὡς οὐ λίαν ἀντιτύπως καὶ σκληρῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνάγκην ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀνευ τινὸς τέχνης καὶ περινοίας καθίστασθαι ἐμμερές.

³ Ἐλιγχοῦς οὐκ ἀπεικάλυπτος.

with a logical exposition of them, in his above-mentioned work on the system of faith. He also wrote a particular treatise on the same subject, and thus transmitted the polemical arguments against Monothelism to the later Greek church.

Like Nestorianism and Monophysitism, the Monothelitic system, banished from the Roman church, could propagate itself only among an insignificant race of people independent of that church, the inhabitants of Lebanon and anti-Lebanon, among whom this doctrine had probably been made dominant by a certain Abbot Marun (*Μαρούν*). After this abbot the whole tribe was named, because the abbots of this Maronite convent stood in the highest consideration with them, and directed their government, as well as all their undertakings. Protected by their mountainous district, the Maronites contrived to make and keep themselves independent of the Greek empire, and afterwards of the Saracens.

We shall now proceed to consider a series of controversies, which did not relate, like those just mentioned, to the determination of individual doctrinal conceptions, but to the essential character of Christian worship—the controversies about *image worship*. These disputes, from their very nature, would necessarily excite a far more general sympathy, than those before mentioned; for the object to which they referred, did not immediately occupy the attention of theologians, so that it was only by the excitement and odium produced by theologians, and then operating on the multitude, that the participation of the laity in them could be brought about; but as this subject could be understood by the laity as well as by the theologians, it would obtain the sympathy of the laity as readily as that of the clergy. The question, whether Christian worship necessarily rejected all sensible representations of religious objects, or whether such representations are indispensable to Christian feeling—this question would necessarily be answered differently by different persons, according to each one's peculiar devotional bent. One of the most zealous advocates of image worship of whom we shall speak hereafter, Theodorus Studita, makes the difference between these controversies and the preceding ones, as well as the disputes about the two natures or wills of Christ, to consist in this; that the latter related solely to notional distinctions, but the sub-

ject of the former was something sensible, outward, and lying before the eyes of all.¹ And as the devotion of the multitude had a sensual tendency, so the subject of this controversy would necessarily interest them and occupy their thoughts more than any other. Furthermore, this opposition related not barely to isolated, dialectic and notional distinctions, but opinions belonging to the universal tendencies of the religious spirit here met in conflict; and the victory of the one or the other of these must decide, by the consequences resulting therefrom, on the whole future development of the church and of its doctrines.

In order to explain the origin of these controversies, we must cast a glance back upon the previous history of the mode of thinking and acting in reference to this matter.

As we have shown in the preceding volumes, the opposition to the aesthetic religion of paganism, under which Christianity appeared, had also brought about an uncompromising opposition to all union of art with religion. But by degrees this opposition wore away; and art, particularly painting, had been used for the glorification of religion, conformably to the spirit of Christianity, which spurns nothing belonging to our pure humanity, since it was destined to appropriate, interpenetrate, and ennoble the whole of it. Although, then, the rude multitude, even in the Western church, soon allowed themselves to be misled into the error of making their worship too sensual, and of transferring the homage, due to the object represented in the symbol, to that symbol itself; and although this aberration of Christian feeling was occasioned by the culpable neglect of conveying Christian instruction to the people; yet by the church-teachers, the distinction between the right use of images to express and to excite Christian feelings and to instruct the unlettered multitude on the one side, and the superstitious worship of images on the other, was ever held fast; and as the former was recommended, so the latter was combatted with earnestness, wherever it appeared. This tendency we still observe in the Roman bishop, with whom we commenced the present period. A hermit having sent to Gregory the Great for

¹ Οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐν χειρῶν φύσεων ἢ θελημάτων καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις ἀμφισβητούμενα, ὧν ἡ διαμάχησις κατὰ τὰ νοήματα οὔσα, οὐδὲν αἰσθητικῶς παρεῖχε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· νῦν δὲ σὺν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον ἦτοι ἀσεβοῦμενον. Theodori epistolae L. II. ep. 21. in Sirmond. opp. T. V. f. 331.

an image of Christ, and other religious symbols, the latter sent him a picture of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and pictures of St Peter and St Paul, and explained in the letter accompanying these presents, his views respecting the right use of images, and the way in which they were designed to subserve the interests of religion.¹ He expressed himself pleased with the wish avowed by the recluse; since it was evident, he sought with his whole heart the Being whose image he desired to have always before his eyes, that by the sight of that the love to Him might be continually revived in his heart. The striving to represent things invisible by means of the visible, was grounded in man's nature.² But, nevertheless, he considered it important to add a word of warning against that aberration of religious feeling, which might lead to a superstitious worship of the image—a proof, that danger was already apprehended of such a mistake in men of devotional feelings, but destitute of mental culture. “I am well aware,” he wrote, “that thou desirest not the image of our Saviour, that thou mayest worship it as God, but to enkindle in thee the love of him, whose image thou wouldst see. Neither do we—he added—prostrate ourselves before the image as before a deity, but we adore him whom the symbol represents to our memory as born, or suffering, or seated on the throne;³ and according to the representation, the correspondent feelings of joyful elevation, or of painful sympathy, are excited in our breasts.”

Especially worthy of notice, on this matter, is the correspondence of Gregory with Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles (Massilia). The latter having observed, that among the rude Franks of his

¹ L. IX. ep. 52.

² Sic homo, qui alium ardentem videre desiderat, aut sponsam amans videre conatur, si contigerit eam ad balneum aut ad ecclesiam ire, statim per viam incidenti se praeferat, ut de visione ejus hilaris recedat.

³ Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam (imaginem) prosternimur; sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum aut passum seu in throno sedentem recordamur. From these words it does not, indeed, necessarily appear evident, that Gregory rejected the custom of kneeling before images (the *προσκύνησις*); for the words may be easily understood as meaning, that Gregory wished only to guard against a misunderstanding of that symbolical act which then already prevailed and was approved by himself; that he wanted to show, that this act was not performed with reference to the image, but to that which the image represented to the religious feelings. But he could hardly presuppose any *such* misunderstanding in the case of a hermit, nor imagine that he would be likely to perform his devotions to the image as such, and not refer them to Christ alone.

diocese the worship of images was rapidly spreading, caused the images to be demolished, and cast out of the churches. The pope, who heard that there were complaints against this procedure of Serenus, applauded the zeal which he manifested against the worship of images,¹ but censured his rashness in proceeding indiscriminately against all images; for these were introduced into the churches for the sake of those who could not instruct themselves by reading the Holy Scriptures, that at least by the contemplation of images they might come to some knowledge of scriptural facts.² Serenus was not disposed to fix any such limits to his zeal against images; and whether it was, that his critical judgment had become warped by his pious zeal, or that he merely sought some pretext under which he could proceed in his work of destroying images without seeming to despise the papal authority, he declared the letter of Gregory a forgery, and considered himself bound therefore to pay no further attention to its contents. It was a consequence of his well-meant, though by no means temperate or wisely directed zeal, that the minds of the rude Franks were provoked to hostility against himself. They beheld in him a destroyer of that which they held sacred; and the major part of them renounced all fellowship with him. When this came to the ears of the pope, he reprimanded Serenus³ for not distinguishing the right use of images from their abuse, repeating on this occasion what he had said in his former letter, and expressing it as his opinion, that the first-mentioned use of images was important, especially for the rude nations recently converted from paganism.⁴ Had he duly considered this, the pope wrote to him, he would have avoided the consequences which had followed his indiscreet zeal, and more certainly secured his object.⁵ He bade him take

¹ *Zelum vos, ne quid, manu factum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus.* As Gregory here declared himself so unconditionally against the *adoratio imaginum*, we may infer, that he rejected not merely the idolatry subsisting in that tendency of mind, but also every outward symbol of this sort, the custom of prostration and of kneeling, as usually practised before idols; and in this way we may account for his language in the last cited letter.

² L. IX. ep. 105.

³ L. XI. ep. 13.

⁴ Among whom, however, the abuse might most easily creep in.

⁵ *Si zelum discretionem condidisses, sine dubio et ea, quae intendebas, salubriter obtinere et collectum gregem non dispergere, sed potius dispersum poteris congregare.*

every pains to repair the injuries which had been done, and by paternal gentleness to win back the alienated affections of his people. He gave him the following instructions as to his mode of procedure for the future. "He should call together the members of the community, and prove to them by testimony from Scripture, that men should pay religious worship to nothing made by human hands; and having done this, he should explain to them, in a friendly manner, that his zeal had been directed only against a practice which *contradicted* the end for which images had been introduced into the churches, but not against any use of them corresponding to that end, not against them as a means of religious instruction, where he should allow they were good."

This moderate tendency with regard to the use of images, proceeding from a genuinely Christian spirit, did not long maintain itself, however, in the Roman church; for, as appears evident from the manner in which the popes participated in the contests against images of the Eastern church, they had already, down to the opening of the eighth century, become zealous defenders of image-worship; and this would, indeed, be the necessary result of that tendency fully carried out, which lay at the foundation of the whole mediaeval Catholicism—a tendency which uniformly failed of duly distinguishing and separating the divine thing from the symbol designed to represent it, and was ever inclined to transfer to the latter what belonged only to the former. But in the Greek church, for reasons which have already been mentioned, the worship of images had made its appearance at a much earlier period, and was closely interwoven not only with the ecclesiastical, but also with civil and domestic life. Not only the churches and church-books were ornamented with pictures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary and of saints, but these objects were to be seen fronting the palaces of the emperors, and on the walls of private houses; and even household furniture, and wearing apparel were ornamented with them. The artists, among whom were many monks, emulously laboured to produce such images in wax¹ or more costly materials. The worship of images stood closely connected with the exaggerated

¹ The κερόχυτα.

reverence paid to Mary and to the saints. What relics of saints were in the Western church, such were their images in the Greek church. In every case of extremity, men prostrated themselves before the pictures of saints, many of which had the reputation of performing miraculous cures. The saints themselves being represented to the religious consciousness as present in their images, these images were introduced as sponsors at baptism, and children were named after them.¹ In that uncritical age, many legends, received without a question, served to enhance the respect shown for these religious objects. Some, which were reputed not to have been by human hands (*ἀχειροποίητά*), stood in special veneration, and were used as the most effectual of amulets; sometimes such as were said to have been miraculously produced by Christ himself—sometimes others, of whose origin no distinct account could be given. Thus, for example, the city of Edessa, possessed its famous *ancile* in the picture of Christ, sent to King Agbar, as it was pretended, by our Saviour himself; and in an *ἀχειροποίητος εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου* (an image of the mother of God made without hands).² Still another Christ was said to have been impressed on the handkerchief of St Veronica (the saint healed of the issue of blood).

The extravagant lengths to which the superstitious reverence of images was carried, might the more contribute to excite a reaction of the Christian consciousness against it, even among the laity, as Jews and Mohammedans accused the Christians on this score of idolatry and a transgression of the divine law; and by such reproaches many might be led to reflect on what was really required by the Christian faith on this point. To this was added, in the case of the clergy, the reading of the Bible and of the older fathers, whereby the unprejudiced would easily be led to see, that the prevailing image-worship was utterly at variance

¹ Theodore Studita writes to a captain of the emperor's guard (Protospatharius), of whom he had heard, that he wore the image of St Demetrius, as *ἀνάδοχος*, at the baptism of his child; and he compares the confidence of faith, in which the man did this, with the confident faith of the centurion in Matt. viii. As Christ wrought the miracle then by his invisibly present divine power, although not visibly present himself, so here: *συνῆν ὁ μεγαλόμαστus πνεύματι τῆ οικίας εἰκὼνι τὸ βρέφος δεχόμενος. ὁ μάρτυς ἦν διὰ τῆς οικίας εἰκόνας τὸ βρέφος εἰσδεχόμενος ἐφ' ὅσον οὕτω πεπίστευκας.* Lib. I. ep. 17.

² The stories about these images are to be found in Theophylactus Simocatta, Theophanes Johannes Cantacuseus.

with the apostolical teaching and the principles of the primitive church ; and if they could not distinguish the different points of view of the Old and New Testaments, still they might believe themselves bound to apply the *Old Testament* prohibition of images to *Christian* worship. But while a reaction against image-worship was thus evoked, still it was difficult to prevent it from overstepping, under the impulse of passionate excitement, the bounds of moderation. As one extreme easily leads to another, so the superstitious worship of images would easily lead to the extreme of a fanatical hatred of images and of art, and the passionate opposition would be the less productive of good fruits, the less able it was to distinguish in what it combatted the true from the false, and to spare the Christian feeling and interest which lay at the bottom. It was unfortunate, too, that this reaction did not proceed, in the first place, from those whose calling it was to work upon men's convictions by teaching ; but from the possessors of secular power, and that, too, in a despotic government, where men were used to think it possible to enforce by commands, by threats and violence, that which can never proceed but from free conviction, and where they were least capable of exercising that tenderness and indulgence, which is most needed in matters touching on the religious interests of mankind. The spirit which men would drive into a way of thinking opposed to that course of development that grows out of its own essence, will but struggle the more to repel what is forced upon it against nature, and become inveterate in its errors ; for even that which is, in itself true, when not imparted in that way in which alone truth can be consciously seen, but obtruded by a power different from that of the mind itself, is converted into a lie ; the subjective consciousness of truth is necessitated to resist it. So was it especially in the present case, where a medley of truth and error on the one side was opposed to a like medley on the other.

The first from whom this war against image-worship began, was the Emperor Leo the Isaurian. At the very opening of his reign, with zeal for the extension of the church and of its doctrines, he also discovered the greatest ignorance with regard to the limits of the power conceded to him for this purpose. He forced Jews to receive baptism, and compelled the Montanists to

come over to the dominant church. The consequence of which was, that the Jews persevered in their faith as before, and made sport of the sacred rites, in which they could be forced to join only in an outward manner; and that the Montanists were driven to such a pitch of enthusiasm, as to burn themselves up with their churches. Such measures led men to anticipate what they had to expect from the emperor, when he believed himself called to deliver the church from the idolatry, as it was called, of image-worship. As this idolatry of the church was seized upon as a handle for their attacks by Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics, so Leo's zeal for the extension of the church and of its faith, might thus be connected with his iconoclasm. There were some, though few of them ecclesiastics, who, by the study of the Scriptures and of the older fathers, had been led to regard the introduction of images into the churches as an unchristian innovation, and in direct contradiction to the law of God. It was, probably, such persons (among whom we find particularly mentioned a certain Constantine, Bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia), who persuaded the emperor, or at least confirmed him in his own resolution, to banish images from the churches.¹ The appeal to the command which forbade the use of images in the Old Testament, to the fact that they are not mentioned in the New, to passages in the old church-teachers,—all this would make an impression on the emperor; while the misfortunes of the empire, pressed hard by barbarians and unbelievers, might easily be represented to him in the light

¹ In the report of the Presbyter John, the plenipotentiary of the Oriental patriarchs, in the fifth action of the council of the image-worshippers (787, Harduin. IV. f. 319), this Constantine is described as the head of the party, and the spring of the whole movement; and it is evident, from his transactions with Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, that this was not said without reason. Of course, the zealots for image-worship, among whom also belong the Byzantine historians, hailed with delight every occasion which offered itself of tracing the scheme to suppress images to the Mohammedans and the Jews. Hence their reports (savouring strongly of the fabulous) about Jews, who were said to have predicted Leo's elevation to the throne of the empire, and about the influence exercised over the emperor by Beser, a renegade, which first determined him to engage in the war against images, deserve little confidence. Even were it true, that Ized, a caliph, set the example for the emperor, and first commanded images to be banished from the churches of Christians in his dominions, yet it does not appear that these measures had any immediate connection with the commencement of the attack on images by the Emperor Leo; though the image-worshippers were inclined to believe otherwise.

of a divine judgment on idol-worshippers. He imagined himself called, as a priest and a monarch, like Hezekiah of old, to banish an idolatry which had been spreading for centuries. But being aware of the power of the adversary he had to contend with, he proceeded cautiously in the outset, gradually preparing his way,—exercising a prudence which was imperatively demanded by the circumstance just mentioned, rather than one resulting from any consciousness of the natural limits imposed on his authority. No doubt, the Greek emperors were wont, in their ecclesiastical projects, to apply in the first place to their patriarchs at Constantinople, and then to operate through these, as primates of the Oriental church, upon the remaining multitude; but Leo could not resort to this expedient in the present case, for the nonagenarian patriarch, Germanus,¹ belonged among the most zealous advocates of image-worship, and was well versed in all the arguments used in defending it. It is true he had consented, at an earlier period, to serve as the willing instrument of an emperor;² but the defence of images touched, without doubt, his religious sympathies much more readily, than the dispute concerning a logical determination of conceptions. As Leo, then, could not reckon on the consent and support of the patriarch, he believed it necessary to observe the more indulgence and caution in his first approaches towards the attack of image-worship; and his first ordinance, issued in the tenth year of his reign, in 726, was not directed against religious images in themselves, nor against every kind of reverence paid to them, but against such signs of an idolatrous homage, as the custom of prostration and kneeling down before them. But since that which the emperor declared to be idolatrous, was by no means acknowledged to be such by the church theologians, but was defended as a pure expression of Christian feeling, he could not well avoid a collision with them, and with his patriarch in par-

¹ We learn his peculiar bent of mind from his discourses in praise of the Virgin Mary, and from the pains he took to vindicate Gregory of Nyssa from the charge of Origenism.

² When Bishop of Cyzicus, he had adopted the formulary introduced by Philippicus (see above, p. 261), in favour of Monotheletism. It may be, however, before this, that he was already devoted to Monotheletism; for the same bent of mind, which made him a warm defender of image-worship, might also incline him to favour Monotheletism.

ticular ; and, being a layman, he would find it no easy matter to manage a man so well practised in defending this custom, which could be supported by so many nice distinctions. Although the fragmentary accounts of the historians, who describe the interview between the emperor and the patriarch, are in themselves entitled to but little faith—none being present at this interview but the parties—nevertheless, what they report harmonizes so well with the style in which the emperor delivers himself on this subject, in his letters still extant,¹ that we may form from it some idea of what passed between the two. When the emperor appealed to the Mosaic law, which forbids the worship of graven images, or of any creature whatsoever, the patriarch met him by saying, that much depends on the connection in which a thing is spoken or done. That Mosaic law had been given to Jews accustomed to witness the worship of idols in Egypt. With Christians, the case stood otherwise. Among them, the worship of God in spirit and in truth had been established for perpetuity. Nor had Moses forbidden the use of images in religion altogether ; as was evident from the example of the cherubim placed over the ark, and of other symbols in the temple. And as to himself, he said he was far from honouring images in the same sense in which we are bound to worship the triune God alone. Nor did every sort of prostration imply such worship ;—even in the Old Testament this custom occurred as an outward sign of reverence ; and in this sense it was observed also towards men, as at the present day men were wont, by this sign, to show respect to emperors, to their images and edicts, nor did any one see in it the least trace of idolatry. Of God's invisible essence it was, indeed, impossible to form any likeness or representation ; and hence, at the position of the Old Testament, it would necessarily be forbidden to make any image of God. But now, God had visibly appeared in human nature, had taken the latter into personal union with himself. As surely as we believe in the true humanity of the Son of God, so surely must we form to ourselves some image of the God-man. The representation of Christ in such an image, was essentially the same as an oral confession of that great mystery of the incarnation of the Son

¹ In the IV. action of the second council of Nice.

of God, and a practical refutation of Docetism. Nor did men worship that image of Christ, which is made of earthly materials, but the worship was addressed to that which is represented by the image to the devotional mind,—the incarnate Son of God.¹ But to the mother of God and to the saints, no devotion of any sort was paid; not even to their persons; no religious homage (*λατρεία*), such as belongs to God alone. To the mother of God was shown the reverence which was due to her, as the person through whom humanity was made to participate in the highest blessings, and who was exalted above all other creatures. And in the saints, men worshipped only what the grace of God had wrought in human nature, and paid them in their images nothing more than the reverence and love, which were due to such distinguished fellow-servants and fellow-soldiers. In the image, we do not invoke the saint, but the God of the saint.² It is plain, how important to the old patriarch the theory of images, taken in this connection of ideas, must have seemed; since, in his view, it was intimately connected with the recognition of the reality of the fact of the divine incarnation. Accordingly, he declared that he was ready to give up his life for the image of that being, who had given up his own life to restore the fallen image of God in human nature. The emperor must have perceived, that he could not possibly come to any agreement with the patriarch, who had already pushed his way so far into this artfully combined system. In the opinion that no sort of idolatrous worship of images was admissible, both were agreed; but the notion itself they explained differently. The emperor declared he had nothing to object against images in themselves; but that he only wanted to raise some of them, which were objects of peculiar veneration to the people, to a higher place, beyond contact of the multitude, which exposed them to be dishonoured. It was manifestly his design to deceive the old patriarch, and, without his participation, to prepare the way, step by step, for the execution of his project. Those bishops who had a common understanding with the emperor, began, in

¹ *A προσκύνησις σχετική.*

² The words of Germanus, in his letter to Thomas, Bishop of Claudiopolis: *προσβλεπων γάρ τις μετ' ἰπιστήμης εἰκόνι τινὸς τῶν ἁγίων ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς, λέγει τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ ὄνομα προστιθεῖς.* Harduin. IV. f. 258.

the meantime, to proceed against the images in their dioceses ; and as the people and the major part of the clergy were zealously devoted to image-worship, this attempt could not fail to be attended with many violent outbreaks, so that the patriarch was obliged to complain, that in whole cities, and among large portions of the people, great disturbances had grown out of these proceedings. Complaints against such bishops flowed in upon him from many quarters. The most considerable man of that party, Constantine, Bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia, who had fallen into a quarrel with his metropolitan, John, Bishop of Synnada, came himself to Constantinople. He assured the patriarch, that it was far from his intention to insult Christ and the saints in their images ; that his object was directed only against the idolatrous worship of images forbidden by the divine law. Now, in the condemnation of such a practice, the patriarch agreed with him ; and explained at large, in the way above stated, how different a thing the reverence paid to images was from adoration. The bishop perceiving, no doubt, that it would here be useless to contend, seemed to approve all that was said, and promised the patriarch that he would avoid every procedure which might give offence, or prove an occasion of disturbance among the people. Germanus gave him a letter to the metropolitan John, in which he informed the latter of the happy result of these negotiations. But the Bishop Constantine withheld the letter from its destination, and probably concerned himself no further about the matter as it had then been discussed. Similar accounts reached the ear of the patriarch respecting other adjacent districts, as Paphlagonia, where Thomas, Bishop of Claudiopolis, laboured to suppress the worship of images. He sent to the same an elaborate document in defence of images, and of the reverence paid them in the way that was customary at that time.² In this letter he adduced, as an argument in their favour, the miracles said to have been

¹ The words of the Patriarch Germanus, IV. f. 259: πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν λαῶν οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ περὶ τούτου θορύβῳ τυγχάνουσιν.

² Germanus defends, in this tract, the custom also of placing lights and burning incense before the images of saints, which the opponents of image-worship probably represented as being a heathen practice. He seeks to justify this by the symbolism, which had become so customary since the dissemination of the writings falsely ascribed to Dionysius: σύμβολον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητὰ φῶτα τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ θείας φωτοδοσίας, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἀναθυμίασις τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ ὕλης τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιποιίας τε καὶ πληρώσεως.

wrought by them; such as the healing of diseases (in proof of which he could appeal to his own personal experience), and the fact that such effects were produced only by images of Christ and the saints, and not by any others; so that they could not be attributed to an accidental coincidence.¹ He appealed, in particular, to a miracle at Sozopolis, in Pisidia, where balsam had distilled from the painted hand of an image of Mary. To be sure, this was *no longer the fact*; but still there were many witnesses of the wonder, and they who were disposed to call it in question because it no longer took place, might, for the same reason, doubt the miracles recorded in the Acts, which were no longer performed. At that time, the patriarch still thought the images of the apostles and prophets, erected before the imperial palace, might be rightly regarded as evidencing the piety of the emperor.

These first covert attacks on image-worship created nevertheless so great a sensation, that the accounts of them penetrating beyond the existing boundaries of the Roman empire into Palestine, then under the dominion of the Saracens, spread dismay among the zealots for the old church doctrines. Living at that time in Damascus was that zealous and acute-minded defender of the church doctrine, John,² whom we have already mentioned. He filled a civil post of considerable importance under the caliphs who ruled in these districts, but some years after retired as a monk to the Saba convent, near Jerusalem. This person supposed that, in the attack upon images, he saw a tendency of spirit dangerous to the essence of Christianity, and felt constrained to address a discourse in defence of image-worship,³ and against the arguments of its antagonists, to the

¹ Which may be easily explained; the contemplation of other images would not produce the same subjective impressions.

² His father Sergius, called by the Saracens Mansur, had been entrusted by the Caliph with an important civil office. If we may credit the more lately composed and fabulous life of John of Damascus, it was owing to a peculiar turn of events, that he was enabled to enjoy the advantages of a distinguished literary education. Among the many Christians, whom the Arabians had carried off as captives, in marauding expeditions, along the sea-coast of the West, was a certain Cosmas, a man of Greek descent, probably from Calabria. John's father obtained for this person his liberty, took him home, and entrusted him with the education of his own son, and also of an adopted one, who afterwards became famous as a writer of spiritual songs (*Κοσμάς ὁ μελωδός*), and was made Bishop of Majuma in Palestine.

³ Nothing is to be found inconsistent with this in the fact that John (who was in

patriarchs and the communities in Constantinople, while still a hope might be indulged that the emperor, by perceiving its inconsistency, might be induced to change his policy, in which hope the defenders of images refrained as yet from everything which could offend the emperor, although John himself had no occasion to fear him. He merely hinted that earthly rulers were themselves subject to a higher potentate, and that the laws should govern princes. He saw, in that dread of idolatry which had led to the attacking of images, a decline from the Christian fulness of age and perfection—a falling back into the nonage of the Jewish position. To those who were ever repeating that command of the Old Testament which forbids representations of God, Exod. xx., he applied the words of Paul: The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive. “Christians—said he—who have arrived at the full age in religion are endowed with a faculty of distinguishing that which can be symbolized, and that which transcends the power of symbolization. On the standing-ground of the Old Testament, God, as incorporeal and formless, could not, indeed, be represented under any image whatsoever. But now, after God has appeared in the flesh, and walked with men on the earth, I represent him according to his visible appearance in an image. I adore not the earthly material, but its Creator, who, for my sake, vouchsafed to dwell in an earthly tabernacle,

the habit, as appears above, of associating image-worship, according to his own understanding of it, with the essential peculiarities of the Christian faith, and who moreover shows himself, in his defence of it, to have been a man of sound judgment and reflection) that this John combatted the popular tales concerning dragons and fairies (*στέρυγγαι, γελούδες*), as appears from some fragments of his on this subject published by Le Quien. Tom. I. opp. f. 471. We see no good reason why a defender of image-worship might not at the same time set himself to oppose that species of superstition. His conduct, in both cases alike, proceeded from religious motives. Image-worship, by virtue of the connection of ideas unfolded in the text, appears to him a practice altogether correspondent with the spirit of Christianity, and conformable to reason; but these stories he regarded as alike repugnant to Christian truth and to reason. He ascribes the spread of the latter superstition among the people to the fact that they were kept in such total ignorance of the Scriptures. He insists that laymen of all classes, even soldiers and peasants, ought to read the sacred word, *μέγιστα γὰρ βλαπτόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγινώσκειν τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους καὶ ἐρευνᾶν αὐτὰς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον. Ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν στρατιώτης λέγει, ὅτι στρατιώτης εἰμι καὶ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχω ἀναγνώσεως, ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς τὴν γεωργικὴν προφασίζεσθαι*. This biblical tendency might seem rather to collide with the traditional one of a zealous image-worshipper; but neither are these contrarities of such a nature that they might not exist together in the same individual.

and who, by the earthly material, wrought out my salvation. I never will cease honouring the earthly material by means of which my salvation has been effected. Joshua commanded the Jews to take twelve stones from the river Jordan, Joshua iv., and he gave as a reason, When your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, what mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them, that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and the ark and the whole people passed through. Why may not we, then, form a picture of the sufferings by which the salvation of the world was procured, and of the miracles of Christ; so that, when my son asks me, what is this? I may tell him, God became man, and by him not Israel alone passed over Jordan, but all human nature was led back to the original bliss—by him that nature has been raised from the low places of the earth above all principalities and powers, and to the throne of the Father himself! But if men are willing to tolerate images of Christ and of Mary, but not of any others, then it is not images they are combatting, but the worship of the saints. You tolerate images of Christ, because he is glorified; but not images of saints, because you do not acknowledge that they are glorified. You do not acknowledge the dignity imparted to human nature by the Son of God, who has indeed glorified them, and exalted them to fellowship with God. Were images, representing the forms of animals and plants, employed to adorn the temple? and is it not now a far more glorious thing to have all the walls of God's house decorated with the images of those who were themselves living temples of God, full of the Holy Ghost. Why should not the saints who have shared in the sufferings of Christ share also, as his friends, even here upon earth, in his glory? He calls the no longer his servants, but his friends." On the Christian festival which celebrated the memory of the saints, John of Damascus noticed a fundamental mark of distinction between the Christian and the Jewish customs. "In the times of the ancient covenant, no temple was ever named after a man. The death of the righteous was lamented, not celebrated. The touch of a dead body was defiling. But now it is otherwise, since human nature, by the appearance of the Son of God in it, and by his sufferings for it, has been delivered from the dominion of

sin and death, and exalted to worship with God, and to be partakers of the divine life. Either, then, you must go further, and annul the jubilees of the saints which are celebrated in contrariety to the ancient law ; or tolerate also the images, which, as you say, are contrary to the ancient law." In general, he discovers in the enemies of images a tendency bordering on Judaism, or indeed on Manichæism, which threatened to introduce again the antagonism between the divine and human removed by the Redemption, and which ran counter to Christian realism. As to the enemies of the images, it appeared a desecration of holy things to attempt representing them by earthly materials ; to John, on the other hand, the earthly material appeared worthy of all honour, inasmuch as through it, as the instrument and medium of the divine agency and grace, is wrought the salvation of man. "Is not the wood of the cross earthly material?" He then goes on to mention all holy places, and the body and blood of the Lord. "Insult not the earthly material : nothing that God has created is, in itself, a thing to be despised. To say this is Manichæan—the abuse of sin alone is a thing to be condemned."

Meantime, while these disputes were producing in many districts, a ferment in the popular mind, the appearance of extraordinary natural phenomena—among others, an earthquake—was looked upon by the discontented as a token of the Divine displeasure against the enemies of images. The inhabitants of the islands called the Cyclades rebelled, under a certain Stephanus as their leader. But, by means of the Greek fire, the emperor succeeded in destroying their fleet ; and regarding this victory as a proof that God favoured his proceedings against the idolaters, he was confirmed in his iconoclasm. In vain he endeavoured to gain over the old patriarch to his views ; the latter persisted stoutly in his opposition, and declared that, without a general council, no change could be attempted in the church. The emperor now, without consulting with him, but after having discussed the whole matter with his civil councillors, issued, in the year 730, an ordinance, whereby *all images* for religious purposes were forbidden. Germanus, resolved not to act in contradiction to his conscience, voluntarily resigned his office, and retired once more to a life of solitude, and his secre-

tary,¹ Anastasius, who was willing to act as the emperor's tool, obtained his place. Conformably to the usual policy, the bishops generally, who declined receiving the imperial edict, were now ejected from their places.² When the report of these measures reached Syria and Palestine, John of Damascus composed, in defence of images, a second treatise, in which he more fully unfolded the arguments contained in the first.³ In this he spoke still more sharply against the emperor. "It does not belong to the monarch," says he, "to give laws to the church. The apostle Paul does not mention, among the offices instituted by God, 1 Cor. xii., for advancing the growth of the churches, the office of monarch. Not monarchs, but apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers, preached the divine word. Emperors had to provide for the welfare of the state; pastors and teachers for the growth of the church."⁴ He speaks of a new gospel of Leo; but though he had nothing to fear from the emperor, still he pronounced against him no anathemas; but applying the words of St Paul, Gal. i. 8, he said, "Though an angel, though an emperor, preach to you any other gospel than ye have received—shut your ears; for I still forbear to say with the apostle, Let him be accursed, because I hope for his reformation." In the third discourse he endeavours to point out the need of such sensuous representations, grounded in the essence of human nature, and of the Christian consciousness. "Our Lord pronounces his disciples blessed, because their eyes could see and their ears hear such things. The apostles saw Christ with their bodily eyes, his sufferings and his miraculous works—and they heard his words. We, too, long to see, to hear, and to be pronounced blessed. But as now, when he is not bodily present, we hear his words by means of books, and show our reverence for these books,⁵ so, by

¹ *σύνκελλος*, a subordinate who always possessed much influence with the patriarch.

² See Joh. Damasc. Orat. II., § 12.

³ He himself says, that he had been invited to do so, *διὰ τὸ μὴ πάνυ εὐδιαγνωστὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν πρῶτον λόγον εἶναι.*

⁴ *Βασιλείων ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτικὴ εὐπραξία, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κατὰστασις ποιμένων καὶ διδασκάλων.*

⁵ *Προσκυνῶμεν, τιμῶντες τὰς βίβλους, δι' ὧν ἀκούμεν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ.* The image-worshippers frequently argued, that it was customary to pay to the gospels (when they were publicly read in the churches) and to the cross, the symbol representing the body and blood of our Lord, the homage of prostration (*προσκύνησις*)—why, then, might it not be paid also to the images?

means of images, we behold the semblance of his bodily form, his miracles and his sufferings, and we are thereby sanctified, filled with confidence and joy. But while we behold the bodily shape, we think also, as much as is possible, on the majesty of his godhead. For since we are of a twofold nature, not barely spiritual, but consisting of body and spirit, we can only attain to the spiritual by means of the corporeal. In like manner, therefore, as we hear by sensible words with the bodily ears, and at the same time think that which is spiritual, so we attain through sensuous intuitions to spiritual ones. So also Christ took upon him body and soul, because man consists of both. And thus everything—baptism, the Lord's supper, prayer, singing, lights, incense—is twofold, at once spiritual and corporeal." If the enemies of images alleged that no instance of their employment could be pointed out in the New Testament, John of Damascus could reply, that many other things also, as the doctrine of the Trinity, of likeness of essence, of the two natures of Christ, had been deduced from the Scriptures, not being contained in them in so many words; and he could appeal to tradition as a source of religious knowledge, from which even the enemies of images derived many doctrines which could not be proved from Scripture.

In these discourses, then, John of Damascus pronounces, as yet, no anathema on the emperor; the hope being still entertained that there would be a change in his conduct, at present so hostile to the reigning spirit of the church. But when he now began to execute with energy the edict against images, the anathema was pronounced, in all those churches which the arm of Byzantine power could not reach, on the enemies of the images;—they renounced all fellowship with the latter, and constituted from this time forward the chief support and dependence of the persecuted and banished image-worshippers.

To these churches, in which the emperor's power could safely be defied, belonged not solely those of the East where Mohammedan princes ruled; the Roman church also found itself placed in the same relation; for while the popes did indeed recognize the East Roman emperors as their masters, and their own political interests would lead them to prefer annexation to a power at a distance rather than to the Longobards near by, still, under

the existing political relations, they might safely bid defiance to the emperor's threats. In a time when Boniface was labouring with such mighty effect, as an instrument for the triumph of papacy; when so many rude populations acknowledged, along with Christianity, the papal authority,—it was in such a time that Pope Gregory II.,¹ fully conscious of his rising influence among the nations of the West, replied to the emperor's threatening language in a tone so sarcastic, that unless we transport ourselves back, and enter into the very spirit of the period, it might seem incredible to us, that a pope should have so expressed himself in addressing an emperor. “But once try the experiment—he writes to him;—go into the schools where the children are learning to read and write, and tell them you are the persecutor of the images; they would instantly throw their tablets at your head, and the ignorant would teach you perforce what you would not learn from the wise.” The emperor had said in his letter to the pope, “As Uzziah,² after a period of eight hundred years, banished the brazen serpents out of the temple, so I, after eight hundred years, have banished the idolatrous images from the church.”³ The pope replied, himself also confounding Uzziah with Hezekiah, whether by his own fault or because the emperor

¹ In or after the year 730.

² That is, Hezekiah;—either the emperor may have been first to confound Uzziah with Hezekiah, or perhaps this error proceeded solely from the pope.

³ These words, like many other singular things in this letter—which fully corresponds, we must allow, with the character of the times and of the pope—might lead us to suspect its genuineness, or at least its genuineness as a whole, unless we suppose an error has slipped in with regard to the number of years, which in fact does not correspond to the period intervening between the erection of the brazen serpent and the times either of Uzziah or Hezekiah; for how could Leo wish to say, that he had banished images from the churches after a period of eight hundred years? However badly he may have reckoned, or extravagantly he may have expressed himself, still it would follow, that the superstition of image-worship had begun even in the times of the apostles. But to utter a falsehood on this point, the enemy of images certainly had no conceivable motive: on the contrary, it must have seemed important to him to show that image-worship was a thing of very recent date; and we know, that the iconoclasts did in fact so affirm, and indeed they could bring many proofs in support of this assertion from the older church fathers. Leo, therefore, could never have so expressed himself. But of the author of this letter, it is very possible to suppose that he perverted the emperor's language. Perhaps the emperor may have said, in his letter against those who defended images on the authority of tradition, that even though images had been in the churches for eight hundred years, he was still right in banishing them from the churches, as an appurtenance of idolatry, as Hezekiah had done in the case of the brazen serpent.

had done the same—"Yes, indeed, Uzziah was your brother, and dealt with the priests of his time after the same tyrannical manner as you deal with them now." He assured him it had been his intention to exercise the power he had received from St Peter, and pronounce on him the sentence of condemnation, if the emperor had not already virtually pronounced the curse on himself. "Better were it," says he, "if one alternative were necessary, that the emperor should be called a heretic, than a persecutor and destroyer of the images; for they that teach errors in doctrine may still find some excuse for themselves in the obscurity of the subjects; but you have openly persecuted objects which are as manifest as the light, and robbed the church of God of its ornamental attire." He defended the worshippers of images against the reproach of idolatry, which the emperor had cast upon them. Far was it from any thought of theirs to place their trust in images. "If it is an image of our Lord," he writes, "then we say, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, help us and deliver us. If it is an image of his holy mother, we say: Holy mother of God, entreat thy Son for us, our true God, that he may deliver our souls. If it is an image of a martyr, *e.g.*, St Stephen, we say: Holy Stephen, thou who hast shed thy blood for the sake of Christ, thou who, as the first martyr, hast confidence, pray for us." He gives the emperor to understand, that he had no reason to fear his fleet; for he needed but to remove twenty-four stadia from Rome in order to be safe, and to give himself no further concern about the emperor's power.

The emperor, in a letter to the pope, having said in justification of his conduct, that he was both king and priest at the same time, Gregory, in a second letter, replied: This epithet, his predecessors Constantine, and Justinian might with more propriety have adopted, since they had upheld the priests in defending the true faith. Next, he pointed out to him the great difference between royalty and priesthood. "If a man commits an offence against the emperor, his goods are confiscated, he is condemned to death, or banished far from his friends. The priests proceed in a very different way from this. When a man confesses his sins to them, they banish him to a place where he must do church penance; they compel him to fast, to watch and pray; and having made him suffer in right earnest, they give him the

body and blood of our Lord, and bring him back to the Lord pure and guiltless." The emperor again, had said in his letter, that in the six general councils, images are not mentioned. To this Gregory replied: Neither is anything said about bread and water, eating and not eating; these things being always connected with human life. So images have ever been handed down by tradition; the bishops themselves brought their images with them to the councils; for no good man ever undertook a journey without one. "Men," he writes, "expended their estates to have the sacred stories represented in paintings. Husbands and wives took their children by the hand, others led the youth, and strangers from pagan nations to these paintings, where they could point out to them the sacred stories with the finger, and so edify them, as to lift their hearts and minds to God. But you hinder the poor people from doing all this, and teach them on the contrary to find their amusements in harp-playing and flute-playing, in carousals, and buffoonery."

The emperor, it is true, strove earnestly to carry his edict against images into full effect; but owing to the vast number and wide diffusion of these objects, and the manner in which image-worship was interwoven, not merely with church but with domestic life, this would prove to be no easy task, even for Byzantine despotism, with all its disregard for the rights of individuals. The attempt would naturally be made first to remove the images from all public places and from the churches. And here they would of course make the first onset upon those images which stood in highest consideration with the people, those about which various wonderful stories were related, and the very sight of which served to nourish and promote the reverence of images. But the removal of such monuments would be likely to excite violent commotions among the people, who saw they were going to be deprived of the objects of their devotion. For instance over the bronze portal of the imperial palace,¹ stood a magnificent image of Christ,² which was regarded with

¹ Which was known, therefore, under the name of the *ἀγία χαλκή*.

² This image of Christ was known under the name of *χριστός ὁ ἀντιφωνήτης* = *ἰγγυος*, the surety. This epithet, might lead us to conclude, that it had derived its origin from some special event. According to an old legend it was the following: Theodore, a wealthy merchant and shipowner of Constantinople, had lost all his property at sea. After struggling in vain, to amass capital enough for new commer-

universal reverence. A soldier of the emperor's guard placed up a ladder for the purpose of taking down the image and burning it; when a collection of women gathered round, and begged that the image might be spared to them. But instead of attending to their requests and representations, the soldier struck his axe into the face of the image, thus wounding to the quick the pious sensibilities of the women, who looked upon the act as an insult done to the Saviour. Maddened with indignation, they drew the ladder from under the soldier's feet, who coming to the ground, fell a victim to their fanatical rage. The emperor now despatched more soldiers to the spot, who quelled the tumult by force, and carried off the image.¹ In place of this image of Christ, he ordered a cross to be set up in the same niche, with a remarkable inscription which was composed by one Stephen, a member of this faction, and serves to show the fanatical hatred of images and of art which characterized the whole party. "The emperor could not suffer a dumb and lifeless figure, of earthly materials, smeared over with paint, to stand as a representation of Christ. He has therefore erected here the sign of the cross, a glory to the gate of believing princes."² This inscription

cial speculations, he betook himself to a rich Jew, named Abraham. The latter, after much entreaty, agreed to lend him a considerable sum, provided he could furnish him with sufficient security. But Theodore, not being able to find any, had recourse at last to an image of Christ, before which he was accustomed to pay his devotions. This image he boldly offered as his surety, and the Jew moved by compassion for Theodore, as well as strongly impressed by the confidence of his faith, agreed to accept it. After the loss of two more vessels at sea, Theodore at last prospered in his trade, became rich again, and was enabled to pay back Abraham the whole he had borrowed. This with various accompanying marvels, made such an impression on the latter that he had himself and his family baptized, and afterwards became a presbyter. Theodore turned monk, as he had resolved to do after he met with his first loss at sea. These incidents which are said to have happened under the Emperor Heraclius, are related in a panegyric on the image in question, which Combefis has published in his *Hist. Monothelet. or Auct. Bibl. Patr. Paris. T. II. 1648.*

¹ See the story in the *Life of the image-worshipper Stephen*, in the *Analecta Graeca* published by the Maurinian Benedictines (T. I. p. 415); and the more recent one in the above cited tract of Gregory II., who had heard it told by Western pilgrims of various countries returning from Constantinople, who had been eye-witnesses of the facts. See *Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 11.*

² Ἀφανὸν εἶδος, καὶ πνοῆς ἐξηρημένον,
Χριστὸν γραφεσθαι μὴ φέρον ὁ δεσπότης
Ἦλη γενηθῆ, ταῖς γραφαῖς πατουμένη,
Λεὼν σὺν υἱῷ τῷ νῶ Κωνσταντίνῳ
Σταυροῦ χαραττεὶ τὸν τρισόλβιον τύπον,
Καύχημα πιστῶν ἐν πόλαις ἀνακτόρων

See *Banduri I. f. 125*, and *Theod. Studit. opp. ed. Sirmont. f. 136.*

involves, to be sure,—as did all the proceedings of the iconoclasts—an inconsistency and a self-contradiction.¹ The same principle, by which the earthly material was deemed unworthy of being employed to represent sacred things, might also be applied to the cross; and the same principle, by which the ceremony of prostration before images was declared an act of idolatry, should have led them also to reject the similar reverence shown to the symbol of the cross, against which, however, nothing was directly said, the sign of the cross ought to have been abolished, so as not to afford a foothold for such superstitious customs. But in favour of the cross it might be said, that it was not like the images, a work of art; and the iconoclasts generally had not come to any clear and distinct consciousness of the principle which actuated them. As this could be developed only in conflict with a different direction of feeling, given them by education and tradition, many inward contradictions would still present themselves in their sentiments and conduct.

Through a period of twelve years, the Emperor Leo laboured in vain to subdue a tendency of the religious spirit which was so deeply rooted; and after the death of Leo, a reaction, probably from the same cause, arose, which resulted in important political consequences. His son, Constantine Copronymus, as zealous an iconoclast as his father, having succeeded him in the government in 741, advantage was taken of the hostility of the people to the iconoclasts, by Artabasdu, the brother-in-law of Copronymus, who obtained possession of the throne, and restored the worship of images. Constantine however succeeded in wresting the kingdom again out of his hands, and in 744 became once more master of the empire. He resolved utterly to exterminate the images and finish the work begun by his father. But the sad experiences of the early part of his reign had taught him the necessity of proceeding with slow and cautious steps, if he did not mean to ruin the whole project; and besides, on his re-accession to the throne, other unfavourable circumstances occurred which counselled him to prudence. An earthquake, a desolating pestilence took place,—calamities which agitated the popular mind, and which might easily be turned to advantage

¹ This is made prominent by Theodore Studita in his *Antirrheticus* against the epigrams of the iconoclasts.

by the image worshippers, who had the people on their side. Moreover, the disturbances, which followed his first attempts against the images, taught him afresh the necessity of more thorough measures, to change the tone of popular feeling; and after mature deliberation with his counsellors, he concluded that the surest means for effecting his object, would be to convoke a general council, which might take its place by the side of the older general councils, and lend a sacred authority for ever to the principles of the iconoclasts. In the year 754, such a council was appointed, to assemble at Constantinople. It was composed of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops. Among these there were probably but few (and at the head of them stood Theodosius, Bishop of Ephesus), who, from well-grounded conviction, were zealous and decided iconoclasts. The rest were partly such as had been determined in their course by the influence of these first, and hence might afterwards easily be turned back again by influence of another sort; and partly such as had ever been wont to attach themselves to the court-party. To the fanatical zeal of image-worship, this council opposed a no less fanatical hatred of images and of art. The disposition of the image-worshippers to brand their opponents as heretics, not on the ground of the doctrines they avowed, but on the ground of their own inferences from those doctrines, was met by another, equally bad on the opposite side. With great injustice the council declared the image-worshippers to be men who had sunk back again into the idolatry which Christianity had banished. The devil had covertly re-introduced idolatry under the outward form of Christianity; had induced his servants to worship a creature designated by the name of Christ, as God; and yet the friends of images had taken special pains to guard by careful distinctions against such accusations. In the next place, it was asserted, in the spirit of the Byzantine court which was ever confounding spiritual things with political, that as Christ once sent forth his Apostles, armed with the power of the Holy Ghost, to destroy all idolatry; so at the present time, he had inspired the emperor to come forth in emulation of the apostles, for the advancement and instruction of the church,¹ to destroy the works of the devil. While the image-worshippers accused their opponents of denying the reality

¹ Πρός καταρτισμὸν ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκαλίαν, so say the bishops of the emperor.

of Christ's incarnation, in refusing to acknowledge the images of Christ; so this council descended to accusations of a similar character against the image-worshippers. If they believed they could make an image of Christ, then inasmuch as the divine essence was incapable of being represented under the limited forms of sense, they must believe, that by the union of deity and humanity a change took place of both divine and human attributes, and that a *tertium quid* had resulted from this union, capable of being represented by art; and thus they fell into Eutychianism,—or they must believe that the humanity had a self-subsistent existence of its own, and in this respect was capable of being represented; and thus they fell into Nestorianism. “What a grievous mistake of the wretched painter—exclaims the synod—to think of representing with his profane hand that which is believed with the heart, and of which confession is made by the mouth! There is but one true image or symbol, even that which Christ himself made of his incarnation, when just before his passion, he appointed bread and wine to be the symbol of his body and blood. Here, consecration by the priest was the intermediate instrument by which the earthly material of bread was raised to that higher dignity. This true symbol, instituted by Christ himself, answered to the natural body of Christ; since, like the latter, it served as a bearer of the divine essence. (Thus it appears, that the bread and wine, interpenetrated by virtue of the consecration with the divine life flowing from Christ, became a channel for the communication of this life, and for the sanctification of those who partook of it.) On the contrary, the images, so-called, derived their origin neither from any tradition from Christ, from the apostles or from the fathers, nor were they consecrated by holy prayer, so as to be transferred from a profane to a holy use; but such an image still continued to be profane, continued to be what the painter made it, since nothing had invested it with a higher dignity.”

But in the next place, aside from these reasons, which were urged exclusively against images of Christ, the images of saints and of the Virgin Mary were especially rejected, as having grown out of paganism, and as being altogether alien from Christianity. For as paganism was wanting in the hope of a resurrection, it had hit upon the fancy worthy of itself, of attempting by a

mockery of this sort to represent the absent as present.¹ Far should it be from the Christian church to follow this invention of men who were under the guidance and actuation of evil spirits.² Whoever undertook to represent the saints, dwelling with God in eternity, by that dead and accursed art, foolishly invented by pagans, was guilty of blaspheming them. The art of the painter is here described as an altogether pagan device; and hence Christians must be forbidden to borrow, from what was so foreign from their faith, any testimony in favour of that faith; just as Christ himself refused the testimony of demons, commanding them to be silent. The worship of God in spirit and in truth is set over against the use of images; as also what St Paul says, 2 Cor. v. 16, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," and what he says touching the opposition between faith and open vision, 1 Cor. xiii. Furthermore, extracts from the older fathers, expressing opposition to images, were read before the synod; nor would genuine testimonies of this sort be wanting in Christian antiquity. At the same time, a great deal which is conceived wholly in the spirit and tone of the iconoclasts of this age, may have been either interpolated by them, or else falsified so as to answer their purpose. Such deception to promote the honour of God and advance the truth, would on their principles be considered perfectly allowable.³ Accordingly, it was now settled, that every image of whatsoever material, produced by the wretched art of painting, should be banished from the Christian church.⁴ No

¹ Ἐλπῖδα γὰρ ἀναστάσεως μὴ ἔχων (ὁ ἑλληρισμὸς) ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ παίγιον συνεσκόπησεν, ἵνα τὰ μὴ πάροντα ὡς πάροντα διὰ τῆς χλεύης παραστήσῃ.

² Δαιμονιοφόρον ἀνδρῶν εἶρημα.

³ Many bishops, who had attended this council, and who referred back to it at the second council of Nice, here declared, that they had been deceived at the former, by passages from the older church fathers, torn from their connection and falsely quoted. It was purposely contrived, they said, that the works of the fathers themselves should not be placed before them, but only isolated extracts. The declaration of two of those bishops: ἐκεῖ βίβλος οὐκ ἐφάνη ἀλλὰ διὰ ψευδοτιττακίαν ἐξηπάτην ἡμᾶς. Concil. Nic. act. V. Harduin. IV. f. 300. So it was said, also, that an interpolated letter of Nilus was read before the council. A bishop says: ἡ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτη ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα, πρώην φασευθεῖσα ἀπώλειε καὶ ἐπλάνησεν ἡμᾶς. Act. IV. f. 187. Really the deception, as described at this council, must have been gross enough; nor is it very difficult to believe of such men as these bishops, that they might be guilty of a falsehood to justify their own conduct.

⁴ Ἀποβλητὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀλλοτριῶν καὶ ἐβδελυγμένην ἐκ τῆς τῶν χριστιάνων ἐκκλησίας πᾶσαν εἰκόνα ἐκ παντοίας ὕλης καὶ χρωματουεργικῆς τῶν ζωγραφῶν κακοτεχνίας πεποιημένην.

person henceforth should be allowed to follow so godless an art. Whoever for the future should presume to manufacture such an image, to worship it, to place it up, or conceal it, in a church or a private dwelling, should, if an ecclesiastic, be deposed; if a monk or layman, be expelled from the communion of the church, and otherwise punished, according to the imperial laws.

The synod must no doubt have learned, that the zeal against the idolatrous worship of images had misled many to destroy such vessels and furniture of the churches as happened to be ornamented with figures of religious objects, and for the same reason to attack the churches themselves; or even that covetousness had done the same thing under similar pretexts. The synod itself confesses, that such disorders had occurred.¹ And it may therefore be believed—though coming as it does from the mouth of a zealous defender of image-worship it is the less deserving of credence,²—that a certain bishop was accused before this ecclesiastical assembly of having trodden under foot a sacramental cup, because it was ornamented with figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. And it may undoubtedly be true, as the story relates, that the passionate proceeding of this bishop was pardoned on the score of his zeal for the honour of God; while his accusers were excommunicated from the church as defenders of idols.³ Such incidents would only contribute to place the iconoclasts in a still more hateful light before the people. It would therefore naturally be considered by the synod a matter of great importance to guard against such proceedings for the future. For this reason the council ordained, that no person should be allowed, without special permission from the patriarch or the emperor, to make any alteration in church vessels, church hangings, etc., on the ground of their being ornamented with figures.

Following the example of the older general councils, this council closed its proceedings with a more detailed confession of faith, containing a development of the orthodox doctrines hitherto received, with the corresponding formulas of condemnation; the doctrine concerning Christ's person being so constructed as that

¹ Concil. Nic. II. act. VI. f. 422. *καθὼς ποιαῦτα ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀτάκτως φερομένων προέβηκεν.*

² The story is in the Life of St Stephen, in the *Analecta Graeca* published by the Maurinians (T. I. p. 480).

³ *Ἐπιδίκεται εἰδώλων.*

the polemics against images of Christ might be immediately derived therefrom. Its import was as follows: Christ, in his glorified humanity, though not uncorporeal, was yet exalted above the limits and defects of a sensuous nature; too exalted therefore to be figured by human art, in an earthly material, after the analogy of any other human body.¹ We here discern the point of opposition between the views entertained by image-worshippers and by iconoclasts. The former considered the figures of Christ important as a practical confession of Christ's true humanity, and of the revelation of the divine life in the true human form—and the contrary seemed to them a denial of the incarnation of the Logos or of his true human nature. But the iconoclasts looked upon figures of Christ, wrought by the hand of man, as a degradation of the glorified Christ, a denial of his super-earthly exaltation. On this principle and from this point of view, the anathema was pronounced on those, who sought to express by sensible colours the divine form of the Logos in his incarnation, who did not, from the whole heart, with a spiritual eye, worship him who, outshining the splendour of the sun, sits on the throne of majesty at God's right hand. The anathema was also pronounced on all who delineated in colours dumb and lifeless images of the saints which could serve no profitable end; instead of striving rather to produce living pictures of them, by imitating the virtues exhibited in the story of their lives. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that the council thought fit to pronounce the anathema also on those, who refused to acknowledge the Virgin Mary as the mother of God, exalted above the whole visible and invisible creation, and to seek her intercession with sincere faith; as also upon those who refused to acknowledge the dignity of the saints, and implore their intercession. From this fact alone we might conclude that the party of the iconoclasts must have had some special reason, in the circumstances of the times, for introducing such articles into their creed; and we might be led to conjecture that they had been accused by their antagonists of denying the homage due to Mary and the saints. But actual proofs are also to be found, that such charges against the

¹ Οὐκέτι μὲν σάρκα, οὐκ ἀσώματον δὲ, οἷς αὐτὸς εἶδε λόγοις θεοιδεστέρου σώματος, ἵνα καὶ ὁφθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκεντησάντων καὶ μείνη θεὸς ἕξω παχύτητος. Concil. Nic. II. act. VI. Harduin. IV. f. 423.

iconoclasts were circulated among the image-worshippers. Of the Emperor Constantine, for example, it is related, that to bring the worship of Mary into discredit, he once held out a purse of money, and asked how much is it worth? Being answered, that it must be of great value, he poured out the contents and holding it up again, repeated the question. The answer was now the reverse, and he said: Just so is it with the worth of Mary before and after the birth of Jesus; she now possesses nothing to distinguish her above other women.¹ He is said to have rejected the practice of invoking the intercession of Mary and the saints.² He is also said to have disapproved the practice of calling a man a saint: and to have treated the relics of saints with contempt. It is reported of the iconoclasts generally, that avoiding the phrase in common use: "We are going to this or that saint," viz. his church, they preferred to say: "We are going to Theodore, or to this or that martyr or apostle."³ Such reports cannot, indeed, be received with much confidence; for the image-worshippers were very ready to set any story afloat which might serve to fix on their opponents the stigma of heresy;⁴ but at least, the spirit which gave birth to this controversy against images, the deeper principle at the bottom of the whole movement, would, in its negative tendency, lead on to further results.

¹ See, besides the Byzantine historians, the Life of St Nicetas, in the appendix to the first volume of the month of April, in the Actis Sanctorum of the Bollandists, § 28.

² Constantine at least gave occasion for the remark, that he was not accustomed to begin or conclude his addresses in the usual manner, with an invocation to Mary and the saints,—and this made the charge appear credible. The monk Theosterictos, a scholar of Nicetas, says in his account of his life, that he had read thirteen addresses of the emperor, in which this introduction or this conclusion was wanting. See this Life in the Actis Sanct. Month April, Vol. I. appendix, f. 28, § 29. *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων τριακαίδεκα λογίδια, ἅπερ παρέδωκεν ταῖς δυσὶν ἑβδομάδαις, πρεσβείαν μὴ ἔχοντα.* Even the author of the violent tirades against this emperor and against the iconoclasts (in the opp. Johannis Damascene. T. I. f. 613), who probably wrote in Constantine's own time, says of him, that he fought against the worship of Mary, of the martyrs and the saints, and affirmed that the martyrs had benefited none by their sufferings but themselves. This author indeed considered it necessary to defend against his remarks, the honour and dignity of the saints.

³ See the Life of St Stephen in the Analecta, pag. 481. *Οὐχὶ ἐκ πάντων ἁγίων, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων τὸ ἅγιον ὑμεῖς ἐξισοῖσατε καὶ ἰσογματοῖσατε λεγοντες; ποῦ παρ' αὐτῶν; εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους. Πόθεν ἦκαίς; ἐκ τῶν τισσαρέκοντα μαρτύρων Ποῦ δὲ καὶ εἰς; εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Θεόδωρον.*

⁴ One of these, indeed, involves a contradiction, viz. when it is said (in Nicetas' account of his life), that Constantine was willing to call Mary the *Θεότοκος*, but not the Holy.

At this council, Constantine, a monk, and Bishop of Syleum in Phrygia, was consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople; an elevation for which he was no doubt indebted to the zeal he had manifested against image-worship. The emperor himself presented him to the people, and, at the same time, published the decrees of the council pronouncing the anathema against all worshippers of images. He was now determined to enforce universal obedience to the decisions of the council. In every place, images were not only to be taken down, and every one who concealed them at home or distributed them about secretly, brought to punishment, as transgressors of the imperial laws; but all figures of religious objects were to be removed from the ecclesiastical books,¹ and walls of churches embellished with pictures to be washed over with paint. Governors of provinces and other official dignitaries courted the emperor's favour by exhibiting their zeal against images. Thus many a series of paintings, decorating the walls of churches, and representing the story of Christ, from his birth to his ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit, were destroyed. As a substitute for these, it was deemed better to paint the church walls with fruit-trees, animals, and the sports of the chase.² Nevertheless, vast numbers, especially of the female sex, could not be deprived of these treasures; but secretly transmitted them as precious legacies and indispensable helps to devotion in their families; and to objects thus secretly preserved, and preserved only at the greatest hazard, the attachment became so much the stronger.³

¹ Leo, Bishop of Phocæa (Φωκία), remarked at the second council of Nice, that in the city where he resided, above three hundred books had been burned on account of images. Demetrius, a deacon at Constantinople, declared, that when the oversight of the furniture of the church was committed to him (as *σκευοφύλαξ*), he found, from the church inventory, that two books with silvered images were missing: and on inquiry he ascertained that they had been burned by the iconoclasts. Act. Concil. Nic. II. Act. V. Harduin. IV. f. 310.

² See the Life of Stephen, l. c. p. 446. The author of this biography says of the alteration made by the emperor in a church of the Virgin Mary at Constantinople, which contained that series of pictures: *Ὁπωροφυλάκιον καὶ ὀνεισοκοπιῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησιν*. l. c. 454.

³ When the Monk Stephen, of whom we shall say more hereafter, was thrown in prison on account of his zeal for the images at Constantinople, the wife of the keeper, who honoured him as a martyr, came to him secretly, and begged to be allowed the privilege of waiting upon him and of furnishing him with food. The monk would not consent, supposing that she belonged to the party of the iconoclasts. But the woman declared she was ready to convince him of the contrary to his own eyes, if he would

The decrees of this self-styled general council were subscribed, it is true, by the majority of the bishops; but in return, a more violent resistance was experienced by the emperor from a class of men who possessed great power through their influence on the populace, namely, the monks; many of whom were revered as saints. At the head of these stood Monk Stephanus, who dwelt in the famous grotto of Auxentius, on a lofty mountain near the Bithynian sea-shore. Other monks flocked to him in great numbers, whom he inflamed with his own zeal, or, if they felt themselves unequal to the trial, advised to take refuge in those districts of the East and West, where they would escape the reach of the emperor's arm. Constantine endeavoured, at first, by marks of favour and distinction, to induce Stephanus to subscribe the decrees of the council; thinking it important to secure the authority of a person so generally respected, on account of the influence it would have on other monks, and on the people at large. With this design he despatched to him a person of high rank, with a present of dried figs, dates, and other fruits, on which the monks were used to subsist; but Stephanus declared, he could not be bought to deny his faith; that he was ready to die for the image of Christ; that he never would accept of a present from heretics.¹ It was of no avail to banish the monks, or to imprison them; they would not give up; they unanimously persisted in their opposition to the iconoclasts, and industriously circulated the stories of wonderful cures wrought by images. It was necessary to compel them to obedience by violence; and the most cruel tortures were employed. Such as refused to subscribe the decrees of the synod were publicly scourged without mercy; were deprived of their noses, ears, or hands, or had their eyes bored out. Three hundred and forty-two monks, collected from different districts and thrown together in one prison in Constantinople, were tortured in this manner.² It is true, the insulting

but conceal it from her husband and the other keepers. She then brought from her chamber a casket locked, in which was concealed an image of the Virgin Mary holding the child Jesus, and images of Peter and of Paul; prostrating herself before these, and performing her devotions, she then gave them up to Stephen, that he might pray before them, and in so doing remember her. See the above-mentioned Life, p. 503. The same thing might be done by many pious and devout women.

¹ See the account of the Life of Stephen, p. 457.

² See the Life of Stephen, p. 500.

language in which the monks spoke of the emperor, as a renegade from the faith, afforded at least some pretext for punishing them, not on the score of their religious opinions, but as guilty of disloyalty, as in the instance of the venerated Monk Andrew, surnamed, from the grotto in which he usually lived, the *Calybite*, who died under the lash, because he had called Constantine a second Julian, or Valens.¹ The famous Monk Stephanus, when summoned before the emperor, drawing a piece of coin from his cowl, said, What punishment must I suffer, should I trample this coin, which bears the emperor's image, under my feet? Judge from it, what punishment he deserves who insults Christ and his mother, in their images. So saying, he threw down the money and trod it under foot; upon which the emperor ordered him to be imprisoned for daring to insult the imperial image.²

No doubt the example of venerated monks, suffering every evil for the sake of their opinions, which they maintained with unbending firmness, must have operated more powerfully on the people, than the influence of the multitude of worldly-minded bishops, with whom it was but too evident the interests of religion went for nothing, since they were only trimming their sails to the court breeze. A contemporary writer, who composed a discourse in defence of image-worship, gives us a picture of these bishops, which seems to have been drawn from the life.³ In replying to the objection, that images ought not to be tolerated, because such idolatrous use was now made of them by the populace, he says: "If such errors prevail among the people, it is the fault of the clergy who exist for nothing else but to instruct the ignorant, how they ought to believe and to perform their devotions. But the bishops of these times care for nothing but horses, flocks of sheep, and fields; how they may get the most for their grain, their wine, their oil, wool, and silk. They neglect their people, or do more for their bodies than for their souls." Such bishops were but poorly calculated to work a change in men's religious convictions.

But the Emperor Constantine might easily be hurried, by the peculiar bent of mind which engaged him in this controversy against images, to carry his opposition against the prevailing

¹ See Theophanes Chronograph. f. 289.

² The Life of Stephen, p. 499.

³ Orat. adv. Constantin. Cabalin. in the works of John of Damascus, I. f. 622.

views to an extreme. He looked upon the monks as the chief promoters of idolatry—of *obscuration*; for he styled them children of darkness.¹ He would have been glad to see the whole race of monks exterminated at a blow.² But as martyrdom only served to increase the veneration for them among the people, he would have been still more pleased if, by any device, however low, he could make them appear ridiculous to the multitude.³ Nothing so excited his indignation as to see men and women of rank embracing the monastic life; and as these, as well as the persons who influenced them, exposed themselves to violent persecutions, so nothing gave him greater pleasure than to succeed in prevailing upon monks to return to the world. Such persons might safely calculate on being raised to some lucrative or honourable post; and to exchange the monkish cowl for secular apparel, was to exchange darkness for light.⁴ The same religious turn of life, which was promoted by the extravagant veneration of relics, by the stories of miracles they had performed, and by the superstition which expected help from them—the same it was that inspired also the zeal for image-worship. It was therefore wholly in accordance with the other proceedings, that, inasmuch as the popular devotion was strongly directed to the relics of St Euphemia, which were shown to the people as having miraculously distilled balsam, Constantine should order the casket which contained them to be thrown into the sea.⁵ But indeed the popular faith in the pretended miracle was too deeply rooted to be destroyed by such violent measures. The people were now assured that the emperor had made way with the relics, on purpose to destroy such irrefragable miraculous testimony to the power of the saints, and the lawfulness of their worship. Afterwards it was pretended to be revealed in a vision, that the relics had come ashore on the island of Lemnos.

¹ Σκοτίας, ἐνδύματα σκοτεινότητος.

² He called the monks, people whom nobody ought to remember, τοὺς ἀμνημονεύτους.

³ Thus, he compelled certain monks to appear in the circus, with a woman in their arms, to excite the ridicule of the people. Theophan. f. 293.

⁴ As one of them expressed himself, a certain Stephen (not the saint), whom the emperor prevailed upon to make this change, and whom he afterwards appointed to a place at his court: σήμερον, δίσποτα, τοῦ σατανικοῦ φάραγγος δια σου ἀφαρπαχθεὶς τὸ φῶς ἐνδύομαι. The life of Stephen, p. 486.

⁵ Theophanes, p. 294.

As image-worship agreed with the prevailing character of the devotion of this age, so it was generally the case that the more pious class were zealous image-worshippers. Hence the emperor would not be disposed to favour such as were given to piety, according to its usual form in this period. Now, although but little reliance can be placed on the reports of men who were interested in representing the emperor, whom they hated, as a heretic, especially when they bear such evident marks of exaggeration, yet perhaps there was some foundation for the story, that if a man stumbled or received a sudden blow, and, as is usual in such cases, cried out, "Help, mother of God;" if a man joined in the observance of vigils at church, or frequented the public service on week days—he was punished as the emperor's enemy, and reckoned by him among the friends of darkness.¹ Opposed as Constantine was to the prevailing sensuous tendency of the religious spirit, and feeling a repugnance to everything that bordered upon idolatry, it was in character with his whole bent of mind that he should find something offensive in the designation of Mary as mother of God. Nevertheless, he was well aware of the danger to which he would expose himself if he should seem to be injuring, on this side, the interests of the true faith, and derogating from the honour due to the virgin; and hence he ventured no further than slightly to hint his wishes. In a confidential interview with the Patriarch Constantine, he asked him, perhaps without any distinct knowledge of the Nestorian controversy, what would be the harm of calling Mary mother of Christ instead of mother of God? But the patriarch, embracing him, said, "God forbid, sire, that thou shouldst harbour such thoughts as these. Dost thou not see how Nestorius is condemned by the whole church?" The emperor fell back at once, observing that he had asked the question simply for the sake of information, and bidding the patriarch never to mention it.² But the patriarch was not so reserved. From imprudence, or motives of personal ill-will, he informed others of what the emperor had said; and this, probably, was the first cause of the disgrace into which he soon fell with that monarch, which was followed by a series of humiliations and sufferings terminating

¹ Theophanes, p. 296.

² Theoph. f. 291.

only by his death on the scaffold. For the rest, we may gather from this incident with what a wary eye the emperor watched the public opinion respecting his orthodoxy; and we may conclude, that even though he was inclined to think and speak of the saints and of the Virgin Mary as was reported of him, yet he would be carefully on his guard against allowing such expressions to get wind. Nor would it be wonderful, supposing some such remark of the emperor about the Virgin Mary once got abroad, if, by passing from mouth to mouth, it became considerably magnified.

Thus, by a course of despotism consistently carried out, during a reign of more than thirty years (down to A.D. 775), Constantine flattered himself that he had struck the final blow to image-worship. Every citizen of Constantinople had been placed under oath never again to worship an image.¹

Under this long reign there had risen up, it is true, a new generation, of whom a part, at least, had never seen an image, but had been nurtured in principles hostile to images. Yet, by all his violent proceedings, the emperor could not hinder image-worship from being secretly propagated in a multitude of families; and that religious bent of mind, which could not be revolutionized at once by outward appliances, furnished an ever-present foot-hold for the return of this practice; and nothing was needed but a favourable change in the government to enable the party (which still had many adherents among the people, of all ranks excepting the army, but who were only kept back by the persecutions) to come forth with greater zeal than ever from their concealment. The way was prepared for this under the very eye of the emperor, whose nod was law. His son Leo had married an Athenian lady, Irene, from a family ardently devoted to image-worship. Wanting herself the essential temper of Christianity, she was the more inclined to set the essence of religion in externals. Superstition could at once pacify her

¹ Theophanes, f. 292. According to this account, the emperor had required a similar oath to be taken also in other parts of the empire. In the life of Stephanus (f. 443, 44), the writer seems to speak of Constantinople only. Perhaps it was mere exaggeration, that they were obliged also to swear that they would have no fellowship with monks, nor even salute them, but call every monk an *obscurer*. It seems as if it might be gathered from the Acts of the Second Council of Nice (see on a future page), that the *bishops*, at least, were *everywhere* obliged to take this oath.

conscience and afford a prop to her immoralities. Yet Constantine, in giving her as a wife to his son, had endeavoured to secure himself on this side, by making Irene swear that she would renounce images.¹ No oath, however, could bind Irene in a case where she believed the honour of God was concerned; and she might regard even perjury as a pardonable crime when committed for so holy an end.

The Emperor Leo, who succeeded to the throne in 775, was firmly attached, it is true, to the same principles with his father; but he possessed neither the energy nor the despotic sternness of the latter, being in truth of a milder temperament. The cunning and ambitious Irene contrived already to accomplish much, which served to prepare the way for a revolution, without attracting the emperor's notice. The monks who, under the preceding reign, were obliged to conceal themselves, could again come forth from their hiding-places. Those of them who were honoured as saints, and who had not been seen for a long series of years in Constantinople, where, in general, the monastic life almost wholly disappeared, ventured once more to show themselves in public;² and, with a proportionate joy and enthusiasm, they were received into the families where their memory had been cherished as of persons to be venerated, or where their ancient friends still lived. The more pious gathered round them, and they began once more to exercise an important influence. This influence served, indeed, to kindle a zeal for the sensuous forms of devotion, as well as for image-worship; but, what was better, it served also to excite a new zeal for active Christianity, to restore its quiet practice, which had been disturbed, and to bring entire families from the ways of vice to a Christian life and conversation.³ The empress so contrived it, also, that many of the monks were promoted to the more considerable bishoprics. They were probably fast friends to image-worship, but doubtless yielded

¹ According to the report of *Cedrenus*, the Emperor Leo afterwards, on discovering Irene's true way of thinking and acting on this point, reminded her of the oath she had taken.

² Probably, to judge from the order of the events, here belongs what Theodorus Studita says, in his life of the Abbot Plato, concerning the reappearance of the venerated monks at Constantinople: ἄρτι ὡσπερ τινῶν φαστήρων ἐπιφανομένων μοναστῶν τοῖς ἐν ἄσσει. See *Acta Sanct. Mens.* April, T. I. Append. f. 49, § 17.

³ See the above-mentioned Life, § 18: ἀφ' οὗ ἐπεδήμησεν τοῖς ἐν ἄσσει, ὅλους οἴκους μετέπλευσεν καὶ μετεστοιχείωσεν εἰς βίον ἰνάρετον.

for the present in the way of accommodation to circumstances (*οικονομία*), so as to have it in their power afterwards to do more for the sacred cause. The emperor already began to be regarded as a friend of Mary and of the monks; and it was expected, since one was connected with the other, that he would come out also as a friend of images,—but this hope was disappointed. The Empress Irene had combined with several of the chamberlains and other persons of the court, to bring about the restoration of images; and at court, image-worship was already practised without the knowledge of the emperor. But by discovering two images concealed under the pillow of the empress, he came upon the track of the whole design.¹ The members of this combination of image-worshippers were seized, scourged, exposed to public disgrace, and imprisoned. But Leo having died early in the year 780, could take no precautionary measures against the course which might be pursued in the future by his surviving partner, or perhaps he had been lulled into security by the false pretences of the cunning Irene.

Irene having assumed the government, in behalf of her minor son, Constantine, resolved to do everything in her power for the restoration of image-worship; but political considerations induced her to proceed with caution, so as not to ruin the whole cause; for under the preceding reigns, not only had the episcopal chairs been filled by such alone as adopted the decrees of the iconoclastic council of Constantinople, many of whom were zealous opponents of image-worship, but, what was a greater difficulty—since the majority of the bishops of the Greek church were ever wont to follow obsequiously the direction of the court—the *army* was for the most part strongly devoted to the principles of their successful general, Constantine Copronymus; and the empress had to fear, therefore, the resistance of an armed force. On this account, it was necessary to prepare the way by cunning for the execution of her designs. In the same proportion as monachism had been despised under Constantine Copronymus, it was now honoured. The monks obtained the most important offices of the church. In direct contrast with the reign of Con-

¹ This is mentioned by Cedrenus as occurring in the fifth year of Leo's reign; Stephanus relates only the punishment of those connected with the court on account of their worship of images.



stantine, the way was now open for all, even those of the highest ranks to become monks ; and such as exchanged the splendour of the world for the monastic life, were held in especial esteem. The empress was, doubtless, by natural disposition and independent of all outward aims, by virtue of her peculiar religious turn, a warm friend of the monks. She placed the greatest reliance on their intercessions and their blessings ; and the monks confirmed her in these feelings, her zeal for the honour of the images leading them to overlook her many vicious qualities. Yet, at the same time, it was certainly her intention to employ the monks, as the most zealous and influential agents she could choose, for promoting the image-worship ; nor did she calculate wrongly. She would now be anxious, also, to have a patriarch at Constantinople who would fall in with her own views, and whom she could use as an instrument for accomplishing her designs. But she was either too timorous or too cunning, to follow the method usually pursued, by removing at once the Patriarch Paulus, who had thus far attached himself to the party of the iconoclasts, and substituting another, of the opposite opinion, in his place ; for by so doing, she would give to the still important party of the iconoclasts a head ; while the patriarch, substituted in his place, would appear to many no better than an interloper. Circumstances, which she cunningly took advantage of, came opportunely to her aid, so that she was enabled to avoid all these evil consequences.

Paulus, who was then Patriarch of Constantinople, induced by a severe fit of sickness, retired, in the year 784, from the palace of the patriarchate to a monastery. The empress complained of this step, and demanded the reasons which had led him to think of renouncing the patriarchal dignity. He said he could find no peace for his conscience, since he had denied the truth ; that through the fear of man alone he had ceased testifying for the universal tradition of the church, valid, in all times, against the heresy of the iconoclasts ; that he had retired to a monastery for the purpose of doing penance ; and he urgently entreated the empress to nominate in his place an orthodox man, who, it might be hoped, would find means of reconciling the church of the imperial city with the other head churches, from which it had been severed by the prevailing heretical tendency, and of securing

the victory once more on the side of truth ; and he recommended, as his successor, Tarasius the first secretary of state.¹ As this event gave the first decisive impulse to all that was done from that moment for the restoration of image-worship ; as the event was appealed to with great earnestness, and as if from a preconcerted understanding ; and pains were taken to spread the story far and wide ; a suspicion is naturally awakened, that the whole thing had been contrived by the empress and her advisers, for the purpose of operating on the minds of the multitude, and of preparing the way for the succeeding steps. But however disposed we might be to conjecture that the empress had hinted to the patriarch, it would be better for him, under the pretence of sickness, to retire to a monastery, and by this voluntary abdication, avoid the harder fate of being deposed ; such a conjecture is met by the fact, that the death of Paulus, which occurred soon afterwards, render his previous sickness probable. It must be taken, then, as the substantial truth, that the patriarch was really induced by sickness to retire to his monastery ; a step, indeed, which must appear altogether natural, when viewed in connection with the peculiar turn of Christian life and manners that prevailed in the Greek church. We may accordingly look upon the transaction in the following light—this voluntary step of the Patriarch Paulus was laid hold of by the empress, and the case represented, as if the patriarch had retired from compunctions of remorse on account of his previous denial of the truth. But it may also be supposed that the same reflections, which awakened by his sickness, led him to retire to the convent, might awaken in him remorse for the course he had pursued with regard to images. This, in a weak man, would be extremely natural ; especially if we consider, that he had been trained up to the worship of images, and had yielded in the preceding reign, to the dominant tendency, merely through feebleness of character ;²

¹ The accounts in Theophanes, Cedrenus, in the life of Tarasius by Ignatius c. I. in the *Actis Sanct.* published in the Latin translation *Mens. Februar. T. III. f. 577*, and in the Imperial *Sacra* addressed to the bishops of the second council of Nice. *Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 38.*

² This is confirmed by a fact which Theophanes reports, viz., that in the reign of the Emperor Leo he had struggled against accepting the patriarchate, because of the tendency, then prevailing at Constantinople, to oppose images, and that he was forced to accept it against his will. But it may be, that Paul's later conduct first induced him to give this shape to the story, in order to palliate his earlier behaviour.

that the new spirit of image-worship which, through the influence of the court and of the monks, began once more to be powerful, had its effect on his mind; and that to all this was added the impression that his end was near. From the feeble character of this individual, we may also account for it, that though equal liberty had for several years, been granted to both parties, he had nevertheless hesitated to decide before in favour of image-worship, and to use the authority of his patriarchal rank for its restoration. The truth was, perhaps, that he stood in too much fear of the still powerful party of the iconoclasts, supported as they were by the imperial body-guard. But if he really was the first to recommend the emperor's secretary Tarasius as a suitable person to succeed him, he did so, no doubt, in conformity with a plan concerted by the court;—or else this recommendation of Tarasius by the expiring patriarch was merely a story invented for the purpose of first drawing the attention of the people to a man so far removed by his position from the spiritual order, and of palliating the irregularity of his choice. Such irregularity was indeed by no means a singular occurrence in the Byzantine empire, where sudden transfers from high civil posts to the service of the church might often be witnessed. But still, in the present case, where a man had been selected as the fit instrument for achieving a sacred work, it would doubtless seem to stand in need of some palliation.¹ It was certainly a concerted plan, that Tarasius, when offered the patriarchal dignity, should decline accepting it; that he should need to be urged, and should be called upon to state his objections publicly, before the assembled people. He said that, in the first place, he feared to pass directly from business altogether secular, with unwashed hands into the sanctuary. But in this, he felt bound to submit to the divine call, as made known to him through the will of the queen-regent. His greatest fear, however, and a difficulty which seemed to him insurmountable, was, that he must preside over a church, anathematized as heretical by all the other head churches of the world. He could not undertake to bear the burden of such a

¹ It is singular, at the same time that it confirms what is said above, that in the *Sacra* addressed to the second council of Nice, this recommendation of Tarasius is not mentioned; but it is simply said, that by all experienced men in the affairs of the church who had been consulted on the subject of a worthy patriarch, Tarasius was unanimously selected.

condemnation, the consequences of which he proceeded to set forth in such language as was calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of his audience. For these reasons, then, he declared, that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the office, unless it were upon the condition that all would unite with him in a petition to the queen-regent, that she would take the proper measures for restoring union with the other head churches, and for convening, with their concurrence, an ecumenical council, by which the unity of doctrine might everywhere be re-established. His address was received by the multitude with marks of approbation ; yet many who plainly saw the design lying at the bottom of the whole affair, and who no doubt were attached to the party of the iconoclasts, declared, that there was no need of a new council.¹ But Tarasius took up the matter again, remarking, that it had been an emperor, Leo, who banished the images from the churches, and the council of Constantinople had found the images already banished ; the matter therefore was still *sub lite*, since the ancient tradition had been arbitrarily attacked. And so it was settled, that a general council, should, with the concurrence of the other patriarchal churches, be convened.

Accordingly a correspondence was once more set on foot, first with Pope Hadrian I., who was invited to send delegates to a church-assembly, to meet at Constantinople. Hadrian declared himself satisfied with the orthodoxy professed by Tarasius, and with the zeal he manifested for the restoration of image-worship ; but it was only out of regard to this, and to the present emergency, that he was willing to overlook the irregularity in the election of one, who had been elevated with so little preparation to the highest spiritual dignity. He sent two delegates to Constantinople, who were to act as his representatives at the council. It was now desired, that the synod should be held not merely under the presidency of the two first patriarchs, but that nothing might be wanting, which could be reckoned among the marks of an ecumenical council, and that it might stand with decided prominence above the council of the iconoclasts—it was determined that all the five patriarchs should take a share in the

¹ See Vit. Taras. c III., and the address of Tarasius, in the acts of the second council of Nice, Harduin. IV. f. 26. In the latter passage, it is said : *τινὲς δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνιβάλλοντο.*

presidency. Yet although it happened at the present time, by peculiar circumstances, that the orthodox Melchitite, and not the Monophysite party, had succeeded in elevating a man of their own number to the patriarchate of Alexandria,¹ and that there was therefore no difficulty in the way so far as this was concerned, nevertheless a great difficulty still remained, arising from the domination of the Saracens in Egypt and Syria, who for political reasons, were not accustomed to allow of any negotiations betwixt the churches within their dominion, and those of the Roman empire. The Patriarch Tarasius did, indeed, send delegates with letters, to the three other patriarchs; but these delegates met on their journey a company of monks who informed them, that under existing circumstances the object they had in view could not possibly be accomplished. If they were determined to proceed onward, they would not only involve themselves in the greatest perils without effecting their purpose, but by exciting the suspicions of the Saracens, might bring down the heaviest calamities upon the already severely oppressed Christian communities in these districts.² Since, then, they found it impossible to accomplish the object for which they were sent, they were obliged to content themselves with the best substitute for it which the circumstances would allow. The monks chose two of their own number, *John* and *Thomas*, whom they represented as being Syncelli of the patriarchs, and as possessing an exact knowledge of the prevailing doctrines in the orthodox churches of Syria and Egypt; and these—with the little authority they possessed—were made to present themselves before the council as plenipotentiaries and representatives of the three patriarchs, so as to give it the false appearance of having been held with the concurrence of all the five patriarchs.³

¹ Comp. Walch's Geschichte u. s. w. Theil 10, S. 516.

² See the writing of these monks, which gives an account of the whole matter, and is wrongly cited in Harduin. IV. f. 137, as a writing of the patriarch.

³ It is remarkable that Theodore Studita, with whom the authority of this council would stand high, inasmuch as they re-introduced image-worship, and who sometimes speaks of it as an ecumenical council, still intimates, that it did not strictly deserve the title ecumenical, and lays open the whole trick in the case of the so-called representatives of the three patriarchs—the object of which he rightly explains as having been to command that respect from the people brought up in the principles of the iconoclasts which would be due to the authority of an ecumenical council. He says (L. I. ep. 38: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ κακαθρότοι ἀντιπρόσωποι their representatives) τῶν ἑλλων πατριαρχῶν, ψευδῆς. He states in the next place, certainly without truth, that even the

In the year 786 this church-assembly was opened at Constantinople. The plan, however, had not been well concerted. The majority of the bishops, having been created partly in the time of Leo, and partly in that of his successor Constantine, still maintained their hostility to images, and among them were many zealous opponents, many from families that had long since banished images from their households, so that, from childhood, they had been accustomed to abominate them as idols.¹ But still, owing to the servile spirit then reigning in the Greek church, they would not have ventured upon so stout a resistance to the will of the court, unless they had counted upon a powerful support from the army, and especially from the imperial body-guard who cherished along with the lively remembrance of Constantine Copronymus, a steady attachment to his principles. These bishops, with whom many of the laity² were associated,³ held secret meetings previous to the opening of the council, for the purpose of devising measures for frustrating the patriarch's plans, and preventing the meeting of a council which they regarded as wholly unnecessary. The patriarch, who heard of this, reminded them that he was bishop of the capital, and that they were guilty of an infraction of the ecclesiastical laws, by holding meetings without his consent, and exposed themselves to the loss of their offices.

papal delegates had come to Constantinople on other business, and not on account of the synod, and that they were compelled in spite of the instructions they had received, to stand as plenipotentiaries and representatives of the pope. For this reason, on their return home, they were deprived by the pope of their spiritual offices. He then proceeds to say of the other patriarchs: *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ μὲν ἀνατολῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα προσηραπέντες καὶ ἐλχθέντες, οὐχ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀποσταλέντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐνόησαν, ἢ ὕστερον, διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰθνοῦς δέος δηλονότι (fear of the Saracens) τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα τὸν αἰρετίζοντα λαὸν μᾶλλον πείσωσιν ἐξοδοξεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκουμένην δῆθεν ἀφροισθῆναι σύνοδον* He states, that this council is considered in the Roman Church merely as a *σύνοδος τοπική*. To be sure, the more rigid Theodore had reason to be dissatisfied with this church assembly, on account of their lenient treatment of the bishops who had belonged to the party of the iconoclasts, and of those convicted of simony; see below.

¹ So said several of the bishops at the second council of Nice, actio I. Harduin. T. IV. f. 60. *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ αἰρέσει ἡμῶν γεννηθέντες ἀνετρέφθημεν καὶ ἠύξθημεν.*

² *Ἐτύθειον μετὰ λαϊκῶν τινῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν.* Harduin. IV. f. 25.

³ They were bishops from different countries; yet Phrygia, the original seat of this party, seems to have held the same precedence now. We find named among the heads of the conspirators against images, Leo, Bishop of Iconium, in Phrygia; Nicolaus, Bishop of Hierapolis, in the same province; Hypatios, Bishop of Nice, in Bithynia; Gregory, Bishop of Pisinus, in Galatia; Georgius, Bishop of Pisidia; Leo, Bishop of the Island of Rhodes, and another Leo, Bishop of the Island of Carpathus (Scarpanto). See Harduin. L. c. f. 47.

They now, indeed, relinquished their meetings; but still they endeavoured to carry on their operations in secret. Meantime, the empress, with her body-guard, made her entrance into Constantinople—but the latter, instead of being men who could be relied upon to support the measures of the government, were, on the contrary, leagued with the bishops of the opposition. On the evening of the thirty-first of July, the day before the one appointed for the opening of the council, an excited company of them assembled in the baptistry of the church where the council was to be held, with noisy shouts, one exclaiming this thing, another that, but all uniting in the cry that there should be no council. The empress did not on this account falter in her purpose. On the first of August, the council was opened. But when the ecclesiastical law was read, that no general council could be held without the assistance of the other patriarchs (a law by which the decrees of the other council of the iconoclasts were afterwards declared to be null and void), a large body of soldiers, perhaps at the instigation of the bishops of the opposition, assembled with wild and furious shouts before the doors of the church; when the empress, deeming it best to yield to force, in order to conquer by cunning, sent one of her officers of the household to inform the assembled council that they must dissolve, and yield to the violence of the multitude. The will of the Lord would afterwards soon be accomplished.¹ The empress directed that the multitude, who were joined also by several of the bishops, should rave and shout against such as presumed to attack the authority of the seventh ecumenical council, until noon, when hunger caused the people to disperse. Thus the uproar subsided; and the cunning Irene, pretending that the soldiers of the guard were needed abroad, drew them away from the city; when they were broken up, and a new guard formed in their stead, on whom reliance could be placed. All the necessary preparations having been made, the general council was

¹ Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 28. According to the declaration of Tarasius himself at the opening of the second Nicene council (L. c. f. 34) there were then but few bishops *decidedly* in favour of image-worship; he says of these events: *ἐκινήθη πολὺν ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, θυμοῦ καὶ πικρείας γέμων, χεῖρας ἡμῖν ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἐξ οὗ χειρὶ Θεοῦ ἐβρόσθημεν, ἔχοντες εἰς συμμαχίαν καὶ τινὰς εὐαρεθιμῆτους ἐπισκόπους.* Among the few who boldly stood by the side of Tarasius was the above-mentioned venerable Abbot Plato, whose life was written by Theodore Studita. See *Acta Sanct.* T. I. April. Appendix § 24 f. 50.

convened one year later, in 787; not at Constantinople, where disturbances from the party of the iconoclasts were always to be feared, but at Nice, where it might derive additional authority from the remembrance of the first Nicene council. The number of the members composing this council was about three hundred and fifty. The empress, in her proclamation for the council, declared, it is true, that every one there should express his convictions with freedom;¹ but she had assured herself beforehand, that the bishops, hitherto hostile to images, would now yield to the prevailing spirit. If everything had not been already agreed upon and settled before the deliberations took place, it would have been impossible so quickly to despatch the whole business, in six sessions, from the twenty-fourth of September to the sixth of October; so that in the seventh and last session held at Nice on the thirteenth of October, nothing remained, but for the decisions to be formally published, and subscribed by all. The history of those six sessions, shows too, that further deliberations were not needed on the employment and worship of images.

At this council, many passages from the older church teachers, sometimes forged from the earlier, and sometimes genuine from the later times, were read and quoted as testimonies in favour of images; miracles said to have been wrought by images were rehearsed from the lives of saints; nor were those wanting who affirmed they had witnessed such themselves. A presbyter testified, that on his return home from the council of Constantinople in the preceding year, he had been visited by a severe fit of sickness, and was cured by a figure of Christ.² Individual bishops, one after another, and then numbers of them together, came forward and renounced the errors of the iconoclasts, and desired to be reconciled with the Catholic church. Others appeared, who pretended now to have thoroughly examined the whole subject, and to have arrived at a sure and settled conviction,³—bishops who, with a disgusting want of self-respect, bore voluntary testimony to their own stupidity and ignorance.⁴ Whole bodies of them exclaimed, we have all sinned, we have all been in error,

¹ L. c. Harduin. f. 38. ² See Harduin. IV. f. 211. ³ L. c. f. 39.

⁴ L. c. f. 41. Τῆς ἀκρας μου ἀμαθίας καὶ νοσηρείας καὶ ἡμελημένης διανοίας ἐστὶ τοῦτο.

we all beg forgiveness.¹ One of those bishops, who now professed to repent of their former hostility to images, declared he had become convinced, by the declarations of Scripture and of the fathers, that the use of images was in accordance with the apostolic tradition. Tarasius asked him, how it could happen that a bishop of eight or ten years' standing, as he was, should now, for the first time, be convinced of the truth; to which he had the effrontery to reply, "The evil has existed for so long a time, and acquired so great an influence, that perhaps we were led into the error in consequence of our sins;² but we hope in God to be delivered." Several others³ excused themselves on the ground that they were born, brought up, and educated in that sect; and it might doubtless be true of many, who had formed their opinions when the government allowed nothing to be said in favour of images, and who had not been able to examine the arguments on both sides, that they would now be easily convinced by the arguments of the image-worshippers. One of the bishops, Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, said, "I am anxious to learn how my lord the patriarch and the holy synod shall decide,"—afterwards he added, "Since this whole assembly speak and think alike, I am persuaded they have the truth."⁴ A very easy matter to be sure, for men of this stamp, to whom the voice of the majority was always the same as that of truth, to change their opinions with each change of the times. Some who, under the reign of Constantine Copronymus, had been compelled to swear that they would renounce image-worship, now felt, or pretended to feel, scruples of conscience about professing other principles. The way was made clear for these by a decree of the council, who decided that it was no perjury to violate an oath made in contradiction to the divine law.⁵ Among the bishops who avowed their repentance, were some that had borne a part in the conspiracy of the iconoclasts the year before. These now declared: "We sinned before God and the church;—we fell through ignorance."⁶ The same Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, whose disgraceful confession has just been quoted, was one of the most forward leaders of the

¹ L. c. f. 62.² L. c. f. 48.³ L. c. f. 60.⁴ *Ἡνίκα πᾶσα ἡ ὁμῆγυρις αὐτῆ τῶν λαλῶν καὶ φρονῶν, ἕμαθον καὶ ἐκληροφροσέθη, ὅτι ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῆ ἐστὶν ἡ νυνὶ ζητούμενη καὶ κηρυσσομένη.* f. 77.⁵ L. c. f. 208.⁶ F. 48.

iconoclasts at the council of Constantinople; but the other party exulted to see such members of that council present also at this, and compelled to bear witness of their own disgrace, and to condemn their own teaching.¹ Those bishops who were willing to certify their orthodoxy by signing a formal recantation, were not only restored to the fellowship of the church, but permitted, though not without some demurring, to retain their episcopal stations. That the council, in opposition to the practice of the church in similar cases, should treat with so much indulgence the men who had been at the head of the iconoclasts, and the chief managers of their intrigues, was a policy which no doubt seemed to be justified by the circumstances of the times. The party of the iconoclasts was still too powerful to be slighted altogether; and men were glad to adopt any means whatsoever, which served to deprive that party of its heads and principal adherents. But the fierce zealots among the monks were not to be satisfied with this policy of the court party.²

As to the form of recantation adopted in this case, the following particulars in it deserve to be noticed. The anathema was pronounced on all such as despised the doctrines of the fathers according to the tradition of the Catholic church; on all who said, that on points where no distinct and certain instruction is given by the Old or New Testament, we are not bound to follow the doctrines of the fathers, of the ecumenical synods, or the tradition of the Catholic church.³ From this, it may be conjectured, that many of the iconoclasts, when opposed by the authority of the church tradition, were in the habit of replying, that even this, separate from the authority of Scripture, could not be considered by them as any decisive authority—a mark of the protestant tendency which proceeded from this party.⁴ At the

¹ L. f. 128.

² This appears afterwards in the case of Theodorus Studita. The monks made it a matter of complaint against the majority of the bishops in this council, that they had obtained their official stations by simony. See the letter of the Patriarch Tarasius to the Abbot John. Harduin. IV. f. 521. *Τούτων οὕτως ὄντων ἐνεκάλεσαν τῇ συνόδῳ τὸ πλέον μέρος τῶν εὐλαβῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ προειγινώσκομεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην ὅτι οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐπισκόπων χρεήμασιν ἀνήσαντο τὴν ἱερωσύνην.* This agrees with the remarks of an image-worshipper respecting these bishops, which we have already cited. Thus their dependence on the dominant court party becomes still more evident.

³ L. c. f. 42. ⁴ See one of the anathemas pronounced in the eighth session, f. 484. *Εἴ τις πᾶσαν παραδόσιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐγγραφον ἢ ἄγραφον ἀθετεῖ, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω.*

suggestion of one of the Roman delegates, an image was brought into the assembly, and kissed by all the members.¹ In the seventh session, to determine what constituted images, and what reverence was due to them, it was resolved, that not only the sign of the cross, but also images drawn with colours, composed of mosaic work,² or formed of other suitable materials, might be placed in the churches, on sacred vessels and vestments, on walls and tables, in houses and in the streets, as well as images of Christ, of the virgin Mary, of angels, and of all holy and devout men. But the great injustice that was done to the advocates of the image-worship, by broadly accusing them of idolatry, appears from the following express determination of the council :—“ Bowing to an image, which is simply the token of love and reverence, ought by no means to be confounded with the adoration which is due to God alone.”³ The same was true also of the cross, the books of the evangelists, and other consecrated objects. To this symbolical expression of the feelings was reckoned likewise the strowing of incense and the burning of lights.⁴ The honour paid to an image was to be referred to the object which the image represented.

The synod having completed its business in seven sessions, the patriarch, with the whole assembly, was directed to repair to Constantinople. Here, on the 23d of October, was held the eighth session, in the imperial palace of Magnaura; and this was attended by the empress herself, accompanied by her son Constantine, and surrounded by an immense multitude of the people, for whom the impression of this grand assembly was no doubt especially designed. The empress commanded that the decrees which had been passed should be publicly read; she then asked the bishops whether these decrees really expressed their common

¹ See Act. V. f. 322.

² *Εἰκόνες ἐκ ψηφίδος.*

³ F. 456. *Ἀσπασμῶν καὶ τιμητικῆν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν, οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν ἢ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θεῷ φύσει.*

⁴ In the letter also addressed by Tarasius, in the name of the council to the empress, the *προσκύνησις κατὰ λατρείαν* is distinguished from the other kinds of *προσκύνησις*—e.g. from that kind of obeisance which it was the custom to pay to the emperor. Hence, it is added, in the spirit of Byzantine adulation, *Ἐστὶ γὰρ προσκύνησις καὶ ἡ κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ πόθον καὶ φόβον, ὡς προσκυνῶμεν ἡμεῖς τὴν καλλίνικον καὶ ἡμειωτάτην ὑμῶν βασιγιαν.* Harduin. IV. f. 476.

conviction ; and all having declared, with repeated exclamations, that they did, she caused the decisions to be placed before her and her son Constantine, and both subscribed them. When this was done, the assembled bishops repeatedly shouted, in the usual form, Long live the orthodox queen-regent.

Thus, after so long and violent a contest, the worship of images once more gained the victory in the Greek church. But the means to which, as we have seen, it was necessary to resort in order to achieve this victory, proves that the image-breakers still formed a strong and important party. And, of course, it was impossible that, by such means, a tendency of spirit which had taken so deep a hold of a portion of the people, could be suppressed at once. Reactions would ensue from the party oppressed, by means of which, as we shall see at the opening of the succeeding period, a new series of violent conflicts against image worship would finally be introduced.

It only remains for us to cast a glance at the part taken by the Western church in these disputes. The negotiations between the popes and the iconoclast emperors, show to what extent the worship of images had become dominant in the church of Rome ; but it was otherwise with the church of the Franks. The only question which here suggests itself is, whether in the Frankish church image-worship was opposed from the beginning,—since we find that in the time of Gregory the Great, Serenus, Bishop of Massilia, was a violent opponent of images,—or whether this tendency of the religious spirit was first called forth in the Frankish church by the progress of culture in the Carolingian age? We should be able to come to a more certain decision of this point, if any distinct account were still to be found of the first proceedings, with regard to images, in the Frankish church, under the reign of Pipin. By occasion of an embassy, sent by the Greek Emperor Constantine to King Pipin, the points of dispute then generally existing between the Greek and Latin churches, and consequently the dispute about images, were discussed in an assembly of bishops and seculars at Gentiliacum (Gentilly), in 767 ; but in none of the historical records which mention this assembly do we find a word respecting the conclusion arrived at on the subject of images. It only remains, therefore, to draw from what afterwards followed a pro-

bable inference with regard to preceding events. As Pope Paul the First signified to the king his satisfaction at what had been done at this assembly, in which, moreover, papal delegates took part,¹ we might be led to conclude that image-worship was here approved. But this conclusion, however, would not be warranted by the facts; for it is by no means clear, that the pope's approbation had any special reference to the matter in question. The business transacted at this assembly related not only to other doctrinal matters beside this, but also to a disputed question of a *politico-ecclesiastical* nature, of great interest to the pope. The Greek emperor had endeavoured to obtain from the king of the Franks the restoration of those possessions in Italy wrested by the latter from the Longobards, and presented to the church of Rome, or to the patrimony of St Peter's. This Pipin had refused. Now the pope, in expressing to the king his satisfaction at this refusal,² might well be induced to pass a milder judgment on the decisions of the synod with regard to images; especially since, at all events, the Frankish church would have to agree with the Romans in opposing the Greek destruction of images. It may have been the case, also, that this common opposition to the then Greek church was more sharply expressed by the assembly; while, on the other hand, the peculiar points of opposition to the doctrine of the Romish church were presented in a more covert and gentle manner. If the tendency of religious spirit, which, on this particular subject, now made its appearance in the Carolingian age, had been altogether new in the Frankish church, it must have met there with some degree of resistance; but of this we find not the least indication.

We are more exactly informed respecting the part taken by the Frankish church in these controversies, under the reign of Charlemagne. This emperor himself stood forth as a zealous opponent of the second Nicene council, and of the principles

¹ The words of the pope: *Agnitis omnibus a vobis pro exaltatione sanctae Dei ecclesiae et fidei orthodoxae defensione peractis laetati sumus.* See *Cod. Carolin.* ep. 20. *Mansi Concil.* T. XII. f. 605.

² The pope had said to the king, when speaking of the answer to be given to the Greek messengers by this council (see *Cod. Carolin.* ep. 26. *Mansi T. XII.* f. 614), he hoped that he would answer nothing nisi quod ad exaltationem matris vestrae Romanae ecclesiae pertinere noscatis, and that he would on no account take back again what he had once given to the apostle Peter. This hope the pope now saw fulfilled.

expressed by that council on the subject of image-worship. The hostile relations which now arose between the Emperor Charles and the Empress Irene, who had retreated from her first advances towards betrothing her son Constantine to the Frankish princess Rothrud, might be supposed to have an influence on his manner of expressing himself against that council; and various sarcastic remarks might seem to betray a temper somewhat ruffled by outward occasions of excitement. But certainly the emperor's conduct may be satisfactorily explained from the spirit of purer piety which animated him and his ecclesiastical advisers, and from the impression which the language of Byzantine superstition and Byzantine exaggeration, so fond of indulging in a fulsome verbiage, would make on the simpler feelings of the pious Frankish monarch. Three years after the close of this last Nicene council, therefore in 790,¹ there appeared, under the emperor's name, a refutation of that council;² and although there can be no doubt that he composed this celebrated work, entitled "The Four Caroline Books" (*quatuor libri Carolini*),³ as he intimates himself, not without some assistance from his theologians, who perhaps furnished him with the matter, and had some share in elaborating it, especially Alcuin,⁴ yet we may easily believe

¹ As is said in the preface itself (p. 8. ed. Heumann).

² He himself says: *quod opus aggressi sumus cum conniventia sacerdotum in regno a Deo nobis concesso catholicis gregibus praelatorum.*

³ Which work was first published by J. Tillius (Jean du Tillet, afterwards Bishop of Meaux), in the year 1549.

⁴ That Alcuin, whom the Emperor Charles was in the habit of consulting on all contested points of doctrine, and whom he employed as an author, must have had some share in the work, appears evident, particularly from the striking resemblance of one of the passages in the Carolinian books (IV. c. 6, pag. 456, 457, ed. Heumann) with a passage in Alcuin's commentary on the gospel according to John (L. II. c. IV. f. 500, ed. Froben), if we consider that he published this commentary not till *ten* years after the appearance of the Carolinian books; since it is clear from the letter *ad soror. et. fil.* which is prefixed to the commentary, that these books appeared complete in the year of Pope Leo's escape from the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and of the transfer of the imperial crown to Charlemagne. The most important objection to the supposition that Alcuin assisted in the composition of this work is the chronological one brought forward after Frobenius (see T. II. opp. Alcuin. f. 459), by Gieseler, that Alcuin was then absent on a visit to England. But even if this were so, still he could, while absent, assist the emperor with his pen; and that he did so, is confirmed by a tradition found in the English annalist, Roger of Hoveden, of the 13th century, relating to the year 792, which states that Alcuin wrote and transmitted to the king of the Franks a letter against the decrees of the second council of Nice, in the name of the English bishops and princes. Though this

concerning a prince, who exercised so independent a judgment on religious matters, and who even directed the attention of Alcuin himself to important corrections which might be made in his writings, that this work, which he published under his own name, was not merely read in his presence, and found or made to coincide with his own views, but took from him, in a great measure, the form in which it finally appeared. He says himself, that zeal for God and the truth¹ had constrained him not to keep silence, but to appear publicly against prevailing errors.

In this work, while he distinguishes the use from the abuse of images in church-life, he combats the fanaticism of the iconoclasts, as well as the superstition of the image worshippers, attacking both the assemblies which represented these tendencies and laid claim to the character of ecumenical councils. It was objected to the iconoclasts, that they were bent on utterly exterminating those images which had been appointed by the ancients for the decoration of the churches, and for memorials of past events;² that they unwisely placed all images in one and the same category with idols; and that the members of their council had given to Constantine the honour which is due to Christ alone, in saying he had delivered them from idols, yet the council of the iconoclasts is treated with more lenity than that of the image-worshippers; and the well-meant, though misguided zeal of the former party for the cause of God, called forth by the excessive superstition of the latter, was acknowledged. In opposition to the harsh expressions which had been used against them at the second Nicene council, it is affirmed, that they had by no means involved themselves in so great a sin, by stripping the churches, through a mistaken zeal, of the images which served to embellish them.³ With far greater acrimony, the emperor expresses his opposition to the principles

report comes from too late a period to possess the force of a trustworthy testimony, and also contains an anachronism, yet some ancient tradition may be lying at the foundation of it.

¹ *Zelus Dei et veritatis studium.*

² *Imagines in ornamentis ecclesiae et memoria rerum gestarum ab antiquis positas. c. V.*

³ See L. I. c. 27. L. IV. c. 4. *In abolendis a basilicarum ornamentis imaginibus quodammodo fuerunt incauti, had erred from imperitia, not from nequitia.*

of the second Nicene council, as well as to the arguments by which they were defended ; and here the interest for a more spiritual piety manifests itself in a remarkable manner. While to images no other end is assigned, than to serve as ornaments to the churches, or as means for perpetuating the memory of events ; and while the use or the abuse of them for these ends is declared to have no further bearing on the interests of Christian faith ;¹ every other way of regarding or of using images is opposed in the most decided manner ; and it plainly appears how entirely foreign from the author of this work was that enthusiasm for art and for images which we observe among the Greeks. He calls it absurd and foolish² to maintain, as had been done at the second Nicene council, that images exhibited visibly to the eye the walk and conversation of the saints, when, in fact, their virtues and merits were seated in the soul, and could not be represented in sensible materials and by colours, could not be made objects of sensuous perception. Can anything be known—he asks—about their wisdom, their eloquence, their profound knowledge, by the outward sense of sight ?

It is represented, indeed, in this work as being the true end of images to perpetuate the memory of holy deeds ; yet not in any such sense, as that they were needed to bring up to remembrance that which should be ever present to the religious mind ; but in the sense that, as sensible representations of things which, even without such outward memorials, were present to the religious consciousness, they served to embellish the churches. And accordingly the image-worshippers were censured for maintaining that images were *necessary*, to perpetuate and to call up the memory of holy things. To ascribe to them *so much* importance as this, seemed in direct contradiction to the spiritual nature of Christianity.³ They who so expressed themselves, confessed to a singular blindness ; they acknowledged so poor a memory, as that, without the help of images, they must be afraid they should be withdrawn from the service of God, and from the worship of

¹ L. II. c. 21. Utrum in basilicis propter memoriam rerum gestarum et ornamentum sint, an etiam non sint, nullum fidei catholicae afferre poterunt praejudicium, quippe cum ad peragenda nostrae salutis mysteria nullum penitus officium habere noscantur.

² Quantae sit absurditatis quantaque dementiae.

³ See L. I. c. 17, p. 100.

his saints. They acknowledged themselves incapable of so raising the mind's eye above sensible things, as to draw from the fountain of eternal light without help from the material creation.¹ As the spirit of man is supposed to stand in such fellowship with him after whose image it was created, as to be competent to receive into itself, without the mediation of any created thing whatever, the image of the truth itself, which is Christ; so it is the height of madness to affirm, that this spirit needs a memento, in order not to forget him. This would be a proof of criminal weakness, and not of that freedom, which must be regarded as the characteristic mark of the Christian standing-ground.² The faith of a Christian should not cling to sensible things; it must be looked for only in the heart. The meaning of this is, that the faith of Christians has respect to that which is invisible; and that it must, with the heart, rise to that which is invisible;—in proof of which he quotes Rom. viii. 24 and x. 8. The following is one of the prominent ideas constantly reverted to in this work: God, who fills all things, is not to be adored or sought after in sensible images, but should be ever present to the pure heart.³ “Unhappy memory,” it is said in another place,⁴ “which, in order to think of that Christ, who should never be absent from the good man's heart, needs the presence of an image, and which can enjoy the presence of Christ only by seeing his image painted on a wall or on some sensible material; for such a remembrance nourished by images, comes not from that love of the heart, which inwardly constrains us to think of Christ, but is thrust upon us from without, even as we are compelled to present before our souls the very objects we hate, as soon as we behold them in a painting. Of such people it is verily to be feared, that should they by some sickness lose their eyesight, or by some accident be deprived of their image, they would utterly forget

¹ Magna se coecitate obrutos esse fatentur, qui vim illam animae, quae memoria nuncupatur, ita se vitiatam habere demonstrant, cui nisi imaginum adminiculum suffragetur, ab intentione servitutis Dei et veneratione sanctorum ejus recedere compellatur: nec se idoneos arbitrantur, mentis oculum supra creaturam corpoream levare ad hauriendum aeternum lumen, nisi creaturae corporeae adjutorio fulciantur, L. II. c. 22.

² Cum hoc infirmitatis sit vitium, non libertatis indicium.

³ Non est in materialibus imaginibus adorandus vel quaerendus, sed in corde mundissimo semper habendus, L. III. c. 29.

⁴ L. IV. c. 2, pag. 432.

that Saviour, whose memory ought ever to be present to their minds. We Christians, who with open face beholding the glory of God are changed into the same image, from glory to glory (2 Cor. iii. 18), are no longer bound to seek the truth in images and pictures,—we, who through faith, hope, and charity, have attained by His own help to the truth which is in Christ.”¹ In opposition to the second Nicene council, which had compared the images of Christians with the cherubim and the tables of the law in the Old Testament, the different points of view of the Old and of the New Testament were distinctly set forth. “We, who follow not the letter, which killeth, but the spirit, which maketh alive, who are not the fleshly but the spiritual Israel,—we, who look not at the things which are seen, but fix our minds upon those which are unseen, rejoice to have received from the Lord mysteries greater not only than images, which contain no mysteries at all, but even greater and more sublime than the cherubim and the tables of the law; for the latter were the antitypes of things future; but we possess truly and spiritually what had been prefigured by those symbols,”² The image-worshippers, as we have seen, were wont to compare images, in reference to the higher things they represented, with the sacred Scriptures. In opposition to this, the far greater importance of the sacred Scriptures, as a means of cultivating and promoting the Christian life, is most distinctly set forth. Holy Scripture is a treasure richly stored with all manner of goods: he who comes to them in a devout temper of mind rejoices to find that which he sought in faith.³ By the Nicene council, as well as by the image-worshippers generally, images were compared with the sign of the cross. But even this was attributing too much importance to them. The sign of the cross is here set quite above images—not, to be sure, without falling into a like error with the image-worshippers, since the outward symbol and the idea represented by it are not, as they should have been, kept distinctly apart. Under *this* banner, and not by images, it is said, the old enemy was vanquished; by these weapons, not by showy gauds of colour, the power of the devil was destroyed; by the former, and not by the latter, the human race was redeemed;

¹ L. I. c. 15. p. 89.² I. c. 19. p. 107.³ L. II. c. 30.

for on the cross, not on images, hung the ransom which was paid for the world. The cross, and not a picture, is the sign of our King, to which the warriors of our army constantly look.¹ The comparing of images at that council with relics of the saints, and the requiring a like reverence to be paid to them, is also noticed with disapprobation. Thus, no small injury was done to the saints;² since raiment which had been worn by the saints, and things of the like kind, ought to be revered, because by contact with their persons they had acquired a sacredness which beget respect. Images had been sanctified by no such contact, but were made as it happened, sometimes beautifully, sometimes not, according to the skill of the artist, or the tools and materials he employed. To show reverence for the bodies of saints was a great means of promoting piety. *They* reigned with Christ in heaven, and their *bodies* were destined to rise again from the dust. To show such reverence for images, which had never lived, and could never rise again, but must be consumed by fire or by natural decay, was quite another thing.³ Considered in this point of view, not only the act of prostration (*προσκύνησις*), defended by the image-worshippers, was condemned as a transfer of the adoration belonging to God alone to a created object,⁴ and as a species of idolatry; but every mode of testifying that reverence or love to lifeless images which, for the reasons above stated, might be shown to the bones of saints, was rejected as unbecoming and irrational. It was denounced as a foolish thing to express those feelings for lifeless images, which could properly be referred only to living beings;⁵ and the multifarious customs in regard to this matter, which had sprung up among the Greeks, was sharply rebuked. “You may painfully study attitudes,” it is said to the image-worshippers, “while making your supplications, with incense before your images; *we* will carefully search

¹ L. II. c. 28. p. 215.

² L. III. c. 24.

³ L. III. c. 24.

⁴ Adorationem soli Deo debitam imaginibus impertire aut segnitiae est, si utcuque agitur, aut insaniae vel potius infidelitatis, si pertinaciter defenditur. See p. 379, *i.e.*, if a man allows himself to be hurried, no matter how, into an act of this sort, it is either folly or ignorance. But if, when made aware of the falsehood, he still obstinately defends it, this is madness or unbelief, want of the right faith in God.

⁵ Aliud est hominem salutationis officio et humanitatis obsequio adorando salutare, aliud picturam diversorum colorum fucis compaginatam sine gressu, sine voce vel caeteris sensibus, nescio quo cultu adorare, L. I. c. 9.

after our Lord's commands in the *books* of the divine law. You may keep lights burning before your pictures ; we will be diligent in studying the Holy Scriptures."¹ But here the emperor introduces an objector: "You deride those who burn lights and strow incense before dumb images, and yet you yourselves burn lights and incense in churches, which are but senseless buildings." To this he replies: "It is one thing to light up the places consecrated to God's worship, and in these places to present to God the incense of prayer and sensible incense ; it is quite another, to set lights before an image that has eyes and sees not, to burn incense before an image that has a nose but smells not. It is one thing, solemnly to honour the house of God's majesty built by believers, and consecrated by the priests ; and quite another irrationally to bestow presents and kisses on images formed by the hand of some painter ; for churches are the places where believers congregate ; where their prayers are heard by a merciful God ; where the sacrifice of praise is offered to the Most High, and the sacrament of our salvation (mass) is celebrated ; where troops of angels assemble, when by the hands of the priests, the community of believers present their offering ; where the word of God comes to water the thirsty heart." The emperor objects to the Greeks, that, as he had been informed by his own ambassadors and those of his father, while they bestowed much pains on the fitting up of images, they let their churches go to decay ; and to which he contrasts the magnificent endowment of the churches in the Frankish empire.²

As the Greeks were inclined to bestow the greatest attention on the outward ceremonial of image-worship, even to the neglect of the more practical duties of Christianity, we see how just a conception the emperor had formed of the actual condition of the Greek church, when we find him reminding them, that while the sacred Scriptures nowhere enjoin image-worship, they do teach that men should eschew evil and follow after that which is good.³ With regard to the nice distinctions by which it was

¹ L. II. c. 30.

² L. IV. c. 3. Pleraque basilicae in eorum terris non solum luminaribus et thymiamatibus, sed etiam ipsis carent tegminibus, quippe cum in regno a Deo nobis concesso basilicae ipso opitulante, qui eas conservare dignatur, affluenter auro argenteoque gemmis ac margaritis et caeteris venustissimis redundant apparatus.

³ Deum inquirendum docuit (Script S.) per Domini timorem, non per imaginum

sought to justify or palliate the worship of images, he says all this might be well enough among the learned, but it would answer no good purpose with the multitude. Though the educated, who revered images not for what they are, but for what they represent, might escape superstition; yet they must ever prove an occasion of stumbling to the rude and uncultivated, who revered and worshipped in them only what they saw. And if our Saviour denounces so heavy a curse on him who should offend one of these little ones, how much heavier must this curse fall on him, who either forced a large portion of the church into image-worship, or threatened those with the anathema who rejected it.¹

In refutation of the appeal to miracles said to have been wrought by images, the emperor remarks: "It was not clear from unimpeachable testimony, that such miracles had actually been wrought—perhaps the whole was a mere fiction. Or if such things had actually happened, still they might only be works of the evil spirit, who by his deceptive arts sought to beguile men into that which is forbidden."² Or even if we were bound to recognise in these cases wonderful works proceeding from God himself, yet even this would not suffice to set the propriety of image-worship beyond question; for if God wrought miracles by means of sensible things to soften the hearts of men, yet he did not intend by so doing to convert those sensible things into objects of worship—as might be shown by many examples of miracles from the Old Testament."³ Nor would the emperor allow, that any weight was to be given to the evidence of a vision of angels in a dream, to which one member of the Nicene council had appealed. No doubtful matter could be settled by a dream; for it was impossible, by any evidence, for one man to prove to another that he had actually seen what he pretended. Therefore dreams and visions ought to be carefully sifted. Dreams inspired by the divine Spirit did, indeed, occur in the sacred

adorationem, et eum, qui vult vitam et cupit videre dies bonos, non imagines adorare, sed labia a dolo et linguam a malo instituit cohibere. Nec picturam colere docuit, sed declinare a malo et facere bonitatem, I. 23.

¹ L. III. c. 16.

² Ne forte calliditatis suae astu antiquus hostis, dum mira quaedam demonstrat, ad illicita peragenda fraudulenter suadeat.

³ III. c. 25.

Scriptures; these, however, were but individual cases. Dreams, again, needed to be distinguished in respect to their origin; in respect to the question, whether they proceeded from divine revelation, or from the person's own thoughts, or from temptations of the evil spirit;¹ commonly, however, they were deceptive. And as it concerned the vision of an angel, it behooved, even where such a vision had been vouchsafed, to follow the direction of St Paul, and try the spirits, whether they were from God; and this was to be known, according to the instruction of our Lord, from their fruits. Now, as image-worship is an ungodly thing, it could not have been a good spirit, from whom the exhortation to such worship proceeded.² As we have already said, reference was often made, in defending image-worship, to the picture of Christ sent to King Abgarus. But neither the truth of this story, nor even the genuineness of the pretended correspondence between Christ and King Abgarus, was acknowledged in the Carolinian books.³

It is true, the worship of saints was not by any means placed, in these books, in the same category with the worship of images, the former being acknowledged to be a truly Christian act; at the same time, however, it was circumscribed within the limits which the Christian consciousness demands. While, at the second Nicene council, images which it was pretended had wrought miraculous cures, were compared with the brazen serpent, the advice here given is: "Let those who are afflicted with any bodily disease, repair to images and look up to them, that so, when they find they are not cured by thus looking, they may return and trust the Lord, that through the mediation of the saints they will be restored to health by him, who is the Author of all health and of all life."⁴ Men ought not to believe that the saints, who in their life-time sought not their own glory, but often disdained the marks of honour which it was intended to show them, were pleased or benefited by such overwrought and foolish testimonies of respect.⁵

¹ *Veniunt nonnunquam ex revelatione, multoties vero aut ex cogitatione aut ex tentatione aut ex aliquibus his similibus.* III. c. 25.

² *L. III. c. 26.*

³ *See L. IV. c. 10.*

⁴ *I. 18. Solus Deus adorandus, martyres vero, vel quilibet sancti venerandi potius, quam adorandi.* L. IV. c. 27.

⁵ *L. III. c. 16.*

Although this book appeared under the name of an emperor, yet the Byzantine habit of idolizing royalty was castigated in it with great severity; for the vestiges of the old apotheosis were still retained in the titles and honours bestowed on the Byzantine emperors. The Greek image-worshippers had, in fact, appealed to the custom of prostration, usually observed before the images of the emperor. By this occasion, the Emperor Charles was led to express himself strongly against such a custom. "What madness," said he, "to resort to one forbidden thing, for arguments to defend another!"¹ He then goes on to represent this custom as having sprung from, and as being a remnant of, that pagan idolatry, which ought to be utterly abolished by Christianity.² It was the duty of Christian priests to take their stand against customs so repugnant to Christianity. So, too, the mentioning of the empress and emperor in the acts of the council, under the title of *divine* (θεῖοι), as well as the citation of the imperial rescripts by the name of *divalia* (θεῖα γράμματα) was expressly condemned, as savouring of paganism.³ The low flattery of the bishops who compared the emperors, as restorers of the pure Christian doctrines, with the apostles, is severely reprov- ed;⁴ and the occasion is seized for drawing out the contrast in full between the emperors and the apostles.⁵ As these bishops had at the same time, asserted, that the emperors were enlightened by the same Spirit with the apostles, it is observed on this point, that the emperors were here in no respect distinguished from other Christians; for that spirit was none other than the Holy Spirit; and it was very clear that all true Christians possessed the Holy Spirit; for St Paul, Rom. viii. 9, says, "He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his."

¹ Nam quis furor est, quaeve dementia, ut hoc in exemplum adorandarum imaginum ridiculum adducatur, quod imperatorum imagines in civitatibus et plateis adorantur et a re illicita res illicita stabiliri paretur? III. 15.

² Cum apostolicis instruamur documentis, nullam nos dare debere occasionem maligno, cum talem gentilibus occasionem demus mortalium regum imagines adorando et ab his exempla sumendo.

³ L. I. c. 3. Qui se fidei et religionis Christianae jactant retinere fastigium, qui et intra ecclesiam novas et ineptas constitutiones audacter statuere affectant et se Divos suaeque gesta Divalia gentiliter nuncupare non formidant.

⁴ O adulatio cur tanta praesumis?

⁵ Tanta est distantia inter apostolos et imperatores, quanta inter sanctos et peccatores. L. IV. c. 20.

The synod is censured, again, for having allowed themselves to be guided and instructed by a woman; for having suffered a woman to take part in their meetings, though in direct contrariety to the natural destination of the female sex, and to the law given by the Apostle Paul commanding that women should be silent in the church assemblies. The woman was to teach and admonish only in the family circle; to this alone the passage in Titus ii. 3, referred.¹

We remarked in the history of the church-constitution, that the Emperor Charles ascribed to the popes a primacy over all other churches, and a certain right of superintendence over all ecclesiastical affairs; and that, in ecclesiastical matters, he was always glad to act in concert with them. Accordingly, we find this way of thinking, and this effort plainly manifesting itself in the Carolinian books, though, in all other respects, the emperor expresses himself with so much freedom, evidently departing, in important points, from the principles of the Roman church.² In this work, he notices the fact, that while in the Frankish church the unity of *doctrine* with that of Rome was always preserved, so by occasion of a visit which Pope Stephen made to the Frankish church, unity was restored also to their church psalmody.³ He then remarks, that by his own efforts, this conformity to the psalmody of the church of Rome was still further promoted, not only in Frankish churches, but also in Germany, Italy, and among some few of the northern tribes, which by his means had been converted to the Christian faith.⁴

As he remarks here, however, that all should seek help from the Romish church next *after Christ*, it is evident, that he was accustomed to refer his Christian convictions, in the first instance,

¹ Aliud est enim matremfamilias domesticos verbis exemplis erudire, aliud antistitibus sive omni ecclesiastico ordini vel etiam publicae synodo quaedam inutilia docentem interesse, cum videlicet ista, quae domesticos dehortatur, eorum et suum in commune adipisci cupiat profectum, illa vero in conventu ventosae tantum laudis et solius arrogantiae ambiat appetitum. III. 13.

² He says here, L. I. c. VI. p. 51, respecting the relation of the other churches to the Roman, omnes catholicae debent observare ecclesiae, ut ab ea post Christum ad muniendum fidem adiutorium petant, quae non habens maculam, nec rugam et portentosa haeresium capita calcat et fidelium mentes in fide corroborat.

³ Ut quae (ecclesiae) unitae erant unius sanctae legis sacra lectione, essent etiam unitae unius modulationis veneranda traditione.

⁴ See L. I. c. VI. p. 52, 53.

to Christ; and in regard to what he believed he had found to be Christian truth by the illuminating influences of the Spirit of Christ—as, for example, in the convictions he entertained on the subject of images—he could not be moved to give up anything to the authoritative word of a Roman bishop. Accordingly he presented by the hands of Abbot Angilbert, his refutation of the second Nicene council to Pope Hadrian.¹ The latter, judging from the standing-point of the Roman church-teachers, of course could not agree with him on this subject; and he transmitted to the emperor a formal reply,² which, in point of theological depth, cannot be compared with the “Carolinian books,” and assuredly was not calculated to shake so deep-rooted a conviction.³ At the assembly held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 794, these contested points were discussed in the presence of papal legates; and by the second canon of this council the adoration of images (*adoratio et servitus imaginum*) was condemned. It was, however, doing injustice to the second Nicene council, to accuse them of maintaining that the same worship ought to be paid to images of the saints as to the holy Trinity;⁴ a doctrine against which that council had taken special pains to guard. Perhaps the bishops purposely avoided entering into too nice investigations and determinations with regard to this matter, lest a controversy might be provoked between the Frankish church and the papal legates who attended the council.

III. REACTION OF THE SECTS AGAINST THE DOMINANT SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

We have yet to speak of a reaction of the Christian consciousness, within the church, against this ecclesiastical system which had been formed by the combining of Christian with foreign

¹ It still remains uncertain, whether the emperor sent his book against the council of Nice to the pope before or after the meeting of the assembly at Frankfort.

² Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 759.

³ The object which the pope had in view, as he avows, in writing this refutation, *ad incredulorum satisfactionem et directionem Francorum*, was one which he certainly could not effect by such arguments.

⁴ *Ut qui imaginibus sanctorum, ita ut d. Trinitati servitium aut adorationem non impenderet, anathema judicaretur.*

elements—a reaction on the part of rising and spreading sects that stood forth in opposition to the dominant church—presenting a series of remarkable phenomena of the religious spirit, extending through the mediæval centuries, and accompanying the progressive development of the church theocratical system. We discern the commencement of this reaction in the period where we now are; having already noticed the germ and premonitory symptoms of it in the contests which Boniface had to maintain with the opponents of the Romish hierarchy in Germany. But it was from the Greek church especially, that an impulse proceeded which continued to operate with great force in promoting the development of this opposition.

In spite of all persecutions by fire and sword, the remains of those sects, which arose in the early period of the Christian church from the commingling of Christianity with dualistic doctrines of the ancient East, had been still preserved in those districts, where they were natives, and could be constantly supplied with fresh nourishment from Parsism. Their opposition, however, to the dominant church, would necessarily be modified, in many respects, by the changes which had taken place in that church itself. Originally this opposition had its ground in an Oriental mode of thinking that made Christianity subordinate to its own ends, and was directed against the peculiar and fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. And while it is true that, even at present, the sects which had sprung up and grown out of this beginning, never so far denied their original one-sided tendency, as to embrace the Christian truth in its purity and completeness; still the opposition was now directed, against *one* of the main elements in the corruption of Christianity; and against many of those doctrines, which being grounded in this corruption, were alien from primitive Christianity. These sects having, from the first, stood out against the union of Christianity with Judaism, now entered into the contest against those doctrines and institutions in particular, which had grown out of the mixture of Jewish with Christian elements; and in so far, this opposition might serve to prepare the way for the purification of the church.

Thus we meet with a sect in this period, which had sprung up in the way above described, and which flourished in the districts

reckoned sometimes to Armenia, sometimes to Syria, where such tendencies had always been preserved. The followers of this sect were known by the name of *Paulicians*. It is an hypothesis of both the authors to whom we are indebted for the most important information we possess respecting this sect,¹ though neglected by all succeeding writers, that this sect was an offshoot of Manichæism; and that it took its origin from a woman, Calinice by name, who lived in the district of Samosata, somewhere about the fourth century, and whose two sons, Paul and John, were considered as the founders of the sect. From the former of these, it is said, moreover, that the sect took its name; and it was the opinion of *one* party, that the name *Paulicians* was derived in the first place from a combination of the names of both the founders, in the form Παυλοϊωάνναι.² But we have strong reasons for doubting the truth of this whole account.³ In the first place, as it regards Manichæism; the truth is, that in this period, there was a universal inclination to call everything of a dualistic tendency, Manichæan; while no one seemed correctly to understand the distinctive marks which separated the Gnostic from the Manichæan tenets. We find nothing at all however, in the doctrines of the Paulicians, which would lead us to presume, that they were an offshoot from Manichæism;⁴ on the other hand, we find much which contradicts such a supposition; as for example, the fact that they considered the creation of the world as the creation of a spirit at enmity with the perfect God,—of a Demiurge, in a sense of the Anti-Judaizing Gnostics; while Mani considered the creation of the world as a purifying process, ordained and instituted by the Supreme Being

¹ Peter of Sicily, sent by the Greek emperor, Basilius Macedo, to Tephricain, Armenia, to treat for the exchange of prisoners (see the history of the Paulicians published by the Jesuit Rader, Ingoldstadt, 1604), and Photius in his work against the Manichæans, which in substance differs but little from the former, published in the *Anecdota graeca sacra et profana*, ed. J. C. Wolf. Hamb. 1723. T. I. et II.

² See Photius, L. I. c. II. L. c.

³ On this point, as in most of what we have to say concerning this sect, we must agree with the ably discriminating and well-thought essay of Gieseler. See the *Theologischen Studien und Kritiken*, B. II. Heft. I. 1829.

⁴ Nothing is to be observed in their opinions or practices akin to Manichæism or Parsism except in what Johannes Ozniensis, of whom we shall say more hereafter, says concerning them, when in his tract against the Paulicians, p. 87, he ascribes to them a certain adoration of the sun. This, however, does not well harmonize with the other doctrines of the sect.

himself. In the organisation of the sect, we look in vain for the distinction, which belongs to the very essence of Manichæism, of a two-fold standing, the esoteric and the exoteric,—that of the “elect” and that of the “auditors.” Although Photius sometimes hints at a distinction of esoteric and exoteric among the Paulicians, yet it is certainly one altogether foreign from the spirit and character of this sect; and there was a disposition gratuitously to foist upon them such a distinction, partly because contradictions were detected in their doctrines, which considered from their own point of view had no existence, partly because it was taken for granted, that whatever was peculiar to the constitution of the Manichæan sect, would hold good also of the Paulicians. On the contrary, we may confidently reckon it among the characteristics of the Paulicians, that they knew of no higher distinction than to be in the true sense of the word Christians; that they recognized no loftier position than that of a *χριστιανός* or *χριστοπολίτης*; and hence, too, nothing higher, than the complete and pure knowledge of the truths belonging to this position. To separate these from all debasing mixtures, and to give them universal spread, was their highest aim. The Scriptures were prized by them at a vastly higher rate, than they could be according to the principles of Manichæism; and it is certain, that when they sought to attach themselves so closely to the sacred Scriptures they did so, not in the way of accommodation to the universal Christian principle,—not barely as a means by which to procure the readier access for their tenets to the minds of other Christians; but it is evident, even from the manner in which their teachers write to the members of the sect, and from the order and denominations of their ecclesiastical officers, that they designed and strove to derive their doctrines from the New Testament; and particularly from the writings of the Apostle Paul. Far more do the Paulicians, in this respect, as well as in their prevailing practical tendency generally, agree with the sect of Marcion.¹ Now since the Marcionite sect, as we learn from what Theodoret says respecting the vast number of Marcionites in his

¹ It may also be remarked, that in the Anathemas published by Jacob Tollius (*Insignia Itinerar.* Ital. p. 106,) with the sects of the Bogomiles and Euchites are named not the Paulicians but the *Marcionites*—we have here then the recognition of a sect from the Marcionites.

diocese, was widely disseminated in those districts, we might consider the Paulicians as being an offshoot from this Gnostic party, with which they had the closest resemblance. Indeed, we know from the reports of Theodoret and Chrysostom, that these later Marcionites, being drawn for the most part from uneducated country-people, were extremely ignorant in common matters, and not much better informed with respect to the doctrines of their own master.

We might be allowed to suppose, then, that an effort at reform, awakened among these degenerate Marcionites by some special cause or other, and particularly directed, by the spirit of Marcionitism, to the restoration of primitive Christianity as taught in the epistles of St Paul, had preceded the Paulician sect. Else we must suppose—which would not be an impossible thing—that a reforming effort had been awakened, by the study of the New Testament Scriptures, among the founders of this sect, lingering remnants of old Gnostic parties, and that this effort, uniting Gnostic elements with a practical Christian piety, derived from this study of the New Testament, took of its own accord a direction similar to Marcionitism. As to the story about Callinice; while there is no good reason for rejecting, as an absolute fiction, the tradition that two men, Paul and John, sons of a Callinice, who was a follower of Manichæism or Gnosticism, laboured in these districts for the spread of some such opinions;¹ yet it cannot be regarded as a matter of the least importance, as affecting the question concerning the Paulicians; and as to any connection between these sons of Callinice and the Paulician sect, we have every reason to regard it as no better than a fiction. It is certain that the Paulicians themselves did not hesitate to condemn the sons of Callinice, and Mani also, with whom they were arbitrarily associated.² Nor can it justly be affirmed, that

¹ Gieseler thinks the whole story about the sons of Callinice ought to be regarded as a fable. The Paulicians were constantly appealing to St Paul and St John, as the two genuine apostles—this constant appeal to St Paul being, in truth, the occasion of their name, Paulicians. This circumstance, as also the reluctance which men felt to allow the Paulicians the honour of being named after two apostles, led to the invention of the story that the sect was founded by two false teachers, Paul and John. This explanation, however, is quite too artificial; and although the Paulicians did attribute a special authority to the Gospel of John, yet it is by no means clear, that they attached themselves so closely to that apostle as they did to the Apostle Paul.

² See Photius, L. I. c. 4. p. 13. L. c.

this was but a pretence, an accommodation, devised for the purpose of concealing their real opinions; for very far were they from allowing themselves to be moved, by worldly fears or considerations, to any false pretensions, with regard to the persons whom they regarded as the true founders or teachers of their sect.¹ As it was assuredly nothing but the traditional name Paulicians, which led men to suppose there must have been some particular person by the name of Paul, from whom the sect derived its origin, so it happened that there were many who traced the name of the sect to a later Paul, an Armenian, who was undoubtedly *one* of the teachers of the sect,² though not the individual from whom its name was really derived, that name being, in all probability, of a much earlier date. Thus it is manifest, that no one of these explanations of the name Paulicians rested on any historical basis, but that all of them grew out of the hypothesis, that the name must necessarily have been derived from some false teacher, who established a new and distinct epoch. But the form of the word by no means suggests a derivation of that sort; since by every rule of analogy it should have been, if so derived, *παυλικοί* or *παυλιανοί* (Paulians). At the same time, it is most probable that the form *παυλικοί* lies at the root of the name, and that from this, *παυλικίανοι* was afterwards derived. And we may perhaps rest in the conclusion, that as this sect, like the earlier Marcionites, opposed St Paul to St Peter, and, attaching themselves to the former, were for restoring the true Pauline Christianity, they were hence called Paulicians, as in truth we find it intimated by Photius himself.³ And at some later period, it was attempted to trace the origin of the name to some individual who was the founder of the sect.

Constantine, who taught in the latter half of the seventh century, chiefly under the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, might, with far more propriety, be considered the original founder of the

¹ Petrus Siculus affirms, it is true, that the Paulicians were genuine disciples of Mani, of the sons of Callinice, *εἰ καὶ κενοφανίας τινὰς ταῖς πρώταις ἐπισυνῆψαν αἰρέσει,* yet he allows that the Paulicians themselves leaned solely on the authority of later teachers, and acknowledged no others. See p. 40.

² Photius says (L. I. c. 18.) of this Paul: *ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Παύλου μερὶς οὐκ ἐλαχίστη τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλκειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν τῆς Καλλινίκης παιδῶν τὸ μυσαρὸν τῶν Μανιχαίων ἔθνος νομίζουσιν.*

³ L. II. c. 10, p. 190. From the Apostle Paul *οὗ ψευδιστῶνυμοι παραγράφονται*; though he is wrong in saying, that they called themselves by this name.

sect, which appeared in this period under the name Paulicians. He belonged to some Gnostic, probably to a Marcionite sect, which had spread from Syria and Armenia into these districts, and resided in the village of Mananalis, not far from Samosata. It deserves to be noticed, as a fact which undoubtedly had some influence on the nature of his attainments, and the character of his Christian life, that at a time when he had either not read the Scriptures of the New Testament at all, or only in scattered fragments, he received a complete copy of them as a present from a certain deacon, in gratitude for the hospitable entertainment he had met with in Constantine's house, when returning home from captivity, probably among the Saracens. Constantine now earnestly applied himself to the study of these Scriptures, which, and more particularly the epistles of St Paul, made a deep impression on his mind, and gave a new direction to his thoughts and to his life. Certainly we must ascribe to the hateful spirit, which gave a false and invidious explanation to everything done or said by a heretic, that Constantine and his followers were accused of hypocritically pretending to derive their religious opinions from the New Testament, in order to escape the sword of the executioner, or in order to gain access, by means of this deception, to the minds of those whom they wished to proselytize. On the contrary, we are bound to presume, that the fundamental ideas which he found presented in those Scriptures had a powerful influence on his mind, so that he felt himself constrained to stand forth as a reformer, not only as it related to the dominant church, but also to the sect of which he was a member. At the same time, however, he was, in spite of himself, governed by the principles of his sect, by dualism, which he could not be induced to renounce. Studying the Scriptures of the New Testament, with a mind already preoccupied by these principles, he believed that he found the same principles enforced in what he there read, respecting the opposition of darkness to light, flesh to spirit, world to God. It was by a Christianity drawn from the writings of St Paul, and in part of St John, but apprehended under the forms of the Gnostic dualism, that the Paulicians were, from this time onward, bent on bringing about a renovation of the church, a restoration of the pure apostolic doctrines. To designate his profession, as an apostolic reformer, Constantine took the name

of Silvanus ; and so it became the custom afterwards, for more distinguished teachers of this sect, to call themselves by the names of the several companions of St Paul—a custom which may be rightly regarded as marking the distinct aim which they had before them. They professed to be simply the organs of the Pauline spirit, like those who were the companions of St Paul in his labours. Constantine laboured twenty-seven years, from about 657 to 684, with great activity, for the advancement of his sect. Its further spread drew upon it a new persecution. In the year 684, or one of the other last years of the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, that emperor sent Simeon, an officer of his household, into those districts, empowering him to punish with death the leader of the sect, and all recusants, and to bring such as were disposed to recant to the bishops, for the purpose of being more fully instructed by them in pure doctrine. Constantine, if we may credit the account given by opponents, was, at the command of Simeon, stoned to death by faithless disciples, at the head of whom was his own ungrateful adopted son, Justus.¹ But the major part of those who were handed over to the bishops, persisted in maintaining their old opinions ; upon which Simeon undertook to deal with them, and bring them over to the pure doctrines of the church. But as he was a layman, and therefore somewhat at a loss for arguments, as well as more unprejudiced, he was struck with the remarkable appearance of Christian sincerity in their behaviour, and more and more attracted by the principles of the Paulician sect. With these impressions, he returned to Constantinople. But after remaining there three years, under his former relations, tired of the constraint of living in a society, where he was forced every moment to conceal or deny his real convictions, he secretly repaired to Cibossa, in Armenia, where the remnant of Constantine's followers were still to be found. He there became head of the party, and took the apostolic name Titus. After labouring three years as presiding officer of the sect, and inducing numbers to join it, he and his followers were accused before the Bishop of Colonia, by the same treacherous Justus who had acted so prominent a part in the stoning to death of Constantine. At the suggestion of this

¹ It is reported that the memory of Constantine's death was preserved by the name given to the spot where it occurred, Σαπέε. Photius, I. 16.

bishop, the Emperor Justinian II. directed, in the year 690, a new examination into the tenets of the sect, the result of which was that Titus, and many others besides, died at the stake.

One of the individuals who escaped death on this occasion, by the name of Paul, was now placed at the head of the sect; and he appointed as his successor his oldest son Gegnæsius, whom he named Timothy. From this time, the sect was divided into two parties. The schism grew out of the antagonism betwixt a Catholic and a Protestant principle. Gegnæsius held that spiritual gifts were communicated by tradition, and connected with the regularity of succession. On this ground he founded his claim to be regarded as the principal leader of the sect. But his younger brother, Theodore, refused to acknowledge any such principle, maintaining that such outward mediation was unessential, and that he had received the spirit immediately from the same divine source with his father.¹ Under the reign of Leo the Isaurian, new complaints were lodged against the Paulicians at Constantinople, and the emperor ordered Gegnæsius to appear at the capital and undergo a trial. The examination was committed to the patriarch, before whom Gegnæsius contrived to answer all the questions proposed to him respecting his orthodoxy in a satisfactory manner; attaching, however, quite a different sense from the true one to the formularies of church orthodoxy. The patriarch asked him why he had left the Catholic church. Gegnæsius replied, that he had never entertained the remotest wish of forsaking the Catholic church, within which alone salvation was to be found. But by the Catholic church, he meant only the Paulician communities, called, as they believed, to restore the church of Christ to its primitive purity. The patriarch demanded why he refused to give the mother of God the reverence which was her due? Gegnæsius here pronounced the anathema himself on all who refused reverence to the mother of God, to her into whom Christ entered, and from whom he came,—the mother of us all. But he meant the invisible, heavenly city of God, the celestial Jerusalem, mother of the divine life, for admission of the redeemed into which Christ had prepared the way, by first entering it himself as their

¹ Phot. I. 18. Μὴ πατέθειν ἐκ τοῦ λαβόντος δευτέρῃ ὅσοι μετασχίῃν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρώτης δωρεῆς καὶ ὅθεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν εἴλκυσεν.

forerunner. He was asked, why he did not pay homage to the cross? Gegnæsius here pronounced the anathema on all who refused to venerate the cross; but by this he understood Christ himself, called by that symbolical name. Furthermore, he was asked why he despised the body and blood of Christ, and refused to partake of it? The reply to this also was satisfactory; but by the body and blood of Christ, he was accustomed to understand the doctrines of Christ, in which he communicated himself. So also he answered the question respecting baptism, but by baptism he understood Christ himself, the living water, the water of life. This trial having been reported to the emperor, Gegnæsius received from his sovereign a letter of protection, securing him against all further complaints and persecutions.

We might readily conjecture, that the Emperor Leo, that determined enemy of images, was disposed to befriend the Paulicians; and that the issue at this trial, which was so favourable to their cause, was brought about by his influence; for a certain affinity existed between the spiritual tendency of the Paulicians and that of the iconoclasts. The Paulicians, too, were violently opposed to image-worship: they always began by attacking this superstition, accusing the dominant church, on this ground, of idolatry; and perhaps—as seems to be indicated by an Armenian controversial tract against the Paulicians which has recently come to light¹—the attack on image-worship was the occasion by which many were first led to separate from the dominant church, and then, invited by the spirit of reform which manifested itself in that sect, to unite with the Paulicians. It cannot be assumed, however, that all iconoclasts would, as a matter of course, be favourably disposed to the Paulicians; for that the fact was not

¹ We mean the polemical tract of John of Oznun, so called from his native city, Oznun, in the province of Tascir, in Greater Armenia, where he was born A.D. 668. Subsequent to the year 718, he became Catholicos or primate of the Armenian church. His works were published in 1834 by the Mechitarists of the island of St Lazari, near Venice, with Aucher's Latin translation. In his discourse against the Paulicians, John says, whenever they met with inexperienced and simple people, they first began with speaking against images. See p. 76. He says (p. 89), that many iconoclasts, when ejected from the Catholic church, joined the Paulicians. It were to be wished, that the historical allusions of the words: "Ad quos Paulicianos iconomachi quidam ab Alvanorum Catholicis reprehensi advenientes adhaeserunt," might be traced out in the original sources by those acquainted with Armenian literature.

so, appears evident from the example of the later iconoclast emperors. And it is well known, that the iconoclasts were the more eager to show their attachment to the church orthodoxy on all points but one, and to remove all suspicion on this score in proportion as the disposition was strong to charge them with heresy. From these considerations, it must still remain uncertain whether the Emperor Leo *purposely* favoured the Paulicians. But if the report which has come down to us respecting the trial of Gegnæsius agrees with the truth, it can still hardly be supposed, that the patriarch would have made it so easy for that heresiarch to deceive him, unless he had some good reason for allowing himself to be deceived. If he had not, he would, without doubt—especially as the deceptive arts of the Paulicians were, to some extent, understood—have proposed such questions to Gegnæsius as would have compelled him to distinct explanations.

On the death of this Gegnæsius, after an active service of thirty years, he was succeeded by his son Zacharias, who was opposed, however, by another heresiarch by the name of Joseph, so that a new schism arose among the Paulicians. This Joseph was compelled, by threatening dangers from the Saracens, to transfer the seat of his labours to Antioch, in Pisidia; and the sect now spread beyond the boundaries of Armenia into the countries of Asia Minor.¹ Joseph was succeeded by a certain Baanes, who, from the Cynic mode of life which he adopted and encouraged, received the surname of “filthy” (ὁ ῥυπαρός), which brought him and his party into bad repute. But at this time, near the beginning of the ninth century, the sect, which had been so rent by inward divisions, and injured by the influence of bad teachers, began once more to lift its head under the auspices of a new reformer who rose up in their midst.

Sergius came from the village of Ania, not far from the town of Tavia, in Galatia, and was won over to the sect while yet a young man.² He was led to join it by a singular incident,

¹ Unless the account of the Byzantine historian, Cedrenus, places at too early a period what happened not till later, a seat had already been prepared in Thrace for this sect, under the Emperor Constantine Copronymus; for this historian, in the eleventh year of the reign of Constantine, relates that the emperor, after having reconquered the Armenian province Melitene, transplanted many Paulicians to Constantinople and Thrace.

² Petrus Siculus, who treats (p. 54) of Sergius, says nothing about his having sprung

worthy of being noticed, because it shows how numbers might be induced by the defective instruction of the clergy, which failed to satisfy their religious needs, to join the Paulicians. He once met with a woman belonging to this sect, who asked him, in the course of their conversation, whether he had ever read the gospels. Sergius replied in the negative, adding that this was a thing which belonged exclusively to the clergy—that the mysteries of holy Scripture were too exalted for laymen. Hereupon the woman said, “The holy Scriptures are intended for all men, and they are open to all ; for God wills that all should come to the knowledge of the truth. But the clergy, who forbade them to be studied by the laity, wished to withhold from the latter the mysteries of the divine word, lest they should become aware of corruptions which the clergy had introduced into them. For the same reason, it was only single portions of Scriptures, torn from their proper connection, which were publicly read in the churches.” She then asked him whom it was our Lord meant, Matt. vii. 22, where he speaks of those who would plead that they had wrought miracles and prophesied in his name, but whom he would nevertheless refuse to acknowledge as his ; or who were the sons of the kingdom, of whom our Lord says that they should be thrust out of it, Matt. viii. 12. “They are those,” said she, “whom you call saints, of whom you say that they perform miraculous cures,¹ expel evil spirits, whom you honour, while you neglect to honour the living God.” These words made a deep impression on the mind of Sergius. He diligently studied the writings of St Paul. He obtained from them a better knowledge of what belongs to a vital Christianity, and came to perceive more clearly the difference between the godlike and the ungodlike, the spirit and the flesh. On the ground of this antithesis, distinctly expressed as his point of

from a family connected with the sect. But Photius (p. 95) says, that his father, Dryinos, was a member of the sect, and that Sergius, therefore, had been instructed in its doctrines from his childhood. Yet his own report of the conference of Sergius with the Paulician woman contradicts this statement, and would lead us rather to suppose that Sergius then belonged to the Catholic church.

¹ The question comes up,—how did the Paulicians understand this? Did they mean that the story about the miracles of the saints were fictitious? or, that they really performed such works, but did so by the power of the Demiurge whom they served.

departure, he combatted the confounding of Christianity with the world in the effete *churchism* of the state religion; but, at the same time, he grounded this practical antagonism on the theoretical one of the Gnostic dualism.

He set himself up as a teacher, under the name of Tychicus; and laboured for thirty-four years with great zeal and indefatigable activity, traversing every part of Asia Minor, for the advancement and confirmation of the Paulician communities, and for the spread of the Paulician doctrines; and it was certainly not without justice that, speaking from his own point of view, he could say, in one of his epistles to a Paulician community, "I have run from east to west, and from north to south,¹ till my knees were weary, preaching the gospel of Christ."² He seems to have imitated the example of St Paul, also, in refusing to receive the means of support from others, and striving to maintain himself by the labour of his own hands. To this end he followed the trade of a carpenter.³ Even his opponents would not refuse to Sergius the praise of strict morality, and of those kind and gentle manners which win the heart, and by which he was enabled to conciliate even his bitterest enemies.⁴ He gained many followers, especially by his peculiar mode of first presenting before them simply the doctrines of practical Christianity—which, by other teachers, were made to give way to a mere formal orthodoxy, until he had won their confidence; when, having gained this advantage, he proceeded gradually to inveigh against the dominant church.⁵ Owing to the manner, also, in which Sergius himself had been first drawn to this sect, many of the laity would be easily attracted to him and to his disciples, especially when they heard them repeating the hitherto unknown

¹ Which words are important, as serving to fix the geographical point from which his labours commenced and extended.

² Ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν καὶ (ἀπὸ) βορρᾶς καὶ (μέχρι) νότου ἔδραμον κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἡμοῖς γόνασι βαρῆσας. Pet. Sic., p. 60, where the words are cited more fully and accurately than in Photius, L. I. p. 112.

³ Phot. L. I. p. 130.

⁴ Καὶ ταπεινὸν ἦθος καὶ δεξιόσως κατεσχηματισμένος τρόπος καὶ ἡμερότης οὐ τοὺς οἰκίους ὑποσυνάινουσα (should doubtless read ὑποσαίνουσα), μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τραχύτερον διακειμένους ὑπολειπίουσα τε καὶ συλαγωγούσα. Phot. L. I. c. 22, pag. 120. Of course, all these good traits in a heretic were but a hypocrite's mask, worn for the purpose of enabling him more easily to carry on his deception.

⁵ Phot. I. p. 108.

words of the evangelists and of St Paul, and exposing to view the contradiction between these teachings and many of the ordinances of the church.¹ Even among monks, nuns, and ecclesiastics, he found many willing auditors.² But, conscious of labouring as a reformer, he was no doubt accustomed, when speaking of himself, to adopt a tone which, making every allowance for the hyperbolic language of the East, cannot be pronounced entirely free from the charge of a self-exaltation inconsistent with the essence of Christian humility. He thus writes to one of the communities: "Suffer yourselves to be deceived by no man, but be assured that ye have received these doctrines from God; for we write you out of the full conviction of our hearts. For I am the porter, and the good shepherd, and the leader of the body of Christ, and the light of the house of God. I, too, am with you always, even unto the end of the world;³ for though I may be absent in the body, yet I am with you in the spirit."⁴ And to the same community, at Colonia in Armenia, he writes—"Even as the primitive communities received their shepherds and teachers, so you also have received the illuminating torch, the clear-shining light, the guide-post to salvation."⁵ He then quotes in proof Matthew vi. 22, which he probably understood somewhat as follows: that by virtue of the soundness of the eye within them, of the sense for divine realities awakened in their minds, they had recognized and received him as the true light.

If we placed certain reliance on the reports of opponents, we should be compelled to believe that Sergius pushed his self-exaltation to the extreme of self-deification; for it is said that he

¹ Peter of Sicily says, p. 6, *χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ συναρπασθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους, διότι πάντα τὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγια διαλέγονται.*

² So Peter of Sicily reproaches him for leading astray many monks, priests, and Levites. See p. 62.

³ Photius, I. 21, p. 115, cites the words only thus far; but the epithet which Sergius here applies to himself is somewhat softened by its connection with what follows, which is to be found in Peter of Sicily, p. 64.

⁴ *Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδὲνα τρόπον, ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἔχοντες παρὰ Θεοῦ θαρσεῖτε, ἡμεῖς γὰρ πεπεισμένοι ὄντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς καὶ ὁδηγὸς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὁ λύχνος τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ μετ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι ἀπειμι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν εἰμι· λοιπὸν χαίρετε, καταρτίζεσθε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εὐχῆς ἔσται μετ' ὑμῶν.*

⁵ He calls himself *λαμπάδα φαινήν, λύχνον φαίνοντα.*

called himself the Paraclete and the Holy Ghost. But accusations of this sort cannot be received without suspicion; for, to say nothing of the intrinsic improbability of the thing, it is plain, from those expressions of the Paulicians in which men were disposed to find such predicates applied to Sergius, how widely remote from their obvious meaning was the way in which they were interpreted. The Paulicians were accused of praying in the name of Sergius, as of the Holy Spirit. They were accustomed, for example, to seal up and conclude their petitions with the phrase, "The intercession of the Holy Spirit will be favourable to us."¹ But assuredly in this formula, imitated after the words in Romans viii. 26, it is not Sergius who is designated by the name Holy Spirit; but either a mediating intercession of the Holy Spirit, as nearly related to the supreme God, is presupposed, or, according to St Paul, the inward prayer of believing aspiration is considered as a prayer of the Holy Spirit himself—of the Spirit of God dwelling in and praying from the hearts of believers. If, then, there is any ground for the assertion, that Sergius set himself up as the Holy Spirit, and the Paraclete,² it could only amount to this, that Sergius represented himself, not as the Holy Spirit, but as the Paraclete; while his opponents, making no distinction between the two, misinterpreted the language of Sergius, as if he understood the Paraclete to be the same as the Holy Spirit. The truth was, however, that he distinguished these two forms of expression; and by the Paraclete he understood, like Mani, an enlightened teacher promised by Christ, who should separate the doctrines taught by him from all foreign mixtures, and open their true sense; and as such a teacher he meant to be regarded himself. But as Sergius did not think himself to be the first or the only reformer of a corrupted Christianity, and therefore could not have called himself, in this sense, the promised Paraclete, by whom believers were to be first led to the consciousness of divine truth, freed from all elements of error, we must suppose that, while he recognized the earlier teachers of the Paulicians in their capacity as teachers, he still designated himself as the *great* Teacher whom Christ promised, and by whom a reformation was to be effected in the entire church, and that he subordinated them, as his forerunners,

¹ Ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐλέησει ἡμᾶς. Phot. I. 114. ² See Phot. L. I. p. 111.

to himself. We might trace this in his designating them as simply *ποιμένας και διδασκάλους* (pastors and teachers), while he calls himself the resplendent lamp (*λάμπας φαινή*), the shining light, (*λύχνος φαίνων*), the light-giving star (*λυχνοφανής ἀστήρ*).¹ But opposed to this view is the fact that he represented the apostle Paul as the great teacher, by whom alone Christianity was to be exhibited in its true light; that, compared to Paul, he placed himself only on a level with Tychicus, and that he aspired at nothing higher than to be an ambassador and disciple of St Paul, holding forth not the doctrines of his own wisdom, but those of his master.² It is, then, the most probable supposition, that Sergius did not wish to be regarded as either the Paraclete or the Holy Spirit; but that certain expressions, in which he represented himself as the organ of the Holy Spirit, or as a Paraclete for the restoration of pure Christianity, led, by a misconception of their import, to the above mentioned false accusations.³

The active labours of Sergius fell within a period which, at first, was favourable to their success. It was when the Greek emperor, Nicephorus, who reigned near the beginning of the ninth century, refused to be employed as a tool of the hierarchy for the persecution of the Paulicians; but promised them, particularly in Phrygia and Lycaonia, freedom and security in the exercise of their religious faith.⁴ It may be doubted whether this emperor was determined to this milder treatment of the

¹ See Phot. I. 98.

² "Α διαγγέλλει μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ διδάξαντος καὶ ἀπιστάλλοτος Παύλου παραγγέλματα. Photius himself notices the inconsistency of Sergius, in assuming such lofty epithets, and yet representing himself as standing in this subordinate relation to St Paul. He offers the following not very natural explanation. Sergius, he says, spoke of himself in the latter way when addressing the Exoterics, or persons who were yet to be gained over to the sect; and in the former, in addressing those who were already initiated into the mysteries. See L. I., p. 111. This far-fetched explanation is at once refuted by the fact that all these epithets are undoubtedly taken from epistles of Sergius addressed to *entire communities*.

³ Some such misconception, probably, gave occasion also to the anathema which is to be found among those directed against the Bogomiles or Euchites; if by Tychicus there mentioned, we are to understand Sergius. He is there accused of applying what is said in Scripture, of God the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, to his own spiritual father, to one of the Coryphæuses of this sect, and of perverting the language as follows: Τυχικῶ, τῷ πάσας τὰς περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βήσεις εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα παρεμνησίσαντι. See Jacobi Tollii insignia itinerrarii Italici, p. 114.

⁴ See Theophanes Chronograph, f. 413, ed. Paris.

Paulicians by his impatience of the domination of the clergy,¹ or by different principles from those which ordinarily prevailed respecting the proper mode of dealing with false teachers; for it is certain that at this time there was in the Greek church a better-disposed minority, who considered it an unchristian procedure to persecute heretics with the sword; and who declared it contrary to the vocation of priests to be the occasion of bloodshed, it being their duty simply to lead the erring, if possible, to repentance. It was this minority who, when Michael Curopalates, the next emperor, was induced by the influence of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to threaten these heretics with the punishment of the sword, endeavoured, by arguments of this kind, to avert the execution of the order.² And one of the most zealous defenders of the church faith and fanatical supporters of image-worship, Theodore, abbot of the students' monastery at Constantinople, may be considered the representative of this christianly disposed minority.³ To Theophilus, a bishop of Ephesus, who had declared that to kill the Manichæans was a glorious work, he writes, "What sayest thou?"⁴ Our Lord has forbidden this in the gospels, Matt. xiii. 29, lest, in rooting out the tares, the wheat might be gathered up with them. Let both grow together until the harvest. How, then, canst thou call the rooting up of the tares a glorious work?" He then quotes, in confirmation of his views, a fine passage from the homilies of Chrysostom on the gospel of Matthew;⁵—after which he goes on to say: "Nor ought we to pray *against* the teachers of error; much rather are we bound to pray *for* them, as our Lord, when on the cross, prayed for those who knew not what they did. At this late day, men should no longer appeal to the example of

¹ Though we are never warranted to place any reliance on the stories told by the Byzantine historians, his bitter enemies, concerning his connection with the Paulicians.

² The Chronographer Theophanes, who mentions the fact, p. 419, charges those who maintained this ground with being altogether at variance with the sacred Scriptures. To prove this he cites the example of Peter, who caused the death of Ananias and Sapphira, merely for a falsehood; of Paul, who says, Rom. i. 32, they who do such things are worthy of death, though he is here speaking only of sins of the flesh. Πῶς οὐκ ἐναντίοι αὐτῶν εἶναι οἱ τοὺς πάσης ψυχικῆς καὶ σαρκωτικῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἐμπλήεις καὶ δαιμόνων λατρείας ὑπάρχοντας λυτρεύμενοι τοῦ ξίφους.

³ Of this remarkable man we shall have more to say in the following volume.

⁴ In his Letters, II. 155.

⁵ Hom. 47.

Phineas and of Elijah, for it was necessary to distinguish the different stages of the Old and of the New Testament; and when the disciples would have acted in that spirit (against the Samaritans), Christ expressed his displeasure that they should depart so far from that meek and gentle Spirit whose disciples they ought to have been." Citing the passage in 2 Tim. ii. 25, he remarks, "We ought not to punish, but to instruct the ignorant. Rulers, indeed, bear not the sword in vain; but neither do they bear it to be used against those, against whom our Lord had forbidden it to be used. *Their* dominion is over the outward man; and it is incumbent on them to punish those who are found guilty of crimes against the outward man. But *their* power of punishing has no reference to what is purely inward; this belongs exclusively to their province who have the cure of souls, and these can only threaten spiritual punishments—such, for example, as exclusion from the fellowship of the church."¹

Yet, such individual voices could avail nothing against the dominant spirit. Iconoclasts and image-worshippers concurred in the adoption of persecuting measures against these sects, which, in the meanwhile, continued to increase and spread; as was apparent under the successors of Nicephorus, the Emperors Michael Curopalates (Rhangabe), and Leo the Armenian. The common zeal manifested by himself and those heretics, against image-worship, could not move the Emperor Leo the Armenian to adopt any milder measures against the Paulicians; but, perhaps, he was desirous of proving his zeal for the pure doctrines of the church, by persecuting that obstinate sect. Thomas, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and the Abbot Paracondaces, were appointed inquisitors over the Paulicians. Those who manifested repentance were to be placed in the hands of the bishops for the purpose of being instructed and reconciled to the church; the rest were to be put to the sword. The cruelty with which these inquisitors executed their commission, provoked the Paulicians who resided in the city of Cynoschora in Armenia,² to a conspiracy against them, by which both were cut off. After

¹ Σωμάτων γὰρ ἀρχόντες, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀλόντας ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς κολάζειν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ (it should read οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς) κατὰ ψυχὴν τῶν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦτο, ὅν τὰ κολαστήρια ἀφορισμοὶ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιτιμῖαι. See f. 497.

² Οἱ λεγόμενοι Κυνοχωρεῖται, Phot. I. p. 128. Οἱ κατοικοῦντες κυνὸς τὴν χώραν, Petr. Sicul., p. 66, which communities are designated by Sergius as the Laodicean.

this, the Paulicians fled to the parts of Armenia subject to the Saracens, by whom they were received in a friendly manner, as enemies of the Roman empire. The Saracens assigned to their use a town called Argaum.¹ The favourable reception which these had met with, and the persecutions in the Roman empire, induced a constantly increasing multitude to take refuge in the same parts; and Sergius also, their leader, fixed his residence in this place. Here they gradually formed a considerable force; and, making inroads into the Roman provinces, dragged away many as captives, whom they endeavoured to make proselytes. Sergius disapproved of this, and endeavoured to dissuade his people from the practice; but his advice was disregarded. He could testify that he had neither part nor lot in all this calamity. Often had he exhorted them not to make prisoners of the Romans,—they refused to hear him.² After having pursued his labours here for several years, Sergius, while employed alone on one of the adjacent mountains, felling timber for his carpenter's trade, was attacked by a certain Tzanio of Nicopolis, a fierce zealot for the church doctrine, and assassinated, A.D. 835.³

In reference to the *doctrines of the Paulicians*, the two only sources of information furnish but very meagre accounts; and, from these, it is impossible to form anything like a complete and well-defined notion of their character. As writers assumed, that the Paulicians descended from the Manichæans, the mode of understanding and representing their doctrines would easily be made to wear a false colour of Manichæism. Their system was certainly founded on dualistic principles; the creation of the sensible world, for example, was referred only to the evil principle, which they are said to have represented as the Demiurge. But since in all the older Gnostic systems, the Creator of the world was considered a distinct being from the evil principle, while in the Paulician system, the Demiurge as the principle of

¹ Ἀργαοῦν, perhaps Arcas, see Gieseler, L. C. p. 94,—unless the fact was that this town, which is described as lying on a mountain, received its name from the mountain Argæus, and is one not elsewhere mentioned. The inhabitants are called by Petrus Siculus, Ἀργαοῦται. To this community Sergius gives the name of Colossians. Petr. Sic., p. 66.

² Ἐγὼ τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀναίτιός εἰμι, πολλὰ γὰρ παρήγγελλον αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μοι. Petr. Sic., 62.

³ See, respecting the chronology, Gieseler's remarks in the above-mentioned Essay, p. 100.

evil was opposed to the kingdom of the supreme and perfect God, it may be doubted whether this distinction between the Creator of the world and the evil principle was really held by them. The doctrine of the Paulicians, as it is described,¹ viz., that the evil spirit or the Demiurge sprang into existence out of darkness and fire, may, doubtless, have some reference to such a distinction; for this two-fold nature presupposes two elements, whose combination formed the essence of the Demiurge, darkness, the proper principle of evil, and fire, the principle of the sidereal world, both opposed to the spiritual life—as in the Clementines, and in the doctrines of the Tzabeans or disciples of John. Thus the Paulicians, like Marcion, may have supposed three fundamental principles, or two absolute fundamental principles, and a middle one. At all events, they themselves considered the distinction between a Demiurge, the author of the sensible creation, and the perfect God, from whom nothing proceeds but the spiritual world, and who cannot reveal himself in the world of sense, as the characteristic mark of their sect as compared with the Catholic church; for they accused the latter of confounding together the Demiurge and the perfect God, and of worshipping the former only. In their disputes with Catholic Christians, they said to them,—you believe in the Creator of the world; but we believe in him of whom our Lord says—“Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape,” after the manner in which the Creator of the world revealed himself in the Old Testament, John v. 37.² Photius says,³ “That the Paulicians did not all in like manner exclude the perfect God from participating in the work of creation. Some ascribed to the good God the creation of the heavens; to the evil principle, the creation of the earth and of all that exists betwixt the heavens and the earth; others considered the heavens themselves as a work of the Demiurge.” It is probable, then, that the Paulicians affirmed or denied that the perfect God was the creator of the heavens according to the different senses which they attached to that word. If by heaven was meant the visible firmament, the starry heaven, this the Paulicians reckoned as belonging to the creation and kingdom of the Demiurge, and opposed to it the creation and the kingdom of the

¹ Phot. II. 3.² See Pet. Sic., p. 16.³ II. 5.

perfect God. But if by heaven was meant the spiritual heaven, beyond the sidereal world, the region of things divine, this they regarded as a creation and kingdom of the perfect God. The good God and the Demiurge had each his own appropriate heaven.¹ We may thus account for it, that Photius, by neglecting to distinguish the different senses of the term "heaven" in the Paulician system, mistook a different mode of expression for a difference of opinions. But at the same time, it is probable, that a difference of opinions really existed within the sect at an early period; growing out of the more or less decided manner in which the dualistic system was received, just as we find that different opinions were entertained on this point among kindred sects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. According to the Paulician system, the corporeal world proceeded wholly from the Demiurge, who formed it out of matter, the source of all evil. But the soul of man is of divine origin, containing in it a germ of life akin to the essence of the supreme God. Thus human nature consists of two opposite principles; but *this union* of the soul with a body foreign to it by nature, in which all the sensual passions have their root, this banishment of the soul into a sensible world which fetters and confines its higher essence—a world which has proceeded from an entirely different creator—this cannot have been the work of the supreme and perfect God. It can only be the work of that enemy, the Demiurge, who seeks to bring down the divine germs of life into his own kingdom, and there hold them fast. Such being the Paulician system of the universe, we must suppose they had a corresponding theory of the origin and nature of man. Either starting with the doctrine of a pre-existence of souls, they must have held that the Demiurge was constantly drawing away these souls from the higher world to which they properly belong, and confining them in this material world; or, like the older Syrian Gnostics, they must have held that the Demiurge had at the beginning charmed the divine germs of life into the phenomenal forms of the first man, a being created after some image of the higher world that

¹ According to the statement of Marcion's doctrine by the Armenian Bishop, Esuig, of the fifth century, which Professor Neumann has translated in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* IV. B. I. Stück, the perfect God has his seat in the third heavens.

hovered before him, which germs of life now proceeded to develop themselves in humanity, giving birth to human souls. An important source of our knowledge respecting the opinion of Sergius on this point, is contained in a fragment of one of his letters preserved by Photius and Peter the Sicilian, but which unfortunately, in the mutilated state in which it has come to us, is extremely obscure. "The *first* fornication, in which, from Adam downward, we are all ensnared, is a benefit; but the *second* is greater, (namely, a greater fornication or sin), of which St Paul says,—“He that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body,” 1 Cor. vi. 18.¹ To understand the real meaning of Sergius in these singular words, we must take them in connection with what he afterwards writes, though not in this immediate context.² From remarks that afterwards occur, we find that Sergius here interprets the term *πορνεία* (fornication) in a spiritual sense, as denoting the fall from the Supreme God, from the true body of Christ, *i.e.*, the fall from the true Christian church, subsisting among the Paulicians, and from the purely Christian doctrines handed down in that sect, the falling back into the corrupt church, which belongs to the Demiurge. Now, if the whole should, in like manner, be interpreted spiritually, we must understand what is said of Adam's *πορνεία* in the same sense; and, since Adam's disloyalty to the Supreme God, could be in no way a benefit, either to him or to his posterity, even according to the system of Sergius, this disloyalty can only mean a rebellion against the Demiurge. And we should then have the following train of ideas,—the Demiurge endeavoured to hold the first man in complete bondage. He was not to come to any consciousness of his higher nature, lest he should begin to aspire after something beyond the kingdom of the Demiurge. Hence the command which forbade him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. But Adam was disobedient; and this disobedience of his, this *πορνεία*, by which he broke his bond of servitude to the Demiurge, was the cause whereby he

¹ Ἡ πρώτη πορνεία, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ περικείμεθα, εὐεργεσία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μείζων ἐστὶ, περὶ ἧς λέγει καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἀμαρτάνει. See Phot. I., p. 117. Petr. Sicul., p. 68.

² The words: ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν σῶμα χριστοῦ εἰ τις δὲ ἀφίσταται τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ, τουτέστι τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀμαρτάνει, ὅτι προστρέχει τοῖς ἐπιροδιδασκαλοῦσι καὶ ἀπειθεῖ τοῖς ὑγιαίνοσι λόγοις.

and his race attained to the consciousness of their higher nature, transcending the kingdom of the Demiurge, and, therefore, he might rightly describe it as a benefit, since it was the necessary preparation for the redemption afterwards to follow. Still, however, the phrase *περικείμεθα τὴν πορνείαν* (we are enveloped in the fornication), does not seem to harmonize so well with this spiritual mode of explanation, inasmuch as the phrase denotes something that is worn about, or that cleaves to the person. We should have to understand it, then, metonymically. The consequences of this "fornication" of the first man, which turned out to be a benefit to him and to his posterity, passed over to us, which, however, would not be a very natural interpretation of the words. Nor, in strict propriety, are we bound or warranted to explain everything spiritually in order to meet the sense of Sergius; for, however forced and tortuous the methods of allegorizing interpretation which we may expect to find in writers of this class, still it could hardly be supposed even of Sergius, that he would understand those words of St Paul, as by themselves considered, denoting spiritual fornication. This would be too preposterous. Most probably, he understood the words, in the first place, literally, as warning against "fornication" in the proper sense, a warning which would not appear superfluous, even to those strict upholders of moral purity, the Paulicians.¹ But, then, in conformity with the principles of the allegorizing mode of interpretation, he added a spiritual exposition of the same words, as denoting the fall from pure doctrine, a spiritual "fornication."²

By these remarks we might be led to infer that Adam's *πορνεία* also, refers primarily to that of the body. We might then understand him as follows: Sergius considered the carnal connection of Adam and Eve as a *πορνεία*, as the eating of the forbidden fruit; which sin, however, was still a benefit, since it led to the evolution and the multiplied individualization of the germ of divine life in humanity. Or we must suppose that he considered

¹ It is manifestly perverting the language of Servius, to infer from it, as Petrus Siculus does, that Servius did not consider the *πορνεία* to be a sin, but sought to justify it. We see from this example, what reason we have to be cautious in admitting all that is said against the Paulicians.

² It should be borne in mind, that Petrus Siculus, after citing the first words, says, *ἐπάγεις λίγαν*, therefore does not cite the words in their entire connection, but has left out something intervening.

the union of the soul with a body formed out of matter as a *πορνεία*; in which case, the connection of thought would be as follows: The Demiurge succeeded in enticing a heavenly soul down into the corporeal world; and from this, sprung all other human souls. This soul was the mother of all spiritual life in humanity. Now since, according to this view as well as the other, the spiritual life in humanity was evolved to multiplied and manifold individuality, and since, by this means also, the way was prepared for the destruction of the kingdom of the Demiurge, this *πορνεία* might be regarded as a benefit. The phrase *περικείμεθα τὴν πορνείαν* certainly agrees peculiarly well with this explanation; for the "enveloping of the soul with the body," repeated at the birth of every man, might thus be described as a *περικεῖσθαι τὴν πορνείαν*.

The assumption of an original relationship of the soul to God, constitutes an essential difference, very important in its consequences, between the Paulician and the strictly Marcionite doctrine. Hence the Paulicians held to an enduring connection between these souls originally related to God, and the supreme God, from whom they sprung—a connection not to be dissolved by the power of the Demiurge. They supposed an original revelation of God, implicitly contained in every soul banished into the creation of the Demiurge—a power of reaction against the Demiurge's influence. The God of the spiritual world enlightens every man that comes into this world,—so they explained the words in the introduction to John's gospel.¹ To this, doubtless, they referred all manifestations of the sense of truth in human nature. It depends on man's will, whether to yield himself up to the power of sin, and so continually to depress the germ of divine life in his soul, or to follow out that awakening revelation of God, and so unfold to ever-increasing freedom and power, the germ of divine life within him. But, however low man may sink, still, by virtue of his nature thus related to God, he cannot be utterly dispossessed of that eternal revelation of God. The enemy, say the Paulicians, has not so completely enthralled even the souls of those who have voluntarily abandoned themselves to his power, that their darkened minds are left without the power of ever turning to a ray from the light of

¹ See Photius, L. II., p. 169.

truth ; for the good God always was, is, and shall be ; there can never be a time in which he may not reveal himself.¹

We may easily gather, from what has been said, that the doctrine of redemption would hold an important place in the Paulician system. Single rays of the revelation of the incomprehensible God,² falling upon the darkness of souls held bound in the kingdom of the Demiurge, would not suffice to raise their imprisoned souls to perfect communion with the Supreme Being, and to perfect freedom. The good God must reveal himself in some better way to mankind, in order to prepare them for communion with himself, and to release them from the dominion of the Demiurge. This was done by the Redeemer. Of the views entertained by the Paulicians respecting the person and nature of Christ, no exact accounts have, indeed, been preserved. But this much is certain ; they taught that he came down as a heavenly being, from the heaven of the good God, from that higher world which is the source and fountain of all divine life—the celestial city of God—and that he ascended again, after having completed his work on earth, to his heavenly abode, for the purpose of placing the faithful in union with the same.³ The doctrine of the Paulicians touching matter, and the material body, would not allow them to attribute to our Saviour a body of this earthly material, since this would be inconsistent with his perfect impeccability, and since the divine cannot enter into any sort of fellowship with the kingdom of darkness. Still they did not fall into absolute Docetism ; but, like the Valentinians, they seem to have ascribed to our Saviour a body resembling the earthly only in appearance, a body of higher stuff, which he brought with him from heaven, and with which he passed through Mary as through a channel, without receiving any portion of it from her.⁴ And here we must remember that the native country of the Paulicians was Armenia. Now, in the Armenian church, Monophysitism was the predominant faith, but the system was understood and received in two different ways. It had its mode-

¹ Photius, L. II. c. 3. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οὕτω κατεκράτησεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκόντων προεδωκότων ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ὡς μηδαμῆ πρὸς μηδεμίαν ὕλην τῆς ἀληθείας αἴγλην τοὺς ἐσκοτισμένους πιστεῖν, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεὸς ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται.

² It is described as the ἀάρατος and ἀκατάληπτος. Phot. II. 147.

³ Hence the expression : ἡ πανάγια θεοτόκος, ἐν ᾗ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ κύριος.

⁴ Δι' αὐτῆς ὡς διὰ σωλήνος διεληλυθέναι. Phot. I. 7.

rate and its extreme party.¹ The former made use of the following formulary,—Christ subsists of two natures; and they taught that by virtue of the actual union of the two natures, it was necessary to suppose in him but *one* nature, as well as one person—the one nature of the incarnate Logos—and by so doing, they were enabled to distinguish without separating the divine and human predicates, intimately united in this one nature, and in this way to approximate somewhat more nearly to the Catholic system of faith. On the contrary, the followers of the other, ultra-Monophysite view, on account of their extreme statements, particularly their Aphtharto-Docetism, were charged by the other party with embracing Docetic errors.² They feared to concede a resemblance of essence between the body of Christ and other human bodies—to ascribe to the Redeemer *passiones secundum carnem sive per carnem*.³ They would not say,—*ex virgine incarnatus*, but *in virgine*.⁴ Now, in these ultra-Monophysite forms of phraseology, the doctrines of the Paulicians concerning the person of Christ, might easily find a point of attachment.

Nor had the Paulicians, in this view of the matter, any inducement or occasion to fall in with the worship of Mary; on the other hand, they must have felt themselves more imperiously called upon to combat it, in proportion as a superstition so hateful to them became attached to this theory. To turn away their opponents from this object of idolatrous veneration, they appealed to those passages of the gospel history, which seem to intimate, that Mary bore other sons after the birth of Jesus,⁵ a kind of argument which, if they considered marriage intercourse and the begetting of children irreconcilable with perfect holiness, must have been considered decisive, at their own point of view. Peter the Sicilian says,⁶ they were so spiteful against Mary, as not to allow her a place even among the good and virtuous. From this we may infer, that they resorted to various passages of the gospel

¹ See Vol. II. p. 553.

² See the tract of John Ozniensis against these ultra-Monophysites: Joannes Ozniensis contra phantasticos, p. 111.

³ L. c. Ne forte duas naturas in uno Christo innuere videamur, sed ipsummet verbum divinum erat, quod utraque tum humana tum divina obibat.

⁴ L. c.

⁵ Phot. I. 22.

⁶ Pag. 18. Μηδὲ κῶν ἐν φιλή τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων τάττειν ἀπειχθῶς ἀπαριθμήσει.

history for the purpose of setting the religious character of Mary, for example, the weakness of her faith, in an unfavourable light.

Entertaining such notions as they did of the nature of Christ's body, the Paulicians could not, of course, suppose that it was capable of being affected by any kind of suffering. Christ, by virtue of his divine dignity, was raised above suffering. In all probability they taught, that the Demiurge, finding that the life and labours of Christ threatened destruction to his kingdom, incited his servants to crucify him; but that his purpose was frustrated, because Christ, by virtue of the higher nature of his body, was secure against all outward injury. Perhaps, however, like the Manichæans, they at the same time ascribed a symbolical import to the crucifixion of Christ,—holding that Christ, with his divine life, descended into the kingdom of the Demiurge, and diffused himself through it. This would appear probable, from the fact, that the Paulicians were always ready to venerate the cross as a symbol of Christ, stretching forth his hands in the form of the cross.¹ But *the sufferings* of Christ could, according to their doctrine, have contributed nothing to the work of redemption; nor, is it, indeed probable, that the idea of God's punitive justice, which required that Christ should suffer, had any place in their system. They were opposed to the worship of the cross, the worship of a mere bit of wood, an instrument of punishment for malefactors,²—the sign of a curse, Gal. iii. 13. Nothing of this sort could have been said by the Paulicians, in case they received the doctrine of Christ's redemptive sufferings.

They were for restoring the life and manners of the church to apostolic simplicity. They maintained that by the multiplication of external rites and ceremonies in the dominant church, the true life of religion had declined. They combated the inclination to rely on the magical effects of external forms, particularly the sacraments. Indeed, they went so far on this side as wholly

¹ Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς σταυροῦ σχῆμα τὰς χεῖρας ἐξήπλωσε, and in the anathemas published by J. Tollius, the Paulicians are described as νοῦντες ἀντὶ σταυροῦ τὸν χριστὸν, ὡς ἑκτείνων, φασί, τὰς χεῖρας τὸν σταυρικὸν τύπον διεχάραξι. *Insignia itiner.* Ital. pag. 144.

² The expression κακούργων ὄργανον in Photius (I. c. 7, p. 23), is obscure. Properly it should mean an instrument used by bad men. Thus, they who threaten others with such tortures, would be considered as the κακούργοι; but this does not give so good a sense, as when we take it elliptically to mean an instrument for the punishment of evil doers.

to reject the outward celebration of the sacraments. They maintained that it was by no means Christ's intention to institute the baptism by water as a perpetual ordinance, but that by baptism he meant only the baptism of the Spirit, for by his teachings he communicated himself, as the living water, for the thorough cleansing of the entire human nature.¹ So too they held, that the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of Christ consisted simply in the coming into vital union with him through his doctrines, his word, which were his true flesh and blood. It was not sensible bread and sensible wine, but his words, which were to be the same for the soul that bread and wine are for the body, which he designated as his flesh and blood.² Yet, if we may credit the report of Photius,³ the Paulicians, when attacked by any serious illness, were in the habit of placing upon themselves a cross of wood, which, when they recovered, they threw aside. Nor can there be any doubt that they allowed their children to be baptized by priests who lived among them as captives; though they affirmed that all this might profit the body but not the soul. If this be so, we must try to reconcile it with the doctrines of the Paulicians in some such way as follows.⁴ They heard a great deal said of the wonderful efficacy of the cross, and of baptism in the healing of diseases. Many of the uneducated Paulicians may have witnessed with their own eyes appearances of this sort, which they attributed to causes that had no existence. Now as they ascribed to the Demiurge a power over the sensible world, so they might say here, as perhaps also in the case of the pretended miracles of the saints, that these outward works, performed by the servants of the Demiurge, possessed a virtue from him which extended to the relief of the body; though it could not reach the inner life, which lay beyond the Demiurge's province. But even if we admit that Photius does not report in this story a blind rumour, yet we must doubtless understand what he says as true only of individuals, and uneducated persons, who in the hour of distress were involuntarily governed once more by the ancient faith; at any rate, it is impossible to derive from his

¹ Phot. I. 9.

² Phot. I. 9. Petr. Sic. 18. "Ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ὃν ὁ κύριος ἰδίῳ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ δείπνου, ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἰδίῳ, ὡς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον.

³ I. c. 9, p. 29.

⁴ In like manner Gieseler.

language any connected theory applying to the conduct of the Paulicians generally.

They undoubtedly considered the confounding together of Christian, Jewish, and political elements as the cause of the corruptions of the dominant church; they were desirous of bringing back the simplicity of the Apostolic church; hence they styled themselves the Catholic church, Christians, *χριστοπολίται*,¹ as contradistinguished from the professors of the Roman state religion (*ῥωμαίους*). They strove to follow the pattern of apostolic simplicity in all their ordinances, and carefully avoided everything that approached to a resemblance of Jewish or pagan rites. Hence they never called their places of assembly temples (*νάοι* or *ἱερά*), which suggested the image of Jewish or pagan temples—but gave them the more unpretending name of oratories (*προσευχαί*),² from which too we may gather, that with them prayer constituted the most essential part of divine worship. Among other corruptions of the Christian element, they certainly counted also the Christian priesthood, founded on the pattern of that of the Old Testament. They recognized it as belonging to the peculiar essence of Christianity, that it aimed to establish a higher fellowship of life among men of all ranks and classes, tolerating no such distinctions as the existing ones between clergy or priests and laity. They had among them, it is true, persons who administered ecclesiastical offices, but these like the rest were to be looked upon as members of the communities. They were distinguished from others neither by dress, nor by any other outward mark.³ The names, also, of their church officers were so chosen, as to denote the peculiarity of their vocation, which was to administer the office of spiritual teaching, to the exclusion of all sacerdotal prerogatives. Hence they rejected the name *ιερεῖς* and also *πρεσβύτεροι*, since even this latter was too Jewish for them, suggesting to their minds the presbyters of the Jewish sanhedrim assembled for the condemnation of Christ.⁴

¹ The name *χριστοπολίται* in the anathemas of the Euchites in Tollius, p. 122.

² Phot. I. 9.

³ Phot. I., p. 31. Οὔτε σχήματι, οὔτε διαίτη, οὔτε τινὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ βίον σεμνότερον ἐπιτελοῦντι τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδείκνυνται.

⁴ Phot. I., p. 31. Διότι τὸ κατὰ Χριστοῦ συνέδριον οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ συνεστήσαντο. Petrus Siculus names (p. 20) among the peculiarities of the Paulicians, τὸ τοῖς

At the head of the sect stood the general teachers and reformers, awakened by the Spirit of God, such as Constantine and Sergius. These were distinguished by the title of apostles or prophets. Sergius counts four of them.¹ Next followed the class called *διδάσκαλοι* and *ποιμῆνες* (teachers and pastors); then the itinerant messengers of the faith, *συνέκδημοι*,—companions of those divinely illuminated heads over the entire sect, trained under their influence, and regarded as living organs for the communication of the spirit which proceeded from them: next, the *νωτάριοι*, copyists, probably so called,² because it was their business to multiply and disseminate the religious records, which embodied the doctrines of the sect; for they considered it as a matter of the greatest moment that all under the enlightening influences of the divine Spirit, should have it in their power to draw directly from the genuine records of the doctrines of Christ; and it is probable that on these notaries devolved more especially the duty of expounding the Scriptures. As no other individual, after the death of Sergius, attained to such eminence of authority, as to enjoy the confidence of all as a prophet called to guide the whole community, so it was his immediate disciples, the *συνέκδημοι* (associate itinerants), who, in the possession of an equal authority, now took the first place in the general superintendence of the sect. To these latter, the preservers and expounders of the written word were originally subordinate.³ But at a later period, when the generation of those immediate disciples and bearers of the Spirit, were removed by death, the notaries, who had most carefully studied the written records of the religion, in search of a rule for the trying of spirits, and who were most practised in expounding their sense, acquired the highest authority. Subordinate to the learned in the Scriptures, were those who only spoke by immediate inspiration. The knowledge obtained by the study of the religious records stood in higher repute than immediate inspiration without such knowledge.⁴ In addition to these officers, we find a class called *ἄστατοι*, the meaning of which term

πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποτρέψασθαι, ὅτι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου συνήχθησαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ χερὶ αὐτῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι. ¹ Photius, p. 116.

² Gieseler aptly compares them with the *γραμματεῖς* of the New Testament.

³ Phot. I. c. 25, p. 134.

⁴ In the anathemas in Tollius, p. 144, "Ὡς συνέκδημων) οἱ προβαθμιώτεροι Νωτάριοι κατανομαζόμενοι τὴν τῶν βδελυκτῶν Ὁργίαν ἐνεχειρίζοντο ἐπιμίαν.

cannot be so exactly determined. The word reminds us of *ἀστατεῖν*, in 1 Cor. iv. 1, from which probably it was formed, to denote the life of missionaries, travelling from one place to another and exposed to manifold persecutions. Hence we may gather, that this title was employed to designate a higher class of the *συνέκδημοι*. This accords perfectly with the account given of them by Photius,¹ who says they were the *elect* portion of the disciples of Sergius.² One of them led the Cynochorites in the above mentioned conspiracy against the emperor's commissioners; but in so doing, he certainly departed from the principles of his master.

In respect to the morality of the Paulicians, we find that their opponents—among whom may be reckoned Johannes Ozniensis,³ accuse them of allowing themselves in unnatural lusts and incestuous connections. It is obvious to remark, however, that little reliance can be placed on such accusations coming from the mouths of excited adversaries. Such bad reports concerning the religious meetings of sects accounted heretical are to be met with in every age of the church. Nor was there wanting, in the present case, the no less common charge of infanticide, and of magical rites performed with the blood of children. We have already observed how a single phrase found in a letter of Sergius was so misconceived or intentionally perverted, as to make it appear that he considered fornication (*πορνεία*) to be a trifling sin. In like manner, the contempt of the Paulicians for the laws of the Old Testament respecting hindrances to marriage grounded on certain degrees of relationship, may have been the sole reason of their being accused of denying that any degree of consanguinity constituted a valid obstacle to marriage. We must certainly admit, however, that the Paulicians were liable to be so far misled, by the contempt of the Demiurge's laws, as to despise the delicate scruples of a pure moral sentiment on this subject.⁴ Yet we should consider again, that the opponents themselves of the Paulicians distinguish Baanes, whose principles were here notoriously loose, and his followers, from the rest of the Paulicians; that Sergius took decided ground, as a reformer, against the pernicious influence of Baanes; that the opponents themselves of the Paulicians acknowledged the pure

¹ P. 128.

² Τῶν τοῦ Σεργίου μαθητῶν οἱ λογάδες.

³ L. c. p. 85.

⁴ As Gieseler remarks.

moral spirit of Sergius, though, after their usual manner, they represented the whole thing as hypocritical pretence. And though it may have been true with regard to the *Armenian Paulicians*, as intimated by Johannes Ozniensis in the passage we have referred to, that among them the principles of Parsism co-operated with the influence of Baanes, yet this cannot be charged as a fault belonging to the whole sect. Certain it is, that the Paulician doctrines, as a whole, not only required, but were calculated to foster, a spirit of sober and strict morality; for the great practical principle which flowed directly from their theory was, freedom for the repressed consciousness of God, deliverance to the divine germ of life, held imprisoned by the power of sense, so that it might proceed to unfold itself without let or hindrance. If immoral tendencies were to be found, it cannot be doubted that they were offshoots, growing out of a departure from the original spirit and tendency of the sect. Indeed, the more natural result from a principle like that above described would be a rigidly ascetic system of morality, such as we find in earlier and later sects of a kindred character. No trace, however, is to be found, at least in the sources of information we possess, of the existence of such a system among the Paulicians; and perhaps they were led, by that spirit of practical Christianity which had been infused into their reformers by the study of the New Testament Scriptures, into a more free direction of life than was common among older sects of a kindred character. It is certain, that they protested against the multiplied statutes and ordinances of the dominant Greek church. While in the latter, the apostolic decrees concerning the eating of things strangled, etc., were held to be still obligatory, the Paulicians, on the contrary, refused to be bound by any such scruples, which they probably ascribed to Jewish prejudice. Hence they were accused of defiling themselves by the eating of things forbidden. They treated the church fasts with contempt, nor did they hesitate to use cheese and milk as food in such seasons of fasting as were observed by their sect.¹

¹ Among the anathemas directed against the Paulicians is the following (Tollius, pag. 146): ἀνάθεμα τοῖς τῇ βρώσει τῶν θηρίων τῶν θνησιμαίων μολυνομένοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσαν μὲν ἰκτερομένοις χριστιανικὴν νηστείαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς δοκούσης αὐτοῖς τισσαρακοστῆς τυροῦ τε καὶ γάλακτος ἰμφορομένοις.

It was particularly objected to the Paulicians that they carried to the utmost extreme the principle of justifying falsehood when employed for righteous ends. Photius affirms that they denied their faith without the slightest scruple, and approved of such denial, though a thousand times repeated.¹ The ready equivocations resorted to by Gegnæsius, for the purpose of evading the confession of his faith at Constantinople, may serve as an illustration of the laxity of their principles with regard to the duty of veracity. Indeed, we find nothing more common, among theosophical sects, than the practice of justifying falsehood, when resorted to for the promotion of pious ends. But among such sects, this principle is ever found connected with the assumption, that only a certain class of superior natures are capable of attaining to the knowledge of pure truth. While Christianity, by founding a higher fellowship of life on the basis of a common religious consciousness, as opposed to the distinction of the exoteric and esoteric in religion which prevailed before its appearance, had established a new principle of truthfulness, and deprived partial falsehood of the prop on which it had hitherto leaned for support, free room was still found for the old indulgence of prevarication, wherever that fundamental principle of Christian fellowship was lost sight of, and the separating walls in religion, thrown down by Christianity, had been re-erected. It cannot be said, however, of the Paulicians, that *they* denied Christianity its rights in this particular. In all men alike, they recognized the repressed consciousness of God, the imprisoned germ of a divine life, the point of access for the message of the same divine truth which was meant for the acceptance of all. This they showed by their active zeal in propagating the doctrines of their sect. If, then, they gave great latitude to the principle that deception might be resorted to for the purpose of promoting God's glory and advancing the truth, still they most assuredly acknowledged the general duty of testifying the truth, since on no other ground than as it served to advance the truth, could they defend their lax principle of accommodation.

We have already noticed the high value set by the Paulicians on the written records of the truth. Among these, however, they did not reckon the Old Testament ; for they derived Judaism

¹ I. 8, p. 25.

from the Demiurge. To the religious teachers of the Old Testament they, like the older Gnostics, applied the words of our Saviour, in John x. 8.¹ They looked upon them as teachers who were sent, not to guide souls partaking of a godlike essence to the consciousness and free development of their higher nature, to the knowledge of the supreme God, but rather to lead them away from him to the worship of the Demiurge. That they denied, however, the existence of any connection whatsoever between the Old and the New Testament, seems hardly reconcilable with the manner in which, according to Photius, they explained the words in John i. 11. According to him, by the *ιδίους* (his own) they understood the *λόγους προφητικούς* (prophetic oracles). If these words were really so interpreted by them, we can only reconcile the two assertions, by supposing, that they looked upon the prophets as men who, in their own intention, were solely bent on advancing the kingdom of the Demiurge, but who, unconsciously, and in spite of themselves, were made subservient to the purposes of the supreme God, and instruments to prepare the way for *him*, who was to deliver mankind from the Demiurge's kingdom. But as Photius does not quote the words of the Paulicians (perhaps of Sergius) in the precise form in which they were expressed, and as it is possible he may have misunderstood them, we might be led to suspect that the latter was really the case here. There is, however, another way of understanding these words of Sergius, which, to say the least, is far more congruous with the Paulician system, and which accords also with their mode of interpreting John i. 9. Regarding, as they did, the earthly world as a work of a Demiurge, altogether foreign from the province of the supreme God,—but recognising the souls of men as allied to God, destined for, and capable of, receiving the revelation of the divine Logos, they would be led, in the most natural manner, to understand by *ιδίους* men, as such,—creatures bearing within them a slumbering consciousness of God.

Certain it is, according to what we have already remarked on a former page, that they gave especial weight to the authority of the Apostle Paul; and his epistles must have been considered by

¹ See Phot. I., p. 24. Petr. Sic. p. 18.

them as the main sources of the knowledge of Christian doctrines. From a marginal gloss in Peter the Sicilian (p. 18), we find, at least in reference to the later Paulicians, that they, like Marcion, possessed also an epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, whether this was the same as the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, under another name, or an apocryphal epistle. They also regarded with peculiar reverence the very words of Christ recorded by the evangelists. Hence, they did not scruple to imitate the Catholic Christians in testifying their respect for the book of the gospels, by the ceremony of prostration—*προσκύνησις*—they fell down before it and kissed it; but to show that this act of veneration had no reference to the sign of the cross, usually marked on the books of the gospels, but that it was paid only to the book itself, they said, In so far as it contains the words of our Lord.¹ According to Photius, and to Peter the Sicilian,² it would seem that they received all the four gospels alike, as sources of the knowledge of the words of Christ; but a marginal remark to Peter the Sicilian affirms of the later Paulicians,³ that they used only two gospels. This latter account is to be preferred, as more accurately defining the fact: nor is it difficult to explain how the other less exact account may have arisen. The Paulicians, when the words of Christ were quoted to them from any one of the gospels, were accustomed to acknowledge the authority of these declarations; indeed they were found to cite such declarations themselves, in their disputes with others. Hence it was inferred, that they attributed equal authority to all the four gospels. But it was quite consistent with this practice, that they should recognize only two of the gospels as absolutely trustworthy and uncorrupted fountains of religious knowledge, although they borrowed, or received as valid, from the other gospels,⁴ whatever seemed to them to bear the impress of primitive Christianity. Those two gospels were first, that of Luke—as in the case of Marcion, and for the same reason, on

¹ Φασὶ δὲ τὸ βιβλίον προσκυνεῖν ὡς τοὺς δεσποτικούς περιέχον λόγους. Phot. I., p. 23.

² See the same, p. 18.

³ Οἱ γὰρ νῦν μόνοις τοῖς δύο χεῖνται εὐαγγελίαις.

⁴ But they could take greater liberties in getting round these latter. Hence the charge brought against Sergius, that he had falsified especially the Gospel of Matthew. See the Anathema II. against Tychicus, in Tollins, p. 114.

account of the reference to Paul,¹—and secondly, the gospel of John, as is evident from the words of Christ, which they cite. This latter gospel would possess peculiar attractions for them, on account of its own distinctive character. What we have said with regard to their use of the other two gospels must be applied, also, if we follow out the hint given by the marginal note above quoted, to their mode of using the other writings of the New Testament, excepting the epistles of St Paul. But they wholly rejected the epistles of St Peter, since they did not acknowledge him to be a genuine apostle, but counted him as one of the thieves and robbers who corrupted the divine doctrines. Photius alleges² as the reason, Peter's denial of his Master. We certainly believe that Photius did not draw here simply upon his own imagination, but that the Paulicians did really appeal, in their disputes, to Peter's denial of Christ, as one evidence of his unapostolical character, and of his untrustworthiness; for, as we have before remarked, even the Paulicians acknowledged that there was one way of denying the faith which involved a heavy crime, viz., when it was done from cowardice, which they certainly distinguished from a justifiable accommodation (*οικονομία*).³ But this, surely, was not the special reason, on account of which they refused to recognize Peter as a genuine apostle. They were, doubtless, led to do this, for the same reasons which induced Marcion also to reject the apostolic authority of St Peter. They regarded him as a *Judaizing* apostle, as an opponent of St Paul, as one who was seeking to confound Christianity again with Judaism, which appeared evident from the incident mentioned in Galatians ii. But to represent Peter, who was so odious to them, as a man liable to be suspected from the first, they appealed, in their disputes, to his momentary denial of our Lord. "How can we," said they, "have any confidence in a man whom we find so cowardly and fickle-minded as Peter afterwards showed himself to be, when he preached Judaism instead of Christianity?"⁴

¹ In the marginal remark above referred to, *καὶ μᾶλλον (χρῶνται) τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν.*

² L. 24.

³ Here we differ from Gieseler, who supposes that Photius incorrectly referred to the denial of Christ's person, what the Paulicians affirmed respecting the denial of the gospel truth by Peter, at Antioch.

⁴ The further history of the Paulicians we reserve till the next following period.

This sect, however, was but one form of the manifestation of a more deeply-seated antagonism ;¹ that is to say, we perceive in it the reaction and counteraction, though modified, in this case, by the fusion with Gnosticism, and veiled under the Gnostic forms—the reaction and counteraction of the Christian consciousness, in its efforts to acquire freedom, against that confusion of Jewish and Christian elements which appeared in the later church ; and we have here revealed to us the incipient stages of a remarkable reaction, which, as it began to spread more widely in the succeeding centuries, unfolded itself in a continually widening circle, and in an ever increasing multiplicity of details, in opposition to the perfected system of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

¹ Although the Paulicians among the Oriental sects opposed to the hierarchy were the ones who made the greatest sensation, yet we are not to suppose they were the only sect of this kind in this period. There were, doubtless, other sects also, deriving their origin from the Manichæans and Gnostics, whose offshoots will become better known to us in the following periods,—sects which have not been sufficiently distinguished from the Paulicians in this period. Thus, among the Byzantine historians, we find associated with the Paulicians a certain sect of *Αθίγγατοι*,—probably a sect who were accused of following certain Gnostic or Manichæan principles, because they held that the touch of many things was defiling : *μὴ θίγγει* Colos. ii. 21.

END OF VOLUME FIVE.



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